

# FEATURE SHARING OR HOW I VALUE MY SON<sup>\*</sup>

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## 1 Introduction

A common trend in syntactic binding theories over the last decades has been to treat binding as a subcase of independently existing syntactic dependencies such as Move and Agree. Anaphors and bound pronouns are commonly viewed as elements that enter the derivation in some underspecified or deficient way, lacking certain features or feature values. This is clearest in the approach put forward in Kratzer (2009), where bound pronouns enter the syntax as bare indices and only acquire features via various syntactic dependencies resulting in feature sharing (Pesetsky and Torrego 2007). The specific implementation of binding via feature sharing/valuation is, however, subject to significant controversy. Since the ‘standard’ version of Agree (Chomsky 2000, 2001) requires the *probe* to be deficient and to look downwards for a *goal* with the relevant features, an Agree relation between, for instance, a subject DP and an object anaphor is impossible. To bring binding in accordance with standard Agree, a popular research strand has been to invoke mediated binding—a dependency in which the anaphor’s features are not valued by the antecedent directly, but only indirectly via a series of Agree operations affecting T, *v*, the subject DP, and the object DP (Reuland 2005, 2011, Heinat 2006, Chomsky 2008, Kratzer 2009). In this paper, I will provide evidence against a mediated Agree approach to binding and propose a return to the traditional view that binding requires a direct dependency between the antecedent and the variable and that additional Agree relations with T and *v* are irrelevant for binding (see also Hicks 2009, Schäfer 2008). Based on the distribution of bound (fake) indexicals in four Germanic languages, I argue that the agreement properties and restrictions on bound indexicals as well as (so far attested) cross-linguistic differences in the availability of bound indexicals are accounted for in a Reverse Agree model (Wurmbrand 2012, 2014) which incorporates i) a locality condition reminiscent of Rule H (Heim 1993, Fox 1998) favoring feature sharing (Pesetsky and Torrego 2007) with the closest relevant antecedent, and ii) certain (markedness inspired) morphological feature co-occurrence restrictions.

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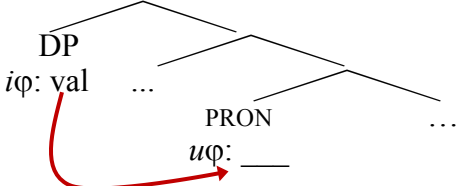
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## 2 Fake Indexicals [FIs]

Indexical pronouns represent an interesting prima facie morphology–semantics mismatch. Traditionally, first and second person are interpreted as participants, e.g., speaker and addressee (but see Jacobson 2012, Sudo 2012, Sauerland 2013 for different semantic approaches avoiding a morphology–semantics mismatch). In contexts such as (1), 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> person pronouns can also be interpreted as bound variables [bv], as indicated by the paraphrases. In these contexts, the person features of indexicals are not interpreted, in other words, they are fake indexicals [FIs]. As shown in (2), Icelandic, German, and Dutch (for Dutch see also Maier and de Schepper 2013) also allow FIS in contexts such as *Only I did my best*.

- (1) a. *I am the only one around here who will admit that I could be wrong.* ✓bv  
 [No one else will admit that they are wrong.] (Partee 1989, fn. 3)  
 b. *Only you did your/\*his/\*her best.* ✓bv  
 [No one else did their best.]
- (2) a. *Aðeins ég geri mitt/\*hennar besta* Icelandic  
 only I do my/\*her best (G. Harðarson, p.c.)  
 b. *Nur ich habe mein/\*ihr Bestes gegeben* German  
 only I have my/\*her best given  
 c. *Alleen ik heb m'n/\*haar best gedaan* Dutch  
 only I have my/\*her best done (P. Fenger, p.c.)

To derive the morphology–semantics mismatch arising with bound indexicals in a syntactic binding approach, a separation of morpho-syntactic feature transfer and semantic binding is necessary. This can be done, for instance, via some form of deactivation (e.g., deletion) or manipulation of the person features of indexicals at LF (see e.g., von Stechow 2003). I propose a different approach here, one where the features transmitted via Agree never reach LF. I employ a feature system consisting of *interpretable* (*iF*) and *uninterpretable* (*uF*) features, which are both present in syntax. However, the only features that reach semantics are the *iF*s, and the only features fed to morphology/phonology are the *uF*s. I further assume that bound pronouns (to be) consist of only morphological features, specifically initially unvalued *uφ*-features (*uφ*:    ), which are valued in the course of the derivation. Lastly, feature valuation is achieved via Agree as in (3).

- (3) 
- Reverse Agree:  
 A feature F:     on  $\alpha$  is valued by a feature  
 F: val on  $\beta$ , iff  $\beta$  c-commands  $\alpha$ .  
 (Wurmbrand 2014)

The simplified derivation for examples such as (2) is given in (4). A syntactic Agree dependency between a binder and a pronoun does not yield specific semantic values, but only equips the pronoun with morphological features to be realized at PF (cf. (4b)). An Agree dependency is, however, semantically not vacuous, but translated as binding (index sharing) at LF, as in (4c).

- (4) a. *only I* [*iφ*: 1.SG] ... POSS PRON [*uφ*:    ]  
 b. *only I* [*iφ*: 1.SG]  $\gg_{\text{Agree}}$  POSS PRON [*uφ*: 1.SG] Agree; PF: *my*  
 c. [*only I*]  $\lambda$  1 [*t*<sub>1</sub> *did x*<sub>1</sub>'s best] LF: Agree  $\Rightarrow$  binding LF: bv

Although the languages above all allow FIS in principle, an interesting split arises in relative clauses. As noted in Heim (2008) and Kratzer (2009), English permits FIS in contexts such as (5), but German does not—to express a bound variable interpretation in cases like (6), a 3<sup>rd</sup> person pronoun has to be used, and indexicals can only be interpreted referentially. As shown in (7), Dutch patterns with English in allowing FIS, whereas Icelandic, (8), patterns with German in prohibiting them. In the next section, I present a summary of the account proposed in Kratzer (2009) for (5) and (6), followed by some questions arising for this approach.

- (5) *I am the only one who takes care of her/my son.* ✓bv
- (6) *Ich bin der einzige, der seinen<sup>✓bv</sup> / meinen<sup>\*bv</sup> Sohn versorgt*  
 I am the.M.SG only.one who.M.SG his<sup>✓bv</sup> / my<sup>\*bv</sup> son take.care.of.3.SG  
 ‘I am the only one who takes care of his/my son.’ (based on Kratzer 2009: 191, (5))
- (7) *Ik ben de enige die m’n best gedaan heeft* ✓bv  
 I am the only.one who my best done has.3.SG  
 ‘I am the only one who has done my best.’ (Maier and de Schepper 2010: 4, (11))
- (8) *Ég er sá eini hérna sem getur séð um börnin sín<sup>✓bv</sup> / mín<sup>\*bv</sup>*  
 I am DEM only here that can.3.SG see about children SELF<sup>✓bv</sup> / my<sup>\*bv</sup>  
 ‘I am the only one here who can take care of his/my children.’ (G. Harðarson, p.c.)

### 3 Spell-Out Dilemmas

The account offered in Kratzer (2009) is based on a feature unification system where (certain) syntactic dependencies lead to the unification of the feature sets of the two elements involved in a dependency. Possessive [POSS] and to some degree also relative pronouns are born as minimal pronouns and are only ‘made’ into full pronouns by functional heads. The heads *v* and C can be inserted with or without valued  $\phi$ -features. If they start with valued  $\phi$ -features, they can transmit their features to a minimal pronoun via local binding. In a sentence such as (9a), there are four dependencies, given in the derivational order in (9b) (movement irrelevant for the account is ignored): i) *v* (inserted with 1.SG) binds the minimal POSS pronoun; ii) the subject *who* (at that point not a relative pronoun yet but equipped with the features of the head of the relative clause)<sup>1</sup> enters a predication relation with *v*; iii) T Agrees with the subject; and iv) C binds and creates the relative pronoun. As a result, the feature sets of the relative pronoun, T, *v*, and the POSS pronoun unify and these elements end up with all the features involved in these dependencies.

- (9) a. *I am the only one who takes care of my son.*
- b. i.  $v_{\lambda[n].1.SG}$  »binding  $\emptyset_{[n].1.SG}$
- ii.  $\emptyset_{[n].F.SG}$  »predication  $v_{\lambda[n].1.SG}$
- iii. T »Agree  $\emptyset_{[n].F.SG}$
- iv. C.WH »binding  $\emptyset_{[n].F.SG}$
- c. C.WH.1.SG.F T.WH.1.SG.F *who*.WH.1.SG.F  $v$ .WH.1.SG.F PRON.WH.1.SG.F

To achieve the desired pronunciations of the features in (9c), a spell-out approach is proposed in which competing spell-out rules cause a derivation to crash. In both English and German, there are vocabulary insertion rules for POSS pronouns and verbal inflection that are specified as [F.SG] and [1.SG]. A syntactic feature bundle such as [1.SG.F] thus meets the specifications for two in-

<sup>1</sup>Kratzer (2009) follows the view that 3<sup>rd</sup> person is the lack of person features; instead the non-participant features are FEM, MASC, and THING.

sersion rules, resulting in a dilemma at spell-out. If a language does not allow a resolution of the dilemma in favor of one of the specifications, ungrammaticality arises. This, according to Kratzer, is what happens in German. The derivation of examples such as (6) is identical to (9). Since the resulting output cannot be realized at PF, FIS are excluded (the successful 3<sup>rd</sup> person *bv* configuration involves only gender features and no 1<sup>st</sup> person feature in *v*, hence no feature conflict arises). A FI configuration is possible in English, on the other hand, since, per assumption, English has two markedness rules which allow ignoring features in the input to vocabulary insertion: nominal gender and verbal person are claimed to be marked, and the spell-out dilemma can thus be resolved in favor of person for POSS pronouns and in favor of gender for verbs as in (10).

- (10) a. Nominal: [1.SG.F]  $\rightsquigarrow$  [1.SG]  $\rightsquigarrow$  *my*  
 b. Verbal: [1.SG.F]  $\rightsquigarrow$  [F.SG]  $\rightsquigarrow$  *-s* (3<sup>rd</sup> person agreement)

To motivate these markedness rules, Kratzer notes that most English nouns are neuter and that gender can be avoided in English by using the gender unmarked plural pronoun *they* (e.g. *Nobody did their best*), thus gender is marked. As for verbs, person morphology is very rare in English (with the exception of the verb *be*, only 3.SG is realized), thus assumed to be marked.

The first issue to note at this point is that the motivation for the markedness rules in (10) does not carry over to Dutch. To allow FIS as in (7), exactly the same markedness settings would have to be in effect in Dutch. However, as Maier and de Schepper (2013) point out, there is no evidence for such assumptions since all properties given for English work differently in Dutch (e.g., gender cannot be avoided by a plural pronoun). While it is possible to assume that dilemma resolution as in (10) is available in some languages but not in others, by making markedness an arbitrary language-specific property not tied to morphology, the main factor regulating whether FIS are possible or impossible in a language essentially rests on a stipulation.

An interesting argument for the potential relevance of inflection in licensing binding involves the observation that in German, 1<sup>st</sup> person plural indexicals are allowed in the same relative clause contexts. Since, as indicated in (11), 1<sup>st</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> person plural show syncretism in German, this observation, at first sight, appears to support binding via functional heads.<sup>2</sup>

- (11) *Wir sind die einzigen, die ihren / unseren Sohn versorgen* ✓ *bv*  
 we are the only.ones who.PL their / our son take.care.of.1/3.PL  
 ‘We are the only ones who take care of their/our son.’ (based on Kratzer 2009: 191, (7))

While syncretism is appealing for cases such as (11), considering the verbal paradigm in German more carefully, it becomes clear quickly that syncretism cannot be a sufficient condition for FIS. German also shows 1<sup>st</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> person syncretism in the singular present tense of so-called preterite present verbs, as well as in the past tense of all verbs. As shown in (12), such syncretism has no effect on the availability of bound indexicals. In contrast to 1.PL, 1.SG FIS are excluded, independently of the shape of verbal inflection.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>2</sup>Icelandic also shows an apparent connection between T-morphology and FIS. In Harðarson and Wurmbrand (2016) and Wurmbrand (2015b), we show that this connection is mediated via a null-subject in the relative clause, an option which disappears whenever the embedded subject cannot be licensed by a c-commanding true indexical.

<sup>3</sup>The features system in Kratzer (2009) could potentially exclude FIS in (12) via the specific POSS rules assumed. However, as shown in i., the rules are problematic in that a redundant rule (shaded) is postulated, which is superfluous given the elsewhere rule and only serves the purpose of providing a competitor for [1.SG].

- (12) a. *Ich bin die einzige, die mein<sup>\*bv</sup> / ihr<sup>✓bv</sup> Kind versorgte*  
 I am the only.one who.F.SG my<sup>\*bv</sup> / her<sup>✓bv</sup> child take.care.of.PAST.1/3.SG  
 ‘I am the only one who took care of my/her child.’
- b. *Ich bin die einzige, die mein<sup>\*bv</sup> / ihr<sup>✓bv</sup> Kind versorgen kann*  
 I am the only.one who.F.SG my<sup>\*bv</sup> / her<sup>✓bv</sup> child take.care.of can.1/3.SG  
 ‘I am the only one who can take care of my/her child.’

#### 4 Direct Licensing by Antecedent

In this section, I show that word order, rather than verbal morphology, is the crucial criterion for licensing FIS. Since German allows flexible word order, alternations with identical inflectional heads but different ordering of antecedent [AC] and bindee are straightforward to construct. As shown in (13), FIS as part of the subject are licensed only when the binder (in this case the object) precedes the pronoun. Kratzer (2009) provides an account for (13a,b) in which movement of the AC to Spec,CP equips C with the power to create the POSS pronoun in (13a). This account does not carry over to (13c) and (13d), however, since there is no movement of the AC to Spec,CP in these cases. Furthermore, scrambling is not triggered by heads, nor is it typically assumed to target a specifier position. Thus, in (13c) and (13d) no functional head is present which could be held responsible for ‘making’ the bound pronouns.

- (13) a. *Nur uns<sup>AC</sup> versorgt unser<sup>✓bv</sup> Sohn*  
 only us.ACC takes.care.of our.NOM son  
 ‘Only we are taken care of by our son.’ (Kratzer 2009: 193, 199; (12b))
- b. *Unser<sup>\*bv</sup> Sohn versorgt nur uns<sup>AC</sup>*  
 our.NOM son takes.care.of only us.ACC  
 ‘Our son is only taking care of us.’ (Kratzer 2009: 193; (12a))
- c. *weil {unser<sup>\*bv</sup> Sohn} nur uns<sup>AC</sup> {unser<sup>✓bv</sup> Sohn} versorgt*  
 since {our.NOM son} only us.ACC {unser<sup>✓bv</sup> Sohn} take.care.of.3.SG  
 ‘since our son is only taking care of us.’
- d. *der Tag an dem {unser<sup>\*bv</sup> Sohn} nur uns<sup>AC</sup> {unser<sup>✓bv</sup> Sohn} versorgt hat*  
 the day on which {our.NOM son} only us.ACC {unser<sup>✓bv</sup> Sohn} taken.care.of has  
 ‘the day on which our son took care of only us’

The obvious generalization is that rather than the make-up of the functional heads, it is the order of AC and bindee that is the relevant factor in licensing binding (see Wurmbrand 2015a for further evidence based on passive and reconstruction).

The importance of a dependency between a true indexical and the FI is also apparent in inverted (specificational) constructions. In all four languages discussed here, FIS become impossible when the matrix subject does not c-command (into) the relative clause.<sup>4</sup> As shown in (14)–(15) for English and Dutch, if the matrix indexical does not precede (not c-command) the relative clause, a bound variable interpretation is only possible with 3<sup>rd</sup> person pronouns—FIS are sharply ungrammatical. Dutch is particularly important here since the inverted order does not change ma-

i. [1.SG] → *mein* [FEM.SG] → *ihr* [2] → *euer* (Kratzer 2009: 206, (34))  
 [2.SG] → *dein* [MASC/NEUT.SG] → *sein* [1] → *unser* elsewhere → *ihr*

<sup>4</sup>For German and Icelandic, this may not be surprising since FIS are not licensed in the non-inverted order either. However, in both languages there are ways to add a subject pronoun in the relative clause, which is bound by the matrix (true) indexical and can then bind an embedded FI. Importantly, these strategies also disappear in the inverted order (see Harðarson and Wurmbrand 2016, Wurmbrand 2015b).

trix agreement—the subject remains the pronoun *I* and the verb agrees with *I* in both (15a,b).

- (14) a. *I am the only one who has done my<sup>✓bv</sup>/her<sup>✓bv</sup> best.*  
 b. *The only one who has done \*my<sup>\*bv</sup>/her<sup>✓bv</sup> best is me.*
- (15) a. *Ik ben de enige die m'n<sup>✓bv</sup> best gedaan heeft*  
 I am.1.SG the only.one who my best done has.3.SG  
 ‘I am the only one who has done my best.’ (Maier and de Schepper 2010: 4, (11))  
 b. *De enige die \*m'n<sup>\*bv</sup> / z'n<sup>✓bv</sup> / haar<sup>✓bv</sup> best gedaan heeft ben ik*  
 the only.one who \*my / his / her best done has.3.SG am.1.SG I  
 ‘The only one who has done her best is me.’ (P. Fenger, p.c.)

These facts pose a challenge for Kratzer’s account. The main problem for that approach is that in the non-inverted order, all agreement is determined in the embedded clause already (recall that it is the embedded *v* that licenses an embedded FI), and that there is no interaction between the matrix subject (*I*) and the embedded indexical or embedded agreement. Although there is an additional semantic dependency (predication) between the matrix subject and the predicative DP *the only one who*, this dependency cannot involve feature unification, since matrix agreement and embedded agreement are obligatorily different (*I am*/\**is the only one who is*/\**am doing my best*). Furthermore, even if the mismatching agreement could be handled somehow, the question remains why such an additional dependency licenses FIS only when the matrix indexical c-commands the embedded clause, and not in the inverted orders (in particular in Dutch, German, and Icelandic, where the indexical pronoun is the matrix subject in both orders).<sup>5</sup>

## 5 Share if You Can!

The above considerations have shown that the nature of verbal agreement is largely irrelevant for bound variable interpretations of indexicals, but that c-command by the actual antecedent is a necessary condition for FIS. What then distinguishes English and Dutch from German and Icelandic to yield the differences in (5) to (8)? I propose that the cue lies in the nominal agreement properties illustrated in Table 1, which leads to the following gender generalization: When gender is not distinguished on the relative DP (as in English, Dutch, as well as possibly the plural in German; see below), fake indexicals are possible.

Table 1	English	Dutch	German	Icelandic
F.SG	<i>the only one</i>	<i>de enige</i>	<i>die einzige</i>	<i>sú eina</i>
M.SG	<i>the only one</i>	<i>de enige</i>	<i>der einzige</i>	<i>sá eini</i>
PL	<i>the only ones</i>	<i>de enigen</i>	<i>die einzigen</i>	<i>þær einu</i> (FEM) <i>þeir einu</i> (MASC)

The account I propose is based on Pesetsky and Torrego (2007)’s concept of feature sharing and Rule H<sub>PF</sub>, a morphological analogue of Rule H (Heim 1993, Fox 1998).

- (16) a. Rule H: A variable, *x*, cannot be bound by an antecedent, *α*, in cases where a more local antecedent, *β*, could bind *x* and yield the same semantic interpretation.

<sup>5</sup>Binding of possessors, NP-internal binding, the anaphor agreement effect, and low antecedents pose other difficulties for mediated Agree approaches. For example, in cases where the AC does not c-command the bindee as in i.-ii, binding is impossible, despite T Agreeing with the bindee (den Dikken 1995:348-349; Bobaljik 2002:248).

i. \**There seem to each other to be some applicants eligible for job* ✓ *Some applicants seem to each other...*  
 ii. \**There seems to his<sub>i</sub> mother to be someone<sub>i</sub> eligible for the job.* ✓ *Someone<sub>i</sub> seems to his<sub>i</sub> mother...*

- b. Rule H<sub>PF</sub>: A variable *x* cannot Agree with an antecedent  $\alpha$ , in cases where a more local antecedent  $\beta$  could Agree with *x* and share morphosyntactic features with *x*.

The semantic dependencies in our target sentences are predication, relativization (it is not relevant for the account whether relative clauses involve a matching or head-internal analysis), and binding. Any feature sharing relation triggered by these dependencies has to obey Rule H<sub>PF</sub>, which requires sharing with the closest antecedent. The configuration depicted in (17a) satisfies Rule H<sub>(PF)</sub>, whereas the configuration in (17b) violates Rule H<sub>(PF)</sub>. The interesting case is the one in (17c): Rule H<sub>PF</sub> will only block a feature sharing relation between the matrix subject and the embedded pronoun if sharing could also have been established between the pronoun and the relative DP/pronoun. If such a dependency is not available (for reasons to be specified), feature sharing between the matrix subject and the embedded pronoun becomes possible. I propose that this is what lies at the core of the observed cross-linguistic difference in the availability of FIS.

- (17) a.  $I$  [DP *the only one who* (*only one*) *who* POSS ]  
 [—PREDICATION—] [—RELATIVIZATION—] [—BINDING—] ✓Rule H<sub>(PF)</sub>
- b.  $I$  [DP *the only one who* (*only one*) *who* POSS ]  
 [—PREDICATION—] [—RELATIVIZATION—]  
 [—AGREE/SHARE/BINDING—] \*Rule H<sub>(PF)</sub>
- c.  $I$  [DP *the only one who* (*only one*) *who* POSS ]  
 [—PREDICATION—] [—RELATIVIZATION—] [—BINDING—]  
 [—AGREE/SHARE—] (\*)Rule H<sub>PF</sub>

The last assumption needed to tie together locality and the gender generalization is that feature sharing is subject to certain co-occurrence restrictions. In many languages, including German and Icelandic, gender marking is only found with 3<sup>rd</sup> person, and in German only in the singular. To derive this restriction, markedness theories use constraints or filters such as (18), which trigger repair strategies, e.g., deletion of features in illicit configurations (see Calabrese 2011, Noyer 1998, Nevins 2011, Bobaljik to appear, among others). I propose a slightly different implementation of these filters: if Agree values a  $\phi$ -bundle with a marked feature in (18), further valuation can only apply when it does not violate the markedness filters.

- (18) a. \*[GENDER, PLURAL] (Ge) (Bobaljik to appear: 9, (17b))  
 b. \*[GENDER, PARTICIPANT] (Ge/Ice) (based on Calabrese 2011)

Let's start with German/Icelandic singular relative DPs. Since the relative DP has gender ( $\phi^7$ ) and number (#) features, these features must be shared as part of the binding dependency as in (19a). Assuming that 3<sup>rd</sup> person is the lack of person (participant) features, this leaves the person feature of the POSS pronoun unvalued. Since the matrix pronoun, the relative DP and pronoun, and the POSS pronoun are transitively linked via the three dependencies, I propose that an additional Agree and feature sharing relation as in (19b) is, in principle, possible between the matrix subject and the POSS pronoun. However, this is where the markedness filters come into play: since sharing of the 1<sup>st</sup> person feature would violate (18b), the constraint that prohibits gender and 1<sup>st</sup>/2<sup>nd</sup> person on one element, the additional Agree and feature sharing relation in (19b) is not possible. The only output is a 3<sup>rd</sup> person pronoun (i.e., *I am the only one who does her best*). Lastly, as illustrated in (19c), verb/T agreement is always with the local subject, which yields 3<sup>rd</sup> person on the embedded T and 1<sup>st</sup> person on the matrix T.





mined at the time T Agrees with its subject. Since the relative DP/pronoun and T do not share participant features when they undergo Agree, T spells out as 3<sup>rd</sup> person. Second, the lack of sharing between the matrix subject and embedded T could be seen as a consequence of the inherent semantic nature of predication vs. the purely formal, possibly post-syntactic, nature of T-agreement. Recall that the additional Agree relation between the matrix subject and the POSS pronoun is only possible since the two pronouns are transitively linked via three semantic relations (predication, relativization, and binding). Since Agree between a subject and T is not connected to a semantic dependency, it is conceivable that T-Agree is restricted to elements that are linked via morphological feature sharing dependencies. Binding and relativization involve both semantic and morphological dependencies, but predication crucially does not involve morphological feature sharing. In (20), the subject is 1<sup>st</sup> person, whereas the predicate DP is 3<sup>rd</sup> person. Similarly, gender mismatches are possible in cases such as (21). Thus in (20b,c), the features of the matrix subject are invisible for the embedded T, either because the subject comes into the derivation too late, or because it is not linked to the morphological feature sharing chain of T.

- (21) *Er ist die einzige Person, die* / *Sie ist das einzige Mädchen, das*  
 he is the.FEM only person.FEM who.FEM / she is the.NEUT only girl.NEUT who.NEUT

Finally, as shown in Table 1, German does not show gender distinctions in the plural. The possibility of 1.PL FIS in (11) thus follows straightforwardly—the derivation is as in (20c).<sup>7</sup> The account makes further predictions regarding the difference in the plural between German and Icelandic. However, these have to wait for another occasion.

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<sup>7</sup>As for 2.PL, there is some not well understood speaker variation. Kratzer (2009) gives examples like *i.*, however, for many speakers, if possible at all, an additional subject clitic is necessary to allow a FI. Since the embedded verb also agrees with the matrix subject, *i.* would involve a different configuration, with an embedded 2.PL subject.

i. *Ihr seid die einzigen die euren Sohn versorgt* ✓bv/%  
 you.PL are.2.PL the only.ones who.PL your.PL son take.care.of.2.PL  
 ‘You are the only ones who are taking care of your son.’ (Kratzer 2009: 192, (9))

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