Binding & (Re)construction

Nicolas GUILLIOT
University of Nantes, LLING (Laboratoire de Linguistique de Nantes)
nicolas.guilliot@wanadoo.fr

➔ Develop a derivational analysis of the interaction between reconstruction and binding in order to account for a very intricate set of data involving resumption, apposition and cyclicity.
➔ Based on a case study of Reconstruction facts in Breton.

Proposal:
➔ Syntactic derivation and semantic derivation proceed in parallel in a GG framework (for similar related proposals, see Barss (2002), Demirdache (2003) or Platzack (2001)).
Consequence: not only does syntax feed semantic operations, but the semantic calculus can itself trigger syntactic operations as well.

➔ Top-down theory: -top-down semantic derivation (as proposed in Schlenker (2003))
                 -top-down syntactic derivation (see Phillips (1996) or Richards (1999)).
Consequence: reconstruction is construction.

➔ Binding theory: standard structural conditions on the distribution of indices[1].
       -Positive Conditions as requirements: condition A and BVA
       -Negative Conditions as filters: condition B and condition C

I. Paradoxical Facts in Reconstruction

II.1. Reconstruction via the copy theory of movement

Reconstruction: the interaction between movement and interpretation, in particular binding conditions.

(1)   * [Which photograph$_1$ of John$_2$]$_1$ did he$_2$ give __$_1$ to Mary ?

➔ Covaluation between *John* and *he* impossible. However, condition C is not violated.

Reconstruction effects follow from **the copy theory of movement** (see Lebeaux (1990), Chomsky (1995) Sauerland (1998), Fox (2000)):

(2)   *[[which photograph$_1$ of John$_2$] [did he$_2$ give [~~which photograph$_1$ of John$_2$~~] to Mary]]

➔ The copy triggers a condition C violation in (1), and would further allow condition A or BVA to be satisfied in the appropriate configuration

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[1] -*Condition B:* a pronoun must be A-free in its local domain.
  -*Condition C:* an R-expression must be A-free.
  -*Condition A:* a reflexive must be A-bound in its local domain.
  -*Structural condition on bound variable anaphora (BVA):* a pronoun or an anaphor α can be interpreted as a variable bound by β iff α is A-bound by β.

II.2. Binding, Reconstruction & Resumption

➢ Resumptive strategy (in Breton) does not involve movement.
➢ Standard arguments: the lack of island effects in (3) and weak crossover effects in (4):

    -Island Effects:
(3)   *An den$_1$ [a anevez [$_{NP}$ an dud$_2$ [o deus __$_2$ gwelet __$_1$]]]
     the man *prt*[2] you-know the people *prt*-have   seen
     "the man$_1$ that you know the people$_2$ who$_2$ saw"

(4)   An den$_1$ [a anevez [$_{NP}$ an dud$_2$ [o deus __$_2$ gwelet **anezhañ$_1$**]]]
     the man *prt* you-know the people *prt*-have   seen   him
     "the man$_1$ that you know the people$_2$ who$_2$ saw him$_1$"

    -Weak Crossover Effects:
(5)   * Pep   den$_1$ [a   gare e$_1$ vamm   __$_1$]
    every   man   *prt*   loved his mother
    "Every man$_1$ that his$_1$ mother loved"

(6)   Pep   den$_1$ [a lares [$_{CP}$ e kare e$_1$ vamm **anezhañ$_1$**]]
    every   man   *prt* you-say *prt* loved his mother   him
    "Every man$_1$ that you say that his$_1$ mother loved him$_1$"

Predictions concerning the interaction of Reconstruction & Resumption:

resumptive strategy	➔	no movement	➔	no copy of the antecedent	➔	no reconstruction effect
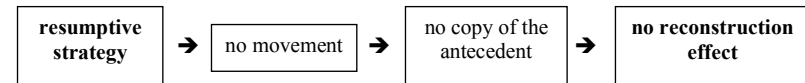
Reconstruction facts with respect to Resumption: predictions only partially confirmed

(7)   **a. Pep poltred$_1$ Yann$_2$** [a lares [$_{CP}$ en deus *pro$_2$* **en$_1$** gwelet]]
     every picture Yann *prt* you-say *prt*-has he it seen
     "Every picture$_1$ of Yann$_2$ that you say that he$_2$ has seen"
     ➔ *Condition C satisfied (covaluation possible)*   *Prediction:* ☺

     b. poltred$_1$ diouti hec'h-unan$_2$ [a zo Mari$_2$ lorc'h enni gant-**añ$_1$**]
     picture about herself   *prt* is Mary   proud   with-it
     "the picture$_1$ of herself$_2$ that Mary$_2$ is proud of"
     ➔ *Condition A satisfied (binding of the anaphor possible)*   *Prediction:* ☹

     c. Poltred$_1$ e$_2$ verc'h [a lares [$_{CP}$ e wel pep tad$_2$ **anezh-añ$_1$**]]
     picture his daughter prt you-say prt sees every father it
     "the picture$_1$ of his$_2$ daughter that you say that every father$_2$ is looking at"
   ➔ *Bound Variable reading possible*   *Prediction:* ☹

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[2] This particle in Breton (*a* or *e* most of the time) is called "rannig". It occurs in subordinate and matrix clauses, and is traditionally analyzed as a complementizer.

Paradox: With Resumption, why do reconstruction effects appear with condition A and BVA, positive binding conditions [be it in Breton or in Lebanese Arabic (see Aoun, Choueiri & Hornstein (2001)], but **not** with condition C, a negative condition[3] [in Breton and in Arabic (see Malkawi (2004))].

II.3. Binding, Reconstruction & Apposition

➤ *Restrictive Relative:* head raising (or promotion) analysis based on movement of the antecedent itself (see Vergnaud (1974), Kayne (1994) and Bianchi (1995)).
➤ *Appositive Relative:* analysis based on the movement of a lexical (relative pronoun) or null operator.

Predictions concerning the interaction of Reconstruction and Apposition:

| **appositive relative** | → | movement of an operator | → | copy of the operator | → | **no reconstruction effect** |
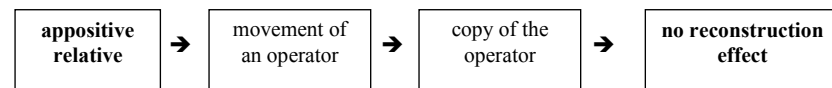
Reconstruction facts with respect to Apposition: predictions only partially confirmed

(8)   **a. Poltred$_1$-mañ Yann$_2$**, $Ø_1$ en deus *pro$_2$* roet $Ø_1$ da Vari, a zo bet drailhet.
     picture-this   Yann   *prt*-has   he given   to Mary *prt* is been torn
     "This picture of Yann$_2$, which he$_2$ gave to Mary, has been torn."
     ➔ *Condition C satisfied (covaluation possible)*   *Prediction:* ☺

     b. Poltred-mañ diouti hec'h-unan$_2$, he deus roet Mari$_2$ da Yann, a zo bet drailhet.
     picture-this   about   herself   *prt*-has given Mary to Yann *prt* is been torn
     "This picture of herself$_2$, which Mary$_2$ gave to Yann, has been torn."
     ➔ *Condition A satisfied (binding of the anaphor possible)*   *Prediction:* ☹

Paradox: In Appositives in Breton as well as Italian (see Bianchi (1995)), why do reconstruction effects appear with condition A, a positive condition[4], but **not** with condition C, a negative condition.

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[3] The insertion of a resumptive pronoun is crucial to obviate condition C, as shown in (i) below: the absence of resumption yields a condition C (reconstruction) effect in Breton:

(i)   *****pep poltred$_1$ Yann$_2$**   en deus *pro$_2$* roet   _$_1$ da Vari
    "every picture of Yann$_i$ that he$_i$ has given to Mary"

[4] BVA, another positive binding condition, does not behave like condition A, as Reconstruction in (ii) is impossible. However, this result is independently expected as it follows from the semantic incompatibility between variable binding of *his* which yields a distributed reading of the antecedent and the fact that an appositive relative requires a specific antecedent. See (iii) for confirmation that reconstruction is not at stake:

(ii)*****Poltred$_1$-mañ e$_2$ verc'h**, $Ø_1$ a   gare   pep tad$_2$ $Ø_1$, a zo bet drailhet.
    picture-this his daughter *prt* loved every father   *prt* is been torn
    *"This picture of his$_2$ daughter, which every father$_2$ liked, has been torn."

(iii) *Sellout a ra   pep tad$_i$ ouzh poltred-mañ e$_i$ verc'h,   am eus choazet.
    watch *prt* does every father against picture-this his daughter *prt*-I have chosen
    *"Every father$_i$ is looking for this picture of her$_i$ daughter, which I have chosen."

➤ *Empirical coverage of the copy theory of movement:*

		Negative condition: Condition C	*Positive* Conditions: Condition A or BVA
Movement strategy	restrictive	☺	☺
	appositive	☺	☹
Resumptive strategy		☺	☹

II.4. Binding, Reconstruction & Cyclicity

➤ Reconstruction as a major argument for Cyclicity.

From Fox (2000):

(9)   a. Which book that he$_1$ asked Mrs Brown$_2$ for did every student$_1$ get from her$_2$?
    ➔ *Covaluation (index 2) and Bound Variable reading (index 1) possible*

    b. *Which book that he$_1$ asked Mrs Brown$_2$ for did she$_2$ give every student$_1$?
    ➔ *Covaluation (index 2) and Bound Variable reading (index 1) impossible*

The pattern in (9) suggests multiple intermediate sites for reconstruction, even within the IP domain, as argued in Fox (2000):

(10)   [Which book that he$_1$ asked Mrs Brown$_2$ for]$_3$ did every student$_1$ ___$_3$ get from her$_1$ _*_$_3$?

Problem: Unmotivated features need to be stipulated in any site where reconstruction is possible, even within the IP domain, in order to account for cyclicity effects in a minimalist framework.

III. The proposal

➤ The interpretation procedure (i.e. the semantic calculus) does not proceed after, but rather **throughout** or in parallel to the syntactic derivation (contrary to traditional view in standard T-model of the grammar in GG).

➤ Top-down derivations: -semantic interpretation (Schlenker (2003))
                       -syntactic building of the tree (Phillips (1996))

III.1. Semantic Interpretation

➤ Each sentence is evaluated under an assignment function *g*. The assignment function relates integers from IN to individuals (type *e*).
➤ Indices of referential expressions feed the assignment function:

(11) a. His$_1$ mother thinks John$_1$ is stupid.

b. $[\![$His$_1]\!]^{[1\rightarrow x]}$ ➜ $[\![$His$_1$ mother$_2]\!]\begin{Bmatrix}1\rightarrow x\\2\rightarrow x\text{'s mother}\end{Bmatrix}$ ➜ $[\![$His$_1$ mother$_2$ thinks John$_1]\!]\begin{Bmatrix}1\rightarrow\text{John}\\2\rightarrow\text{John's mother}\end{Bmatrix}$

III.2. Binding Theory

➢ An anaphoric pronoun is ambiguous between a bound variable reading and a covaluation reading:

(12) Noa$_1$ thinks he$_1$ loves Minia.
Noa λx [x thinks x loves Minia] ➜ bound variable
Noa λx [x thinks he loves Minia] ➜ covaluation <u>he</u>=<u>Noa</u>   *Reinhart (1997)*

➢ Syntactic constraints on the distribution of indices:
-*Condition A:* A reflexive must be A-bound in its local domain.
-*Condition B:* A pronoun must be A-free in its local domain.
-*Condition C:* An R-expression must be A-free.
-*Structural condition on BVA:* A pronoun or an anaphor α can be interpreted as a variable bound by β iff α is A-bound by β.

(13) a. John$_1$ loves himself$_1$.

semantic derivation (steps 1-3):

step 1:
$[\![$John$_1]\!]^{[1\rightarrow\text{John}]}$
step 2:
$[\![$loves$]\!]^{[1\rightarrow\text{John}]}$ (John)
step 3:
$[\![$loves himself$_1]\!]^{[1\rightarrow\text{John}]}$ (John)
➜ condition A is satisfied
step 4:
=1 iff John λx [x loves x]

syntactic derivation (steps 1, 2 and 3):

IV. The account

➢ Adapting Richards' proposal for two kinds of movement for displaced constituents:

-"θ-motion", where a copy α̶ of a displaced element α is created only when the thematic (original) site is reached in the syntactic derivation in order to check that θ-role:

(14) *[which photograph$_1$ of John$_2$] did he$_2$ give [~~photograph$_1$ of John$_2$~~] to Mary ?

semantic derivation (steps 1-2):

step 1:
$[\![$which photograph$_1$ of John$_2]\!]^{1\rightarrow\text{photo}}_{2\rightarrow\text{John}}$

step 2:
$[\![$which … he$_2$ give$]\!]^{1\rightarrow\text{photo}}_{2\rightarrow\text{John}}$

➜ The need to check the θ-role of *give* triggers "θ-motion".
➜ The copy triggers a condition C violation.

syntactic derivation (steps 1, 2 and 3):

-"Subsiding" (analogue of Richards' "Sinking"), triggered to satisfy a positive binding condition, condition A or BVA (to license a bound variable reading for a pronoun or an anaphor):

(15) "Sinking"/"Subsiding": movement where a copy α̶ of a displaced element α is created as soon as α is inserted in the syntactic derivation, the copy lowering down the tree as material is merged in-between.

Copying ➜ Sinking / Subsiding ➜ Sinking / Subsiding
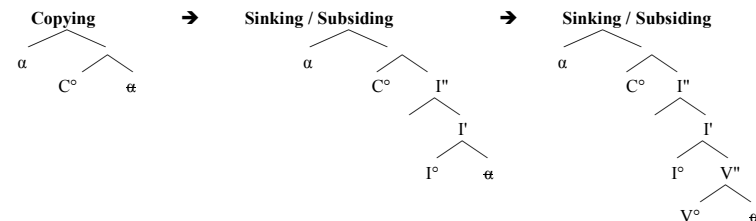
(16) *Merge new material as down in the tree as possible.*

(17) [which photograph$_1$ of him$_2$] did every man$_2$ give to Mary ?

semantic derivation (step 1):

step 1:

[which photograph$_1$ of him$_2$] $^{1\rightarrow photo}_{2\rightarrow x}$

syntactic derivation (steps 1, 2 and 3):

➔ "Subsiding" triggered to satisfy BVA (to license a bound variable reading for the pronoun)

➢ *Properties & Predictions about Reconstruction*

	"θ-motion"	"Subsiding"
Properties	triggered by an unsaturated verb	triggered to bind a variable
	does not have to be cyclic	is cyclic by definition
	subject to locality constraints	subject to the strong island constraint[5]
Predictions	**reconstruction effect in the θ-position only, with respect to any binding condition**	**reconstruction effect in intermediate sites with respect to BVA and Condition A**

IV.1. Reconstruction & Resumption

➢ θ-roles can also be checked via resumption (a resumptive pronoun fills the θ-position).

(18) **a. Pep poltred$_1$ Yann$_2$** [a lares [$_{CP}$ en deus *pro$_2$* **en$_1$** gwelet]]
every picture Yann *prt* you-say *prt*-has he it seen
"Every picture$_1$ of Yann$_2$ that you say that he$_2$ has seen"

➔ No positive binding condition to satisfy, except the need for the verb *gwelet* to check its θ-role ➔ insertion of a resumptive pronoun to check the θ-role of *gwelet* ("seen")[6] ➔ no movement in the derivation ➔ no copy ➔ condition C satisfied (covaluation possible).

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[5] Due to space considerations, we do not justify this property of "Subsiding", which appears to be confirmed by data in Lebanese Arabic (see *Aoun, Choueiri & Hornstein (2001)*).
[6] Notice that resumptive strategy and movement strategy alternate freely in certain languages (e.g. in Hebrew) but not in Breton where both strategies are complementary. This issue will not be discussed here.

b. poltred$_1$ diouti hec'h-unan$_2$ [a zo Mari$_2$ lorc'h enni gant-**añ$_1$**]
picture about herself *prt* is Mary proud with-it
"the picture$_1$ of herself$_2$ that Mary$_2$ is proud of"

semantic derivation (step 1):

step 1:

[poltred$_1$ diouti hec'h unan$_2$] $^{1\rightarrow picture}_{2\rightarrow x}$

syntactic derivation (steps 1, 2 and 3):

➔ "Subsiding" triggered to license the bound variable reading for the anaphor (condition A).
➔ merging of the DP *Mari*: the positive requirement on *hec'h unan* (condition A) is satisfied.
➔ resumption inserted in the relativized site to check the θ-role of the predicate.

c. Poltred$_1$ e$_2$ verc'h [a lares [$_{CP}$ e wel pep tad$_2$ **anezh-añ$_1$**]]
picture his daughter prt you-say prt sees every father it
"the picture$_1$ of his$_2$ daughter that you say that every father$_2$ is looking at"

➔ "Subsiding" of *poltred e verc'h* ("picture of his daughter") triggered to license a bound variable reading of the pronoun *e$_2$* ("his") ➔ Merging of the QP *pep tad$_2$* ("every father"): the structural configuration satisfies BVA ➔ Insertion of the resumptive pronoun *anezhañ* in the relativized site to check the θ-role of the verb *wel* ("sees").

IV.2. Reconstruction & Apposition

➢ In appositive structures, movement to check the θ-role of a predicate will create a copy of the lexical (relative pronoun) or null operator in the relativized site.

(19) **a. Poltred$_1$-mañ Yann$_2$**, Ø$_1$ en deus *pro$_2$* roet Ø$_1$ da Vari, a zo bet drailhet.
picture-this Yann *prt*-has he given to Mary prt is been torn
"This picture of Yann$_2$, which he$_2$ gave to Mary, has been torn."

No trigger for "Subsiding" ➔ Merging of the verb *roet* ("given") ➔ "θ-motion" triggered to check its θ-role ➔ Insertion of a copy of the null operator ➔ No condition C violation.

b. Poltred-mañ diouti hec'h-unan$_2$, he deus roet Mari$_2$ da Yann, a zo bet drailhet.
picture-this about herself *prt*-has given Mary to Yann *prt* is been torn
"This picture of herself$_2$, which Mary$_2$ gave to Yann, has been torn."

➔ "Subsiding" triggered to license a bound variable reading for the anaphor (condition A) ➔ Merging of the DP *Mari*: the structural configuration satisfies condition A.

IV.3. Reconstruction & Cyclicity

➢ The multiple intermediate sites for reconstruction follow from "Subsiding".

(20) a. Which book$_1$ that he$_2$ asked Mrs Brown$_3$ for did every student$_2$ get from her$_3$?

semantic derivation (step 1):	*syntactic derivation* (steps 2 and 3):
step 1: $\quad$ ^{1}➔ book [which book$_1$ that he$_2$ asked Mrs Brown$_3$ for]^{3} ^{2}➔ x $\quad$ ^{3}➔ Bresnan	**2:** CP $\quad\quad$ DP $\quad$ C' which book$_1$ that he$_2$ $\quad$ C° $\quad$ DP asked Mrs Brown$_3$ for $\quad$ did $\quad\quad\quad\quad$ ~~which book$_1$ that he$_2$ asked Mrs Brown$_3$ for~~
➔ "Subsiding" triggered to license a bound variable reading for the pronoun *he*. ➔ Merging of the QP *every student*: the positive requirement on *he* (BVA) is satisfied without any condition C violation between *she$_3$* and *Mrs Brown$_3$* (as *she$_3$* not entered in the derivation yet).	**3:** CP $\quad\quad$ DP $\quad$ C' which picture$_1$ that he$_2$ $\quad$ C° $\quad$ IP asked Mrs Brown$_3$ for $\quad$ did $\quad\quad\quad$ every student$_2$ $\quad$ DP $\quad\quad\quad\quad$ ~~which picture$_1$ that he$_2$ asked Mrs Brown$_3$ for~~

$\quad$ d. *Which of the books$_1$ that he$_2$ asked Mrs Brown$_3$ for did she$_3$ give every student$_2$?

➔ "Subsiding" of the displaced constituent triggered to license a bound variable reading for the pronoun *he* ➔ Merging of the QP *every student* ➔ The positive requirement on *he* (BVA) cannot be satisfied without inducing a condition C violation between *she$_3$* (already inserted in the derivation) and *Mrs Brown$_3$*.

V. A potential problem, perspectives & further arguments:

V.1. Problematic data in Italian

➢ Contrast observed and left unexplained in Bianchi (1995):

-Apposition and condition A in Italian:
(21) ? **Questi aspetti$_j$ della propria$_i$ personalità**, che Gianni$_i$ non riesce ad accettare __$_j$,
$\quad$ these $\quad$ aspects of-his own personality $\quad$ which Gianni not able to accept

$\quad$ sono emersi nel corso dell'analisi.
$\quad$ were emerged in-the course of-the analysis

$\quad$ "These aspects of his$_i$ own personality, which Gianni$_i$ was unable to accept, emerged during the psychoanalysis."

➔ Co-indexing between *propria* and *Gianni* is possible.

(22) * L'analista$_k$ ha scoperto **questi aspetti$_j$ della propria$_i$ personalità**, che Gianni$_i$
$\quad$ the psychoanalyst has discovered these aspects of-his own personality which Gianni

$\quad$ non riesce ancora ad accettare __$_j$.
$\quad$ not able still $\quad$ to accept

$\quad$ *"The psychoanalyst$_k$ discovered these aspects of his$_i$ own personality, which Gianni$_i$ is still unable to accept."

➔ Co-indexing between *propria* and *Gianni* is not an option anymore when another potential antecedent appears in the matrix clause.

A possible solution to the contrast:
➔ Highly reminiscent of what Pollard & Sag (1992) and Reinhart & Reuland (1993) called intervention effects for exempt anaphors.

V.2. Intervention effects in English:

➢ Anaphors within DP are not true anaphors, but either exempt anaphors (Pollard & Sag (1992) or Reinhart & Reuland (1993)) or intensifiers (Bergeton (to appear)):

(23) John$_1$ likes jokes about himself$_1$/him$_1$ $\quad\quad$ *Reinhart & Reuland (1993)*

➔ Non-complementarity distribution between the pronoun and the anaphor[7] ➔ *himself* is not a true anaphor[8].

➢ Anaphors within DP are subject to intervention effects (P&S (1992), R&R (1993) and Büring (to appear)):

(24) a. John$_1$ wonders who$_2$ saw this picture of himself$_2$.
$\quad$ b. *John$_1$ wonders who$_2$ saw this picture of himself$_1$.

➔ Co-indexing between *John* and *himself* is not blocked by condition A, but by intervention effects on exempt anaphors (or intensifiers) ➔ intervention effect of *who* over *John* as *who* is a closer antecedent for the exempt anaphor than *John* is.

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[7] If conditions A and B apply within the same local domain, how is it possible to satisfy both these conditions? We could argue (adapting Bergeton (to appear)) that *x-self* forms are intensifiers linked to a variable (a pronoun or Ø, a null reflexive).

(i) a. John$_1$ likes jokes about [him$_1$] himself. $\quad$ ➔ not subject to condition A
$\quad$ b. John$_1$ loves Ø$_1$ himself. $\quad\quad\quad\quad\quad$ ➔ subject to condition A

But in this case, we would have to assume that the local domain in English is not the minimal clause (Bergeton (to appear)), but rather the syntactic co-argument domain.

[8] We can no longer assume that condition A is a trigger for "Subsiding" when the anaphor is embedded within a DP. Licensing BVA would now be the trigger for "Subsiding".

➔ The generalization that exempt anaphors show intervention effects will clearly support a top-down approach.

V.3. Intervention effects in Welsh

➢ Resumption in Welsh also exhibits unexpected patterns of reconstruction with resumption:

-Resumption and condition A in Welsh[9]*:*

(25) Fe'm hysbyswyd am **[y clecs$_k$ amdani ei hun$_{?i/*j}$]$_k$** [y   cred Mair$_i$
     Prt-me was-reported the gossips about herself   that believes Mary

       fod Nadia$_j$ wedi **eu$_k$** clywed yn y cyfarfod]
        be Nadia *Perf Cl*   hear   at the party

      "They reported to me the gossips about herself$_{?i/*j}$ that Mary$_i$ thinks that Nadia$_j$
      heard at the party."

➔ The exempt anaphor *ei hun* can only be co-indexed with *Mair*, but not with *Nadia*. This pattern can be analyzed as an intervention effect of *Mair* over *Nadia*

➔ BUT ONLY a top-down derivation will entail that *Mair* is the closest antecedent for the anaphor; a bottom-up account would incorrectly predict *Nadia* to be the closest antecedent[10].

Conclusion

To account for Reconstruction, we propose the following:

➢ Syntactic derivation and semantic derivation proceed in parallel.
      -top-down syntactic derivation
      -top-down semantic procedure

➢ Structural Binding Conditions: positive requirements and filters

➢ *Two kinds of movement:*
      -"θ-motion" triggered by an unsaturated verb
      -"Subsiding" triggered only to satisfy a positive binding condition of the grammar.

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[9] Thanks to Alain Rouveret for the data.
[10] The same reasoning applies to the contrast with appositives in Italian (see (21) and (22)).

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