

# Agreement intervention: Logophoric selection in English epicene reflexivity

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An increasing development in English is the use of pronominal *they* in singular contexts (e.g., Arnold et al., 2021; Baron, 2020; Everett, 2011):

## Singular antecedents

- (1) John<sub>i</sub>'s a great person. I met **them**<sub>i</sub> just last week.
  - (2) Taylor<sub>i</sub> is writing **their**<sub>i</sub> own autobiography.
- (Conrod, 2022, p. 216)

However, singular *they* is not a recent phenomenon (Balhorn, 2004).

## Traditional evidence

(3) [Swift in *Polite Conversation* (1738)]

Every fool<sub>i</sub> can do as they<sub>i</sub>'re bid.

(Bjorkman, 2017: 2)

- Singular *they* precedes prescriptive movements favoring epicene (gender-neutral) *he* (Bodine, 1975).
- Distinctions between typical and atypical use-cases can nonetheless be made.

$$\begin{bmatrix} \text{ARB} \\ \text{GEN} \end{bmatrix} \gg \begin{bmatrix} \text{DEF} \\ \text{SPEC} \end{bmatrix}$$

## Context-dependent

- (4) [Context: Seeing an unidentified distant figure.]  
They're waving at us.  
(Bjorkman, 2017: 1)

Maxim of Quantity  $\rightsquigarrow$   $\left[ \begin{array}{c} \text{ARB} \\ \text{GEN} \end{array} \right]$

## Unknown features

(5) Somebody<sub>i</sub> left their<sub>i</sub> sweater.  
(Bodine, 1975: 139)

Preferred choice for quantification (Conrod, 2019, 2022):

## Quantificationally-bound

(6) [Any person who wants to succeed]<sub>I</sub> ought to try  
their <sub>$\forall [i] \in I$</sub>  best.  
(Conrod, 2022: 228)

$\rightsquigarrow \lambda P.\text{wants-to-succeed}' \subseteq P$

Sensitive to specificity (Bjorkman, 2017; Conrod, 2019):

## Determiner choice

(7) ?[**That** syntax professor]<sub>i</sub> loves their<sub>i</sub> job.

(8) [**A** syntax professor]<sub>i</sub> must always love their<sub>i</sub> job.

(Conrod, 2022: 218)



The most variable usage is  $\left[ \begin{array}{c} \text{DEF} \\ \text{SPEC} \end{array} \right]$  singular *they* (dsT):

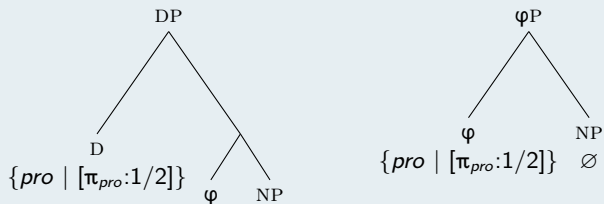
## dsT-antecedents

(9) Proper names: Jayden<sub>i</sub> loves their<sub>i</sub> job.

(10) D-selection: [That syntax professor]<sub>i</sub> loves their<sub>i</sub> job.

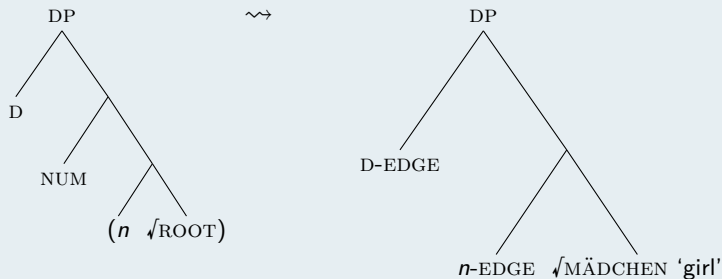
(Conrod, 2022: 218)

## Distinctions between projections



(e.g., Dèchaine & Wiltschko, 2002; Sichel & Wiltschko, 2018)

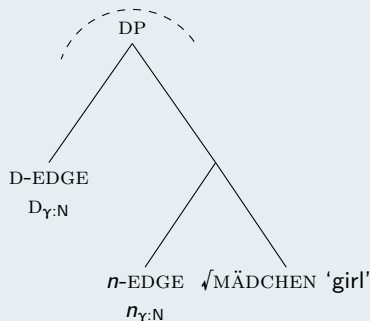
## Splitting open D and $\varphi$



(Sigurðsson, 2019: 737; Kramer, 2016, 2020; Panagiotidis, 2019)

*Mädchen* 'girl.N': Arbitrarily neuter, semantically female.  
Discourse-optional agreement: *es* 'it' or *sie* 'she'.

## Valuation and probing for gender ( $\gamma$ )



(Sigurðsson, 2019: 737)

Grammatical gender generally is ...

## Gender classification

- Sorting of nouns into  $2 \geq$  classes.
- Reflected by agreement with other items.
- Assigned at times based on features  
{animacy, natural gender, ... }

(Kramer, 2020)

## Semantic gender in English

(11) **John** <sub>$\gamma:N$</sub>  wasn't looking and **they** <sub>$\gamma:N$</sub>  fell.

- Semantic gender [*iGen*] lies higher than *n* (Panagiotidis, 2019).
- English is 'pronominal gender language' (PGL) (Sigurðsson, 2019: 734)

Interpretability:

## CP-external

(12) At the halloween party, the cowgirl<sub>i</sub> left his<sub>i</sub> lasso in the kitchen.

(Ackerman, 2019: 2)

(13) Mary<sub>i</sub> said [<sub>CP</sub> that she<sub>i</sub> was happy.]

(Sigurðsson, 2019: 735)

Obligatorily predicated on CP-external content:

## Context-scanning

(14) CONTEXT [CP ... [DP ... D/G<sub>Y</sub> ... ] ... ]  
(Sigurðsson, 2019: 735)



- Conrod et al. (2022) find high variance in dsT-anaphor #.
- 'Slight preference' for *-self* with SG.

## Gender classification (Conrod et al., 2022)

(15) E.g., split-nominal: [<sub>DP</sub> [<sub>DP</sub> them] [<sub>NP</sub> selves]]

Pronominal agreement and antecedent  $\gamma$ .

- CONDITION A: An anaphor must be bound locally.
- CONDITION B: A pronominal must be non-locally bound.
- CONDITION C: An R-expression must be free.

## Gender agreement

(16) **John**<sub>i</sub> saw **himself**<sub>i</sub> (in the mirror).

(17) **Johannes**<sub>i</sub> liebt **sich**<sub>i</sub>  
'Johannes loves himself.'

(Rooryck & Vanden Wyngaerd, 2011)

- *themselves* vs. *themselves* as syntactically deterministic.
- Locus of discourse-sensitive perspective, i.e. logophoricity.

## CONDITION A exemption

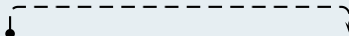
(18) According to John<sub>i</sub>, the article was written by Anna and himself<sub>j</sub>. (Charnavel & Zlogar, 2016, p. 87)

(19) [<sub>DOMAIN</sub> [ OP<sub>deixis</sub> [ OP<sub>empathy</sub> [ OP<sub>attitude</sub> ... X ... ]]]]  
(Charnavel & Zlogar, 2016: 87; Charnavel, 2021)

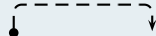
# Agreement Intervention

## Reflexive root-selection for #

(20) ✗ They<sub>i</sub>, #:sg **are** smiling at themself<sub>i</sub> (in the mirror).



(21) ✓ They<sub>i</sub> **are** smiling at #<sub>sg</sub> them[self]<sub>i</sub> (in the mirror).



- Relations via Agree(ment) and reference?
- Further distinctions between pronominals and anaphors:

## Discussion

- Locus of NumP?
- Interactions between  $\#$  and  $\gamma$ .
- Relevance with  $\nu$   $\varphi$ -Agree(ment) with  $DP_{obj}$ ?

# Thank you!

Follow-ups: [anmkato@ucsc.edu](mailto:anmkato@ucsc.edu)

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