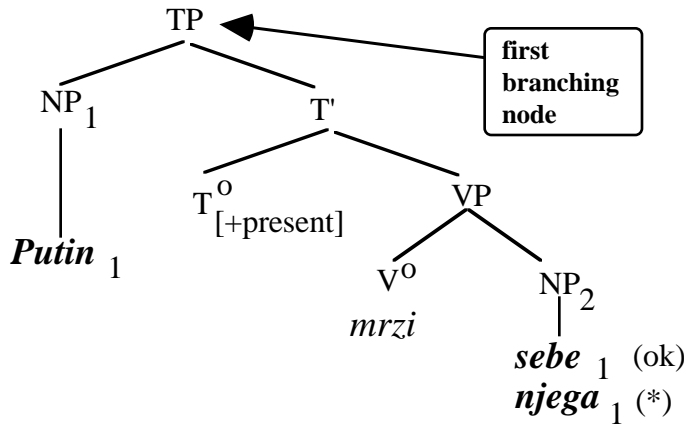




10) The structure of (4a,5a):

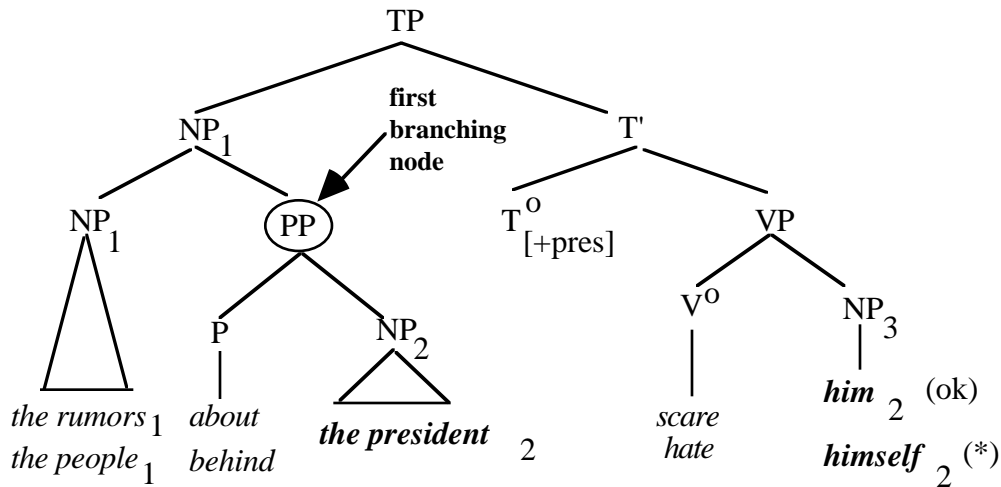


- 11) a. The rumors about the president<sub>i</sub> scare him<sub>i</sub> (\*himself<sub>i</sub>).  
 b. The people behind the president<sub>i</sub> hate him<sub>i</sub> (\*himself<sub>i</sub>). (cf. *themselves*<sub>i</sub>)
- 12) a. Glasine o predsedniku<sub>i</sub> ga<sub>i</sub> straše. (straše njega) (OK)  
 b. \*Glasine o predsedniku<sub>i</sub> straše sebe<sub>i</sub>. (unless the rumors can be scared! Then it's like 11d)  
 c. Ljudi<sub>k</sub> iz-za predsednika<sub>i</sub> mrze njega<sub>i</sub> / ga<sub>i</sub> mrze  
 d. Ljudi<sub>k</sub> iz-za predsednika<sub>i</sub> mrze sebe<sub>k</sub> / \*<sub>i</sub>.
- 13) a. \*Putin<sub>i</sub> hates him<sub>i</sub>.                      b. Putin<sub>i</sub> thinks that the people hate him<sub>i</sub>.

9) **Binding Principle B:**

- a) A pronoun *Y* must be **free** within its minimal domain. (domain = S/TP)  
 b) Free = not bound

14) The structure of (10/11):



- 15) a. His<sub>i</sub> friends introduced John to Mary<sub>i</sub>.  
 b. \*He<sub>i</sub> remembers that his friends introduced John<sub>i</sub> to Mary.

16) **Binding Principle C:**

An *R-expression* *R* must be free everywhere (no domain restriction)

- 17) He<sub>i</sub> is sure that the press is wrong when they argue that everyone who ever had personal experience with him<sub>i</sub> hates him<sub>i</sub>.
- 18) \*He<sub>i</sub> is sure that the press is wrong when they argue that everyone who ever had personal experience with Putin<sub>i</sub> hates him<sub>i</sub>.

17) "Long-Distance" Binding:

a. ENGLISH: John<sub>i</sub> told **Bill**<sub>k</sub> to draw **himself**<sub>\*i/k</sub>.

b. RUSSIAN:

**General** poprosil **kommandira** narisovat' **sebja**.  
 general<sub>i</sub> requested commander<sub>k</sub>-ACC to draw self<sub>i/k</sub>  
 "The general<sub>i</sub> asked the commander<sub>k</sub> to draw himself<sub>i/k</sub>."

c. ICELANDIC:

**Jón** segir ad **María** elski **sig**.  
 John<sub>i</sub> says that Mary<sub>k</sub> loves-SUBJ self<sub>i/k</sub>  
 "John says that Mary loves him/herself"

d. CHINESE: (from Cole, Hermon & Sung (1990))

**Zhangsam** renwei **Lisi** zhidao **Wangwu** xihuan **ziji**.  
 Zhangsam<sub>i</sub> thinks Lisi<sub>j</sub> knows Wangwu<sub>k</sub> likes self<sub>i/j/k</sub>  
 "Zhangsam thinks Lisi knows Wangwu likes him/her/himself."

e. Distribution of L-D readings for anaphors: ([+] = L-D reading OK, [-] = no L-D reading)

----- e m b e d d e d c l a u s e -----

<u>language</u>	<u>indicative</u>	<u>subjunctive</u>	<u>infinitive</u>
English	--	--	--
Russian	--	--	+
Icelandic/Italian	--	+	+
Chinese	+	+	+

18) Two possibilities for handling Long-Distance Binding:

- A. Parameterizing domain size
- B. LF movement of anaphors, with movement possibilities related to features

19) Evidence in favor of (B):

- a. Long distance anaphora is only possible with anaphors that are Heads (see 20)
- b. Chinese Long distance anaphora depends on full agreement of intermediate subjects ("blocking effects" of 1st or 2nd person subject)
- c. Language differences can (again) be reduced to the feature make-up of functional categories

20) **Generaly** poprosili **kommandirov** narisovat' **drug druga**.  
 generals<sub>i</sub> requested commanders<sub>k</sub>-ACC to draw each other<sub>k / \*i</sub>  
 "The generals<sub>i</sub> asked the commanders<sub>k</sub> to draw each other<sub>k / \*i</sub>."

**Binding and movement:**

2 kinds of movement of XPs: (i) NP movement (for case); (ii) WH movement (for [wh], [OP])

21) *A-movement changes binding relations, A'-movement does not*

- 22) a. \*It seems to each other<sub>i</sub> that the boys<sub>i</sub> are intelligent.  
 b. The boys<sub>i</sub> seem to each other<sub>i</sub> [ t<sub>i</sub> to be intelligent] (A-movement)
- 23) a. \*[Each other's<sub>i</sub> friends] insulted [the boys<sub>i</sub>]  
 b. The boys<sub>i</sub> were insulted t<sub>i</sub> by [each other's<sub>i</sub> friends] (A-movement)
- 24) a. \*[Each other's<sub>i</sub> dance partners] criticized the guests<sub>i</sub>.  
 b. \*The guests<sub>i</sub>, [each other's dance partners] criticized t . (A'-movement)
- 25) a. John<sub>i</sub> told 700,000 stories about himself<sub>i</sub>.  
 b. [How many stories about himself<sub>i</sub>] did John<sub>i</sub> tell t ? (A'-movement)

So we cannot simply say binding happens at Deep Structure (doesn't work for 22-23)  
 We could say Binding occurs after NP movement but before WH movement. (Works for 22-23)

26) **The binding paradox:**

- a) A-movement shows binding happens after movement
- b) Simple WH-movement shows that binding happens before movement
- c) Long distance WH mvt shows that binding possibilities change with intermediate steps

Things appear to get worse with reorderings cor free word order (scrambling):

Japanese: (local scrambling appears to change binding relations (a-b); Long distance doesn't (c)) :

- 27) a. \*[ Otagai<sub>i</sub>-no sensei]-ga karera<sub>i</sub>-o hihansita ]] (koto)  
 each other-Gen teacher-Nom they-Acc criticized fact  
 'Each other<sub>i</sub>'s teachers criticized them.'
- b. [ **Karera<sub>i</sub>-o** [[otagai<sub>i</sub>-no sensei]-ga \_\_\_<sub>i</sub> hihansita ]] (koto)  
 they-Acc each other-Gen teacher-Nom criticized fact  
 'Them<sub>i</sub>, each other<sub>i</sub>'s teachers criticized'
- c. \***Karera-o<sub>i</sub>** [[otagai-no sensei]-ga [cplip Tanaka-ga t<sub>i</sub>  
 they-Acc each other's teacher-Nom Tanaka-Nom  
 hihansita] to ] itta ]] (koto)  
 criticized that said fact  
 "Them, each other's teachers said that Tanaka criticized."

**The solution: (for Principle A). "on-line" binding:**

28) Derivational Binding Theory: (Grewendorf & Sabel 1999, Epstein 1998, Kitahara 1997, Saito 2001)

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

we need only to assume that A-movement is triggered by D-feature which is then immediately interpreted (and enters into binding relations), whereas A'-movement has a different trigger [wh] or [OP] and therefore doesn't feed D relations.

**what about:**

- 29) a. John<sub>i</sub> thinks that Bill<sub>k</sub> told 15 stories about himself<sub>k</sub> / \*<sub>i</sub>.  
 b. [How many stories about himself<sub>i/k</sub>] did John<sub>i</sub> think that Bill<sub>k</sub> told?

So in (29) WH-movement seems to allow both readings. So pre-WH movement is not enough.