

A Derivational Approach to Microvariation in Slavic Binding*

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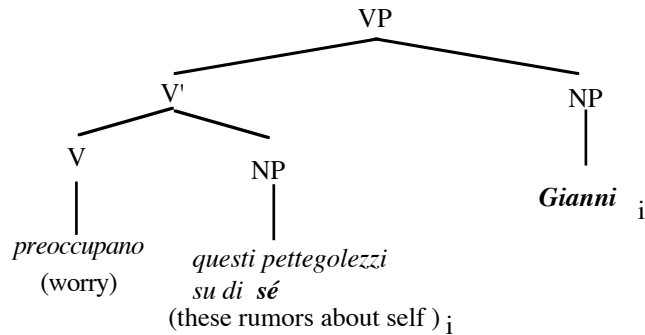
1. Derivational Binding

Derivational approaches to Principle A of the Binding Theory have figured in the syntactic literature since at least Belletti & Rizzi (1988), in part based on arguments that binding configurations exist only before A-movement in certain constructions, such as (1) and (2):

- 1) a. **Each other's** mother seems to please **the two boys**.
 b. [Pictures of **himself**] worry **John**.
- 2) a. Questi pettegolezzi su di sé preoccupano **Gianni**...
 these pieces of gossip about himself worry Gianni
 b. *Questi pettegolezzi su di sé descrivono **Gianni**...
 these pieces of gossip about himself describe Gianni

The derivational story holds that at an earlier stage of the derivation, a valid binding relation holds, as shown in (3).

- 3) Underlying structure of (2a): (Belletti & Rizzi 1988, 1991)



The assumption of derivational binding, in addition to being consistent with the attractive general program of derivational syntax advocated in

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Epstein et al (1998), also provides a straightforward explanation for the difference in behavior between raising (4a) and control (4b):

- 4) a. [Friends of **each other**_i] seemed [e to amuse e **the men**_i].
 b. *[Friends of **each other**_i] wanted [PRO to amuse **the men**_i].

Conversely, derivational binding also allows us to feed (but not bleed) binding relations in languages with certain kinds of reordering or shifting operations, as in the Japanese examples (5) and (6):

- 5) a. **Karera-ga** [**otagai-no** sensei]-o hihansita (Japanese)
 they_{NOM} [each other's teacher]_{ACC} criticized
 "They criticized each other's teachers"
 b. ***[Otagai-no** sensei]-ga **karera-o** hihansita
 [each other's teacher]_{NOM} them_{ACC} criticized
 *"Each other's teachers criticized them."
- 6) a. **[Otagai-no** sensei]-o **karera-ga** ___ hihansita (Japanese)
 [each other's teacher]_{ACC} they_{NOM} criticized
 "They criticized each other's teachers"
 b. ?**Karera-o** [**otagai-no** sensei]-ga ___ hihansita
 them_{ACC} [each other's teacher]_{NOM} criticized
 "Them, each other's teachers criticized."

If Principle A were an SS or LF phenomenon, the contrast in SOV orders (5) would be the same as the contrast in OSV orders (6). (5a) is well-formed. Raising the object to a local A-position (6a) (Miyagawa 2001 a.o) does not alter this successful binding. (6b), on the other hand, shows that the same object raising can feed a successful binding relation, absent in (5b). A similar effect is found with VP internal shifting in Russian:

- 7) a. Ivan predstavil **Petrovyx** **drug drugu** (Russian)
 Ivan introduced the Petrovs_{ACC} each other_{DAT}
 "Ivan introduced the Petrovs to each other."
 b. *Ivan predstavil **drug druga** **Petrovym**
 Ivan introduced each other_{ACC} the Petrovs_{DAT}
 c. Ivan predstavil **Petrovym** **drug druga** ___
 Ivan introduced the Petrovs_{DAT} each other_{ACC}
 d. ? Ivan predstavil **drug drugu** **Petrovyx** ___
 Ivan introduced each other_{DAT} the Petrovs_{ACC}

If Principle A were an SS or LF phenomenon, the contrast between Acc>Dat orders in (7a) and (7b) would be that same as that between Dat>Acc orders (7c) and (7d). Derivational binding in (7c) saves (7b).¹ For these reasons, it has often been argued that Principle A is an “everywhere principle”, calculated “on-line” in the course of the derivation. (8) provides 2 possible formulations.²

- 8) a. Principle A of the Binding Theory can be satisfied at any point in the derivation³ (Grewendorf & Sabel 1999, p. 13)
- b. Information on the antecedent/binder of an anaphoric element is sent to semantics at any point of the derivation. (Saito 2005, p. 16)

¹(7) assumes a base order of Acc asymmetrically c-commanding Dat, as argued for in Bailyn 1995 and elsewhere. The asymmetry shown also argues against 2 base generated orders for Acc & Dat arguments (as vs. Miyagawa 1997).

²I set aside derivational approaches to binding such as Kayne (2002) and Zwart (2002), in which the antecedent starts together with the pronoun/anaphor and then moves away from it. In such accounts “(nonaccidental) coreference of A and B, where B is a pronominal element, ensues if and only if A and B are merged together yielding a constituent.” (Zwart 2002) However, such approaches strongly predict the absence of Long Distance effects and are also incapable of capturing the Subject Condition (see below).

³LD Scrambling and English Topicalization can’t feed Principle A because of the nature of the landing site:

- i) a. ***Otagai-no** sensei]-ga [[Tanaka-ga **karera-o** (Japanese)
 ` [each other’s teacher]_{NOM} Tanaka_{NOM} them_{ACC}
 hihansita] to itta
 criticized that said

*“[Each other’s teachers] said that Tanaka criticized them.”

- b. ***Karera-o**_i [**otagai-no** sensei]-ga [[Tanaka-ga t_i
 them_{ACC} [each other’s teacher]_{NOM} Tanaka_{NOM}
 hihansita] to itta
 criticized that said

*“Them_i, [each other’s teachers] said that Tanaka criticized t_i.”

- c. ***John_i**, pictures of **himself_i** describe t_i perfectly.

Another strong piece of evidence in favor of a derivational approach to Principle A concerns the fact that anaphors that are A'-moved (and hence later undergo reconstruction), can nevertheless be successfully bound in the higher clause. This occurs both with English WH-movement (9) and Japanese Long Distance Scrambling (10), which is well-known to undergo obligatory reconstruction (Saito 1992, 2003, a.o.)

9) John_i wonders [which pictures of himself_i] Mary showed to Susan.

- 10) a. Taro_i-ga_i [_{CP} Hanako-ga_j [_{CP} **Zi**roo-ga_k **zibunzisin**-o_{*i/*j/k}
Taro_{NOM} Hanako_{NOM} Zi_{NOM}roo self_{ACC}
hihansita to] itta to] omotteiru (koto)
criticized that said that think fact
“Taro_i thinks [that Hanako_j said [that Zi_kroo criticized self_{*i/*j/k}]]”
- b. Taro_i-ga_i [_{CP} **Hanako**-ga_j [_{CP} **zibunzisin**-o_{*i/j/k} **Zi**roo-ga_k t
Taro_{NOM} Hanako_{NOM} self_{ACC} Zi_{NOM}roo
hihansita to] itta to] omotteiru (koto)
criticized that said that think fact
“Taro_i thinks [that Hanako_j said [that self_{*i/j/k} Zi_kroo criticized t]]”
- c. **Taro**-ga_i [_{CP} **zibunzisin**-o_{i/j/k} **Hanako**-ga_j [_{CP} **Zi**roo-ga_k t
Taro_{NOM} self_{ACC} Hanako_{NOM} Zi_{NOM}roo
hihansita to] itta to] omotteiru (koto)
criticized that said that think fact
“Taro_i thinks [that self_{i/j/k} Hanako_j said [that Zi_kroo criticized t]]”

If obligatory reconstruction occurs in (10) (Saito 1992, 2003), then the middle clause binding available in (10b) and (10c) and the upper clause binding available in (10c) must be established at a level prior to LF, namely in the course of the derivation. A similar effect is found with Russian Long Distance Scrambling, as shown by Antonenko (2006):

- 11) a. Ty_i xočeš, čtoby **Saša**_k našel [**svoego**_{*i/k} druga]?
You_i want that Sasha_k find_{SUBJ} self_{*i/k} friend
“Do you want that Sasha find his friend?”
- b. Ty_i [**svoego**_{i/k} druga] xočeš, čtoby **Saša**_k našel t ?
You_i self_{*i/k} friend want that Sasha_k find_{SUBJ}
“Do you want that Sasha find his/your friend?”

We can therefore conclude that there is significant evidence, from a range of languages, that a derivational version of Principle A is required. We next turn to a paradox created by this interim conclusion: a different set of binding facts seem to point to the need for an LF-only approach. The rest of this article is devoted to resolving this paradox.

2. LF Movement of Anaphors and the Binding Paradox

It is well-known that languages with monomorphemic anaphors allow “Long Distance” binding, whereby the antecedent can be found outside the local clause, thereby apparently violating the locality requirement on anaphor binding. This is shown in (12a-b) for Russian and Chinese.

- 12) a. **General** poprosil polkovnika [**PRO** narisovat' **sebj**a].
 general_i requested colonel_k PRO_k to draw self_{i/k}
 "The general_i asked the colonel_k to draw himself_{i/k}." (ambiguous)
- b. **Zhangsan** renwei **Lisi** zhidao **Wangwu** xihuan **ziji**
 Zhangsan_i think Lisi_j know Wangwu_k like self_{i/j/k}
 "Zhangsan thinks Lisi knows Wangwu likes him/himself."
 (3 ways ambiguous)

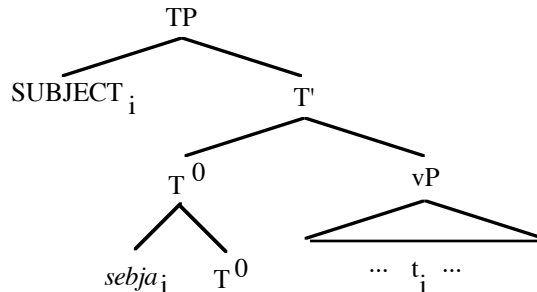
Typically, the data in (12) have been analyzed as resulting from LF movement of the anaphors in question to a high functional category as argued in Pica 1991, Cole & Sung 1994, a.o.⁴ On such accounts, the distinct readings of (12) are related to distinct LF's after LF anaphor raising. These accounts are strengthened considerably by the well-known correlation between the availability of Long Distance readings and “subject-orientation” – the requirement whereby the antecedent of an anaphor must be a subject, something that does not hold, for example, in English (13), as vs. Russian (14), or Serbo-Croatian (15):

- 13) John_i asked **Bill**_k about **himself**_{i/k}. (ambiguous)
- 14) a. **Ivan**_i sprosil Borisa_k o **sebe**_{i/*k}
 Ivan asked Boris about self
 “Ivan asked Boris about himself (Ivan)” (subject only)

⁴Progovac (1992) and (1993) argue against movement accounts of subject orientation. It is not immediately clear, however, how such accounts can capture the microvariation between Russian and Serbo-Croatian discussed in this paper. I therefore leave such approaches aside.

- b. **Jovan_i** je pitao Nenada_k o **sebi_{i/*k}**
 Jovan_{NOM} aux asked Nenad_{ACC} about self
 “Jovan asked Nenad about himself (Jovan)” (subject only)

15) Schematic view of the Subject Condition: (LF)



Of course (15) is an LF structure – no overt movement of the anaphor occurs. Before LF movement, the English structure in (13) and the Slavic structures in (14) and (15) do not differ in any relevant way. Thus derivational binding, in either of the versions presented above in (8), predicts object binding to be possible in (14-15) just as it is in English (13), indeed as soon as the object and anaphors are both present in the structure. LF movement is required to feed Long Distance readings, but crucially, the well-known correlation with object obviation holds only if Principle A is an LF principle, holding after anaphor raising to T.

16) The Binding Paradox:

- a. Principle A is an anywhere condition (examples 1-2, 4-7, 9-11)
- b. Principle A applies at LF only (examples 12, 13-14)

In what follows, I will show that we can capture the significant insights of both the derivational and LF raising accounts by using a system of overt feature movement (Move F) and by limiting derivational interpretation to elements with no remaining uninterpretable features.

3. Evidence for Configurational Binding

In Bailyn (2003, 2004a,b) I show that there is a wide range of possible binders for subject-oriented anaphors in Russian, as shown in (17-19). This is consistent with other claims that local Scrambling is A-movement (Mahajan 1990, Miyagawa 1997, Lavine & Freiden 2001)

allowing various non-Nominative binders to be available for such anaphors, but only when raised into the appropriate position.

17) a. [U **Petrovyx_i**] byl [svoj_i dom] (Russian)
 at the Petrovs was [self's house]_{NOM}
 "The Petrovs had their own house."

b. ???[Svoj_i dom] byl u Petrovyx_i
 [self's house]_{NOM} was at the Petrovs
 "The Petrovs had their own house."

18) **Menja_i** tošnit ot svoej_i raboty (Russian)
 me_{ACC} nauseates from self's work
 "I am sickened by my work."

19) a. ?Ej_i nraivilas' [svoja_i kvartira] (Russian)
 she_{DAT} liked [self's apartment]_{NOM}
 "She liked her apartment."

b. **Ivanu_i** nužen vrač_k dlja sebja_i/*k
 Ivan_{DAT} necessary doctor_{NOM} for self
 "Ivan needs a doctor for himself."

c. **Ivanu_i** xolodno v svoem_i dome
 Ivan cold in self's house
 "Ivan is cold in his (own) house."

d. **Ivanu_i** žal' sebja_i
 Ivan_{DAT} sorry self_{ACC}
 "Ivan feels sorry for himself."

(17) shows that [*u*+NP] possessives can bind, but only when raised to SpecT, as can Accusative objects of certain verbs (18), and various kinds of dative experiencers (19). That the relevant movement is A-movement is confirmed by correlation with other A-properties, (Bailyn 2004a).

In contrast, Serbo-Croatian (henceforth SC) is more restricted in the extent to which its subject-oriented anaphors can be bound by non-Nominative antecedents. SC allows no PP, Accusative or Dative binders equivalent to Russian (18-20). This is shown in (20-22).

20) *[Kod mene_i] je bila svoja_i kuća (SC)
 at me aux was [self's house]_{NOM}
 "I like my work."

- 21) ***Meni** se svidja **svoj** posao (SC)
 me_{DAT} refl like [self's work]_{NOM}
 "I like my work."
- 21) ???**Meni** je žao **svoje** sestre / ?? **sebe** (SC)
 me_{DAT} aux sorry self's sister_{GEN} / self_{GEN}
 "I feel sorry for myself."
 (≠ *me* without stress on *sebe* or a compound form)
- 22) ***Jovanu** treba doktor_k u **svojoj** kući (SC)
 Jovan_{DAT} necessary doctor_{NOM} in self's house
 "Jovan needs a doctor in his house."
 (≠ *Jovan*; *doktor* ok for some speakers)

The clear contrast between the possibilities in Russian (17-19) and SC (20-22) must be accounted for by a structural theory of binding, since the meanings in the (often cognate) constructions are nearly identical, as is the word order. In many ways, given the subject condition, it is the Russian case that is unexpected. However, given the EPP analyses of such Russian cases, an avenue is opened to account for the microvariation in structural terms, by independently observable differences in the flexibility of the EPP requirement in T.

In particular, we have seen that in Russian, various non-Nom elements can move to SpecT (= Generalized Inversion) (Bailyn 2004a). For Serbo-Croatian, on the other hand, we can hypothesize that pre-verbal non-nominatives are in A'-position, that is that SC allows little or no local A-Scrambling into SpecT. If this hypothesis is correct, we have an independent explanation for the Russian/SC microvariation that supports the configurational account of anaphor binding in both languages, and hence supports a movement to T analysis of subject-orientation.

Furthermore, there is independent evidence, from Weak Crossover, for the difference in pre-verbal subject position between Russian and preverbal non-Nominative elements. Bailyn 2004a, (see also Williams 2006) has shown that overt movement of object quantifiers across coreferent pronouns does not trigger a crossover violation. This is shown in (23-25).

- 23) a. * Ee_i sobaka ljubit každyju devočku (RUS)
 [her dog]_{NOM} loves [every girl]_{ACC}
 "Her_i dog loves every girl_i."

- b. [Každuju devočku]_k ljubiti ee sobaka t_k
 [every girl]_{i ACC} loves [her_i dog]_{NOM}
 "Every girl is loved by her dog."
- 24) a. * [Ee_i sobaka] byla na rukax u [každoj devočki]_i
 her dog_{NOM} was on arms at every girl
 "Her dog was in every girl's arms."
- b. ?U [každoj devočki]_i byla na rukax [ee_i sobaka]
 at every girl was in arms her dog_{NOM}
 "Every girl had her dog in her arms."
- 25) a. * [Ee sobaka] nužna [každoj devočke]_i
 her dog_{NOM} needs every girl_{DAT}
 "Her_i dog is needed by every girl_i."
- b. [Každoj devočke]_i nužna [ee sobaka]
 every girl_{DAT} needs her dog_{NOM}
 "Every girl_i needs her_i dog."

In each of the Russian examples (23-25), the (a) sentence is ill-formed because of covert QR (as in English equivalents). However, exactly those structures that allow binding by non-nominatives obviate weak crossover in the (b) sentences. The prediction, then, is that SC will not show the same degree of obviation. (26) shows that this appears to be the case.

- 26) a. *Njena_i mačka voli svaku devojkuj (SC)
 [her_i cat]_{NOM} loves [every girl]_{i ACC}
 "Her_i cat loves every girl_i."
- b. ???Svaku devojkuj voli njena_i mačka
 [every girl]_{k ACC} loves [her_k dog]-_{NOM}
 "Every_i girl is loved by her_i dog."

The overt moved quantifier in (26a) triggers the WCO effect just as QR does in (26a). If the contrast between (26b) and the (b) sentences in (23-25) is significant, we have strong confirmation for a configurational approach to subject-orientation and its microvariation, namely that the SpecT position is targeted by some local movements, which coupled with covert movement of anaphors accounts for their subject orientation. However, this only strengthens the conflict between the LF account of

Principle A needed for subject-orientation, and the derivational requirements we started with. In the next section, I will propose an approach to anaphor binding that allows aspects of both LF and derivational binding to be maintained.

4. Resolving the Binding Paradox

The paradox we have reached concerns the level of application of Principle A of the Binding Theory. On the one hand, anaphor binding must be derivational, or else we would have no explanation for examples such as English (1-2) and (4), Japanese (5-6) and (10) and Russian (7) and (11). In all of these cases, neither an SS application of Principle A nor an LF version would correctly capture the facts. In particular, the generally acknowledged reconstruction of A'-movement in (9-11) would not predict surface binding possibilities. Conversely, in (1-2) and (4-6), local A-movements that would be expected to bleed successful binding relations in any LF version of Principle A do not in fact do so. For all of these sentences, on standard assumptions about reconstruction, only a derivational approach succeeds.

On the other hand, a derivational approach cannot explain subject orientation of Russian and Japanese anaphors, which can never be bound by local objects, despite the fact that a perfectly good binding configuration holds at an early stage in the derivation (before LF movement), which we have seen to be an acceptable state of affairs in other instances. Nevertheless, object binding is notoriously bad with monomorphemic anaphors, thus implicating application of Principle A only after LF movement has bled the environment for object binding.

The solution to the paradox is relatively simple: the "LF" movement required with monomorphemic anaphors must be an instance of **overt feature movement** (Move F – see Roberts 1997, Rudnitskaya 2000 a.o), so that it can interact with a *derivational* version of Principle A, given just below. Let us assume, therefore, that monomorphemic anaphors carry a certain uninterpretable feature [A] (Saito 2004), that must be eliminated by being in a local relation with [T]. (Something like this is required in all LF movement accounts. Here, however, the movement is overt). The Move F version of anaphor movement is given in (27):

27) The Monomorphemic Anaphor Condition:

- a. Monomorphemic anaphors have an (independent) requirement to have their [A]-feature checked in INFL (T)
- b. Covert (LF) movement of anaphors is = *Overt movement of the [A]feature* (see also Rudnitskaya 2000)
- c. Monomorphemic anaphors become interpretable after the [A] feature requirement in (a) has been satisfied

Given (27), the derivational nature of Principle A becomes sensitive to the feature requirements of the elements involved, exactly as the data imply.⁵ In particular, monomorphemic anaphor binding can crucially not be calculated until Move F has occurred. At the same time as we have seen, Principle A remains in its essence derivational, as a wide range of potential binders can move into A-position if the language independently allows such movement, as we have seen for Russian and Japanese.

Thus Principle A applies derivationally, but only once the anaphor is available for interpretation, which in turn depends on it carrying no uninterpretable features. This approach is fully consistent with derivational approaches to Spell Out advocated by Kitahara (1997), Epstein et al (1998), Saito (2003) and others. A version of Derivational Spell Out is given in (28).

28) Derivational Spell Out (Kitahara 1997, Epstein et al 1998, Saito 2003)

- a. Linguistic expressions and their interpretations are built up derivationally. In particular, items are interpreted *as they become interpretable* in the course of the derivation.

⁵ Naturally, the question arises as the nature of the [A] movement requirement, why it can be satisfied only by T, and why it should apply only to monomorphemic anaphors. I will not take a strong stand on these issues here other than to say that the question applies to any movement account of subject orientation, regardless of level of application (Covert Movement vs. Move F). Suffice it to say that the fact that only non-agreeing (monomorphemic) anaphors are involved implicates feature sharing, in the sense of Pesetsky & Torrego 2004, with the DP (or other) subject in SpecTP, which also may explain the Long-Distance effects available with such anaphors without requiring further movement of the features involved in non-finite contexts. I leave the exact formulation of how Long Distance effects are derived to future work.

- b. An element becomes interpretable when all its uninterpretable features have been deleted.

With respect to Principle A, a derivational approach, provided in (29), can now be maintained with no loss of empirical coverage:

- 29) Derivational Principle A: Satisfied if an interpretable anaphor is bound by a c-commanding coindexed [+D] antecedent *at any time in the derivation*

As for the effect of A-movement but not A'-movement on potential antecedents, we need only assume that A-movement is triggered by a [D] feature which then enters into binding relations, whereas A'-movement has a different trigger [wh] or [OP] and therefore doesn't feed binding relations.⁶ Thus Japanese object scrambling, Russian Generalized Inversion, English passivization and raising and other instances of A-movement can feed new binding relations in the course of the derivation. In the case of English, however, where anaphors themselves carry no uninterpretable [A] feature, the system allows binding from any A-position, including the relatively low position occupied by objects. In subject orientation languages, object binding fails, because the anaphor is c-commanded by the object only at a stage when it is still uninterpretable. (30) summarizes the analysis:

30) Derivational resolution of the Binding Paradox:

- i. Monomorphemic anaphors have an (independent) requirement to have their A-feature valued in INFL (T)

⁶ Note that this approach is similar in spirit to that of Saito 2003: "Let us assume that deletion applies to the features P, O and D so that each of them is retained only at one position. The P-feature must be retained at the head of the chain. For the rest, suppose further that deletion is constrained by selection . . . , and that a feature can only appear in a position where it is selected." (Saito 2003)

However, Saito (2003) encounters various difficulties, esp. (a) the claim that scrambling is not feature-driven, and (b) the assumption that all scrambling is to a uniform IP-adjunction position, which requires maintaining stipulations about when this position is an A-position (Japanese Scrambling) and when it is an A'-position (English Topicalization). See Bailyn (2004b) for details of how such complications can be avoided. Also, Saito's approach cannot solve the Binding Paradox (ie, the Subject Condition must be stipulated).

- ii. Covert (LF) movement of anaphors = *Overt movement of [A]*
- iii. Until [A] is valued in T, (monomorphemic) anaphors cannot be interpreted
- iv. Elements are interpreted (enter into binding relations) as soon as they are interpretable
- v. Principle A is derivational, and yet the Subject Condition is intact

The system proposed here makes a strong prediction, namely that examples like (1), repeated as (31), should not be available in languages like Russian or Serbo-Croatian, because the early binding allowed by derivational spell-out cannot apply until Move F has occurred in those languages, removing the anaphor from the binding domain of the experiencer object. (32-33) shows that this prediction holds for both Russian and Serbo-Croatian.⁷

31) [Pictures of **himself**] worry **John**.

32) a. ??[Sluxi o sebe_i] volnujut **Ivana_i** (Russian)
 rumors about self worry Ivan_{ACC}
 “The rumors about himself worry Ivan”

b. *[**Svoi** podčinennye]_{NOM} razdražajut **Ivana**.
 [self’s subordinates] \ irritate Ivan
 “His subordinates irritate John.”

33) a. ??[Glasine o sebi] brinu **Jovanu** (Serbo-Croatian)
 rumors about self worry Jovan_{ACC}
 “The rumors about himself worry Jovan”

b. *[**Svoji** radnici] brinu **Jovana**.
 self’s workers worry Jovan
 “His workers worry Jovan.”=

⁷Presumably, the somewhat acceptable nature of the (a) sentences relates to a possible logophoric use of the reflexive pronoun that is unavailable with the possessive form in the (b) sentences, for which the effect is particularly strong. However the contrast between English (31) and even the better (a) sentences in Russian and Serbo-Croatian shows that the prediction holds. I leave the issue of the difference between the pronominal anaphor **sebja** / **sebe** and the possessive **svoj** for future research.

5. Conclusion

We have seen the need for a derivational version of Principle A. At the same time, the Subject Condition in languages like Russian and Serbo-Croatian presents a problem in that some kind of movement must occur before binding is calculated, so that the observed object obviation is achieved. This Binding Paradox can be resolved with a Move F approach to anaphor movement, along with a particular version of derivational Spell-Out. Microvariation between Russian and Serbo-Croatian reduces to the independently motivated possibility of movement into SpecT of more non-Nominative elements in Russian than in Serbo-Croatian.

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