Explorations of Voice, Identity and the Self[*]

Byron Ahn (byron-[æt]-ucla-[dat]-edu)
UCLA Department of Linguistics
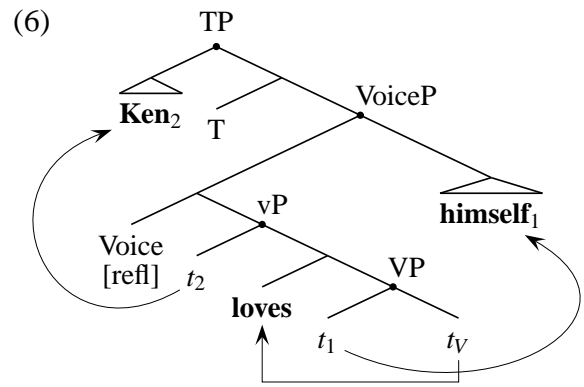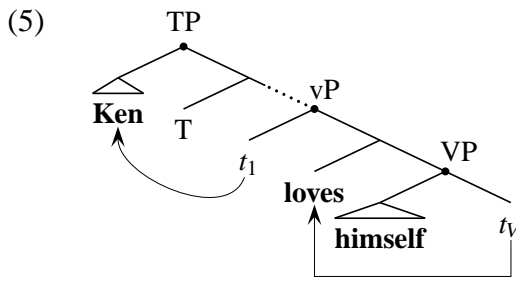
Parallel Domains, May 6, 2011

0   Roadmap

I will present some **novel data** that motivate a **new theory of reflexives** (in English), and show how this new theory can **derive when strict and sloppy readings are available** under ellipsis

- <u>**Hypothesis**</u>: English has **two, syntactically-distinct reflexive anaphors**:
    - one is **subject-oriented** and is predicated upon a **reflexive Voice^0** (clausal reflexive, CR)
    - the other is an **elsewhere case** (non-CR)

        (1) a. Marie kept accidentally *ínjuring* herself.
             b. Marie kept accidentally injuring John and *<u>hersélf</u>*.

- The **distribution of strict readings** supports this reflexive Voice^0 hypothesis
    - reflexive arguments <u>can</u> yield strict readings under ellipsis, but only sometimes
    - reflexive/active Voice-mismatch (=strict reading) is disallowed in all cases where an active/passive Voice-mismatch is disallowed

        (2) a. Henry$_j$ *<u>defended</u>* himself$_j$ {because/?*and} Anne$_k$ *didn't* [~~defend him$_j$~~].
             b. Liz was $\emptyset_{\text{PASS}}$ rewarded by *<u>Peter</u>*, {because/?*and} *<u>Jack</u>* *didn't* $\emptyset_{\text{ACT}}$ [~~reward Liz~~].

- Slightly **different sizes of VP-ellipsis** derive Strict and Sloppy readings
    - VP-ellipsis size needs to be flexible anyway

        (3) a. *<u>Tracy</u>* should have been punished every time *<u>Jenna</u>* should have been [~~punished~~].
             b. *<u>Tracy</u>* should have been punished every time *<u>Jenna</u>* should have [~~been punished~~].

    - successfully predicts that VP-ellipsis cannot take place in a reflexive clause with an active antecedent

1   Reflexives

- Existing analyses of (English-like) reflexive clauses are **rather varied** (Chomsky 1981, 1986, Pollard and Sag 1992, Reinhart and Reuland 1993, Hornstein 2001, *inter alia*)
    - But, most would to **share an S-structure representation** of (4), one like (5)

        (4) Ken loves himself.

---

(5)

```
            TP
          /    \
     Ken      \
      |    T    ⋮ vP
      |        /   \
      |    t₁     \
      |        loves  VP
      |              /  \
      └─ himself    tᵥ
```

(6)

```
              TP
            /    \
      Ken₂      \
       |    T    VoiceP
       |        /      \
       |    Voice      \
       |    [refl] t₂  vP    himself₁
       |            /   \
       |        loves   VP
       |              /    \
       |            t₁     tᵥ
```
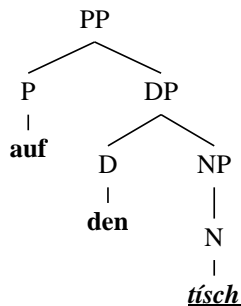
- However, the structure must be more like (6) (Ahn 2011, In Progress)

    - reflexive anaphors **originate in the relevant theta position**
    - they **move in the narrow syntax**, licensing reflexivity (reflexive-marking the predicate)
    - this predicts/derives a whole host of **prosodic facts**
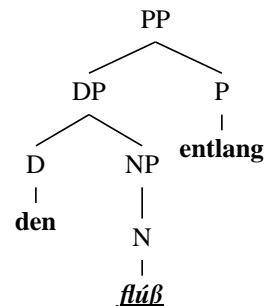
2 Clausal Reflexives and Voice

2.1 Nuclear Pitch Accents

- Nuclear Pitch Accents (NPAs; a.k.a. Nuclear Stress) track the most embedded constituent of the structure,[1] as Cinque (1993) argues with data such as (7)–(8):

(7) auf [den *tísch*]
     on the   table

```
        PP
       /   \
      P     DP
      |    /   \
     auf  D     NP
          |      |
         den     N
                 |
               tísch
```

(8) [den *flúß*] entlang
     the river along

```
        PP
       /   \
      DP    P
     /  \   |
    D   NP entlang
    |    |
   den   N
         |
        flúß
```

- The CR does not bear the NPA (9b), unlike other objects like (9c):

(9)   A: What happened last night?
    a.   B: Emma was talking to herself *quíetly*.   (NPA on the low adverb)
    b.   B: Emma was *tálking* to herself.   (No NPA on the reflexive)
    c.   B: Emma was talking to *Jéan*.   (NPA on the object)

    - But this **cannot** be simply because of anything to the effect of "anaphoric elements avoid pitch accents" (as Bresnan 1971, Kahnemuyipour 2009, a.o. might advocate), because...

---

[1]Within a relevant domain. See (Stowell, *forthcoming*) for evidence from adverbials that this domain is roughly equal to Cinque (1999)'s VolitionalP.

- Reflexives in the same apparent position **do** bear the NPA, if...
  - ...the reflexive is **in an island** (10b), or
  - ...the reflexive is **non-subject-oriented** (11b).

(10)		A: What happened last night?	
	a.	B: Emma was talking to Jean and herself *quíetly*.	(NPA on the low adverb)
	b.	B: Emma was talking to Jean and *hersélf*.	(NPA on the reflexive)
	c.	B: Emma was talking to herself and *Jéan*.	(NPA on the object)
(11)		A: What happened last night?	
	a.	B: Emma showed Scott himself *snéakily*.	(NPA on the low adverb)
	b.	B: Emma showed Scott *himsélf*.	(NPA on the reflexive)
	c.	B: Emma showed Scott *Jéan*.	(NPA on the object)

> The inability of a reflexive to bear NPA depends on: (i) being subject-oriented
> and (ii) being able to, in principle, move

2.2 Realizing External Argument Focus on a Reflexive

- Any theory of Question-Answer Congruence (e.g. Halliday 1967, Rooth 1992, Selkirk 1996, Schwarzschild 1999, a.o.) predicts that the answer to a wh-question bears the semantic and prosodic focus:

(12)		A: Who was talking to Emma?
	a.	B: *Jéan* was talking to Emma.
	b.	B: *Émma* was talking to Emma.

- When the CR is used, the anaphor must bear focus in response to an external-argument question (9b):

(13)		A: Who was talking to Emma?
	a.	B: Emma was talking to *hersélf*.
	b.	#B: *Émma* was talking to herself.

- Non-CRs do **not** behave this way, e.g. when inside an island (14a) or when non-subject-oriented (15a):

(14)		A: Who was talking to Scott and Emma?
	a.	#B: Emma was talking to Scott and *hersélf*.
	b.	B: *Émma* was talking to Scott and Emma.
(15)		A: Who did Angie introduce __ to Ken?
	a.	#B: Angie introduced Ken to *himsélf*.
	b.	B: Angie introduced *Kén* to Ken.

- For an analysis of how and why this focus placement is predicted under this kind of theory, see Ahn (2011)

> The ability of a reflexive to bear focus to answer an external argument question depends on:
> (i) being subject-oriented, and (ii) being able to, in principle, move

2.3 Analysis: Twin Reflexives

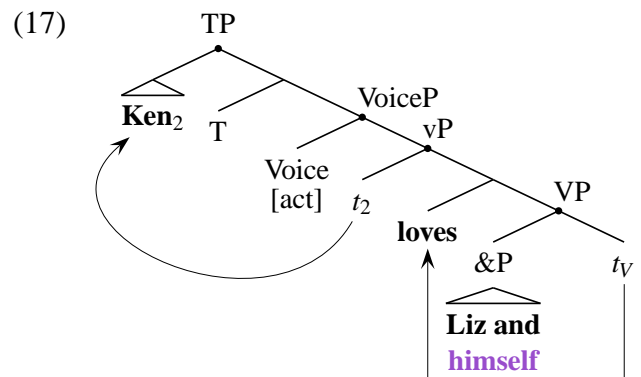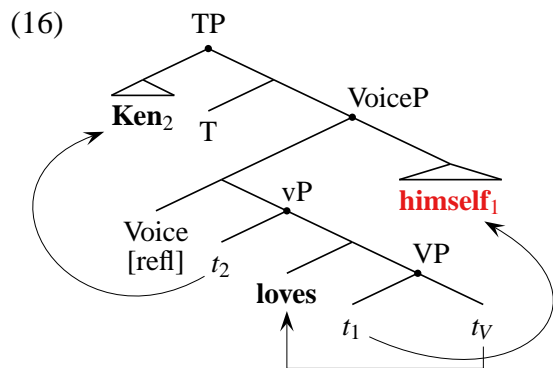- Twin Reflexives
  - English has **two** reflexive anaphors, which are **segmentally homophonous**
    - ‣ Clausal Reflexives (CRs) are **subject-oriented** and exhibit curious **prosodic properties** (16)
    - ‣ If the reflexive has a **non-subject antecedent** or is **in an island**, a non-CR is used (17)
    - ‣ This makes English **minimally different from other languages**, in which the two reflexive forms share the same constraints but have different forms (consider Italian *si* and *se stesso*; Burzio 1986, Sportiche 2010)
  - CRs involve a **reflexive VoiceP**
    - ‣ $Voice^0$ merges with the theta-domain; it is the **pivot for the surface argument structure**[2] (cf. $Voice^0$ as defined in Kratzer 1996, Ahn and Sailor To appear)
      - ▪ the **theta domain is fixed** for any clause (active/passive/reflexive/etc.)
      - ▪ **$Voice^0$ is a set of instructions** which (partially) derives surface constituency
    - ‣ This reflexive $Voice^0$ bears an EPP-feature for an anaphor, to license the reflexivity

(16), (17) tree diagrams

- Movement to a reflexive $Voice^0$ derives:
  - the CR's **subject-orientation**
    - ‣ the closest binder will always be the TP subject
  - the CR's **inability to be generated in islands**
    - ‣ they need to be able to move
  - CRs are **impossible in passive clauses** (Ahn 2011; Burzio 1986, Sportiche 2010 for Romance)
    - ‣ because reflexive and passive $Voice^0$s are in complementary distribution

---

English has two syntactically distinct reflexives, one of which is derived by a reflexive $Voice^0$

---

[2]Throughout this handout, I do not follow an antisymmetric framework (Kayne 1994) for presentational reasons. As for what is being asserted here, nothing crucial seems to hinge on this, though ultimately it seems an antisymmetric account will capture certain facts better.

3 Voice and Identity

- Given this account of clausal reflexivity, we make some strong predictions about interpretive possibilities in ellipsis

3.1 Identity Background Check

- Any theory of ellipsis operates on eliding certain material by finding an appropriately[3] *identical antecedent* (e.g. Merchant 2001, and references therein)
    - There is evidence that this identity is partially computed...
        - ...semantically (e.g. Fiengo and May 1994, Merchant 2001)
        - ...syntactically (e.g. Chung et al. 1995, Merchant 2007, Chung 2011), **and**
        - ...pragmatically (e.g. Kehler 2002, Hardt and Romero 2004)
- Merchant (2007): the **Voice^{0}s must be identical** when Voice^0 is within the ellipsis site
    - Sluicing (18a) and Gapping (18b) **elide Voice^0** and **Voice-mismatch** is impossible
    - On the other hand, VP-Ellipsis **allows** active/passive **Voice-mismatch**
    - **conclusion**: VP-ellipsis does not elide Voice^0
- Kehler (2002): **identical grammatical voices** are required when the ellipsis clause is parallel to, and coordinated with, its antecedent clause (Resemblance)
    - under a Resemblance relation (18c), **voice-mismatch is impossible**
    - under other Coherence relations (18d), **voice-mismatch is allowed**
- these constraints **predict the patterns of (un)acceptability** below

    (18) **Matched Voices** / **Mismatched Voices**
    - a. Lea should be hugged today, but **by who(m)** [~~should she be hugged~~]?
      *Lea should be hugged today, but **who** [~~should hug her~~]?
    - b. Lea should be hugged today by Tim, and **Chris** [~~should be hugged~~] **by Jane**.
      *Lea should be hugged today by Tim, and **Jane** [~~should hug~~] **Chris**.
    - c. Lea should be hugged today by Tim, and **she won't be** [~~hugged~~].
      *Lea should be hugged today by Tim, and ***he won't** [~~hug her~~].
    - d. Lea should be hugged today by Tim, even though **she won't be** [~~hugged~~].
      Lea should be hugged today by Tim, even though **he won't** [~~hug her~~].

Voice^0-mismatch between the antecedent and ellipsis clauses cannot occur when:
(i) Voice^0 is elided (e.g. in Sluicing or Gapping), or (ii) the clauses are in a Resemblance relation

---

3.2 (Some) Strict readings as Voice Mismatch

- **Reflexive arguments can yield strict readings** under ellipsis (contra, e.g., Williams 1977, Partee and Bach 1981, Bouchard 1984, Lebeaux 1985, Kitagawa 1991)
    - ...but only **sometimes** (e.g. Fox 1993, Fiengo and May 1994, Hestvik 1995, Kehler 2002)

---

[3]The antecedent for Sluicing, Gapping, and VP-ellipsis must be linguistic, but at the same time, some anaphoric processes (deep anaphora) do not require a linguistic antecedent (Hankamer and Sag 1976). I only concern myself with processes that require linguistic antecedents here.

- a strict reading with CRs is available **in the same environments that Voice mismatch is possible**

  (19) **Strict**/**Sloppy**, reflexive Voice antecedent (CR)
    a. _Lea_$_j$ [will hug herself$_j$ today]. And _who else_$_k$ [~~will hug~~ ~~themselves_k~~ today]?
        *_Lea_$_j$ [will hug herself$_j$ today]. And _who else_$_k$ [~~will hug her_j~~ today]?
    b. _Lea_$_j$ [will hug herself$_j$] _today_, and _Jane_$_k$ [~~will hug~~ ~~herself_k~~] _tomorrow_.
        *_Lea_$_j$ [will hug herself$_j$] _today_, and _Jane_$_k$ [~~will hug her_j~~] _tomorrow_.
    c. _Lea_$_j$ will [hug herself$_j$ today], and _Jane_$_k$ won't [~~hug~~ ~~herself_k~~ ~~today~~].
        *?_Lea_$_j$ will [hug herself$_j$ today], and _Jane_$_k$ won't [~~hug her_j~~ ~~today~~].
    d. _Lea_$_j$ will [hug herself$_j$ today], even though _Jane_$_k$ won't [~~hug~~ ~~herself_k~~ today].
        Lea$_j$ will [hug herself$_j$ today], even though _Jane_$_k$ won't [~~hug her_j~~ today].

  – (19a,b) disallow strict reading, because sluicing and gapping elide an active Voice[0]
    ‣ but the antecedent has a reflexive Voice[0] (consistent with Merchant)
  – (19c) disallows a strict reading, because there is a Resemblance relationship
    ‣ but the voices mismatch (consistent with Kehler)
  – this is **entirely parallel to active/passive mismatch** (un)grammaticality in (18)

- strict and sloppy readings are **both available with non-CRs** in the antecedent

  (20) **Strict**/**Sloppy**, active Voice antecedent (non-CR)
    a. [Lea will tell _Tim_$_j$ about himself$_j$]. And _who else_$_k$ [~~will Lea tell about~~ ~~themselves_k~~/~~him_j~~]?
    b. [Lea will tell _Tim_$_j$ about himself$_j$] _today_. And _Cody_$_k$ [~~Lea will tell about~~ ~~himself_k~~/~~him_j~~]
        tomorrow.
    c. _Lea_ will [tell _Tim_$_j$ about himself$_j$], and _Amber_ will [~~tell about~~ ~~himself_k~~/~~him_j~~] _Cody_$_k$.
    d. _Lea_ will [tell _Tim_$_j$ about himself$_j$], because _Amber_ will [~~tell about~~ ~~himself_k~~/~~him_j~~] _Cody_$_k$.

  (21) **Strict**/**Sloppy**, active Voice antecedent (non-CR)
    a. _Lea_$_j$ [will hug people like herself$_j$]. And _who else_$_k$ [~~will hug people like~~ ~~themselves_k~~/~~her_j~~]?
    b. _Lea_$_j$ [will hug people like herself$_j$] _today_, and _Jane_$_k$ [~~will hug people like~~ ~~herself_k~~/~~her_j~~]
        tomorrow.
    c. _Lea_$_j$ will [hug people like herself$_j$], and _Jane_$_k$ won't [~~hug people like~~ ~~herself_k~~/~~her_j~~].
    d. _Lea_$_j$ will [hug people like herself$_j$], even though _Jane_$_k$ won't [~~hug people like~~ ~~herself_k~~/~~her_j~~].

  – strict readings are possible in cases like (20)–(21), with non-CRs, **inasmuch as vehicle change is grammatical (Fiengo and May 1994)** [4]
    ‣ **vehicle change** allows for the following: "in a reconstruction, a nominal can take any syntactic form so long as its indexical structure (type and value) is unchanged" (F&M 1994:218)
    ‣ e.g. "himself" in the antecedent may be reconstructed as "him" in the ellipsis site; and "his" may reconstruct as "their"

> Strict readings of CRs pattern like active/passive Voice[0]-mismatch
> with regard to Sluicing/Gapping/VP-Ellipsis, as well as Coherence relations
>
> Strict readings of non-CRs are much freer
> are available in the ways that vehicle change is possible

[4]There seems to be speaker-variation as to when vehicle change can apply.

4 A Syntactic Solution

4.1 Size of Ellipsis Sites

Ellipsis sites can expand – for the same ellipsis operation – under identity[5]

(22)   a.   Their friends have been $\emptyset_{\text{Pass}}$ bullied and they have [~~been $\emptyset_{\text{Pass}}$ bullied~~] too.   (http://goo.gl/LsmK7)

       b.   Their friends have been $\emptyset_{\text{Pass}}$ bullied and they have been $\emptyset_{\text{Pass}}$ [~~bullied~~] too.

The structure for these different ellipsis sites above is notated by the boxes in (23b)

(23)   a.

       b.
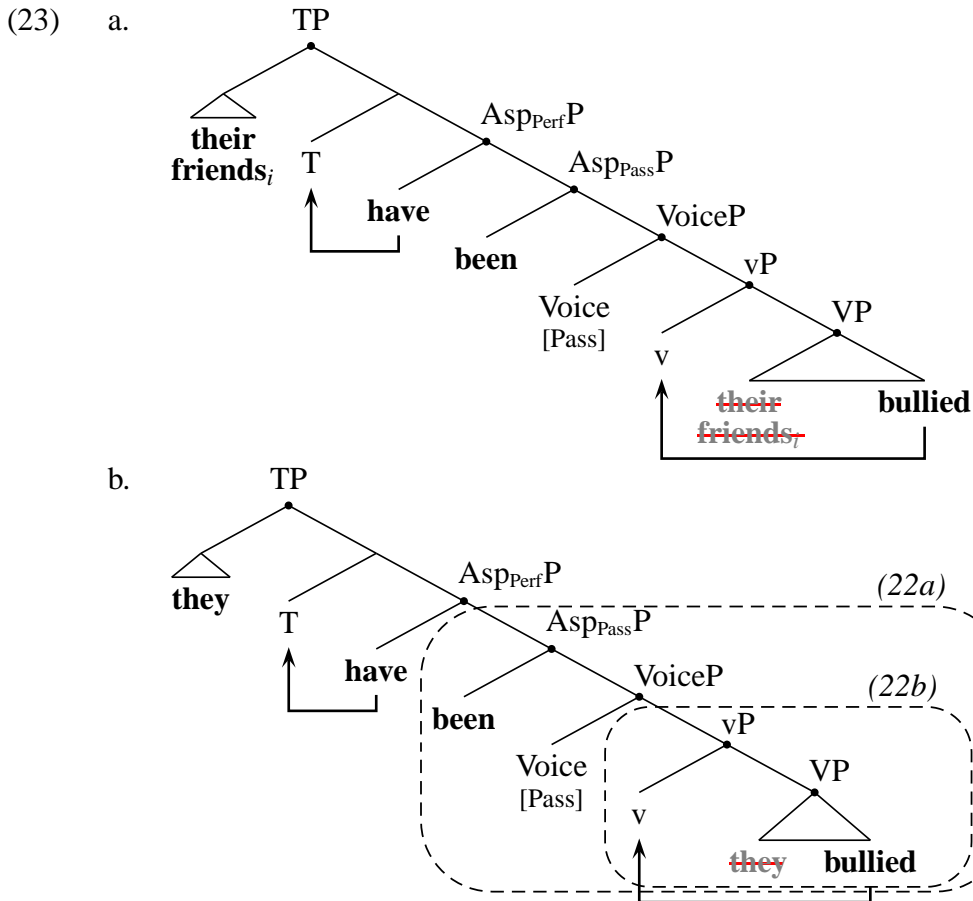
- Merchant (2007) predicts (22b) as the VP-ellipsis site
  - This is what allows Voice-mismatch – Voice^0 isn't actually elided
- But he doesn't discuss what happens in Voice-match contexts
  - as (22a) exhibits, when identity holds, you can expand the VP-ellipsis domain
- but you cannot elide more, in mismatch cases – compare (24a) and (24b)

(24)   a.   *She had been $\emptyset_{\text{ACT}}$ bullying their friends, because she had [~~been $\emptyset_{\text{PASS}}$ bullied~~] too.

       b.   She had been $\emptyset_{\text{ACT}}$ bullying their friends, because she had been $\emptyset_{\text{PASS}}$ [~~bullied~~] too.

> Ellipsis-sites seem to be able to grow, to allow (22a)
> but only when this doesn't create problems for identity (24a)

---

[5]Here the example is with auxiliaries; similar data can be found with adverbials.
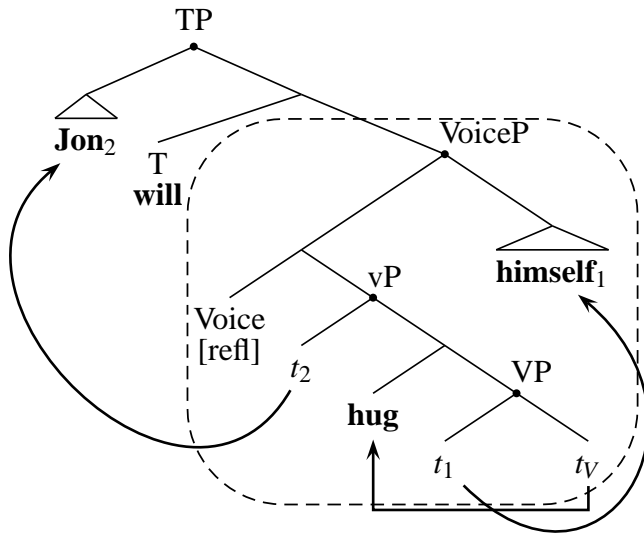
4.2 Deriving Strict and Sloppy

- Exploiting this, **sloppy readings are the reflex of eliding more** than strict readings
    - which necessarily elide less structure (to avoid Voice mismatch in the ellipsis domain)

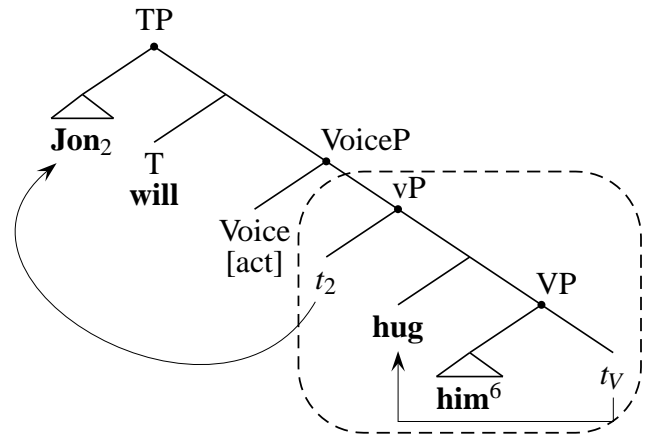(25) Ken will hug himself. Then Jon will.

a.
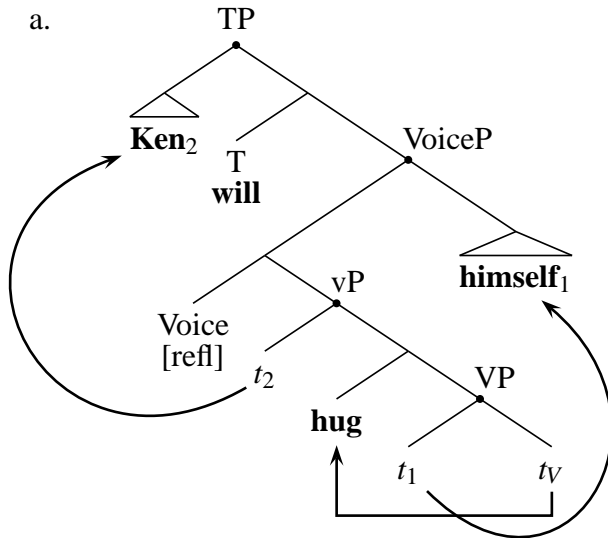
b. Sloppy reading; Larger VPE

c. Strict reading; Smaller VPE

- sloppy reading must be **larger ellipsis so that the reflexive won't survive** ellipsis
- strict reading **must not include Voice^0** in the ellipsis site
    - ▸ vehicle change allows for "hug him" in (25c) to have an antecedent as "hug himself"

Sloppy reading must elide at least VoiceP, strict reading must not elide Voice^0

---

[6]Assuming that weak pronouns move, it must be that they move to a position below Voice since the complement of Voice^0 is what's elided (it is a mismatch case). Under an analysis like Cardinaletti and Starke (1999), movement of this type is intertwined with discourse-anaphoric properties of weak pronouns (and this pronoun **must** have an anaphoric dependency, in strict reading). It is not clear that this will help to derive any of the relevant facts here, but should perhaps be kept in mind.

4.3 Ruling out Active-Reflexive Voice-mismatch

- So, VP-ellipsis in an active clause can be licensed by a reflexive antecedent

  (26)   As for Bill, <u>*he*</u> will [$\emptyset_{\text{REFL}}$ [humiliate t_x] himself$_x$] after <u>*Sue*</u> does [$\emptyset_{\text{ACT}}$ [~~humiliate him~~]].

- But the opposite is impossible

  (27)   a.   *As for Bill, <u>*Sue*</u> will [$\emptyset_{\text{ACT}}$ [humiliate him]] before <u>*he*</u> does [$\emptyset_{\text{REFL}}$ [~~$_{\text{VP}}$ humiliate t_x~~] himself$_x$].
        b.   *As for Bill, <u>*Sue*</u> will [$\emptyset_{\text{ACT}}$ [humiliate him]] before <u>*he*</u> does [~~$\emptyset_{\text{REFL}}$~~ [$_{\text{VP}}$ ~~humiliate t_x~~] ~~himself$_x$~~].

  – (27a) is ruled out because the reflexive would inappropriately survive ellipsis[7]
  – (27b) is ruled out because the Voice^0, which lacks an identical antecedent, is being elided

- We are then left to explain why (28) appears good

  (28)   As for Bill, <u>*Sue*</u> will humiliate him before <u>*he*</u> does ▲.

- Though (28) is grammatical, it isn't the case that the ellipsis site includes "himself"

  – evidence for this comes from the unelided form, where a reflexive is infelicitous:[8]

  (29)   a.   #As for Bill$_j$, <u>*Sue*</u> will humiliate him$_j$ before <u>*he*</u>$_j$ humiliates himself$_j$.
        b.   As for Bill$_j$, <u>*Sue*</u> will humiliate him$_j$ before <u>*he*</u>$_j$ humiliates him$_j$.

  – additionally focusing the reflexive would make (29a) felicitous
    ‣ but such focus would prevent "himself" from eliding (Merchant 2001)

- Therefore, we never reconstruct a "himself" via vehicle change or any such operation (contra Fiengo and May 1994)

  – doing so would be impossible for the syntax to deal with

> Active clauses cannot antecede reflexive clauses in ellipsis for purely mechanical reasons

4.4 Further Support: Strict/Sloppy Readings in Finnish

- Finnish also has two reflexivization strategies:

  – a verbal affix *-UtU-* (its exact pronunciation depends on vowel harmony)
  – a reflexive pronoun, which is of the form *itse*-N.POSS

  (30)   a.   Jussi puolusti   Anna
            Jussi defend.PAST.3SG Anna
            'Jussi defended Anna'
        b.   Jussi puolusti   itse -ään
            Jussi defend.PAST.3SG self -3.GEN
        c.   Jussi puolusta -utu   -i
            Jussi defend   -REFL -PAST
            'Jussi defended himself.'

- As noted by (Sells et al. 1987:178, fn.9), the *-UtU-* and *itse*-N.POSS reflexives behave differently with regard to availability of strict readings[9]

---

[7]The string in (27a) is possible, but only as a case of pseudogapping. The latter remnant of pseudogapping must be focused, presumably because it has undergone movement to a focus position. Since *himself* is not focused in (27a) (no focus movement has occurred), it remains ungrammatical.

[8](29b) is an apparent Principle B violation, though the focus on the antecedent seems to help overcome this issue.

[9]Special thanks to Elsi Kaiser, for these Finnish judgments.

- Under ellipsis, the DP *itse*-N.POSS can freely have a **sloppy** or **strict** reading, like English non-CRs:

  (31) Jussi   puolusti   itse -ään   paremmin kuin Pekka
        Jussi.NOM defend.PAST.3SG self -3SG.GEN better   than Pekka.NOM
        John$_j$ defends himself$_j$ better than Peter$_k$ does [~~defend~~ ~~himself$_k$~~/~~him$_j$~~].

    – strict reading available
    – because this contains a pronoun, vehicle change can take place

- But, if the antecedent contains *-UtU-, there* **cannot** be a **strict** reading, like English CRs:

  (32) Jussi   puolusta -utu -i   paremmin kuin Pekka
        Jussi.NOM defend   -REFL -PAST better   than Pekka.NOM
        John$_j$ defends himself$_j$ better than Peter$_k$ does [~~defend~~ ~~himself$_k$~~/~~*him$_j$~~].

    – perhaps *-UtU-* is the reflexive Voice head
      ‣ this should be tested further
    – if so, no Voice-mismatch (= strict reading) is possible, since it is elided in (32)

Finnish overtly shows when reflexive Voice^0 is present; strict isn't possible when reflexive Voice elides

---

5   Conclusion

- There are two types of reflexives:
    – **clausal reflexives**: subject-oriented in active clauses
    – **non-clausal reflexives**: elsewhere case
- Clausal reflexives move to a reflexive VoiceP, deriving:
    – prosodic facts
    – island effects
    – subject-orientation
    – missing clausal reflexives in passives
- Moreover, reflexive Voice^0 derives some strict reading in ellipsis
    – strict readings track **independently motivated constraints on voice-mismatch** in ellipsis
    – whenever **reflexive Voice^0 is elided, a sloppy reading** necessarily arises
- Vehicle change is **constrained by the syntax** and what it can generate

10

6   Further Questions

- Why reflexive Voice^0 at all? Why don't you always get non-clausal reflexives?
  - "Do the extra movement as much as the syntax lets you"
    - ▸ See also: weak/strong pronoun alternation (Cardinaletti and Starke 1999), object-shift-dependent specificity (Adger 1994, Rackowski and Richards 2005), possessor raising in Nez Perce (Deal 2011), etc.
  - Existing work (e.g. Safir 1996) suggests something similar for, e.g., French *se* and *lui-même*.
- How do Finnish reflexive markers line up with the other, non-strict/sloppy-related facts for CRs and non-CRs presented here?
  - Swahili *ji-* and *mw-enyewe*? Romance *se/se/si* and *lui-même*/*sí mismo*/*se stesso*? etc.
- How does this theory apply to the reflexive anaphor in other domains?
  - Can both CRs and non-CRs incorporate as *self-*?
  - Can both CRs and non-CRs be argument in non-verbal domains?
- What is the semantic contribution of *himself*, and what is constant across all of its instantiations?
  - e.g. clausal reflexives, non-clausal reflexives, inherent reflexives, emphatic reflexives, etc.

References

Adger, David. 1994. Functional heads and interpretation. Doctoral Dissertation, University of Edinburgh.

Ahn, Byron. 2011. External argument focus and clausal reflexivity. In Posters of the 29th West Coast Conference on Formal Linguistics, Coyote Papers: Working Papers in Linguistics.

Ahn, Byron. In Progress. Giving reflexivity a voice: Twin reflexives in English. Doctoral Dissertation, UCLA.

Ahn, Byron, and Craig Sailor. To appear. The emerging middle class. In Proceedings from the 46th Annual Meeting of the Chicago Linguistic Society.

Bouchard, Denis. 1984. On the content of empty categories. Foris.

Bresnan, Joan. 1971. Sentence stress and syntactic transformations. Language 47:257–281.

Burzio, Luigi. 1986. Italian syntax: A government-binding approach. Dordrecht: Reidel.

Cardinaletti, Anna, and Michal Starke. 1999. The typology of structural deficiency: A case study of the three classes of pronouns. In Clitics in the languages of Europe, ed. Henk Van Riemsdijk. Mouton De Gruyter.

Chomsky, Noam. 1981. Lectures on government and binding. Walter de Gruyter.

Chomsky, Noam. 1986. Barriers. Linguistic Inquiry Monograph. MIT Press.

Chung, Sandra. 2011. Chamorro evidence for syntactic identity in sluicing. Presented at the AFLA 18.

Chung, Sandra, William A. Ladusaw, and James McCloskey. 1995. Sluicing and logical form. Natural Language Semantics 3:239–282.

Cinque, Guglielmo. 1993. A null theory of phrase and compound stress. Linguistic Inquiry 24:239–297.

Cinque, Guglielmo. 1999. Adverbs and functional heads: A cross-linguistic perspective. Oxford University Press.

Deal, Amy Rose. 2011. A-thematic possessor raising. Presented at the 29th West Coast Conference on Formal Linguistics.

Fiengo, Robert, and Robert May. 1994. Indices and identity. The MIT Press.

Fox, Danny. 1993. Chain and binding – a modification of Reinhart and Reuland's 'Reflexivity'. MIT.

Halliday, M.A.K. 1967. Notes on transitivity and theme in English: Part 2. Journal of Linguistics 3:199–244.

Hankamer, Jorge, and Ivan Sag. 1976. Deep and surface anaphora. Linguistic Inquiry 7:391–426.

Hardt, Daniel, and Maribel Romero. 2004. Ellipsis and the structure of discourse. Journal of Semantics 21:375–414.

Hestvik, Arild. 1995. Reflexives and ellipsis. Natural Language Semantics 3:211–237.

Hornstein, Norbert. 2001. Move! a minimalist theory of construal. Blackwell Publishing.

Kahnemuyipour, Arsalan. 2009. The syntax of sentential stress. Oxford University Press.

Kayne, Richard. 1994. The antisymmetry of syntax. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.

Kehler, Andrew. 2002. Coherence, reference, and the theory of grammar. Center for the Study of Language and Information.

Kitagawa, Yoshihisa. 1991. Copying identity. Natural Language & Linguistic Theory 9:497–536.

Kratzer, Angelika. 1996. Severing the external argument from its verb. In Phrase structure and the lexicon, volume 33 of Studies in Natural Language and Linguistic Theory, 109–137. Dordrecht: Kluwer.

Lebeaux, David. 1985. Locality and anaphoric binding. The Linguistic Review 4:343—-364.

Merchant, Jason. 2001. The syntax of silence: Sluicing, islands, and the theory of ellipsis. Oxford University Press.

Merchant, Jason. 2007. Voice and ellipsis. University of Chicago.

Partee, Barabara, and Emmon Bach. 1981. Quantification, pronouns and VP anaphora. In Formal methods in the study of language, ed. Jeroen Groenendijk, Theo Janssen, and Martin Stokhof, 445–481. Mathematisch Centrum, Amsterdam.

Pollard, Carl, and Ivan Sag. 1992. Anaphors in English and the scope of binding theory. Linguistic Inquiry 23:261–303.

Rackowski, Andrea, and Norvin Richards. 2005. Phase edge and extraction: A Tagalog case study. Linguistic Inquiry 36:565–599.

Reinhart, Tanya, and Eric Reuland. 1993. Reflexivity. Linguistic Inquiry 24:657–720.

Rooth, Mats. 1992. A theory of focus interpretation. Natural Language Semantics 1:75–116.

Safir, Ken. 1996. Semantic atoms of anaphora. Natural Language and Linguistic Theory 14:545–589.

Schwarzschild, Roger. 1999. Givenness, AvoidF and other constraints on the placement of accent. Natural Language Semantics 7:141–177.

Selkirk, Elisabeth. 1996. Sentence prosody: Intonation, stress, and phrasing. In The handbook of phonological theory, ed. John A. Goldsmith, 550–569.

Sells, Peter, Annie Zaenen, and Draga Zec. 1987. Reflexivization variation: Relations between syntax, semantics and lexical structure. In Working papers in grammatical theory and discourse structure. CSLI.

Sportiche, Dominique. 2010. French reflexive se: Binding and Merge locality. LingBuzz/001273.

Stowell, Tim. Forthcoming. Parenthetical adverbials, *ms*. UCLA.

Williams, Edwin. 1977. Discourse and logical form. Linguistic Inquiry 8:101–139.