Chapter 21

Anaphoric Binding

Stefan Müller

Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin

António Branco

University of Lisbon

This chapter is an introduction into the Binding Theory assumed within HPSG. While it was inspired by work on Government & Binding in the beginning, it turned out that reference to tree structures are not necessary and that relations that are required for interpreting the reference of personal pronouns and reflexives can be established with respect to lexical properties of heads namely the argument structure list, a list containing descriptions of arguments of a head.

1 Introduction

Binding Theories deal with questions of coreference and correspondence of forms

For example, the reflexives in (1) have to refer to the referent the NP in the same clause refers to and they have to have the same gender as the NP they are coreferent with:

- (1) a. Peter_i thinks that Mary_j likes herself_{*i/j/*k}.
 - b. * Peter_i thinks that Mary_j likes himself_{*i/*j/*k}.
 - c. * Mary_i thinks that Peter_j likes herself_{*i/*j/*k}.
 - d. Mary_i thinks that Peter_j likes himself_{*i/j/*k}.

The indices show what bindings are possible and which ones are ruled out. For example, in (1a), *herself* cannot refer to *Peter*, it can refer to *Mary* and it cannot



refer to some discourse referent that is not mentioned in the sentence. Coreference of *himself* and *Mary* is ruled out in (1b) since *himself* has an incompatible gender.

Personal pronouns can not refer to an antecedent within the same clause:

- (2) a. Peter_i thinks Mary_j that likes her_{*i/*j/k}.
 - b. Peter_i thinks Mary_j that likes $\lim_{i/*j/k}$.
 - c. Mary_i thinks Peter_j that likes her_{i/*j/k}.
 - d. Mary_i thinks Peter_i that likes $\lim_{i/*i/k}$.

As the examples show, the pronouns *her* and *him* cannot be coreferent with the subject of *likes*. If a speaker wants to express coreference he or she has to use a reflexive pronoun as in (1).

Interestingly, the binding of pronouns is less restricted than the one of reflexives, but this does not mean that anything goes. For example, a pronoun cannot bind a full referential NP if the NP is embedded in a clause and the pronoun is in the matrix clause:

- (3) a. $\text{He}_{*i/*j/k}$ thinks that Mary_i likes Peter_j .
 - b. $\text{He}_{*i/*j/k}$ thinks that Peter_i likes Mary_j .

The sentences discussed so far can be assigned a structure like the one in Figure 1. Chomsky (1981; 1986) suggested accounting for the facts by referring to the hierarchical structure in Figure 1. He uses the notion of c(onstituent)-command going back to work by Reinhart's (1976). c-command is a relation that holds between nodes in a tree. According to one definition, a node Y is said to c-command another node Z, Y and Z are sisters or if a sister of Y dominates Z.¹

To take an example, the NP node of *John* c-commands all other nodes dominated by S. The V of *thinks* c-commands everything within the CP including the CP node, the C of *that* c-commands all nodes in S including also S and so on. The CP c-commands the *think*-V, and the *likes him*-VP c-commands the *Paul*-NP. Per definition, a Y binds Z just in case Y and Z are coindexed and Y c-commands Z. One precondition for being coindexed (in English) is that the person, number, and gender features of the involved items are compatible.

add page number

¹"Node A c(onstituent)-commands node B if neither A nor B dominates the other and the first branching node which dominates A dominates B." Reinhart (1976: 32)

Chomsky (1986) uses another definition that allows one to go up to the next maximal projection dominating A. As of 25/02/2020 the English and German Wikipedia pages for c-command have two conflicting definitions of c-command. The English version follows Sportiche et al. (2013), whose definition excludes c-command between sisters: "Node X c-commands node Y if a sister of X dominates Y."

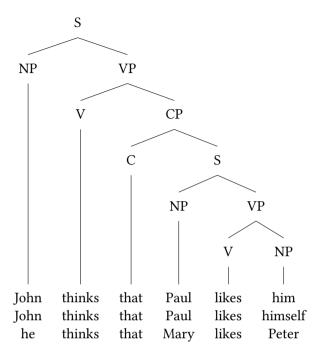


Figure 1: Tree configuration of examples for binding

Now, the goal is to find restrictions that ensure that reflexives are bound locally, personal pronouns are not bound locally and that referential expressions like proper names and full NPs do not refer to pronouns or fully referential expressions. The conditions that were developed for Binding Theory are complex. They also account for the binding of traces that are the result of moving elements by transformations. While it is elegant to subsume the filler-gap relations under a general Binding Theory, proponents of HPSG think that coreferential semantic indices and filler-gap dependencies are crucially different. The places of occurrence of gaps (if they are assumed at all) is restricted by other components of the theory. For an overview of the treatment of nonlocal dependencies in HPSG see Borsley & Crysmann (2020), Chapter 14 of this volume.

We will not go into the details of the Binding Theory in Mainstream Generative Grammar (MGG)², but we give a verbatim description of the ABC of

²We follow Culicover & Jackendoff (2005: 3) in using the term *Mainstream Generative Grammar* when referring to work in Government & Binding (Chomsky 1981) or Minimalism (Chomsky 1995).

Binding Theory for overt elements. Chomsky distinguishes between so-called R-expressions (referential expressions like proper nouns or full NPs/DPs), personal pronouns and reflexives and reciprocals. The latter two are subsumed under the term anaphor. Principle A says that an anaphor must be bound within the least maximal projection containing a subject. Principle B says that a pronoun that is governed by some element G has to be A-free in the least maximal projection M containing G and a subject. Principle C says that a referential expression Z heading its own chain has to be A-free in the domain of the head of the chain of Z.

- 2 A non-configural Binding Theory
- 3 Reconstruction
- 4 Matters of order in the ARG-ST list

Abbreviations

Acknowledgements

The research reported in this chapter was partially supported by the Research Infrastructure for the Science and Technology of Language (PORTULAN CLARIN).

References

- Borsley, Robert D. & Berthold Crysmann. 2020. Unbounded Dependencies. In Stefan Müller, Anne Abeillé, Robert D. Borsley & Jean-Pierre Koenig (eds.), *Head-Driven Phrase Structure Grammar: The handbook*, 407–459. Berlin: Language Science Press. DOI:??
- Chomsky, Noam. 1981. *Lectures on government and binding*. Dordrecht: Foris Publications.
- Chomsky, Noam. 1986. *Knowledge of language: Its nature, origin, and use* (Convergence). New York/Westport, Connecticut/London: Praeger.
- Chomsky, Noam. 1995. *The Minimalist Program* (Current Studies in Linguistics 28). Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.
- Culicover, Peter W. & Ray S. Jackendoff. 2005. *Simpler Syntax*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Reinhart, Tanya. 1976. *The syntactic domain of anaphor*. Cambridge, MA: MIT dissertation. http://dspace.mit.edu/handle/1721.1/16400.

Sportiche, Dominique, Hilda Koopman & Edward Stabler. 2013. *An introduction to syntactic analysis and theory.* Wiley-Blackwell.

Part III Other levels of description