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BT Exempt Anaphors: an Argument from Idiom Interpretation*

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1. Introduction

Chomsky 1995, Ch. 3 (a.k.a. Chomsky 1993), proposes an account of the contrast in (1) as part of an argument that Binding Theory applies at LF. In (a) the anaphor can be bound by either *John* or *Bill*, while in (b), on the idiomatic ([ID]) reading, *Bill* is the only possible antecedent:

(1) a. John_i wondered [which picture of $\text{himself}_{j/i}$] Bill_j saw t

b. John_i wondered [which picture of $\text{himself}_{j/*i}$] Bill_j took t [ID]

The ingredients of Chomsky's account include: (a) copy and delete "movement", (b) a process called $\text{Cliticization}_{LF}$ (for Condition A), and (c) the assumption that the idiom 'take picture' must form a unit for interpretation at LF.

As illustration of this account, consider the unpacked version of (1a):

(2) a. John_i wondered [which picture of himself_i] Bill_j saw

b. John_i wondered [which picture of himself_j] Bill_j saw

Beginning with a structure in which the *wh*-phrase is complement of *saw*, copy movement produces an intermediate structure like the following ('TR' stands for "trace"):

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(3) John$_i$ wondered [which picture of himself] Bill$_j$ saw [$_{TR}$ which picture of himself]

The process Cliticization$_{LF}$ cliticizes one of the *-self* words to a position local to a subject; the *-self* word in either *wh*-phrase copy can move:

(4) a. John$_i$ self$_i$-wondered [which picture of t$_{self}$] Bill$_j$ saw [$_{TR}$ which picture of himself]

b. John$_i$ wondered [which picture of himself] Bill$_j$ self$_j$-saw [$_{TR}$ which picture of t$_{self}$]

After LF deletion of the extra copies and translation to a more semantic representation, the two readings in (2) are derived:

(5) a. John$_i$ self$_i$-wondered [which x, x a picture of t$_{self}$] Bill$_j$ saw x [2a]

b. John$_i$ wondered [which x] Bill$_j$ self$_j$-saw [$_{TR}$ x picture of t$_{self}$] [2b]

Chomsky's account for binding in the idiomatic example (1b) begins in the same way. Copy movement produces the following intermediate structure:

(6) John$_i$ wondered [which picture of himself] Bill$_j$ took [$_{TR}$ which picture of himself]

Cliticization$_{LF}$, as above, applies to either *-self* word:

(7) a. John$_i$ self$_i$-wondered [which picture of t$_{self}$] Bill$_j$ took [$_{TR}$ which picture of himself]

b. John$_i$ wondered [which picture of himself] Bill$_j$ self$_j$-took [$_{TR}$ which picture of t$_{self}$]

LF deletion of extra copies and translation to a more semantic representation produces the following:

(8) a. John$_i$ self$_i$-wondered [which x, x picture of t$_{self}$] Bill$_j$ took x [*ID]

b. John$_i$ wondered [which x] Bill$_j$ self$_j$-took [$_{TR}$ x picture of t$_{self}$] [ID]

In (8a) 'take picture' is not a unit: thus the idiomatic interpretation blocked; and *John* binds *himself*. In (8b) 'take picture' is a unit: the idiomatic interpretation is available; and *Bill* binds *himself*. The correlation between interpretation and binding is thus accounted for.

The implications of Chomsky's proposal are, (a) Binding Theory applies at LF, (b) copy and delete "movement" is exploited, and (c) a special

rule, Cliticization$_{LF}$, is required for Condition A.

In this paper I will argue for the following conclusions: (I) Chomsky's account does not go through because no reasonable LF unit is available for idiom interpretation (Section 2); (II) Binding Theory must recognize 'exempt' anaphors (Pollard & Sag 1994); these are anaphors with no potential co-argument antecedent and are constrained by non-syntactic, pragmatic factors alone. This will immediately account for the binding in (1a) and will obviate any need for the ad hoc rule of Cliticization$_{LF}$ (Section 3); (III) The idiom expression is a predicate: X take a picture of Y. On the idiom interpretation, an anaphor in position of Y has a potential co-argument antecedent (X) and will be constrained by Binding Theory Condition A, which will account for the binding in (1b) (Section 4). This account, given in Head-Driven Phrase Structure Grammar (HPSG) terms, weakens Chomsky's claim that BT applies at LF. And further, no need for copy and delete movement is illustrated by this problem.

2 An LF Unit for Idiom Interpretation

The account sketched in (1) through (8) rests on the claim that at LF the idiom 'take picture' can be reassembled as some reasonable unit for interpretation. Exactly what sort of unit would that be?

2.1 V′ Unit

A first pass might suggest that the relevant LF unit might be V′:

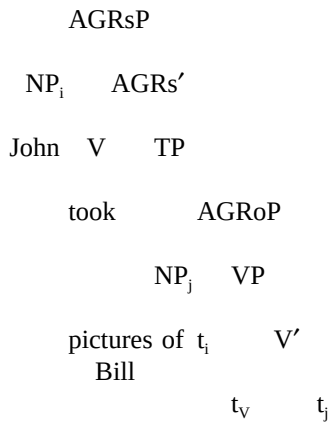
(9) V′ = *photograph*

V NP

take picture

This structure, however, conflicts with two Minimalist Program (MP) claims: (a) DP's are in Spec,AGR at LF, and (b) V is in AGRs/T at LF, as illustrated by the following:

(10)



2.2 AGRs′ Unit

A second possibility might be that AGRs′ is the relevant unit for idiom interpretation since it contains all the relevant parts ('take picture') and is consistent with the MP claims above. This makes the prediction that other AGRs′-internal material might enter into idiom interpretation. Two unattested possibilities come to mind. We might expect there to be "raised" object idioms. The current MP view (see proposals in Lasnik & Saito 1991, Koizumi 1993, Runner 1995b) is that ECM is really raising to Spec,AGRo (covertly or overtly, depending on the analysis):

(11) a. John [$_{AGRoP}$ [$_{VP}$ expects [$_{AGRsP}$ Bill to arrive soon]]] →

b. John [$_{AGRs'}$ expects [$_{AGRoP}$ Bill$_i$ [$_{VP}$ t$_V$ [$_{AGRsP}$ t$_i$ to arrive soon]]] [LF]

Secondly, we might expect secondary predicate idioms, based on structures like the following:

(12) a. John$_i$ took pictures of Bill nude$_i$.

b. ...and [take pictures of Bill nude$_i$] John$_i$ did [e]

Neither type of idiom is attested as far as I know, lending doubt to the claim that AGRs′ is the relevant idiom unit.

2.3 V′ Revisited

Suppose that under some circumstances, V and O can be in VP at LF, contrary to the MP claims illustrated in (10). V′ would be the relevant reassembled LF unit for idiom interpretation, as in (9). This predicts that idiom interpretation will correlate with VP-internal object behavior.

Diesing (1992) argues that NP's internal to VP at LF have certain properties, none of which does the NP in the idiom share. Counterexamples

to the claim that the idiomatic object is in VP at LF are given below. LF VP-internal NP's cannot be definite, (13a); cannot be headed by strong quantifiers, (13b,c); cannot be headed by non-NPI *any*, (13d); and cannot receive a "proportional" reading (if weak), (13e) (see Milsark 1977):

(13) a. John took the picture of Mary; Bill took the picture of Sam.

b. John took every picture you see in the display.

c. John takes most pictures at night.

d. John won't take just <u>any</u> picture.

e. John took many pictures inside but some of them outside.

Diesing argues that NP's with the properties above undergo QR at LF; other considerations point to the same conclusion: the object in this idiom can undergo QR. It can get wide scope with respect to other sentential material, (14a); it can license antecedent contained deletions, (14b,c) (see May 1985 among others):

(14) a. John takes two pictures every day. [2 > ∀, okay]

b. John took every picture that Bill did [e]

c. John took many of the pictures that Bill did [e]

None of these characteristics is expected if the object <u>must</u> be in VP at LF.[1] We can conclude, then, that treating the relevant LF unit as AGRs′ leads to incorrect expectations for idiom types, and treating it as V′ leads to incorrect expectations for object behavior. Apparently no reasonable syntactic unit can be motivated for idiom interpretation at LF.

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[1] Chomsky 1995, Chapter 4, suggests that LF movement is formal feature movement, which leaves behind "semantic" material. One might argue that the relevant semantic features of 'take picture' are left behind after LF QR, thus allowing for idiom interpretation of V′. There are two reasons to doubt the claim that QR is formal feature movement only. First, with respect to ACD examples like (i), if QR (or raising to Spec,AGRo, see Hornstein 1995, Runner 1995a) takes only quantificational features (and not the whole NP) then infinite regress will not be avoided:

(i) John took every picture that Bill did [e]

Second, binding interacts with QR. The quantified phrase containing the anaphor in examples like (ii) cannot get scope over the other quantified phrase containing the anaphor's antecedent, suggesting that if QR does apply (allowing universal quantifier wide scope), the anaphor is taken with it, destroying the binding relationship at LF; thus, whatever operation saves ACD takes the whole NP not just the relevant formal features:

(ii) Some boy bought every picture of himself

Chomsky's Chapter 4 theory, then, does no better at accounting for Diesing's QR data.

3. Towards an Account: 'Exempt' Anaphors

The ingredients for the analysis I will propose include the following: (a) treat 'take picture' as a predicate ("unit") at the level of argument structure (Section 4 below); and (b) recognize that only some anaphors are constrained by Binding Theory (BT), and others are 'exempt' and constrained by non-syntactic, pragmatic factors. I will turn now to (b).

This section draws heavily on Pollard & Sag's (1992,1994) work on anaphors. They argue that there are two types of reflexives/reciprocals.[2] There are true anaphors and 'exempt' anaphors. Anaphors are reflexives or reciprocals which have a co-argument potential antecedent. As such, they are constrained by BT and must be bound by an appropriate antecedent. Examples include "picture NP's" containing a "subject": [John's pictures of himself/*herself]. 'Exempt' Anaphors are reflexives or reciprocals which have no co-argument potential antecedent. They are exempt from BT and are constrained by non-syntactic, pragmatic considerations (not BT): point of view, perspective, focus, etc. Examples include "picture NP's" containing no "subject": [pictures of himself/herself].[3]

The following examples, from a variety of sources, show that reflexives and reciprocals with no co-argument potential antecedent can be bound in various ways not predicted by any version of BT. These are all exempt anaphors whose distribution is constrained by non-syntactic factors:

(15) a. Mary still hadn't decided about birthday presents for the twins$_i$. Tiny gilt-framed portraits of [each other]$_i$ would be nice, but there was also that life-size stuffed giraffe. [Pollard & Sag 1994]

b. John$_i$'s campaign requires that pictures of himself$_i$ be placed all over town. [Lebeaux 1984]

c. The agreement that [Iran and Iraq]$_i$ reached guaranteed [each other's]$_i$ trading rights in the disputed waters until the year 2010. [Pollard & Sag 1994]

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[2] Reinhart & Reuland (1993) argue for a similar dichotomy; see Section 5.

[3] See Pollard & Sag (1994, chapter 6) for discussion of the nature of the pragmatic constraints on anaphors.

d. Bill remembered that Tom_i said that there was a picture of $himself_i$ in the post office. [Pollard & Sag 1994]

e. $John_i$ was going to get even with Mary. That picture of $himself_i$ in the paper would really annoy her, as would the other stunts he had planned. [Pollard & Sag 1994]

f. The picture of $himself_i$ in *Newsweek* made $John_i$'s day. [Pollard & Sag 1994]

g. There were five tourists in the room apart from myself. [Reinhart & Reuland 1993]

h. Physicists like yourself are a godsend. [Ross 1970]

i. "She gave both Brenda and myself a dirty look." [Zribi-Hertz 1989]

j. "It angered him that she...tried to attract a man like himself." [Zribi-Hertz 1989]

k. This letter was addressed only to myself. [Reinhart & Reuland 1993]

l. "Bismarck's impulsiveness has, as so often, rebounded against himself." [Zribi-Hertz 1989]

Compare, e.g. (a), (e) and (f) with the following, where a co-argument has been inserted; with a co-argument, these are true anaphors and BT dictates the antecedent of the anaphor:

a′. Mary still hadn't decided about birthday presents for the $twins_i$. *Her tiny gilt-framed portraits of $[each\ other]_i$ would be nice, but there was also that life-size stuffed giraffe.

e′. $John_i$ was going to get even with Mary. Sam_j's picture of $himself_{j/*i}$ in the paper would really annoy her, as would the other stunts he had planned.

f′. Sam_j's picture of $himself_{j/*i}$ in *Newsweek* made $John_i$'s day.

Having established the need for 'exempt' anaphors we can return to the first part of original problem; recall (1a), repeated here:

(1) a. $John_i$ wondered [which picture of $himself_{i/j}$] $Bill_j$ saw t

We know now that reflexives in certain "picture NP's" can be bound by various referents in the context. The account of this example falls out: *himself* in (1a) is an exempt anaphor since there is no co-argument in the NP; since *himself* is exempt from BT, it is constrained by pragmatic factors only; the binding in (1a) is no longer surprising.

4. Idiom as Predicate

Let's return to the second part of original problem: a reflexive in a fronted 'picture NP' that is part of an idiom can only be bound by the downstairs subject; recall (1b), repeated here:

(1) b. $John_i$ wondered [which picture of $himself_{j/*i}$] $Bill_j$ took t [ID]

The account I would like to work out is the following: 'take picture' is a predicate with two arguments (X and Y): "X takes a picture of Y"; at the level of argument structure, X and Y are co-arguments. If Y is a reflexive, it will be an anaphor constrained by BT: it has a co-argument potential antecedent (X). The type of BT that will produce the right result is sensitive to argument structure: I will couch the analysis in HPSG terms, which will provide such a BT.[4]

4.1 Head-Driven Phrase Structure Grammar

The version of HPSG that I will assume (called HPSG3) is outlined in Pollard & Sag 1994, Ch. 9, Manning 1995, Manning & Sag 1995, and others. In this framework, the lexical entry of a head contains features which determine the syntactic structure and behavior of the head. "Valence" features (e.g. SUBJ, COMPS, = subcategorization information), in concert with immediate dominance schemata (= phrase structure schemata), determine

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[4] Some independent motivation for treating 'take picture' as a predicate comes from extraction facts: in (i) and (ii), the (a) examples extract the PP complement of the verbal predicate 'take picture'; the result contrasts with the (b) examples, where the PP complement of a noun 'picture' is extracted.

(i) a. ?Of whom did you wonder whether Bill took a picture at school.
b. ?*Of whom did you wonder whether Bill took a picture to school.

(ii) a. ?It was of John that I took a picture at school
b. ?*It was of John that I took a picture to school

Extraction of PP complement seems sensitive to character of selecting head, as either "verbal" or "nominal".

phrase structure. Argument Structure (ARG-S) is the representation on which, among other things, constraints on binding are determined. Content (CONT) features represent information pertaining to semantic roles.

In a sentence like *The linguist kissed the psychologist*, among the features of the representation of *kiss* are the following:

(16) *kiss*

SUBJ	< NP_1 >
COMPS	< NP_2 >
ARG-S	< NP_1, NP_2 >
CONT	kisser 1
	kissed 2

(16) encodes, among other things, that: the structure containing *kiss* has a syntactic subject position (born by NP_1) and a syntactic object position (born by NP_2); *kiss* has two arguments in its ARG-S, coindexed with the NP's identified by the valence features; and the semantic roles born by the two arguments are specified in the CONT feature, and are coindexed with those arguments.[5]

4.2 Binding Theory in HPSG3

BT is determined on the level of ARG-S. The definitions employ the notion of "obliqueness":

OBLIQUENESS: Y is less oblique than Z if Y precedes Z in an ARG-S list
LOCAL O-COMMAND: Y locally o-commands Z if Y is less oblique than Z
(LOCALLY) O-BOUND: (locally) o-commanded by a coindexed XP
O-COMMAND: Y o-commands Z if Y locally o-commands X dominating Z

HPSG BINDING CONDITIONS
A. A locally o-commanded reflexive must be locally o-bound
B. A pronoun must not be locally o-bound
C. A nonpronoun must not be o-bound

For illustration consider the following bracketed sentence:

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[5] Some of the information listed here, e.g. how the ARG-S and the valence features are related, is predictable generally, and is listed here for illustration. Also, justification for dissociating valence features from argument structure can be found in Manning 1995, Manning & Sag 1995: while the canonical relationship between valence features and ARG-S is as in the representation for English *kiss*, languages can choose non-canonical mappings, accounting for an apparent mismatch between "deep" argument positions and surface grammatical relations; this is seen most clearly in ergative languages.

(17) [$_{NP1}$The man [$_{PP}$in [$_{NP2}$the park]]] loves [$_{NP3}$the book [$_{PP}$about [$_{NP4}$syntax]]]

To determine the relevant binding relations we need to examine the ARG-S list: *loves* [ARG-S <NP_1, NP_3>] (ordered list: NP_1 less oblique than NP_3). In this sentence the following relations hold among the NPs: NP_1 locally o-commands NP_3; NP_1 o-commands NP_4 (it locally o-commands NP_3 dominating NP_4); neither NP_2, NP_3, nor NP_4 (locally) o-command NP_1 or each other. In other words, the subject locally o-commands the object, and o-commands anything embedded within the object. No other o-command (local or not) obtains.

4.3 Our Anaphors

Returning to our anaphors: HPSG BT (A) stipulates that it applies only to locally o-commanded anaphors; this corresponds to our anaphors with a potential co-argument antecedent, discussed above, repeated here:

(15) f′. Sam_j's picture of $himself_{j/*i}$ in *Newsweek* made $John_i$'s day.

Picture will have the following ARG-S: *picture* [ARG-S < NP_1, NP_2 >]. Then, by the definitions above, NP_2 (*himself*) is a locally o-commanded anaphor (by NP_1) and thus must abide by BT(A). NP_2 must have a locally o-commanding antecedent, which means it must be o-bound by NP_1 (*Sam*). This correctly predicts the binding found in (15f′).

Exempt anaphors, those anaphors that are not identified by the BT, will be bound in other ways, as one of Pollard & Sag's examples from (15), above, reminds us:

(15) f. The picture of $himself_i$ in *Newsweek* made $John_i$'s day.

In this case *picture* will have the following ARG-S: *picture* [ARG-S < NP_1 >]. Here *picture* has just one argument. NP_1 (*himself*) is not locally o-commanded and thus is exempt from BT(A). Its binding will be determined pragmatically.

Now let's look at the idiom examples:

(18) $John_i$ took a picture of $himself_i$

In this case the predicate whose ARG-S we are interested in is 'take picture': *take picture* [ARG-S < NP_1, NP_2 >]. Here NP_2 (*himself*) is a locally o-commanded anaphor (by NP_1) and thus must abide by BT(A); NP_2 must have a locally o-commanding antecedent, which means it must be o-bound

by NP_1 (*John*). This correctly predicts the binding found in (18).[6]

To return to our original examples, repeated here, we need one more ingredient: an analysis of *wh*-extraction.

(1) a. $John_i$ wondered [which picture of $himself_{i/j}$] $Bill_j$ saw

b. $John_i$ wondered [which picture of $himself_{j/*i}$] $Bill_j$ took [ID]

There are two views of *wh*-extraction in HPSG: (1) a lexical rule affects the valence features only (removing the COMPS feature); or, (2) a trace/gap is inserted in the tree in place of the extracted object (see Pollard & Sag 1994). Neither view affects ARG-S, which means that extraction will not affect binding, since binding is determined on ARG-S. The prediction, then, is that "reconstruction" effects should always be found if BT is implicated.

Consider (1a): *himself* is an exempt anaphor so BT is not implicated; binding is determined by non-syntactic factors (as in (15f)). Now consider (1b): the ARG-S of the idiom is *take picture* [ARG-S < NP_1, NP_2 >]. *Himself* is not exempt from BT: it is locally o-commanded by *Bill*. BT requires *himself* to be o-bound by *Bill*.

The result is that the contrast in (1) follows straightforwardly from independently motivated claims about anaphors and binding if 'take picture' is treated as a predicate with an argument structure.

4.4. "Reconstruction" for B and C

Some independent motivation for this view of the interaction of extraction and binding comes from observations by Chomsky 1995, p. 208, in discussing the following examples:

(19) a. $John_i$ wondered [which picture of $himself_{i/j}$] $Bill_j$ saw t

b. $John_i$ wondered [which picture of Tom_j] $he_{i/*j}$ liked t

c. $John_i$ wondered [which picture of $him_{i/*j}$] $Bill_j$ saw t

The generalization Chomsky assumes is the following: For Condition A reconstruction is optional; and for Condition B/C, it is preferred/required. Chomsky's view of Condition A is discussed above: $Cliticization_{LF}$ combined with copy and delete movement is meant to account for it; what about Conditions B and C? The answer he provides adds a "preference principle" to BT to force these results (p. 209):

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[6] The intuition guiding this approach takes advantage of HPSG3's dissociation of valence features and ARG-S: technical details aside, the anaphor appears on the ARG-S list but is embedded within the object NP (*pictures of himself*) on the COMPS list. See Riehemann (1996) for a complete analysis of idioms.

> To account for the judgments, it is only necessary to add a preference principle for reconstruction: Do it when you can. In [(b,c)] the preference principle yields reconstruction, hence a binding theory violation (Conditions C and B). In [(a)] we begin with two options...If we choose [to select] the matrix subject as antecedent, then the preference principle is inapplicable because only the nonpreferred case converges.

On the approach taken here the generalization falls out straightforwardly. Extraction does not affect ARG-S; if BT is implicated, reconstruction will always be apparent, hence the "preference" for reconstruction in the case of B/C, and A when the anaphor is not exempt; if BT is not implicated, as in the case of exempt anaphors such as those in (a), apparent optionality of reconstruction effects will appear. This approach needs neither $\text{Cliticization}_{\text{LF}}$ nor a "preference principle" to predict the observed effects. This is important since neither is independently motivated.

5. Reinhart & Reuland 1993

Another promising approach to the data in (1) comes from Reinhart & Reuland (1993). Their view of BT is similar to that of Pollard & Sag (1992,1994) in that the result is that a subset of anaphors are not constrained syntactically:

(20) a. A predicate is *reflexive* iff two of its arguments are coindexed.
b. A predicate (formed of P) is *reflexive-marked* iff either P is lexically reflexive or one of P's arguments is a SELF anaphor.

(21) *Condition A*: a reflexive-marked (syntactic) predicate is reflexive.

(22) *Condition B*: a reflexive (semantic) predicate is reflexive-marked.

Consider the following example:

(23) *Lucie thought that Max saw [herself talk to herself]

Herself is a syntactic argument of *see* (*see* assigns Case to *herself*); by (b) *see* is reflexive-marked since one of its arguments is a SELF anaphor; by Condition A *see* is reflexive; and by (a) *Max* and *herself* must be coindexed. They are not coindexed, and the sentence is ruled out

The examples I would like to focus on are the following:

(24) a. Max heard [himself criticize Lucie]

b. Max expects [himself to pass the exam]

Condition A is met for the matrix predicates since *Max* and *himself* are coindexed. *Himself* is also a syntactic argument of the embedded predicate (it is assigned a theta role there), and by (b) the lower predicates are reflexive-marked and by Condition A are reflexive. *Himself* should also be

coindexed with the lower object by (a). This causes a problem for Reinhart & Reuland's BT. Their escape route involves noticing that similar examples in Dutch involve the raising of the embedded verb into the matrix clause:

(25) ...dat [$_{IP}$ Max$_1$ [$_{IP}$ zichzelf$_1$ Lucie t_i] [$_V$ hoorde critiseren$_i$]]

...that [Max [himself Lucie t] [heard criticize]] [Dutch (p. 707)]

After V-raising, *zichzelf* is no longer an argument of the raised verb (they assume that V′, not V, assigns theta role to subject), thus *zichzelf* does not reflexive-mark the raised verb and Condition A is satisfied.

They propose to analyze the English examples analogously, except that the verb movement is found at LF (p. 708):

(26) a. Max [criticize$_i$-hear] [himself t_i Lucie]

b. Max [to-pass$_i$-expect] [himself t_i the exam]

Thus the same account as for Dutch is available for English, but at LF: "Since this is an operation permitted by Universal Grammar, it must be available also at LF in English." (1993, p. 708).

This account requires optional V-Raising at LF in English and optional V-Lowering at LF in Dutch. Neither operation is independently justified for either language and is only needed to save their binding account when faced with ECM/"raised object" constructions.

The HPSG account of these examples is straightforward. HPSG is not constrained by the GB stipulation that the thematic subject of an infinitival complement to a verb like *expect* not be its syntactic object. In other words, the embedded thematic subject appears on *expect*'s lexical entry, in its valence features and ARG-S list, but not its CONTENT list. This means, in GB terms, that *expect* subcategorizes for the embedded subject but does not assign it a theta role. Since the reflexive *himself* in (24) is on the ARG-S of *expect*, there is a locally o-commanding co-argument. Thus BT applies forcing the infinitival subject to be coindexed with the main clause subject. No special LF raising or lowering is required since the independently motivated account of such predicates extends straightforwardly to these cases which are problematic for Reinhart & Reuland.

6. Conclusions

Recognizing some anaphors as exempt from Binding Theory allows for a neat analysis of (1a) without requiring the ad hoc rule of Cliticization$_{LF}$ or copy and delete movement. Treating 'take picture' as a predicate with an argument structure, combined with a view of binding sensitive to argument structure, provides an explanation for the contrast in (1). This view of

binding also accounts straightforwardly for the reconstruction effects found with extraction and other binding principles, without an otherwise unmotivated "preference principle". Further, Chomsky's claim that Binding Theory applies at LF is not supported by these facts.

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