

Binding by Phase: (Non-)Complementarity in German*

Vera Lee-Schoenfeld

University of California, Santa Cruz

March 2004

1. Introduction

Patterns of complementarity are found in many areas of linguistic inquiry. When the environments in which two forms occur never overlap, we say that the forms stand in complementary distribution. The main body of research on syntactic complementarity comes from the study of anaphora, more specifically, the binding behavior of reflexive and non-reflexive pronouns in various phrase-structural contexts (see e.g. Safir (to appear)). The current paper contributes to this body of research by investigating anaphoric relations in contexts where complementarity seems to break down. Since the empirical evidence comes from German, which does not have logophorically used reflexives, the cases discussed here have the useful theoretical property that they cannot be dismissed as being beyond the scope of a theory of binding. Furthermore, assuming a configurational theory of binding, this paper argues that the distribution of reflexive and non-reflexive pronouns provides crucial evidence regarding clause structure.

In most syntactic environments, the distribution of reflexives and pronominals is complementary. Use of one of the forms obviates the other form. However, certain contexts are known to allow the two forms to overlap. ‘Accusativus cum Infinitivo’ (AcI), a type of reduced infinitive construction occurring in German, is one such context. Although binding in AcI-constructions has been extensively discussed in the literature (see e.g. Reis 1976, Grewendorf 1983, Pustejovsky 1984, Haider 1985, Primus 1989, and Frey 1993), the full extent of non-complementarity in AcIs, and other configurations that involve embedding of a sub-clausal constituent, has not been given a satisfactory account.

AcI-constructions are found as complements of permissive or causative *lassen* ‘let, allow, have’ and perception verbs like *hören* ‘hear’, *sehen* ‘see’, *fühlen* ‘feel’, and *spüren* ‘sense’. An example is given in (1). The indicated coreference relations are based on my judgments as a native speaker (L.-S.)¹.

- (1) Martin_i hört [_{AcI}den Mann_j über sich_{i/j}/ihn_{i/*j} reden]. (L.-S.)
Martin hears the man (ACC) about self/ him talk (INF)
‘Martin hears the man talk about himself/him.’

* My thanks to Judith Aissen, Jorge Hankamer, and especially Jim McCloskey, who have helped me with and greatly contributed to the various drafts of this paper. Thanks also to my *JGL* reviewers for their helpful feedback. (Any remaining errors are my own.) Finally, I am indebted to all my native-speaker consultants.

¹ When I present other people’s examples and add my initials to theirs, I share their judgments. There may, however, be additional binding possibilities for me that are not indicated. In section 3, I will explicitly take issue with Haider (1985), Reis (1973, 1976), and Frey’s (1993) empirical generalizations.

In order to verify my own native-speaker judgments, I conducted an informal study in the form of two questionnaires (see appendix). For each questionnaire a number of native speakers of German (mostly from northern Germany) were presented with sentences containing AcI-constructions and asked to rate coreference relations between anaphoric elements and their antecedents on a scale from 1 (perfectly grammatical) to 5 (absolutely ungrammatical). The results generally support my own intuitions. Whenever I refer to “my judgments” in this paper, I am generalizing over myself and my informants.

While the pronominal behaves as expected in that it can only refer to the higher (matrix) subject *Martin* or some other male person not mentioned in the sentence, the reflexive can either refer to the lower subject *den Mann* or engage in seemingly long-distance binding with the matrix subject. We have a case of non-complementarity. The domain in which the reflexive must be bound is bigger than the domain in which the pronominal must be free. The nominal in the embedded clause, *den Mann*, is marked with accusative case. Here, it plays the agent role with respect to the infinitive *reden*, and I will be calling it the AcI-subject². In the matrix clause, *Martin* is the nominative-marked subject of *hören*. I am making the standard assumption that a verb cannot assign case to its external argument, so that a different case assigner needs to be found. If the verb is embedded in an IP, the external argument gets its case from I⁰. If there is no IP, as is assumed for AcIs³ (see e.g. Haider 1993), it gets its case from a higher verbal projection. In an AcI-construction like (1), *den Mann* is the external argument of the infinitive *reden* and gets its accusative case from the matrix verb *hören*⁴.

Reis (1973, 1976) and Haider (1985) claim that the reflexive pronoun *sich* can only be bound across the intervening AcI-subject if it is embedded in a certain type of PP. Reis characterizes PPs out of which this apparent long-distance binding of *sich* is possible as “less obligatory” and gives examples such as those shown in (2) and (3). Haider specifies that these PPs have to be “non-arguments” and backs this up with examples like (4).

- (2) Hans_i lässt [_{AcI}die Männer_j [_{PP}über sich_i/über ihn_i] herfallen]. (R., L.-S.)
 Hans lets the men upon self/ upon him fall
 ‘Hans lets the men attack him.’
 (Reis 1973: 522)
- (3) Hans_i lässt [_{AcI}die Verantwortung_j [_{PP}auf sich_i/auf ihn_i] zukommen]. (R., L.-S.)
 Hans lets the responsibility on self on him to-come
 ‘Hans lets the responsibility come to him.’ (fig. ‘Hans wants to cross that bridge when he gets to it.’)
 (Reis 1973: 522)
- (4) Er_i ließ [_{AcI}die Leute_j [_{PP}für sich_i/_j/ihn_i] Schnaps besorgen]. (H., L.-S.)
 he let the people for self/ him liquor get
 ‘He had (allowed) the people (to) get liquor for themselves/him.’
 (Haider 1985: 244)

² My use of ‘AcI-subject’ is to be distinguished from ‘subject’. The definition of the latter will be developed in sections 2 and 3. I am using ‘AcI-subject’ to stand for the topmost accusative-marked nominal in the AcI, regardless of its semantic role.

³ Since the exact internal structure of AcIs cannot be taken for granted and will be developed in later sections, I simply mark the AcI-edge as [_{AcI} here.

⁴ To introduce the topic and prepare the reader for my review of previous accounts in section 2, I am describing the phrase structure of this AcI-construction in traditional terms, assuming that verbal heads can have both an external and an internal argument. In section 3, I appeal to a different theory of phrase structure.

After a detailed discussion of Reis, Haider, and Frey's (1993) accounts of the anaphoric relations in these sentences in section 2, I will argue that, for some speakers, the binding of *sich* is in fact less restricted. This is illustrated in my examples (5) and (6). Here the reflexive is not embedded in a "less obligatory" or "non-argument" PP. Rather, it appears to be an argument of the AcI-infinitive and thus a coargument of the AcI-subject. Yet, it is allowed to be bound by the matrix subject and, crucially, across its own subject.

- (5) Die Mutter_i lässt [_{AcI}die Kleine_j sich_{i/j}/ihr_{i/*j} die Schokolade in den Mund stecken]. (L.-S.)
 the mother lets the little girl (ACC) self/ her (DAT) the chocolate (ACC) in the mouth stick
 'The mother lets the little girl stick the chocolate in its/her mouth.'
- (6) Die Spieler_i hören [_{AcI}die Fans_j sich_{i/j}/sie_{i/*j} anfeuern]. (L.-S.)
 the players hear the fans (ACC) self/ them (ACC) on-cheer
 'The players hear the fans cheer them on.'

Since the AcIs in (5) and (6) can each be considered a Complete Functional Complex (CFC)⁵, and since, in both cases, the reflexive can have an antecedent outside of this CFC, my conjecture is that German *sich*, while preferably bound within the minimal CFC, has the possibility of being anteceded by any subject within the minimal IP containing it. As exemplified by the strong contrast in (7) – the reflexive is clearly worse in (a) than in (b) – it is a well-established fact that *sich* cannot be bound across a CP or IP-boundary. It has, however, rarely been claimed that this upper-limit/boundary may in fact be the only insurmountable domain-limitation for the reflexive.⁶

- (7) a. Die Spieler_i hören, [_{CP}dass [_{IP}die Fans sich_{*i} anfeuern]]. (L.-S.)
 the players hear that the fans self on-cheer
 'The players hear that the fans cheer them on.'
- b. Die Spieler_i hören [_{AcI}die Fans sich_i anfeuern]. (L.-S.)
 the players hear the fans self on-cheer
 'The players hear the fans cheer them on.'

As mentioned above, German reflexives (unlike English anaphors) do not have a logophoric or emphatic use. The apparent long-distance binding ability of the reflexive thus cannot be dismissed as going beyond the scope of a theory of binding. While the English reflexive in (8a) is grammatical because, in Reinhart & Reuland's (1993) terms, it does not reflexive-mark the predicate and is thus exempt from Condition A of the Binding Theory, the German equivalent in (8b) is ruled out.

- (8) a. This letter was addressed only to himself.
 (adapted from Reinhart & Reuland 1993: 672)
- b. *Dieser Brief war nur an sich adressiert.
 this letter was only to self addressed

⁵ A Complete Functional Complex (CFC) is a maximal projection which contains a lexical head and in which all the grammatical functions compatible with that head are assigned (from Chomsky (1986)).

⁶ As pointed out by Harbert & Srivastav (1988), Gurtu (1985) has a similar claim for Hindi, and Kluender (1986), for German. I thank one of my reviewers for the Harbert & Srivastav reference.

The data then force a three-way distinction among relevant cases. (7a) is an example of **case I**: reflexive and antecedent are separated by a CP-boundary. This type of long-distance binding is clearly ungrammatical. There is no variability in judgments. Haider's *Schnaps*-example given in (4) is a proto-type of **case II**: the reflexive is embedded in a PP, and there is no CP or IP-boundary intervening between *sich* and its matrix-clause antecedent. Again, though more subtle than in case I, the judgments are relatively clear: long-distance binding between the reflexive and the matrix subject is generally allowed. Finally, **case III** is exemplified by (5), (6), and (7b): the reflexive is in a non-PP AcI-argument position (dative or accusative-marked). Here, the judgments are variable. Many speakers categorically rule out long-distance binding between *sich* and the matrix subject; others allow it at least marginally. The goal of the analysis I present is to account for all three cases, in particular II and III, and the distinctions among them.

As for pronominal binding, this paper proposes that the pronominal can be bound in the same domain in which the reflexive must be bound (i.e. IP), as long as it is separated from its antecedent by an external argument, such as an agentive subject. This claim is supported by the type of binding contrast illustrated in (9) and (10). The examples are adapted from Frey (1993) and will be discussed further in sections 2 and 3.

- (9) Der König_i lässt [_{AcI}den Gefangenen_j vor sich_i/vor ihm_i niederknien]. (L.-S.)
 the king lets the prisoner before self/ before him down-kneel
 'The king has the prisoner kneel down before him.'
- (10) Hans_i lässt [_{AcI}den Stein sich_i/ihm_{*i} auf den Kopf fallen]. (L.-S.)
 Hans lets the rock self/ him on the head fall
 'Hans lets the rock fall on his head.'

For now, I will use these examples to provide a descriptive preview of the account I propose for pronominals in AcI-constructions. In (9), where the AcI-subject, *den Gefangenen*, is agentive, the pronominal *ihm* is grammatical when referring to the matrix subject *der König*. The reflexive and the pronominal thus overlap. In (10), however, where the AcI-subject, *den Stein*, is non-agentive, *ihm* is impossible. As explained in section 3, the existence of a domain which allows the pronominal to be free, and thus grammatical, falls out from the syntactic correlate of agentivity and, more generally, of external argumenthood this paper supports. Section 3 also proposes an extension of the analysis from AcIs to the nominal domain. Finally, in section 4, I reinterpret the results in terms of a phase-based understanding of binding domains. The analysis will unify the binding conditions for AcI and DP constructions and account for the three cases of long-distance reflexive binding ability mentioned above.

2. Previous accounts

2.1 *Reis (1973, 1976) and Haider (1985)*

Reis and Haider would predict the coreference relation represented by the *i*-index in examples (5), (6) and (7b) (case III) to be ungrammatical because their accounts only allow the reflexive, *sich*, to be bound across the intervening AcI-subject when it is embedded in a PP. This is shown in (2)-(4) above and repeated here in (11)-(13).

- (11) Hans_i lässt [_{AcI}die Männer_j] [_{PP}über sich_i/über ihn_i] herfallen]. (R., L.-S.)
 Hans lets the men upon self/ upon him fall
 ‘Hans lets the men attack him.’
 (Reis 1973: 522)
- (12) Hans_i lässt die [_{AcI}Verantwortung [_{PP}auf sich_i/auf ihn_i] zukommen]. (R., L.-S.)
 Hans lets the responsibility on self/ on him to-come
 ‘Hans lets the responsibility come to him.’ (fig. ‘Hans wants to cross that bridge when he gets to it.’)
 (Reis 1973: 522)
- (13) Er_i ließ [_{AcI}die Leute_j] [_{PP}für sich_{i/j}/ihn_i] Schnaps besorgen]. (H., L.-S.)
 he let the people for self/ him liquor get
 ‘He had (allowed) the people (to) get liquor for themselves/him.’
 (Haider 1985: 244)

Haider’s (1985) analysis is partially successful when applied to examples like (13). He proposes the following reflexive binding rule (his (51b)).

- (14) A reflexive pronoun has as its antecedent the external argument of its governor⁷ (p. 243).

In AcI-constructions where the reflexive is governed by the infinitive this rule predicts that the reflexive must be bound by the external argument of the infinitive, i.e. the AcI-subject. However, in the case of AcI-constructions like (13), where the reflexive is governed by P, which does not have an external argument, the rule, as stated above, does not apply and thus wrongly predicts that the reflexive is ungrammatical. Haider therefore adds another clause to his rule. If the governor of the reflexive does not have an external argument, i.e., as Haider puts, if the reflexive is embedded in a “non-argument” PP, it must find an external argument elsewhere in the sentence (IP). In (13), there are two choices: the reflexive can select the external argument of the AcI-infinitive, *die Leute*, or the external argument of the matrix verb, *Er*, as its antecedent; hence the ambiguity.

Haider states that the converse of the reflexive binding rule in (14) holds for pronominals: a personal pronoun may not be anteceded by an argument of its governor (p. 244). With respect to the pronominal,

⁷ By ‘its governor’ Haider (1985) means the element that is responsible for its case realization. According to Haider’s “Realisationsprinzip,” the governor assigns a case index to its argument. If this case index is structural (NOM or ACC), case must be realized externally, and being realized externally means that it is *not* realized through the verb which assigns the index (p. 232). In an AcI, the AcI-subject then gets its case index from the infinitive, but its case is realized through the matrix verb.

however, Haider does not add a second clause. If the governor of the pronominal does not have an external argument, the converse of (14) is vacuously satisfied and allows for the pronominal to be bound by any other nominal. In the case of (13), this wrongly predicts that the pronominal can have the AcI-subject as its antecedent. Even if it were plural (*sie* ‘them’), the pronominal could not be bound by *die Leute*. Thus, Haider’s (1985) system is successful in accounting for the binding ambiguity regarding reflexives, but it fails to sufficiently constrain the binding possibilities of the pronominal.

Furthermore, it is not obvious how Haider would treat sentences like (11) and (12) taken from Reis (1973). The AcI predicates are the idiomatic expressions *über jemanden herfallen* ‘to attack (lit. to fall over) someone’ and *auf jemanden zukommen* ‘to approach (lit. to come toward) someone’. Since the PPs clearly complement the verbs, they should be arguments of the AcI-infinitive and have the AcI-subject as their external argument. Although Haider’s system, according to which PP-embedded reflexives are governed by P, presumably regardless of whether the PP is an argument or adjunct (see footnote 7), makes the right prediction for the reflexive here, the only cases he discusses involve adjunct-PPs. Examples with argument-PPs like (11) and (12) certainly seem to be at odds with Haider’s claim that binding ambiguity can only result if the reflexive is part of a “non-argument”.

Reis (1973) remains vague regarding the issue of whether the PPs in her examples are arguments or adjuncts. She simply states that the constraint which disallows reflexives to be bound across an intervening deep structure subject “can be escaped by prepositional (and therefore less obligatory?) object NPs, although a good deal of lexical variation is to be observed” (p. 522).⁸ In her later work (1976), Reis actually categorizes the PPs in (11) and (12) as obligatory. This then clearly goes against restricting long-distance binding to PP-adjunct-embedded reflexives.

2.2 Frey (1993)

An alternative account, which is endorsed in Haider’s later work (1993) and which goes beyond the adjunct versus argument status of the constituent containing the anaphoric element has been proposed by Frey. He gives the following binding conditions for reflexives and pronominals (his (28)-(29), ch. 7).

⁸ As discussed by Harbert & Srivastav (1988), the availability of the higher subject as an antecedent for an embedded reflexive is equally disputed in Hindi. While some speakers allow long-distance binding when the reflexive is in an argument, most speakers only allow it when the reflexive is in adjunct position.

(15) Principle (A)⁹:

- (i) An anaphor must be bound in its local domain K, when K contains a SUBJECT distinct from the anaphor, otherwise,
- (ii) it must be bound by a SUBJECT in the minimal CFC that contains the anaphor and a domain-closing element.

Principle (B):

A pronominal must be free in the minimal CFC containing the pronominal, its governor, and a SUBJECT.

(Frey 1993: 120)

If all AcI-constructions were CFCs containing a SUBJECT, only reflexives in AcI-subject position would be allowed to have an antecedent outside the AcI. Reflexives that are object-DPs or embedded in a PP would never be expected to be bound by the matrix clause subject. In order to account for sentences that exhibit precisely this – thus far unpredicted – binding possibility in his system, Frey appeals to the distinction between unaccusative and unergative verbs. Assuming that auxiliary choice and passive verb forms are direct indications of argument structure, Frey claims that all verbs selecting *sein* ‘be’ (as opposed to *haben* ‘have’) as their perfect auxiliary are unaccusative and thus do not have an external argument.

For unaccusative AcI-verbs, Frey’s binding conditions make the following predictions. An AcI with an unaccusative infinitive is a SUBJECT-less local domain within which requirement (i) of Principle (A), as stated above, cannot be met. As a consequence of requirement (ii), the entire sentence (IP) is the relevant CFC, and the matrix clause subject must bind the reflexive. Once the domain is extended to include the whole sentence, the pronominal cannot be free and is thus predicted to be ungrammatical. In discussing example (16) (his (10b), ch. 7), Frey actually does not go by his binding conditions but refers to Haider (1987) and Grewendorf’s (1988) notion of argument structure unification. According to this notion, the whole argument structure of an unaccusative AcI-infinitive blends with that of the matrix verb. The result is a reduced structure with only one complex predicate.

⁹ In order to understand Frey’s (1993) binding conditions as translated in (15), the following definitions must be kept in mind. Since some of these definitions are not entirely clear to me, I am providing both Frey’s exact words in German (pp. 119-120, (23-24), (26-27)) and literal translations into English.

- (i) *Ein CFC ist die minimale abschließende Kategorie, in der sämtliche Elemente, die durch einen gegebenen lexikalischen Kopf eine Projektionslizenz erhalten, realisiert sind.*
‘A CFC is the minimal domain-closing category in which all the elements that get a license to project from a given lexical head are realized.’
- (ii) *Die lokale Domäne für einen Ausdruck A ist der minimale CFC, der sämtliche Lizenzierer von A enthält.*
‘The local domain for an expression A is the minimal CFC that contains all licensors of A.’
- (iii) *Domänen abschließende Elemente sind: I und Elemente, welche die [Spec, DP]-Position realisieren.*
‘Domain-closing elements are: I and those elements that realize the [Spec, DP]-position.’
- (iv) *Unter dem Begriff ‘SUBJEKT’ werden jene syntaktischen Repräsentanten einer externen Argumentstelle, welche in eine Bindungsbeziehung mit einer DP eintreten können, und Domänen abschließende Elemente zusammengefasst.*
‘The cover term ‘SUBJECT’ stands for domain-closing elements and those syntactic representatives of an external position which can enter into a binding relationship with a DP.’

- (16) Der König_i lässt den Gefangenen_j vor sich_i/*vor ihm_i niederknien. (F.)¹⁰
 the king lets the prisoner before self/ before him down-kneel
 ‘The king has the prisoner kneel down before him.’
 (Frey 1993: 116)

Combining Frey’s binding conditions and his assumptions about unaccusativity with Haider and Grewendorf’s argument structure unification, the account of (16) is as follows. Since it is a *sein*-selecting verb, the AcI-infinitive *niederknien* is unaccusative, and *den Gefangenen* is not realized as its external argument. The AcI thus does not have a SUBJECT. The reflexive must find its antecedent in the next higher CFC that does contain a SUBJECT, namely the matrix clause. Since the argument structures of *lassen* and the unaccusative infinitive blend, the AcI is not considered a sentential complement of *lassen*, and there is no intervening subject to worry about. The only available SUBJECT- antecedent is *der König*. Within this blended domain, the pronominal cannot be free, and, as a consequence, the interpretation indicated in (16) is unavailable.

The following sentences (his (10a) and (10c), ch. 7) are two more of Frey’s unaccusative AcI examples. Again, he claims that the reflexive is allowed to be, and in fact, must be bound by the matrix subject because the AcI does not contain a SUBJECT and is not even a domain that can be considered separate from the matrix clause.

- (17) Hans_i lässt sich_i/*ihm_i ein Buch von Maria geben. (F., L.-S.)
 Hans lets self/him (DAT) a book (ACC) by Maria give
 ‘Hans has Maria give him a book.’
 (Frey 1993: 116)
- (18) Hans_i lässt sich_i/*ihm_i einen Stein auf den Kopf fallen. (F., L.-S.)
 Hans lets self/him (DAT) a rock (ACC) on the head fall
 ‘Hans lets a rock fall on his head.’
 (Frey 1993: 116)

In both (17) and (18), the anaphoric element precedes the DP that I have been calling the AcI-subject (namely the topmost accusative-marked nominal in the AcI). In (16), we have an example of a passive *lassen*-construction (equivalent to the causative *faire par* infinitive in French), in which the word order of the anaphoric element and the AcI-subject is fixed. In (18), which is the example I adapted in (10), the word order can be changed, so that the AcI-subject precedes the anaphoric element: *Hans_i lässt den Stein sich_i/*ihm_i auf den Kopf fallen*¹¹. Even when *den Stein* intervenes, the reflexive can and must be bound by the matrix subject *Hans*. This is consistent with Frey’s judgment on (16).

¹⁰ Note that I do not agree with Frey’s judgment here. As discussed in section 2.3, the majority of my informants find the indicated binding possibility for the pronominal acceptable. Reis (1976), who also uses this example (her (49g)), confirms that the pronominal is at least marginally acceptable.

¹¹ In order for the accusative object DP *Stein* ‘rock’ to be allowed to precede the dative reflexive pronoun *sich*, it must be definite (*den Stein* ‘the rock’) (see Büring 2001).

When it comes to AcIs with transitive infinitives, Frey contends that the argument structures of the AcI-infinitive and the matrix verb do not blend because both the matrix verb and the infinitive have an external argument. Frey's Principle (A) predicts that, since the AcI contains a SUBJECT, the reflexive must be bound within its local domain and cannot have the matrix subject as its antecedent. In other words, reflexive binding across the intervening AcI-subject should not be possible. Rather, the pronominal must be used in order to refer to the matrix subject. According to Frey's Principle (B), the pronominal is grammatical because it is free in its minimal SUBJECT-containing CFC. Sentences (19)-(21) (his (11), ch. 7) illustrate that these predictions are consistent with Frey's grammaticality judgments.

- (19) Hans_i lässt [_{AcI}mich *sich_i/ihn_i ein Buch geben]. (F.)
 Hans lets me self/ him a book give
 'Hans has me give him a book.'
 (Frey 1993: 116)
- (20) Der König_i lässt [_{AcI}den Gefangenen *sich_i/ihn_i huldigen]. (F.)
 the king lets the prisoner self/ him honor
 'The king has the prisoner honor him.'
 (Frey 1993: 116)
- (21) Hans_i hört [_{AcI}den Professor *mit sich_i/mit ihm_i sprechen]. (F.)
 Hans hears the professor with self/ with him speak
 'Hans hears the professor speak with him.'
 (Frey 1993: 116)

As for examples like (4), repeated here as (22), with a transitive AcI-infinitive where the anaphoric element is embedded in what Haider (1985) calls a non-argument PP, Frey's system is similar to Haider's.

- (22) Er_i ließ [_{AcI}die Leute_j [_{PP}für sich_{i/j}/ihn_i] Schnaps besorgen]. (H., L.-S.)
 he let the people for self/ him liquor get
 'He had (allowed) the people (to) get liquor for themselves/him.'
 (Haider 1985: 244)

If the preposition is lacking an external argument – in Frey's terms, if the external argument of the preposition is identified with the event \square -role of the sentence (p.127) – there is no SUBJECT in the local domain of the reflexive, and according to part (ii) of Frey's Principle (A), the reflexive must be bound by a SUBJECT in the minimal CFC that contains a domain closing element. The extended binding domain is then the whole sentence. This is illustrated in (23) (Frey's (55a), ch. 7).

- (23) Hans_i lässt [_{AcI}ihn_j [_{PP}bei sich_{i/j}] arbeiten]. (F., L.-S.)
 Hans lets him at self work
 'Hans_i lets him_j work at his_{i/j} place.'
 (Frey 1993: 128)

The reflexive *sich* can be bound by either *Hans* or *ihn*. As in Haider's system, the ambiguity results from the fact that the reflexive binding condition (Frey's Principle (A) given in (14)) consists of a two-part

requirement. Since the minimal CFC, the PP *bei sich*, does not contain an external argument, it is SUBJECT-less and therefore does not fulfill part (i). Part (ii) demands that the binding domain now be extended, crucially not to the next bigger CFC that contains an external argument (the AcI-subject) but to the minimal CFC that contains a domain-closing element, namely I. With the entire sentence as its extended binding domain, the reflexive then has two possible antecedents, the AcI-subject, *ihn*, and the matrix subject, *Hans*.

Unlike Haider (1985), Frey does not neglect PP-embedded pronominals. Frey's Principle (B) differs from his Principle (A) in that it consists of only one step. For pronominals, there is no local domain defined as a CFC that contains all the licensors of the anaphoric element. The only domain that counts for a pronominal is the minimal CFC that contains a SUBJECT. If the infinitive is transitive or unergative, the CFC is the AcI, with the AcI-subject as the SUBJECT. In this domain, the pronominal can be free and therefore grammatical.

Interestingly, all of Frey's adjunct-PP examples are locatives introduced by prepositions like *neben* 'next to' and *bei* 'at (someone's place)'. There is no question about the adjunct status of these PPs since they are clearly optional and unpredictable (in the sense that their content is not selected by the verb).¹² Frey highlights the minimal sentence pair shown in (24) and (25) (his (11c) and (55b), ch. 7), contrasting the binding behavior of a reflexive embedded in an adjunct-PP (*neben sich* 'next to self') with that of a reflexive embedded in an argument-PP (*mit sich* 'with self').

- (24) Hans_i hört [_{AcI}den Professor [_{PPadj}neben sich_i] sprechen]. (F., L.-S.)
 Hans hears the professor next to self speak
 'Hans hears the professor speak next to him.'
 (Frey 1993: 128)
- (25) Hans_i hört [_{AcI}den Professor [_{PParg}*mit sich_i/mit ihm_i] sprechen]. (F.)
 Hans hears the professor with self/ with him speak
 'Hans hears the professor speak with him.'
 (Frey 1993: 116)

As also claimed by Haider (1985), the reflexive can only be bound by the matrix subject, across the intervening AcI-subject, if it is embedded in an adjunct-PP. Frey is more explicit than Haider in that he distinguishes between adjunct-PPs and argument-PPs by assuming that the former constitute a CFC with an external argument that is identified with the event \square -role of the sentence¹³, whereas argument-PPs are not

¹² This does not hold for the context of verbs like *setzen*, *stellen*, and *legen* (all 'put'), where locative PPs, like *neben* 'next to,' are subcategorized for.

¹³ The event \square -role, the referential argument of the sentence, is not licensed by the adjunct. (Frey 1993, p. 45). Consequently, this external argument does not count as a SUBJECT, and the binding domain for the reflexive must be extended beyond the PP to include a possible antecedent.

CFCs at all because they do not contain all the licensors of the anaphoric element. The licensor of an anaphoric element embedded in an argument-PP is the verb, not the preposition.

Although Frey's system is an improvement over Haider's, there are still problems. First, although the distinction between adjuncts and arguments is notoriously fuzzy, both Haider and Frey categorically classify the *für* ('for')-PP in (21) as an adjunct. Intuitively, however, this *für*-PP is much more closely connected to the verb *besorgen* 'get/buy' than the *neben* ('next to')-PP in (24) is to the verb *sprechen* 'speak.' This intuition is confirmed in that *besorgen* just like English *get* or *buy*, is often complemented by a benefactive, i.e. the person for whom something is gotten or bought. The benefactive can either be expressed as a *für*-PP or a Dative DP. (*Sie besorgten ihm (DAT) Bier.* 'They got him some beer.') Since the PP-versions of applicatives (like benefactives and passive *by*-phrases) are considered systematically optional arguments¹⁴, it seems that the *für*-PP in (21) could be *either* an adjunct (licensed by the preposition) *or* an argument (licensed by the verb). Again, Reis (1973), who acknowledges these problems, notes that "a good deal of lexical variation is to be observed (p. 522)."

The second problem concerns Frey's unaccusativity analysis, as explained above. It unexpectedly rules out the pronominal in Reis' (1973) examples given in (11) and (12), repeated here as (26) and (27). More specifically, the problem is that auxiliary choice does not seem to correlate with the binding possibilities in the way that Frey's account suggests.

- (26) Hans_i lässt [_{AccI}die Männer_j [_{PP}über sich_i/über ihn_j] herfallen]. (R., L.-S.)
 Hans lets the men upon self/ upon him fall
 'Hans lets the men attack him.'
 (Reis 1973: 522)

- (27) Hans_i lässt [_{AccI}die Verantwortung [_{PP}auf sich_i/auf ihn_j] zukommen]. (R., L.-S.)
 Hans lets the responsibility on self on him to-come
 'Hans lets the responsibility come to him.' (fig. 'Hans wants to cross that bridge when he gets to it.')

The infinitives *über jemanden herfallen* 'attack someone' and *auf jemanden zukommen* 'come toward/approach someone' select *sein* as their perfect auxiliary. According to Frey, they should thus be unaccusative, and consequently cause argument structure unification. The pronominal is predicted to have no chance of being free. The fact that it *can* be free here suggests that, in Frey's terms, argument structures have not blended and that the nominals *die Männer* 'men' and *die Verantwortung* 'responsibility' have external argument status. This in turn means that the infinitives cannot be unaccusative despite the fact that they select *sein*. Thus, neither Haider nor Frey offer a convincing account for Reis' well-established data in (26) and (27). One of the points I make in the following subsection is that pronominal binding facts are a better probe for unaccusativity than auxiliary choice (see also Lee-Schoenfeld (to appear)).

¹⁴ Reis (1976) calls *für*-PPs "semi-obligatorische Verbergänzungen" (p. 28).

2.3 *Reconsidering the facts*

As the preceding discussion reveals, neither of the systems presented in this section is able to account for all of the commonly agreed upon binding facts in examples involving AcI-constructions. Furthermore, not all of the empirical generalizations presented in Reis, (1973, 1976), Haider (1985, 1993), and Frey (1993) are compatible with the judgments of the group of native speakers consulted for this paper. In particular, according to Reis, Haider, and Frey, there is no reflexive binding ambiguity when the reflexive is an argument (or, for Reis, a non-prepositional object NP) of the AcI-infinitive; *sich* has to be bound by the external argument of the AcI. Thus, case III, namely coreference of a reflexive in argument (or non-PP) position with a DP beyond the intervening embedded subject is strictly ruled out. Section 4 of the current paper aims to give an account of binding in AcI-constructions that explains *both* the facts reported in the literature thus far (case II) *and* the judgments at issue here (case III). There needs to be an explanation, then, for (5) and (6), repeated here as (28) and (29), where *sich* is a non-PP argument of the AcI-infinitive and can be bound by either the AcI or the matrix subject.

- (28) Die Mutter_i lässt [_{AcI}die Kleine_j sich_{i/j}/ihr_{i/*j}; die Schokolade in den Mund stecken]. (L.-S.)
 the mother lets the little girl (ACC) self/ her (DAT) the chocolate (ACC) in the mouth stick
 ‘The mother_i lets the little girl_j stick the chocolate in her_{i/j} mouth.’
- (29) Die Spieler_i hören [_{AcI}die Fans_j sich_{i/j}/sie_{i/*j} anfeuern]. (L.-S.)
 the players hear the fans (ACC) self/ them (ACC) on-cheer
 ‘The players hear the fans cheer them on.’

In (28), *sich* is an indirect dative-marked object; in (29), it is a direct accusative-marked object. Although the more local binding possibility is generally preferred for the reflexive (especially in (29)), binding across the intervening embedded subject is not impossible. As for the pronominals (*ihr* and *sie*), there are three options: They can be bound by the matrix subject, refer to a DP from previous discourse, or be used deictically. Intuitively, it is precisely this ambiguity involving the pronominal that allows the reflexive to provide an alternative way of referring to the matrix subject. For many of the consulted informants, it is most natural to think of the pronominal in (28) as referring to a third person not mentioned in the sentence. At the same time, although they find it possible, they do not feel completely comfortable with the reflexive referring to the matrix subject either. There does not seem to be a perfect way of establishing this binding relation. When it comes to an accusative-marked reflexive as in (29), the long-distance binding possibility is even harder to get. Descriptively speaking, it seems that acceptability of the reflexive decreases, the more clear-cut the argument status of the phrase containing it is. Still, if the speaker puts him or herself in the position of the players (see (29)), and the context of the described situation is clear, the reflexive cannot be ruled out – it is at least possible and in this way contrasts sharply with (7a) in which the reflexive is within a finite CP and binding is utterly impossible. Again, since German reflexives cannot be used logophorically and thus be

exempt from the binding conditions, the judgments in (29) and (28) are a significant empirical finding which a binding account must at least attempt to explain (see section 4 for the analysis proposed here).

As shown by the sentence pairs in (30) and (31), what rules out coreference of the reflexive with the matrix subject in Haider and Reis' data is probably not the given syntactic configuration. The (a)-sentences are taken from Haider and Reis and represent their judgments of the binding facts. The (b)-sentences are slightly altered versions of the respective counterparts in (a) and show that the binding possibilities change, or are less constrained than they seem to be, depending on lexical choices and possibly perspective. Crucially, in all of the following sentences, the anaphoric element is a dative-marked (non-PP) nominal.

- (30) a. Er_i ließ [_{AcI}die Leute_j sich_j/*_i/ihm_i/*_j Schnaps besorgen]. (H.)
 he let the people self/ him (DAT) liquor get
 'He had (allowed) the people (to) get liquor for him/themselves.'
 (Haider 1985: 244)
- b. Er_i ließ [_{AcI}den Ober_j sich_i/_j/ihm_i/*_j Schnaps bringen]. (L.-S.)
 he let the server self/ him (DAT) liquor bring
 'He had (allowed) the server (to) bring him liquor/bring liquor for himself.'
- (31) a. Hinz_i lässt [_{AcI}Kunz_j *sich_i/ihm_i den Brief geben]. (R.)
 Hinz lets Kunz self/ him (DAT) the letter give
 'Hinz has Kunz give him the letter.'
 (Reis 1973: 522)
- b. Hinz_i lässt [_{AcI}Kunz_j sich_i/_j/ihm_i/*_j den Brief auf den Schreibtisch legen]. (L.-S.)
 Hinz lets Kunz self/ him (DAT) the letter on the desk put
 'Hinz has (allows) Kunz (to) put the letter on his desk.'

Without making a significant phrase-structural difference, the slightly altered context in the (b)-examples clearly facilitates the binding possibility between reflexive and matrix subject. The same kind of observation can be made about Frey's (non-PP) examples in (19) and (20). The reflexive can reach beyond the embedded subject if the context is slightly changed.

As for Frey's analysis of pronominal binding, a system in which all *sein*-selecting verbs are considered unaccusative has no way of accounting for the binding facts in (32). Despite the fact that *niederknien* is a *sein*-verb, many of my consultants find that both reflexive *and* pronominal are perfectly acceptable as referring to the matrix subject.

- (32) Der König_i lässt [_{AcI}den Gefangenen_j vor sich_i/_j/ihm_i niederknien]. (L.-S.)
 the king lets the prisoner before self/him down-kneel
 'The king has the prisoner kneel down before him.'

Unlike the pronominal, the reflexive also has the possibility of being bound by the closer, embedded subject. Given the strong tendency of *sich* to be bound locally, this is unsurprising. Pragmatically, of course, the coindexation (*j*) of *sich* and *den Gefangenen* is only possible if the non-linguistic context provides a mirror¹⁵.

¹⁵ This corresponds to a Proxy-reading of the reflexive, as discussed in Safir (to appear).

In sum, based on the judgments reported on here, the binding relations in (32) are no different from examples with transitive or unergative AcIs. There is thus no motivation for argument structure unification.

The judgments do not seem to vary when it comes to examples like (17) (the causative passive example) and (18), repeated below as (33) and (34).¹⁶ Here, an account based on unaccusativity and blended argument structure becomes much more attractive (though, as we will see, argument structure blending is not ultimately a device that will be needed for the proposal developed here).

- (33) Hans_i lässt sich_i/*ihm_i ein Buch von Maria geben. (F., L.-S.)
 Hans lets self/him (DAT) a book (ACC) by Maria give
 ‘Hans has Maria give him a book.’
 (Frey 1993: 116)
- (34) Hans_i lässt sich_i/*ihm_i einen Stein auf den Kopf fallen. (F., L.-S.)
 Hans lets self/him (DAT) a rock (ACC) on the head fall
 ‘Hans lets a rock fall on his head.’
 (Frey 1993: 116)

In these cases, the pronominal is clearly ungrammatical, and the reflexive only has one binding possibility. It is reasonable to argue for a reduced structure with only one complex predicate. In order to attribute this structure to the unaccusativity of the infinitive, however, I have to conclude that *niederknien* ‘kneel down’ in (32) is not an unaccusative verb, despite the fact that it selects *sein*. I therefore claim that auxiliary selection is not a reliable diagnostic for unaccusativity. Rather, as suggested by the contrast between (32) and (34), it is the external argumenthood (here agentivity) of its argument that classifies an intransitive verb as unaccusative or unergative. While *den Gefangenen* ‘the prisoner’ is agentive and seems to be able to turn the AcI into a domain within which the pronominal can be free, *einen Stein* ‘a rock’ is non-agentive and does not signify a domain boundary for the pronominal.

Some minimal-pair-like examples that support this contrast in agentivity and its correlation with the binding facts are shown in (35)-(38)¹⁷. When the AcI-subject is non-agentive, as in the (a)-sentences, coreference between the matrix subject and the pronominal is generally impossible. When the AcI-subject is agentive, as in the (b)-sentences, on the other hand, it is suddenly much easier to accept the pronominal as coreferring with the matrix subject. While the reflexive is always preferred, the pronominal in the (b)-sentences is at least marginally acceptable and consistently better than in the (a)-sentences. To show that it really is

¹⁶ As pointed out by a reviewer, *lassen* has many different shades of meaning going beyond permissive and causative (see Höhle (1978) who identifies 8 types of *lassen*.) I follow Reis (1976), however, in assuming that there is no evidence for distinctions based solely on these different shades of meaning. In section 3, I propose a structural distinction between transitive/unergative and unaccusative AcIs, which reflects at least some of the semantic differences between the many types of *lassen*.

¹⁷ The focus is on the acceptability of the pronominal here. As for the reflexive, it can be coindexed with both the matrix and the AcI-subject where pragmatically possible. In (39), for example, *sich* can be bound by the AcI-subject *die Polizisten* if it takes on its reciprocal function.

agentivity¹⁸, not auxiliary selection, that makes the difference here, I chose *sein*-verbs for all of the following AcI-infinitives.

- (35) a. Der kleine Junge_i lässt [_{AcI}den Stein sich_i/ihm_{*i} auf den Kopf fallen]. (L.-S.)
 the little boy lets the rock self/him on the head fall
 ‘The little boy lets the rock fall on his head.’
- b. Die Großmutter_i lässt [_{AcI}den Wellensittich sich_i/ihr_{γi} auf den Kopf fliegen]. (L.-S.)
 the grandmother lets the parakeet self/her on the head fly
 ‘The grandmother lets the parakeet fly onto her head.’
- (36) a. Willi_i lässt [_{AcI}die Chance sich_i/ihm_{*i} nicht durch die Finger gleiten]. (L.-S.)
 Willi lets the chance self/him not through the fingers slip
 ‘Willi doesn’t let the chance slip through his fingers.’
- b. Maja_i lässt [_{AcI}die Katze sich_i/ihr_{γi} nicht ins Haus kommen]. (L.-S.)
 Maja lets the cat self/him not into-the house come
 ‘Maja doesn’t let the cat enter her house.’
- (37) a. Der Bauarbeiter_i sieht [_{AcI}das Gerüst auf sich_i/ihn_{γ*} niederstürzen]. (L.-S.)
 the construction worker sees the scaffolding on self/him down-crash
 ‘The construction worker sees the scaffolding crash down on him.’
- b. Der König_i lässt [_{AcI}den Gefangenen vor sich_i/ihm_i niederknien]. (L.-S.)
 the king lets the prisoner before self/him down-kneel
 ‘The king lets the prisoner kneel down before him.’
- (38) a. Britta_i ließ [_{AcI}den Ball auf sich_i/sie_{γ*} zurollen]. (L.-S.)
 Britta let the ball on self/her to-roll
 ‘Britta let the ball roll toward her.’
- b. Die Demonstrantin_i sah [_{AcI}die Polizisten auf sich_i/sie_i zukommen]. (L.-S.)
 the demonstrator (f.) saw the policemen on self/her to-come
 ‘The demonstrator saw the policemen come toward her.’

It is evident that the pronominal generally becomes more acceptable when embedded in a PP. While the dative-marked argument *ihm* is clearly ungrammatical in (35a) and (36a) and slightly better in the corresponding (b) sentences, the PP-embedded pronouns *ihn* and *sie* get better judgments overall, in both the

¹⁸ In (35)-(38), all the (b)-sentences have agentive AcI-subjects. What is crucial, though, is that these subjects are the external arguments of the respective AcI-infinitives. In Dowty’s (1991) terms, they need to be “Proto-Agents”, i.e. have external-argument-like properties. As one reviewer remarks, in order to account for the examples in (i)-(iii), it is not enough to say that pronominals are grammatical as long as they are separated from their antecedent by an agentive subject. The AcI-subjects in (i)-(iii) are non-agentive but (according to my judgments) still constitute enough of a separation between matrix clause antecedent and pronominal.

- (i) Hans_i ließ die Krankheit sich_γ/ihn_i ohne jede Gegenwehr töten. (L.-S.)
 ‘Hans let the disease kill him without any resistance.’
- (ii) Hans_i ließ die Kugel sich_γ/ihn_i nicht treffen. (L.-S.)
 ‘Hans let did not let the bullet hit him.’
- (iii) Der Arzt_i sah das Medikament sich_γ/ihm_{γi} helfen. (L.-S.)
 ‘The doctor saw the medication help him.’

In short, an agentive subject is just one type of AcI-subject that licenses binding between an AcI-embedded pronominal and the matrix subject. Other external arguments (experiencer, causer, etc.) are licensors as well.

(a) and (b) sentences of (37) and (38). As I explain in section 4, PP-embeddedness can render a syntactically bound pronominal acceptable, regardless of whether or not the AcI-subject is an external argument.

It would be possible, in principle, to build reference to ‘agentivity’ directly into the binding questions. In this paper, I explore a different path. It has already been established that the crucial property of an agentive AcI-subject is the fact that it is the external argument of the AcI-infinitive. Recent work, in the Minimalist Program and elsewhere, has explored the syntactic correlate of expression of an external (prototypically agentive) argument. This line of thought opens up the possibility of defining binding domains in phrase-structural terms and thereby capturing the ‘agentivity effects’ just documented indirectly. I argue, beginning in section 3, that this framework yields a relatively straightforward account of the facts. More specifically, I will show that it is the presence or absence of the syntactic head introducing the external argument that determines the binding possibilities for the pronominal.

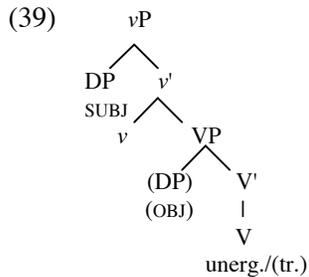
3. Binding domains and external argumenthood

To reiterate the basic intuition that drives this reanalysis of the binding facts in German AcI-constructions, I propose that the reflexive binding possibilities need to be less restricted than usually assumed and that the distribution of reflexives and pronominals partially overlaps when the AcI-subject is an external argument. More specifically, for some speakers, the only binding restriction on the reflexive is that it be bound within the minimal IP containing it. As for the pronominal, it can be bound within the same IP as the reflexive, as long as it is contained in a smaller domain within which it can be free. After a discussion of the syntactic correlate of external argumenthood in 3.1, the analysis will be extended to instances of binding in the nominal domain in 3.2.

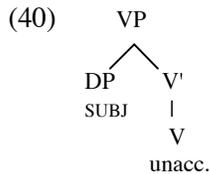
3.1 A phrase-structural analysis of unaccusativity

Instead of relying on a concept like Frey’s (1993) argument structure unification (based on Haider (1987) and Grewendorf (1988)), which is difficult to characterize in terms of phrase structure, I appeal to a theory that allows for a clear-cut and purely phrase-structural distinction between unaccusative verbs on the one hand and unergative and transitive verbs on the other. Within this framework, the configurations of these types of verbs are more radically different than in the classic Principles & Parameters system. This more radical difference is desirable because it offers a solution to the following puzzle. If, as traditionally assumed, the argument of an unaccusative verb, though base-generated as the verb’s internal argument, moves to receive case in external argument position, it ends up in the same position as the argument of an unergative verb and the higher argument of a transitive verb. Thus, syntactically speaking, both types of verbs have an external argument. Why then should the binding behavior of their arguments be different?

Within the framework of the phrase structure theory assumed here (see Hale & Keyser 1993, Chomsky 1995, and Kratzer 1996), unergative and transitive verb structures subsume both a lexical VP and its little *v*P-projection, as shown in (39). The verb originates as the V-head and raises to little *v*. Each of the verbal heads assigns a θ -role to the argument positioned in its specifier. The verb's internal argument then occupies Spec VP, while the external argument is in Spec *v*P. Crucial to the analysis to be developed here, external arguments (including agents) can only be introduced by *v*.

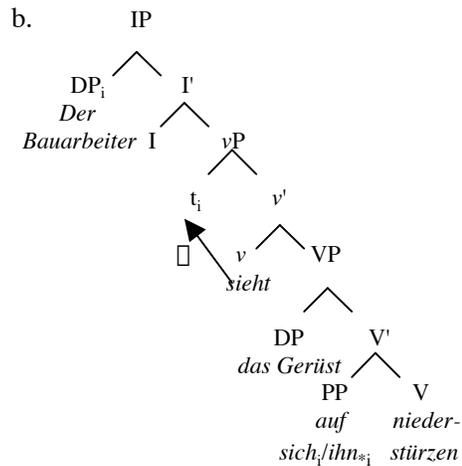
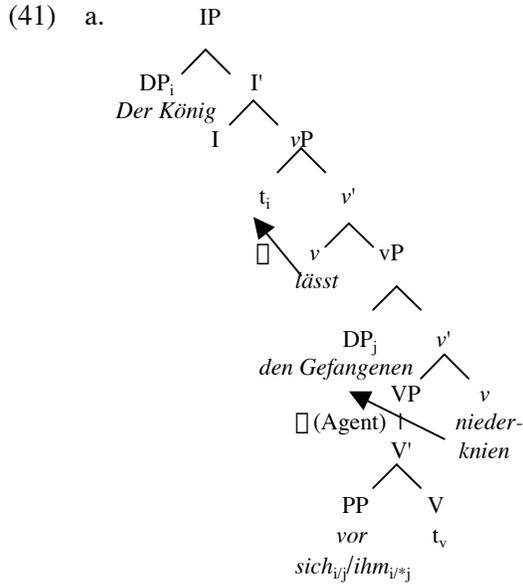


In contrast to this double-layer configuration of unergative and transitive verbs, the characteristic structure of unaccusative verbs is less elaborate. It lacks *v*P and thus consists of the lexical VP only. No external argument role gets assigned. This is shown in (40).



It follows that only subjects of unergative and transitive, not unaccusative verbs can receive an agent-type role. I assume that either one of the verbal structures in (39) and (40) can occur as complement of AcI-matrix verbs like *lassen* ‘let, allow, have’ and *sehen* ‘see’. Following Wurmbrand (2001), I analyze AcI-introducing verbs as “semi-functional” *v*-heads which are assigned to a functional category but are lexical in that they establish a thematic relation with the argument in their specifier. The tree structures in (41a) and (b) show both the unergative and the unaccusative type of AcI-configuration embedded under *lassen*.¹⁹ The former corresponds to the (b)-sentence and the latter to the (a)-sentence of the ‘minimal pair’ in (37).

¹⁹ I am abstracting away from the position of the matrix verb, the position of I^0 , and V-to-I movement. According to Vikner (1995), verbal heads and I^0 are phrase-final, and the verb moves via I to C. The subject moves via Spec IP to Spec CP (see Haider 1993 for a different view).



Case and \square -assignment proceed as follows. In both (41a) and (b), the matrix subject checks nominative case with I, while the AcI-subject checks accusative case with the matrix v *lässt*. The matrix v also assigns an external argument role to the matrix subject, which then moves to Spec IP and leaves a trace in Spec vP. In the unergative AcI-structure (a), the AcI-subject gets an agent role from the embedded v , whereas in the unaccusative AcI-structure (b), this does not happen because the structure lacks a vP-projection.

These two types of AcI-structures lead to different binding possibilities. The extra structural layer of unergative and transitive AcIs, resulting from the presence of vP (see (42a)), provides a domain in which the pronominal can be free. The assumption that v is needed to assign an external argument role to the AcI-subject explains the intuition that the pronominal is grammatical as long as it is separated from its antecedent by an agent-type subject. The crucial binding domain for the pronominal should thus be vP. The reflexive, on the other hand, can transcend vP boundaries. While it is preferably bound within the embedded vP, some speakers find it grammatical, as long as it has a binder within its minimal IP. The preliminary binding

conditions for AcI-constructions are thus given in (42). I assume provisionally that ‘subject’ refers to ‘DPs in Spec vP’.²⁰ A formal definition of ‘subject’ is offered in the next subsection.

- (42) a. A reflexive $\bar{\square}$ must be bound by a ‘subject’ within the minimal IP containing $\bar{\square}$
 b. A pronominal $\bar{\square}$ must be free within the minimal vP containing $\bar{\square}$

In section 4, I will propose a way to eliminate the disjunction (IP or vP) implicit in (42). For now, consider how this formulation will do its work. In (41a), the pronominal *ihm* can refer to the matrix subject *der König* because it is free in the minimal vP containing it. The AcI-subject *den Gefangenen* is the intervening external argument. If the AcI-infinitive does not include a vP, as is the case in (41b), the minimal vP containing the pronominal is the matrix vP, which also contains the trace of the matrix subject antecedent. Within this higher vP, the pronominal cannot be free and is thus ruled out. As for the reflexive, *sich* has two binding possibilities in (41a). Both *den Gefangenen* and *der König* are within the minimal IP that contains *sich* and can thus antecede it. (Again, the prisoner would have to be in front of a mirror). In (41b), only the matrix subject *der Bauarbeiter* is a possible antecedent. It seems that, pragmatically, only very few verbs allow for non-agentive subjects to antecede the reflexive. An example is *in sich zusammensacken* ‘to (internally) collapse’ as in *Er sah den Kuchen_i in sich_i zusammensacken* ‘He saw the cake collapse’. Generally, we only get non-complementarity of the reflexive and the pronominal if the phrase structure of the AcI corresponds to (41a), i.e. the unergative/transitive type.

A consequence of the proposed analysis is that pronominal binding facts may, but auxiliary choice cannot be taken as a reliable probe for unaccusativity. The fact that motion verbs, for example, select *sein* ‘be’ as their perfect auxiliary does not necessarily mean that they are unaccusative. Agentivity and thus the presence of an external argument is only one of the factors that influence auxiliary selection. Although agentivity (or control) are cross-linguistically associated with HAVE-selection, there are other factors like change of location, which, combined with agentivity, may lead to BE-selection (see Sorace’s (2000) Auxiliary Selection Hierarchy). The point is that unaccusativity dynamically depends on the subtleties of sentence interpretation rather than on auxiliary choice.²¹

3.2 An extension to the nominal domain

In the previous section, it has been established that sentences with embedded AcI-constructions call for binding conditions which have IP as the relevant domain for the reflexive and vP as the relevant domain for the pronominal. Since the former domain is bigger than the latter, we get non-complementarity. Before

²⁰ In this paper, I focus solely on subject-oriented anaphora. For cases of reflexives with object antecedents, see Grewendorf (1985).

²¹ See Lee-Schoenfeld (to appear) for an in-depth discussion of the non-correlation of agentivity and auxiliary choice.

proposing a way to unify the domains for reflexive and pronominal in section 4, I focus here on determining what impact the findings thus far have on the study of German anaphora in a broader sense. That is, does the current analysis extend to non-AcI contexts? This section explores two such contexts: complex DPs with a possessor in Spec DP and plain DPs.

Consider first the complex DP example in (43).

- (43) Martin_i hört nicht gern [_{DP}Thorstens_j Geschichten über sich_{i/j}/ihn_{i/*j}]. (L.-S.)
 Martin hears not with-pleasure Thorsten's stories about self/ him
 'Martin doesn't like to hear Thorsten's stories about himself/him.'

The binding conditions as stated in (42) do not predict the coindexation of the pronominal *ihn* with the matrix subject to be possible because there is no *vP* within which the pronominal is free. Here, *ihn* is embedded in a PP that is part of a complex DP. There is a remarkable parallel between the binding facts in this complex DP example and those in unergative and transitive AcI-constructions. Compare (43) with (44).

- (44) Martin_i hört [_{AcI}Thorsten_j über sich_{i/j}/ihn_{i/*j} reden]. (L.-S.)
 Martin hears Thorsten about self/ him talk
 'Martin hears Thorsten talk about himself/him.'

The reflexive *sich* is ambiguous in that it can be bound either by the subject/possessor in the embedded domain or, within IP, by the matrix subject. The pronominal, on the other hand, can only be bound by the matrix subject or refer to someone not mentioned in the sentence. The fact that the pronominal in (43) is at all grammatical suggests that DP, just like *vP*, constitutes a domain within which the pronominal is free. The possessor in Spec DP (43) is the equivalent of the agentive subject in Spec *vP* (44). Both intervene between the pronominal and its matrix clause antecedent. As for the reflexive binding facts, IP is still the only upper boundary needed.

If the possessor in Spec DP is considered a 'subject,' the binding condition for the reflexive, as stated in (42a), still holds. The definition of 'subject,' however, must be broadened now. It needs to include DPs in both Spec *vP* and Spec DP. I propose to adopt Safir's (to appear) definition, as shown in (44). Furthermore, the pronominal binding condition must now allow for a pronominal to be free within the minimal DP containing it. The revision (adding another disjunction to be eliminated shortly) is given in (46).

- (45) The syntactic subject of \square , \square a lexical category, is any \square such that \square is the SPEC of an extended projection of \square , and \square is in an A-chain relation with SPEC- \square .²²
- (46) A pronominal \square must be free within the minimal *vP* or DP containing \square .

²² Assuming the 'bare phrase structure' definition of complement and specifier, according to which complements are phrases that are incorporated by first merge to a given head and all subsequent merges produce specifiers, Safir's definition of 'subject' could be reduced to: DP specifier of (the extended projection of) a \square -assigning head.

Safir’s definition of “syntactic subject” (his (21), ch. 5) includes the specifier of the immediate or extended projection of any lexical category. With respect to the AcI-constructions in (41a) and (b), the definition may be applied as follows. Both the *lassen-v* and the V are at least semi-lexical categories²³ and can thus be substituted for \square . The immediate projection of *v* is *vP* and its extended projection is *IP*. Since the DPs *der König* in (41a) and *Hans* in (b) are in *Spec IP*, they can be substituted for \square . They fulfill the A-chain condition because of their trace in *Spec vP*. The DP *den Gefangenen* in the embedded *Spec vP* in (a) is also a ‘subject’ because the extended projection of a lexical head \square includes the immediate projection of \square (Grimshaw 2000). The A-chain condition is vacuously satisfied. As for the complex DP example in (43), the lexical category \square is represented by N, and \square corresponds to the possessor in *Spec DP*, *DP* being in turn the immediate projection of D and part of the extended projection of N. The possessor in (43), *Thorsten*, is thus a ‘subject’ in the relevant sense. In sum, Safir’s characterization of ‘subject’ makes the right predictions for the reflexive binding facts in sentences with both AcIs and complex DPs. All the possible binders of *sich* in (41) as well as in (43) are ‘subjects’ as defined in (46).

It is important to note that the disjunction “*vP* or *DP*” in (46) cannot be eliminated by referring instead to a “subject-containing category” (which would be natural). This is because even DPs without a possessor in *Spec DP* appear to constitute a domain for pronominals. The evidence comes from unaccusative AcI examples like (47).

- (47) Er_i sah [_{AcI}das Boot neben $sich_i/ihm_i$ untergehen]. (L.-S.)
 he saw the boat next to self/ him under-go
 ‘He saw the boat next to him sink.’

According to (42), a pronominal should not be grammatical in an unaccusative AcI. The lack of a *vP* and thus an intervening external argument between the pronominal and its antecedent is predicted to rule out the pronominal. The fact that it is grammatical in (47) can be explained if *das Boot neben sich/ihm* has the structure [_{DP} [_{PP}]]. As in the complex DP example in (43), the anaphoric element is then embedded in a PP that is part of a DP. Within the domain of the DP, the pronominal is free. If the [_{DP} [_{PP}]]-analysis is forced, i.e. if the possibility of interpreting the DP and the PP as separate arguments of the infinitive is excluded²⁴, the pronominal seems even more natural. This is shown in (48).

- (48) Er_i sah [_{AcI}[_{DP}das Boot [_{PP}neben $sich_i/ihm_i$]], aber nicht [_{DP}das Boot [_{PP}hinter $sich_i/ihm_i$]]
 he saw the boat next to self/ him but not the boat behind self/ him
 untergehen]. (L.-S.)
 under-go
 ‘He saw the boat next to him, but not the boat behind him sink.’

²³ According to Wurmbrand, *lassen* behaves like a lexical predicate concerning its pragmatic properties (see section 3.2).

²⁴ The possibility of interpreting the PP as a separate argument or adjunct of the infinitive and the effect of the corresponding phrase structure on binding will be discussed in connection with the proposals made in section 4.

Examples like (47) and (48) suggest that even without a ‘subject,’ a DP behaves like a *vP* in that it provides enough intervening structure between a pronominal and its antecedent to license the pronominal. In the next section, I will address what *vP* and DP have in common and sketch a proposal of how to eliminate both the “*vP* or DP”-disjunction in the pronominal binding condition and the need for distinct domains for reflexive and pronominal (IP vs. *vP/DP*).

4. Taking the analysis to the next phase

At this point, it has been established that a German reflexive that is not embedded in a PP is most readily acceptable when bound locally (i.e. within the minimal *vP* containing it), but that, for at least some speakers, it can also transcend *vP*-boundaries and engage in apparent long-distance binding. Furthermore, both *vP* and DP have been shown to be relevant binding domains for the pronominal within IP (case I). The goals of this final section are (i) to account for the parallel between the binding facts in unergative/transitive AcI and complex DP-constructions and thus, more generally, between *vP* and DP as binding domains and (ii) to simultaneously explain the widely attested default case of complementarity between reflexive and pronominal, while still allowing for the (at times marginal) long-distance binding ability of the reflexive, which leads to non-complementarity (cases II and III).

4.1 *Unifying vP and DP*

One way to shed light on the parallel between *vP* and DP as pronominal binding domains is to appeal to the Minimalist notion of ‘phase’ (Chomsky 2000, 2001).

Within the framework of Minimalism, the derivation of a sentence proceeds in phases. A phase is a subpart of a derivation whose internal content is closed off to grammatical interaction with external elements. The only parts of a phase which can interact with external elements (introduced later in the computational sequence) are those at its edge. The edge of a phase in turn consists of its defining head, the specifiers of that head and any adjoined material. Among the grammatical operations which cannot penetrate phase boundaries are feature-checking operations; it follows that higher heads can establish such relations with material inside a lower phase only if that material is at the phase-edge. Once a phase is completed, its contents get evaluated at LF (and also at PF, though that will be of less concern here). Any unchecked features, or material that is otherwise dependent on phase-external elements, causes the derivation to crash. One of the category-types that define phases is CP. As shown, for example, by the successive-cyclic nature of Wh-movement, raising out of a CP entails stopping off in Spec CP (McCloskey 2001). With respect to the current analysis, it is crucial that *vP* and DP have also been argued to constitute phases. Chomsky (2000) (building on work by Fox (2000) and Nissenbaum (2000)) makes the argument for *vP*; McCloskey (2000) and Svenonius (to appear) for DP. In both cases, extraction seems to proceed via the respective specifier

position. If vP and DP indeed have this commonality, the binding condition for the pronominal does not need to be stated as a disjunction (see (45)). It can simply require that the pronominal be free in the smallest phase that contains it.

Besides allowing for a unified, more general pronominal binding condition, the proposal that vP and DP (in addition to CP) define phases also has interesting consequences for the reflexive binding condition. Since the internal contents of a phase are not accessible to higher elements, the binding requirements of a phase-internal reflexive cannot be satisfied by a phase-external antecedent. While the ‘subject’ in Spec vP of unergative or transitive AcI-constructions, for example, is an accessible binder for a phase-internal *sich*, the matrix subject (being external to the embedded vP phase) is not. The question is then how to explain the possibility (for some speakers) of long-distance binding for *sich* in AcI-examples like (41a) and complex DP-examples like (43). What allows *sich* to be bound by the matrix subject? The following subsections offer a solution based partly on Safir’s (to appear) proposal of drawing a parallel between German *sich* and reflexive clitics in Romance, which are known to be able to raise from inside VP to the inflectional layer.

4.2 Reflexive raising

In *The Syntax of Anaphora* (to appear), Safir develops a theory in which the distribution of anaphors and pronominals is determined by “universal principles applying to select the ‘best available’ form-to-interpretation match” (ch. 3, p. 1). As there can only be one ‘best available’ form, the distribution is complementary. Non-complementarity can only exist if there is a difference in interpretation between the use of the reflexive and the use of the pronominal. Since the data at issue here show a large area of non-complementarity which does not coincide with clear interpretive differences, the empirical generalizations seem incompatible with Safir’s theory. In his discussion of German AcI-constructions, however, Safir does point out a characteristic of the reflexive pronoun *sich* that provides the means for reconciling Safir’s theoretical claims and the empirical observations here. His discussion is based on the mainstream view that “*sich* can be bound in a clause higher than its thematic assignment” (p. 19, ch. 5) when it is embedded in a PP. Safir gives one of Reis’ (1976) examples, here shown in (49).

- (49) Hans_i lässt [_{AcI}die Müdigkeit [_{pp}über sich_i] kommen]. (R., L.-S.)
 Hans lets the tiredness over self come
 ‘Hans lets tiredness overcome him.’
 (Safir (to appear): (28a), ch. 5, p. 19)

To account for the “larger domain” of the reflexive, Safir compares German *sich* to the French reflexive clitic *se*.²⁵ He assumes that “covert clitic movement from prepositional object position is possible in German

²⁵ See also Pica (1987). Although I follow Safir in rejecting Pica’s account of head movement, it should be noted that Safir’s proposal of covert clitic movement for German *sich* relies on the essence of Pica’s analysis, uniting subject-orientation and movement domains.

for *sich* and that certain causative constructions permit the domain of covert clitic movement to pass a specified subject” (p. 19, ch. 5). In other words, the reflexive comes to be in the same domain as its antecedent by covert movement from the AcI into the higher clause.²⁶

Safir’s covert clitic movement, i.e. the ability of the reflexive to raise covertly, justified by the fact that the Romance reflexive has the ability to do so overtly, constitutes the starting point for the account of reflexive raising I develop in the following subsections. If *sich* is able to covertly move up and adjoin to the edge of its *vP* or *DP*-phase, even if it is not introduced as the object of a preposition, it becomes accessible to the higher elements of the sentence. It can then find the matrix subject as its antecedent, while still being pronounced as part of the embedded domain. Before we get to the details of the account, however, I will lay out some basic assumptions concerning movement and the nature of reflexive binding.

Assuming the copy theory of movement, according to which movement consists of the operations copy, merge, and delete, the first two steps of ‘covert’ movement proceed just as they would in overt movement. The only difference lies in the deletion-part of the two types of movement. Instead of deleting (or not pronouncing) all but the highest copy of the moved element, covert movement only leaves the lowest copy to be pronounced (see e.g. Bošković 2001, Bobaljik 2002, and Reintges, LeSourd & Chung (to appear)). On this view, then, covert reflexive raising happens in narrow syntax. Since the goal here is to explain a case of non-complementarity, it is crucial that the pronominal be *unable* to undergo this covert raising process. But this seems reasonable given that reflexives are generally grammatically active in ways that pronominals are not. Reflexives, for example, must be syntactically bound, while pronominals can refer to an antecedent mentioned in previous discourse or may not have a linguistic antecedent at all. As has been established by Kayne (1975), the binding behavior of French clitics involves a type of agreement relation that is closely related to the system of A-movement. Both clitics and A-moved phases can engage in apparently unbounded interactions by means of establishing successive-cyclic local relations.²⁷ Cross-linguistically, reflexives in particular have special morphosyntactic properties that often implicate A-movement (Burzio 1986). Although it is unlikely that the feature-checking operation driving A-movement and the mechanism

²⁶ This explains the grammaticality of the reflexive, but it does not provide an answer for why the pronominal can be considered grammatical as well (see (i)). Reis (1973) puts a question mark next to the pronominal, and I agree that *ihn* ‘him’ is at least marginally acceptable.

(i) Hans, lässt [_{AcI}die Müdigkeit [_{pp}über sich/?über ihn_i] kommen]. (R., L.-S.)
 Hans lets the tiredness over self/ over him come
 ‘Hans lets tiredness overcome him.’
 (Reis 1973: 522)

Safir does not discuss the pronominal in this context at all. It is unclear why, in his terms, the most dependent available form, namely the reflexive *sich*, does not obviate the pronominal *ihn*.

²⁷ As pointed out by Safir (to appear), French clitic movement extends the range of a potential anaphor even more than A-movement could because the morphosyntax of the Romance causative structure can circumvent the problem of an intervening subject by rendering it dative or through the involvement of a restructuring verb (the latter is the case in German). Still, what clitic and A-movement have in common is that their potentially non-local character is only apparent. Both can give rise to non-local effects due to stop-off points at phase-edges.

responsible for establishing anaphoric binding relations are the same thing, it is reasonable to assume that the two are subject to the same basic locality restriction. Within the theoretical landscape of Minimalism, where derivations are subdivided into phases, such a locality restriction is necessarily encoded featurally. Features are either actively involved in narrow syntax and must be checked *before* LF, or they persist throughout narrow syntax and get evaluated *at* LF. In the case of binding, I assume (in line with Baltin 2003) that feature-evaluation happens at LF after the completion of each phase. The reason is that, unlike A-movement, binding appears not to be driven by \bar{A} and case-feature checking. Both reflexives and pronominals show person and number agreement²⁸ with the nominal they refer to, but case-checking is an entirely different matter. The case assigned to an anaphoric element has nothing to do with its antecedent. The local nature of reflexive binding must then be the result of a feature or property (Condition A) that comes into play at LF and demands that reflexive and antecedent be part of the same phase, namely the one being evaluated at that point. The opposite requirement (Condition B) holds for the pronominal: its antecedent may not be part of the same phase. The reason we get cases of non-complementarity is precisely the A-movement-type of raising ability of reflexives, which is not as typical a characteristic of pronominals.

Note that the inability of the reflexive to be bound across an IP or CP-boundary (case I), i.e. the fact that cases of non-complementarity do not extend beyond tensed clauses, also falls out from the parallel we are drawing between covert reflexive raising in German and its overt counterpart in Romance. It is a matter of fact that overt reflexive clitics target a position no higher than the inflectional layer (i.e. not the edge of a CP-phase). In Reinhart & Reuland's (1993) terms, reflexives form a special kind of predicate, so that (loosely speaking) reflexive pronouns most naturally occur in the verbal domain (including functional vP and inflectional projections, but not CP). Put another way, the movement operations which reflexives undergo are A-movements, solely within the inflectional layer (again, see Kayne (1975)).

To reiterate, in the general case of local reflexive binding, where the reflexive is not at the phase-edge, the only possible antecedent is the closest subject. When it comes to long-distance reflexive binding, there are two ways (corresponding to case II and case III) for the reflexive to be a part of the next higher phase. Case II, which exists for all speakers of German, will be addressed in subsection 4.4. Case III, which is at issue here and only available to some speakers, involves covert reflexive raising. I will now discuss the details of the narrow-syntactic mechanism that triggers case III.

4.3 *Binding by phase*

Consider again the AcI-binding scenario in (50).

²⁸ While the 3rd person reflexive pronoun is the invariable *sich*-form, the 1st and 2nd person forms vary. They are homophonous (or, on another view, identical) with the corresponding non-reflexive pronouns.

- (50) Die Spieler_i hören [_{AcI}die Fans_j sich_{7i/j} anfeuern]. (L.-S.)
 the players hear the fans self on-cheer
 ‘The players hear the fans cheer them on.’

The reflexive binding possibility that is most readily available to all speakers (although pragmatically dispreferred) is marked with the *j*-index. In this case, no binding-related operation takes place in narrow syntax. The feature bundle representing *sich* probably includes a feature that identifies it as a reflexive, but this is not a feature which triggers an Agree or movement relation. It is presumably an interpretable feature which persists throughout narrow syntax and comes to be significant at LF. It is not clear whether this interpretable feature is connected to the LF evaluation process we associate with Condition A, but it seems safe to assume that Condition A (whatever it is exactly) comes into the picture once the narrow syntax has completed the embedded *v*P (the AcI)-phase (again, see Baltin 2003). The AcI passes the evaluation here because the phase contains a binder (*die Fans_j*) for the reflexive. Since only the material at the edge of the AcI-*v*P, namely the AcI-subject in Spec *v*P and the AcI-infinitive, which has raised to *v*, are part of the next higher phase and thus still accessible to the rest of the derivation, *sich*, which is trapped within VP, cannot have a matrix-clause antecedent.

The other (more marginal) reflexive binding possibility in (50), namely case III, is marked with the *i*-index. Here, a binding relation is established between the reflexive and the matrix subject (*die Spieler_i*) although *sich* is the internal argument of the AcI-infinitive (within VP). In order for *sich* to be accessible to the matrix subject at LF, it must have raised to Spec *v*P, the edge of the AcI. Since the material at the edge of the embedded *v*P and contents of the matrix *v*P undergo the LF evaluation process as part of the same phase, Condition A is satisfied. The crucial question is what triggers the reflexive raising process.

Since reflexive pronouns in many languages have special morphology that distinguishes them from their non-reflexive counterparts (in German, this distinction exists for all 3rd person forms), let us follow up on my speculative suggestion above and postulate that all reflexive pronouns (cross-linguistically and cross-dialectally) bear an interpretable reflexive feature. This may then be the same feature that Condition A recognizes when it checks whether reflexive and antecedent are in the same phase at LF. For speakers who allow the long-distance binding scenario in (50) and thus have covert reflexive raising in their grammar, there must be an additional reflexive feature that is *uninterpretable* and can, when paired with the EPP feature²⁹, trigger movement. Since, in the case of AcIs³⁰, reflexive raising targets the edge of the embedded Spec *v*P, the uninterpretable reflexive feature and the EPP must be on *v*, rendering it an active probe. Whether the reflexive feature also needs to be uninterpretable on the head of the reflexive DP depends on

²⁹ The EPP feature demands that the head bearing this feature acquire an extra specifier.

³⁰ We should keep in mind that German also allows long-distance binding across a DP-phase boundary. This means that the raising mechanism described here must also hold for covert movement of *sich* to the edge of DP.

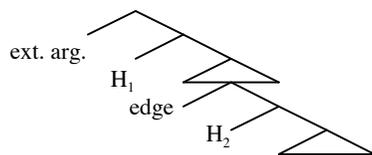
one's assumptions concerning the exact mechanism of the Agree-relation. It is not entirely clear that both probe and goal must be active. If, in the case at hand, the goal *does* need to be active and thus bear an uninterpretable feature, this could be a second kind of reflexive feature, which is only part of some speakers' grammar. This issue, however, is not central to the proposed analysis. What is crucial is the uninterpretable reflexive feature paired with the EPP on *v* because it is this feature combination which seeks out the reflexive DP and moves it to Spec *v*P. (Recall that we are dealing with 'covert' movement here. The copy of *sich* which gets pronounced is the lower ('in-situ') copy.)

More generally, it is then the presence of an uninterpretable feature on *v* which, by widening the reflexive range, enables *sich* to be in the same domain as its distant binder. This scenario is very familiar from apparently unbounded syntactic phenomena like raising and Wh-movement. In order for the moving element to interact with and reach its ultimate destination, there must be stop-off points at intermediate phase-edges, and the movements from phase-edge to phase-edge must be featurally-driven.

This leads us to the next question: If only some speakers have the just-described mechanism needed for reflexive raising in their grammar, what is it that makes long-distance reflexive binding possible for *all* speakers (i.e. categorically) when *sich* is embedded in (certain) PPs (case II)? An answer to this question is offered in subsection 4.4. Before we add PPs to the picture, however, it is time to restate the binding conditions (cf. (42) and (46)) in Minimalist, i.e. phase-based, terms. Both pronominal and reflexive now have the phase as their relevant binding domain.

- (51) a. A reflexive must be bound within the minimal phase containing it.³¹
 b. A pronominal must be free within the minimal phase containing it.

The conditions stated as such account for the general case of reflexive-pronominal complementarity. The particular case of non-complementarity seen in (50) is a result of reflexive raising, i.e. the ability of the reflexive, but not the pronominal, to covertly raise to the edge of its phase. Crucially, being located at the phase-edge means being part of the next higher phase (see Chomsky 2001). More specifically, given two phase-defining heads H_1 and H_2 (assuming no other phase-defining head intervenes between them):



material at the edge of H_2 can be bound by elements in the domain of H_1 or by the external argument introduced by H_1 . Put another way, edge material of a phase-defining head belongs in a certain sense to both phases, the higher and lower. Thus, if a reflexive in an embedded *v*P or DP moves to the edge of its phase, it

³¹ As will become clear in sections 4.4 and 4.5, the reflexive must be bound within the minimal phase which contains it and in which its binding requirements can in principle be met (Chomsky 1986).

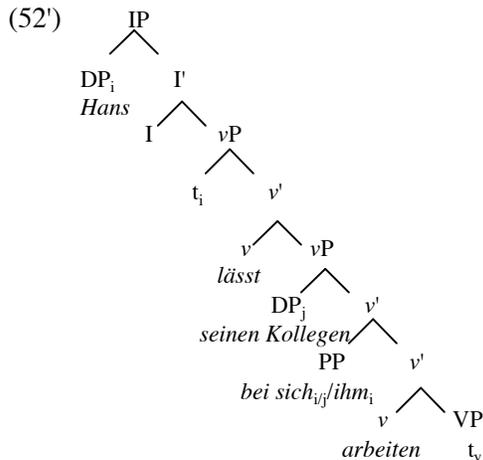
is contained in the matrix vP. Within this higher phase, it can find the matrix subject in the higher Spec vP as its antecedent.³² A pronominal, on the other hand, does not have the ability to raise and is thus always trapped within the lower phase.

4.4 Why PP-embedded reflexives are different

While long-distance binding between *sich* and the matrix subject in examples like (50) is only a possibility for some speakers (case III), all native speakers of German seem to agree that the PP-embedded *sich* in examples like (52) can have either the AcI or the matrix subject as its antecedent (case II).

- (52) Hans_i lässt [_{AcI}seinen Kollegen_j [_{PP}bei sich_{i/j}/ihm_i] arbeiten]. (L.-S.)
 Hans lets his colleague at self/him work
 ‘Hans lets his colleague work at his place.’

The reflexive is embedded in a clearly optional *bei*-PP here. Assuming that non-subcategorized PPs, with a P that assigns its own internal $\bar{\lambda}$ -role independently from the verb³³, are not complements of V but adjoined higher³⁴, it seems reasonable to postulate v' as the relevant adjunction-site. We then get the following constellation.



Being adjoined to Spec v' , *sich* is part of the edge of the embedded vP-phase and thus contained in the next higher, the matrix phase, which also contains both *seinen Kollegen* and *Hans*. Hence, both the matrix and the AcI-subject are in positions that allow them to antecede the reflexive. Crucially, no reflexive raising is

³² German binding is largely subject-oriented, and in the AcI-case, the only potential binder in the matrix clause is in fact the external argument, introduced by the matrix *v*. In double-object constructions with *sich* embedded in a complex direct object DP, however, *sich* has three potential binders: the matrix subject in Spec vP, the possessor in Spec DP of the direct object, and marginally also the indirect object (e.g. *Martin_i erzählt [_{DP(O)}Frank_j]_{[DP(DO)]Thorstens_k Geschichten über sich_{i/j/k}}*). The restriction that *sich* be bound by a ‘subject’ is therefore omitted in (51a).

³³ See Hestvik’s (1991) distinction between three types of PPs: (i) PPs which assign an independent $\bar{\lambda}$ -role to the prepositional object (these PPs are CFCs, regardless of whether they are complements or adjuncts), (ii) PPs which assign a $\bar{\lambda}$ -role to the prepositional object through the verb (these PPs are not CFCs), and (iii) PPs which are not involved in $\bar{\lambda}$ -role assignment at all, i.e. where the prepositional object gets its $\bar{\lambda}$ -role directly from the verb (these PPs are not CFCs).

³⁴ See Grewendorf (1983) for a similar approach.

involved. From the high PP-adjunction site, *sich* can have access to both subjects without having to move. This then explains why both speakers who have covert reflexive raising in their grammar and speakers who do not, accept the reflexive binding ambiguity here.

However, while the PP-adjunction story accounts for the binding behavior of the reflexive, it runs the risk of compromising what has thus far been said about the pronominal. If the adjoined PP in (52') is part of the higher phase, how can *ihm* (with the given coindexation) be free? The only way to prevent the matrix subject *Hans* and the pronominal *ihm* from being in the same minimal phase is to claim that, besides CP, ν P, and DP, PP can be a phase as well. This does not affect the reflexive binding behavior because, treating PPs as phases in the sense of CFCs, PPs are subjectless and thus cannot possibly fulfill the binding requirements of the reflexive. Following Chomsky (1986), the reflexive binding domain must then be extended to the next higher subject-containing domain. This may seem like a step backward in that it rephrases part of Frey's (1993) CFC-based binding conditions in terms of phases, but the merit of replacing CFCs with phases is that the latter are independently needed to account for island phenomena, ordering, and more generally, reduction of "search space" (Chomsky 2000), while the notion of CFC is of use only in the domain of binding. As further discussed in the next subsection, if it is independently plausible to assume that PP-adjuncts are phases, the pronominal binding facts in examples like (52) are accounted for regardless of whether or not the PP is adjoined high and thus part of the matrix ν P-phase.

4.5 PP-phases

In order to account for the pronominal in (52) as well as other instances of pronominals that can be bound by the matrix subject when embedded in nothing but a PP, we are now asking the question whether, in addition to ν Ps and DPs, certain PPs constitute pronominal binding domains as well. If they do, and if the goal is to maintain phase-based binding domains, at least certain PPs must be added to the types of constituents that potentially qualify as phases. As it turns out, Baltin (1982) has argued that extraction from PP proceeds by way of its specifier. Assuming that this is a viable diagnostic for phasehood, PPs may indeed be a reasonable addition to the class of phase-like constituents. Furthermore, letting phases do the work of the binding-specific construct CFC, I follow Hestvik (1991) in assuming that CFC/phasehood is characterized by independent and phrase-internally complete \square -role assignment, i.e. phrase self-sufficiency and saturation. More specifically, I assume that all PPs, argument or adjunct, whose prepositional object receives an independent \square -role from P (without selectional requirements imposed by the verb) are phases. Pronominal binding then serves as a phasehood diagnostic.

The following are both AcI and non-AcI examples which suggest that a pronominal can be free inside a PP that is not contained in a ν P or DP-phase. Since the use of *untergehen* in (53a) triggers an unaccusative AcI-structure here, there is no embedded ν P-projection. Similarly, there are no embedded ν P or DP-boundaries

which could explain the acceptability of the pronominals in (53b) and (c). The PPs alone must be the relevant binding domains for the pronominals here.

- (53) a. Welches Boot ließ er_i [_{PP-phase}neben sich_i/ihm_i] untergehen? (L.-S.)
 which boat let he next to self/him under-go
 ‘Which boat did he let sink next to him?’
- b. Er_i sah [_{PP-phase}direkt neben sich_i/ihm_i] eine Schlange auf dem Boden. (L.-S.)
 he saw directly next to self/him a snake on the ground
 ‘He saw a snake on the ground directly next to him.’
- c. Er_i setzte den großen Teddybären [_{PP-phase}neben sich_i/ihn_i].³⁵ (L.-S.)
 he put/sat the big teddy bear next to self/him
 ‘He sat the big teddy bear next to him.’

These data confirm that both adjunct-PPs (53b) and argument PPs (53c) can be PP-phases.³⁶ Crucially, in both cases, the P assigns an independent $\bar{\lambda}$ -role to the prepositional object.

If all three PPs in (53) constitute pronominal binding domains and thus phases, another question worth asking is which sub-sentential phrases do *not* qualify as such domains. As for bare VPs (in my system, the immediate and only projection of passive and unaccusative verbs), section 3 has already established that they do not provide enough (or not the right type of) structure for a syntactically bound pronominal to be free. In line with Chomsky (2000, 2001), the data presented here thus suggest that the projection of passive and unaccusative verbs (in Chomsky’s system a defective vP) is not a phase.³⁷ This is confirmed by simplex clauses with a transitive verb and a pronominal in direct object position, (54a). The VP-internal pronominal cannot be coreferent with the VP-external subject.³⁸ It is also clear that APs and argument-PPs in simplex clauses like (54b) and (c) are not pronominal binding domains. In neither case can the pronominal be syntactically bound. Note that the P *für* in (54c) does not assign a $\bar{\lambda}$ -role to the prepositional object. In other words, the P is semantically contentless, and the $\bar{\lambda}$ -role is supplied directly by the verb *sich interessieren*.

- (54) a. Der Mann_i [_{VP}kennt sich_i/ihn_{*i}]. (L.-S.)
 the man knows self/ him
 ‘The man knows himself.’

³⁵ As pointed out by a reviewer, the facts here seem to be the opposite in English, at least for those speakers who share the judgments in (i).

(i) She_i put the book next to her_i/??herself_i.

The current analysis has no explanation for this contrast between German and English. The English facts in binding contexts like these are notoriously unclear, however. Some speakers find pronominal and reflexive equally acceptable here.

³⁶ While the pronominal in (53c) is only marginally acceptable, it is clearly better than the pronominals in the $\bar{\lambda}$ -dependent PPs *auf* and *für* in (54b) and (c).

³⁷ This is contra Legate (2003), who argues that all vPs as well as bare VPs constitute phases. Her claim is based on reconstruction, quantifier raising, and parasitic gaps in English.

³⁸ Again, I am abstracting away from subject and verb movement. What is important here is that the pronominal *ihn* is VP-internal (and does not have to move beyond VP to check case), while the subject *der Mann* is introduced into a VP-external position.

b. Die Eltern_i sind [_{AP}stolz auf sich_i/sie_{*i}]. (L.-S.)
 the parents are proud on self/ them
 ‘The parents are proud of themselves.’

c. Die Frau_i interessiert sich nur [_{PP(non-phase)}für sich_i (selbst)/sie_{*i}]. (L.-S.)
 the woman interests self only for self/ her
 ‘The woman is only interested in herself.’

Non-phase argument-PPs in unaccusative AcIs are expected to show the same pronominal binding pattern as (54a). Since there is no vP-layer, and since the PP is \square -dependent on the verb, the pronominal cannot be free. As illustrated by the (a)-examples of (37) and (38), repeated here as (55a) and (b), the facts tend to support this expectation.^{39, 40}

(55) a. Der Bauarbeiter_i sieht [_{VP}das Gerüst [_{PP(non-phase)}auf sich_i/ihn_{?*i} niederstürzen]]. (L.-S.)
 the construction worker sees the scaffolding on self/ him down-crash
 ‘The construction worker sees the scaffolding crash down on him.’

b. Britta_i ließ [_{VP}den Ball [_{PP(non-phase)}auf sich_i/sie_{?*i} zurollen]]. (L.-S.)
 Britta let the ball on self/ her to-roll
 ‘Britta let the ball roll toward her.’

To sum up, subsections 4.4 and 4.5 have dealt with the following case II binding scenarios:

EXAMPLE	(52)	(53)	(55)
TYPE OF ACI	unergative (vP)	unaccusative (VP)	unaccusative (VP)
POSITION OF ANAPHORIC ELEMENT	PP-adjunct (phase)	PP-adjunct/argument (phase)	PP-argument (non-phase)
REFLEXIVE	✓	✓	✓
PRONOMINAL	✓	✓	?*

In all three sets of examples, the argument/adjunct status of the PP is clear. The assumption that PP-adjuncts are adjoined to v' (i.e. the AcI-phase-edge) accounts for the invariable grammaticality of the reflexive, while the claim that \square -independent PPs are phases explains the acceptability of the syntactically bound pronominal.

³⁹ The fact that a few speakers do not completely rule out the pronominal in (55) may have to do with the possibility of interpreting the PPs as non-subcategorized and thus as phases. The verbs would just be *stürzen* and *rollen*, and the PPs, consisting of the pre and postpositions *auf...nieder* and *auf...zu*, would be optional specifications of direction. As explained in subsection 4.4, the reflexive would still be able to find the matrix subject as its binder because PPs are inherently subjectless (see Hestvik (1991)) and therefore allow the reflexive to look beyond a PP-phase.

⁴⁰ In contrast to (54), Reis' (1973) example given in (26), repeated here as (i), allows for a syntactically bound pronominal because, in my terms, *die Leute* qualifies as an external argument and therefore turns the AcI into the relevant binding domain for the pronominal. As for (27), repeated here as (ii), the AcI consists of an idiomatic expression in which the AcI-subject *die Verantwortung* seems to be personified (responsibility cannot literally come toward someone) and interpreted as the external argument of *zukommen*. Just as in (i), the AcI is then a vP which allows the pronominal to be free. The question of why speakers who do not have ‘covert’ reflexive raising would get long-distance binding of *sich* here, will be addressed in connection with ‘semi-obligatory’ PPs.

(i) Hans_i lässt [_{VP}die Männer_j [_{PP(non-phase)}über sich_i/über ihn_i] herfallen]. (R., L.-S.)
 ‘Hans lets the men attack him.’
 (Reis 1973: 522)

(ii) Hans_i lässt [_{VP}die Verantwortung [_{PP(non-phase)}auf sich_i/auf ihn_i] zukommen]. (R., L.-S.)
 ‘Hans lets the responsibility come to him.’ (fig. ‘Hans wants to cross that bridge when he gets to it.’)
 (Reis 1973: 522)

Note that this analysis of PPs allows for a way to incorporate Reis (1973, 1976), Haider (1985), and Frey’s (1993) intuition concerning the long-distance binding ability of PP-embedded reflexives into the broader framework of the current proposals.

As discussed by Reis (1976), there are other instances of case II that are less clear-cut. Reis presents a number of examples in which both pronominal and reflexive can be anteceded by the matrix subject although they are embedded in a PP that does not straightforwardly qualify as a phase. (Reis calls these PPs “semi-obligatory”.) One of my examples that falls into this category is (1), repeated here as (56).

- (56) Martin_i hört [_{AcI}den Mann_j [_{PP}über sich_{i/j}/ihn_{i/*j} reden]]. (L.-S.)
 Martin hears the man about self/ him talk
 ‘Martin hears the man talk about himself/him.’

Although the embedded vP ensures that the pronominal is accounted for, regardless of whether the PP is a phase or not, the reflexive is only expected to be judged grammatical by all speakers if it is part of a PP that is adjoined to the AcI-phase-edge. Since it is not obvious that potentially subcategorized PPs should be allowed to occupy a VP-external position, we are faced with a puzzle. So far, I have assumed that only \square -independent PPs can occur outside the subcategorization domain of the verb. The fact that the *über*-PP in (56) does not license a syntactically bound pronominal in simplex clauses (e.g. *Er_i spricht nur [über *ihn_i]*, ‘He only talks about himself.’) confirms that this PP cannot be treated like the \square -independent PPs in (52) and (53). For speakers who do not have covert reflexive raising, there must then be another way for *sich* to reach the phase-edge. One possibility is for the PP to start within VP, fulfill the verb’s selectional requirements, and then scramble to the vP-phase-edge. Scrambling would feed binding then. Due to the notoriously fuzzy argument-adjunct distinction, as well as various non-syntactic factors⁴¹ that may have an impact here, I will not attempt to give a detailed analysis of thus far unpredicted case II-binding examples like (56). It seems that, depending on both syntactic and non-syntactic subtleties of utterance interpretation, speakers may or may not make use of one or more of the mechanisms I have proposed.

Abstracting away from case II-examples involving “semi-obligatory” PPs, the system I propose has a way to account for both case II and case III binding possibilities. The crucial mechanism needed to explain case III is reflexive raising, a type of movement which is independently needed for many apparently unbounded

⁴¹ To address just a few of the non-syntactic factors at play here, Reis’ data suggest that, even for speakers who categorically rule out case III, there are exceptional contexts that make long-distance binding across an embedded external argument less of a violation. In transitive AcIs, for example, where it is pragmatically unlikely that the anaphoric element corefers with the AcI-subject, use of the reflexive to refer to the matrix subject is perfectly acceptable despite the intervening external argument (e.g. *Hans_i lässt den Mann_j auf sich_i/auf ihn_s eifersüchtig werden*. ‘Hans lets the man get jealous of him.’ (Reis 1976: 31)). If, on the other hand, ambiguity could arise, the pronominal is judged to be the more acceptable way of referring to the matrix subject (e.g. *Hans_i lässt den Vater_j ruhig stolz auf sich_s/auf ihn_i sein*. ‘Hans has no problem letting the father be proud of him.’ (Reis 1976: 31)). The judgments Reis documents implicate that, although the pronominal should be a possibility in these contexts, the chance of using *sich* obviates the pronominal. Other non-syntactic factors, such as avoidance of two homophonous reflexive pronouns in the same sentence, and involvement of idiomatic expressions which often make the reflexive “sound better” than the pronominal (see also footnote 40), complicate the facts even further.

phenomena (e.g. raising and Wh-movement). Assuming that syntactic derivations proceed by phase, overt or covert movement to phase-edges is necessarily an integral part of the system. Since transitive AcIs containing a sequence of two non-prepositional arguments (often both accusative-marked) are extremely marginal, even without the involvement of anaphora, it is not surprising that, depending on exposure, speakers may or may not make covert reflexive raising part of their grammar. As for case II, the proposed analysis accurately captures the invariable judgments involving PPs that are either clearly arguments or clearly adjuncts. Again, no new technology needs to be introduced: the postulation of both high PP-adjunction and PP-phases is in line with previously made claims or uncontroversial assumptions.

5. Conclusion

This paper has consequences for two areas of grammar: binding and the phrase-structure of reduced infinitive constructions (in particular AcIs). The main empirical contribution made to the study of anaphora is the finding that there are several contexts (more than previously recorded) in which the reflexive and the pronominal are not in complementary distribution. In examples with embedded AcIs or complex DPs, the reflexive (whether part of a PP or not) can be bound across an intervening subject, and the pronominal may be grammatical even if its antecedent is only a *v*P, DP, or PP-boundary away. The non-complementarity results from the fact that the reflexive is more versatile in finding a binder than the pronominal in being free. This can be formalized configurationally, without reference to argument structure and the binding-specific construct CFC. The Minimalist notion of ‘derivation by phase’ offers an explanation for both the versatility of the reflexive and the easily gained “freedom” of the pronominal. As long as the reflexive is at an embedded phase-edge, it is accessible to the contents of both the embedded and the next higher phase. Its binding requirement can thus be satisfied within a widened range. While both reflexives and pronominals can reach the phase-edge via PP-adjunction, only reflexives are endowed with the ability to covertly raise. This, we have assumed, is a reflection of the larger pattern that reflexive pronouns are morphosyntactically active in a way that “ordinary” pronouns are not.

Given that it is reasonable to treat not only *v*P and DP but also PP as potentially phase-defining categories, and given that Condition A and B apply at LF after the completion of each phase, the proposed analysis is largely successful at covering the facts. Both the majority of the previously recorded and the newly discovered empirical observations are accounted for. Whether there is a systematic way to account for the reflexive binding possibilities in what Reis (1976) calls “semi-obligatory” PPs remains to be seen. Considering the extremely marginal status of transitive AcI-constructions in general, the variability in judgments on binding, probably influenced by various non-syntactic factors, is not surprising.

Appendix

The following shows the two questionnaires I used to elicit grammaticality judgments from other native speakers of German. The first survey was completed by eight speakers and the second by ten speakers, mostly from northern Germany. In most cases, the sentences were read to the subject. First they heard the sentence with the reflexive, then with the pronominal. After each version of the sentence, they indicated which of the given antecedents they felt the anaphoric element referred to by picking a number from 1 to 5 (1 = immediately comes to mind; 2 = fine with appropriate context but isn't the first thing that comes to mind; 3 = possible but doesn't seem quite right; 4 = sounds pretty much wrong; 5 = absolutely impossible). The 1-5 evaluation results are shown with respect to the different antecedents, first for the use of the reflexive, then for the use of the pronominal. The speakers are represented by their initials.

Fragebogen zur Bindungstheorie (#1)

Bitte lesen Sie die folgenden Sätze und entscheiden Sie, worauf sich das Reflexivpronomen (*sich*) bzw. das Personalpronomen (*ihn/ihm/sie/ihr...*) bezieht. Sie werden oft Mehrdeutigkeiten feststellen. Benutzen Sie die vorgegebene Bewertungsskala (1-5). Tragen Sie also in jedes Kästchen eine Zahl von 1 bis 5 ein. Dieselbe Zahl kann mehr als einmal pro Satz benutzt werden. Bitte nehmen Sie sich Zeit und fügen Sie, falls erforderlich, einen erklärenden Kommentar hinzu.

Bewertungsskala:

- | | |
|---|--|
| 1 | Ja, kommt mir sofort in den Sinn. |
| 2 | Ja, mit entsprechendem Kontext; kommt mir aber nicht als erstes in den Sinn. |
| 3 | Ja, vielleicht, aber kommt mir komisch vor. |
| 4 | Kaum möglich; hört sich falsch an. |
| 5 | Nein, eindeutig falsch. |

(1) Martin hört Thorsten über sich/ihn reden.

• *sich* bezieht sich auf:

- | | | |
|---------------|--------------------------|--|
| Martin | <input type="checkbox"/> | V.S.: 1, E.S.: 1, F.S.: 1, S.F.: 2, S.K.: 2, M.O.: 2, K.S.: 5, I.S.: 4 |
| Thorsten | <input type="checkbox"/> | V.S.: 2, E.S.: 1, F.S.: 1, S.F.: 1, S.K.: 1, M.O.: 1, K.S.: 1, I.S.: 1 |
| andere Person | <input type="checkbox"/> | V.S.: 5, E.S.: 5, F.S.: 5, S.F.: 5, S.K.: 5, M.O.: 5, K.S.: 5, I.S.: 5 |

• *ihn* bezieht sich auf:

- | | | |
|---------------|--------------------------|--|
| Martin | <input type="checkbox"/> | V.S.: 2, E.S.: 1, F.S.: 1, S.F.: 1, S.K.: 2, M.O.: 2, K.S.: 1, I.S.: 1 |
| Thorsten | <input type="checkbox"/> | V.S.: 3, E.S.: 4, F.S.: 5, S.F.: 5, S.K.: 4, M.O.: 5, K.S.: 5, I.S.: 5 |
| andere Person | <input type="checkbox"/> | V.S.: 1, E.S.: 2, F.S.: 2, S.F.: 2, S.K.: 1, M.O.: 1, K.S.: 1, I.S.: 2 |

(2) Martin hört nicht gern Thorstens Geschichten über sich/ihn.

• *sich* bezieht sich auf:

- | | | |
|---------------|--------------------------|--|
| Martin | <input type="checkbox"/> | V.S.: 1, E.S.: 1, F.S.: 1, S.F.: 2, S.K.: 3, M.O.: 1, K.S.: 5, I.S.: 4 |
| Thorsten | <input type="checkbox"/> | V.S.: 1, E.S.: 2, F.S.: 1, S.F.: 1, S.K.: 1, M.O.: 1, K.S.: 1, I.S.: 1 |
| andere Person | <input type="checkbox"/> | V.S.: 5, E.S.: 5, F.S.: 5, S.F.: 5, S.K.: 5, M.O.: 5, K.S.: 5, I.S.: 5 |

• *ihn* bezieht sich auf:

- | | | |
|---------------|--------------------------|--|
| Martin | <input type="checkbox"/> | V.S.: 2, E.S.: 3, F.S.: 1, S.F.: 1, S.K.: 4, M.O.: 2, K.S.: 1, I.S.: 1 |
| Thorsten | <input type="checkbox"/> | V.S.: 3, E.S.: 1, F.S.: 3, S.F.: 5, S.K.: 4, M.O.: 3, K.S.: 5, I.S.: 5 |
| andere Person | <input type="checkbox"/> | V.S.: 1, E.S.: 2, F.S.: 2, S.F.: 2, S.K.: 1, M.O.: 1, K.S.: 1, I.S.: 2 |

(3) Jane ist erstaunt über Danielas Wut auf sich/sie.

• *sich* bezieht sich auf:

- | | | |
|---------------|--------------------------|--|
| Jane | <input type="checkbox"/> | V.S.: 2, E.S.: 4, F.S.: 2, S.F.: 2, S.K.: 4, M.O.: 3, K.S.: 5, I.S.: 4 |
| Daniela | <input type="checkbox"/> | V.S.: 1, E.S.: 1, F.S.: 1, S.F.: 1, S.K.: 1, M.O.: 1, K.S.: 1, I.S.: 1 |
| andere Person | <input type="checkbox"/> | V.S.: 5, E.S.: 5, F.S.: 5, S.F.: 5, S.K.: 5, M.O.: 5, K.S.: 5, I.S.: 5 |

- *sie* bezieht sich auf:

Jane	<input type="checkbox"/>	V.S.: 1, E.S.: 1, F.S.: 1, S.F.: 1, S.K.: 1, M.O.: 2, K.S.: 1, I.S.: 1
Daniela	<input type="checkbox"/>	V.S.: 4, E.S.: 5, F.S.: 5, S.F.: 5, S.K.: 5, M.O.: 5, K.S.: 5, I.S.: 5
andere Person	<input type="checkbox"/>	V.S.: 2, E.S.: 2, F.S.: 2, S.F.: 2, S.K.: 2, M.O.: 1, K.S.: 3, I.S.: 5
- (4) Martin ist entsetzt über Thorstens Meinung von sich/ihm.
- *sich* bezieht sich auf:

Martin	<input type="checkbox"/>	V.S.: 2, E.S.: 2, F.S.: 4, S.F.: 2, S.K.: 4, M.O.: 3, K.S.: 5, I.S.: 5
Thorsten	<input type="checkbox"/>	V.S.: 1, E.S.: 1, F.S.: 1, S.F.: 1, S.K.: 1, M.O.: 1, K.S.: 1, I.S.: 1
andere Person	<input type="checkbox"/>	V.S.: 5, E.S.: 5, F.S.: 5, S.F.: 5, S.K.: 5, M.O.: 5, K.S.: 5, I.S.: 5
 - *ihm* bezieht sich auf:

Martin	<input type="checkbox"/>	V.S.: 1, E.S.: 1, F.S.: 1, S.F.: 1, S.K.: 1, M.O.: 2, K.S.: 1, I.S.: 1
Thorsten	<input type="checkbox"/>	V.S.: 4, E.S.: 5, F.S.: 5, S.F.: 5, S.K.: 5, M.O.: 5, K.S.: 5, I.S.: 5
andere Person	<input type="checkbox"/>	V.S.: 2, E.S.: 2, F.S.: 2, S.F.: 2, S.K.: 2, M.O.: 1, K.S.: 1, I.S.: 2
- (5) Der Professor lässt den Assistenten für sich/ihn arbeiten.
- *sich* bezieht sich auf:

Professor	<input type="checkbox"/>	V.S.: 1, E.S.: 1, F.S.: 1, S.F.: 1, S.K.: 1, M.O.: 1, K.S.: 1, I.S.: 1
Assistent	<input type="checkbox"/>	V.S.: 1, E.S.: 1, F.S.: 2, S.F.: 2, S.K.: 2, M.O.: 2, K.S.: 5, I.S.: 1
andere Person	<input type="checkbox"/>	V.S.: 5, E.S.: 5, F.S.: 5, S.F.: 5, S.K.: 5, M.O.: 5, K.S.: 5, I.S.: 5
 - *ihn* bezieht sich auf:

Professor	<input type="checkbox"/>	V.S.: 1, E.S.: 1, F.S.: 3, S.F.: 1, S.K.: 2, M.O.: 2, K.S.: 5, I.S.: 5
Assistent	<input type="checkbox"/>	V.S.: 5, E.S.: 5, F.S.: 5, S.F.: 5, S.K.: 5, M.O.: 5, K.S.: 3, I.S.: 5
andere Person	<input type="checkbox"/>	V.S.: 2, E.S.: 2, F.S.: 1, S.F.: 2, S.K.: 1, M.O.: 1, K.S.: 1, I.S.: 2
- (6) Die Mutter lässt das Kind sich/ihr die Schokolade in den Mund stecken.
- *sich* bezieht sich auf:

Mutter	<input type="checkbox"/>	V.S.: 2, E.S.: 2, F.S.: 2, S.F.: 1, S.K.: 4, M.O.: 4, K.S.: 5, I.S.: 3
Kind	<input type="checkbox"/>	V.S.: 1, E.S.: 1, F.S.: 1, S.F.: 2, S.K.: 1, M.O.: 1, K.S.: 1, I.S.: 1
andere Person	<input type="checkbox"/>	V.S.: 5, E.S.: 5, F.S.: 5, S.F.: 5, S.K.: 5, M.O.: 5, K.S.: 5, I.S.: 5
 - *ihr* bezieht sich auf:

Mutter	<input type="checkbox"/>	V.S.: 1, E.S.: 1, F.S.: 1, S.F.: 1, S.K.: 1, M.O.: 3, K.S.: 1, I.S.: 1
andere Person	<input type="checkbox"/>	V.S.: 2, E.S.: 2, F.S.: 2, S.F.: 5, S.K.: 2, M.O.: 1, K.S.: 1, I.S.: 1
- (7) Hans lässt sich/ihm ein Buch von Maria geben.
- *sich* bezieht sich auf:

Hans	<input type="checkbox"/>	V.S.: 1, E.S.: 1, F.S.: 1, S.F.: 1, S.K.: 1, M.O.: 1, K.S.: 1, I.S.: 1
andere Person	<input type="checkbox"/>	V.S.: 5, E.S.: 5, F.S.: 5, S.F.: 5, S.K.: 5, M.O.: 5, K.S.: 5, I.S.: 5
 - *ihm* bezieht sich auf:

Hans	<input type="checkbox"/>	V.S.: 5, E.S.: 5, F.S.: 5, S.F.: 5, S.K.: 5, M.O.: 5, K.S.: 5, I.S.: 5
andere Person	<input type="checkbox"/>	V.S.: 1, E.S.: 1, F.S.: 1, S.F.: 1, S.K.: 1, M.O.: 1, K.S.: 1, I.S.: 1
- (8) Der König lässt den Gefangenen vor sich/ihm niederknien.
- *sich* bezieht sich auf:

König	<input type="checkbox"/>	V.S.: 1, E.S.: 1, F.S.: 1, S.F.: 1, S.K.: 1, M.O.: 1, K.S.: 1, I.S.: 1
Gefangener	<input type="checkbox"/>	V.S.: 3, E.S.: 5*, F.S.: 5*, S.F.: 5, S.K.: 4, M.O.: 2, K.S.: 5, I.S.: 3
andere Person	<input type="checkbox"/>	V.S.: 5, E.S.: 5, F.S.: 5, S.F.: 5, S.K.: 5, M.O.: 5, K.S.: 5, I.S.: 5

*Kommentar: aber möglich, wenn vorm Spiegel
 - *ihm* bezieht sich auf:

König	<input type="checkbox"/>	V.S.: 1, E.S.: 1, F.S.: 1, S.F.: 1, S.K.: 4, M.O.: 2, K.S.: 5, I.S.: 4
Gefangener	<input type="checkbox"/>	V.S.: 5, E.S.: 5, F.S.: 5, S.F.: 5, S.K.: 5, M.O.: 5, K.S.: 5, I.S.: 5
andere Person	<input type="checkbox"/>	V.S.: 1, E.S.: 2, F.S.: 2, S.F.: 2, S.K.: 1, M.O.: 1, K.S.: 1, I.S.: 1
- (9) Hans lässt sich/ihm einen Stein auf den Kopf fallen
- *sich* bezieht sich auf:

Hans	<input type="checkbox"/>	V.S.: 1, E.S.: 1, F.S.: 1, S.F.: 1, S.K.: 1, M.O.: 1, K.S.: 1, I.S.: 1
andere Person	<input type="checkbox"/>	V.S.: 5, E.S.: 5, F.S.: 5, S.F.: 5, S.K.: 5, M.O.: 5, K.S.: 5, I.S.: 5
 - *ihm* bezieht sich auf:

Hans	<input type="checkbox"/>	V.S.: 5, E.S.: 5, F.S.: 5, S.F.: 5, S.K.: 5, M.O.: 5, K.S.: 5, I.S.: 5
andere Person	<input type="checkbox"/>	V.S.: 1, E.S.: 1, F.S.: 1, S.F.: 1, S.K.: 1, M.O.: 1, K.S.: 1, I.S.: 1

- (10) Hans lässt den Stein sich/ihm auf den Kopf fallen.
- *sich* bezieht sich auf:

Hans	<input type="checkbox"/>	V.S.: 1, E.S.: 1, F.S.: 1, S.F.: 1, S.K.: 1, M.O.: 1, K.S.: 1, I.S.: 1
andere Person	<input type="checkbox"/>	V.S.: 5, E.S.: 5, F.S.: 5, S.F.: 5, S.K.: 5, M.O.: 5, K.S.: 5, I.S.: 5
 - *ihm* bezieht sich auf:

Hans	<input type="checkbox"/>	V.S.: 4, E.S.: 5, F.S.: 5, S.F.: 5, S.K.: 5, M.O.: 5, K.S.: 5, I.S.: 5
andere Person	<input type="checkbox"/>	V.S.: 1, E.S.: 1, F.S.: 1, S.F.: 1, S.K.: 1, M.O.: 1, K.S.: 1, I.S.: 1
- (11) Hans lässt mich sich/ihm ein Buch geben.
- *sich* bezieht sich auf:

Hans	<input type="checkbox"/>	V.S.: 1, E.S.: 1, F.S.: 4, S.F.: 1, S.K.: 5, M.O.: 3, K.S.: 5, I.S.: 5
andere Person	<input type="checkbox"/>	V.S.: 5, E.S.: 5, F.S.: 5, S.F.: 5, S.K.: 5, M.O.: 5, K.S.: 5, I.S.: 5
 - *ihm* bezieht sich auf:

Hans	<input type="checkbox"/>	V.S.: 1, E.S.: 1, F.S.: 1, S.F.: 5, S.K.: 1, M.O.: 2, K.S.: 1, I.S.: 1
andere Person	<input type="checkbox"/>	V.S.: 1, E.S.: 2, F.S.: 2, S.F.: 1, S.K.: 2, M.O.: 1, K.S.: 1, I.S.: 2
- (12) Der König lässt den Gefangenen sich/ihn anschauen.
- *sich* bezieht sich auf:

König	<input type="checkbox"/>	V.S.: 2, E.S.: 2, F.S.: 2, S.F.: 1, S.K.: 3, M.O.: 1, K.S.: 5, I.S.: 4
Gefangener	<input type="checkbox"/>	V.S.: 1, E.S.: 1, F.S.: 1, S.F.: 2, S.K.: 1, M.O.: 2, K.S.: 1, I.S.: 1
andere Person	<input type="checkbox"/>	V.S.: 5, E.S.: 5, F.S.: 5, S.F.: 5, S.K.: 5, M.O.: 5, K.S.: 5, I.S.: 5
 - *ihn* bezieht sich auf:

König	<input type="checkbox"/>	V.S.: 1, E.S.: 2, F.S.: 1, S.F.: 1, S.K.: 1, M.O.: 2, K.S.: 1, I.S.: 1
Gefangener	<input type="checkbox"/>	V.S.: 5, E.S.: 5, F.S.: 5, S.F.: 5, S.K.: 5, M.O.: 5, K.S.: 5, I.S.: 5
andere Person	<input type="checkbox"/>	V.S.: 1, E.S.: 1, F.S.: 2, S.F.: 2, S.K.: 2, M.O.: 1, K.S.: 1, I.S.: 2
- (13) Hans hört den Professor mit sich/ihm sprechen.
- *sich* bezieht sich auf:

Hans	<input type="checkbox"/>	V.S.: 2, E.S.: 1, F.S.: 2, S.F.: 5, S.K.: 2, M.O.: 3, K.S.: 5, I.S.: 4
Professor	<input type="checkbox"/>	V.S.: 1, E.S.: 1, F.S.: 1, S.F.: 1, S.K.: 1, M.O.: 1, K.S.: 1, I.S.: 1
andere Person	<input type="checkbox"/>	V.S.: 5, E.S.: 5, F.S.: 5, S.F.: 5, S.K.: 5, M.O.: 5, K.S.: 5, I.S.: 5
 - *ihm* bezieht sich auf:

Hans	<input type="checkbox"/>	V.S.: 1, E.S.: 2, F.S.: 1, S.F.: 1, S.K.: 3, M.O.: 2, K.S.: 1, I.S.: 1
Professor	<input type="checkbox"/>	V.S.: 5, E.S.: 5, F.S.: 5, S.F.: 5, S.K.: 5, M.O.: 5, K.S.: 5, I.S.: 5
andere Person	<input type="checkbox"/>	V.S.: 1, E.S.: 1, F.S.: 2, S.F.: 2, S.K.: 1, M.O.: 1, K.S.: 1, I.S.: 2

Fragebogen: Bindung in AcI-Konstruktionen (#2)

Bitte lesen Sie die folgenden Sätze und entscheiden Sie, worauf sich das Reflexivpronomen (*sich*) bzw. das Personalpronomen (*ihn/ihm/sie/ihr...*) bezieht. Sie werden sowohl Mehrdeutigkeiten als auch unmögliche Kombinationen vorfinden. Benutzen Sie die vorgegebene Bewertungsskala und tragen Sie in jedes Kästchen Ihr Urteil, also eine Zahl von 1 bis 5, ein. Dieselbe Zahl kann mehr als einmal pro Satz benutzt werden. Wenn Sie meinen den Kontext genauer erklären zu müssen, fügen Sie bitte einen Kommentar hinzu. Vielen Dank fürs Mitmachen!

Bewertungsskala:

- 1 Ja, kommt mir sofort in den Sinn.
- 2 Ja, mit entsprechendem Kontext; kommt mir aber nicht als erstes in den Sinn.
- 3 Ja, vielleicht, aber kommt mir komisch vor.
- 4 Kaum möglich; hört sich falsch an.
- 5 Nein, eindeutig falsch.

- (1) Der kleine Junge lässt den Stein sich/ihm auf den Kopf fallen.
- *sich* bezieht sich auf:

Der kleine Junge	<input type="checkbox"/>	E.S.: 2, V.S.: 1, A.M.: 1, F.S.: 1, S.F.: 2, S.K.: 1, P.R.: 1, R.S.: 2, M.: 1, F.S.: 1
------------------	--------------------------	--
 - *ihm* bezieht sich auf:

Der kleine Junge	<input type="checkbox"/>	E.S.: 5, V.S.: 4, A.M.: 5, F.S.: 4, S.F.: 5, S.K.: 5, P.R.: 4, R.S.: 5, M.: 5, F.S.: 5
andere Person	<input type="checkbox"/>	E.S.: 1, V.S.: 1, A.M.: 1, F.S.: 1, S.F.: 2, S.K.: 1, P.R.: 2, R.S.: 2, M.: 1, F.S.: 1

- (2) Paula lässt die Maus sich/ihr auf die Hand laufen.
- *sich* bezieht sich auf:

Paula	<input type="checkbox"/>	E.S.: 1, V.S.: 1, A.M.: 1, F.S.: 1, S.F.: 2, S.K. 1, P.R.: 1, R.S.: 2, M.: 1, F.S.: 1
-------	--------------------------	---
 - *ihr* bezieht sich auf:

Paula	<input type="checkbox"/>	E.S.: 4, V.S.: 2, A.M.: 3, F.S.: 4, S.F.: 4, S.K. 5, P.R.: 5, R.S.: 4, M.: 3, F.S.: 3
andere Person	<input type="checkbox"/>	E.S.: 1, V.S.: 1, A.M.: 1, F.S.: 1, S.F.: 2, S.K. 1, P.R.: 1, R.S.: 2, M.: 1, F.S.: 1
- (3) Der kleine Junge lässt sich/ihm den Stein auf den Kopf fallen.
- *sich* bezieht sich auf:

Der kleine Junge	<input type="checkbox"/>	E.S.: 1, V.S.: 1, A.M.: 1, F.S.: 1, S.F.: 1, S.K. 1, P.R.: 1, R.S.: 1, M.: 1, F.S.: 1
------------------	--------------------------	---
 - *ihm* bezieht sich auf:

Der kleine Junge	<input type="checkbox"/>	E.S.: 5, V.S.: 5, A.M.: 5, F.S.: 5, S.F.: 5, S.K. 5, P.R.: 5, R.S.: 5, M.: 5, F.S.: 5
andere Person	<input type="checkbox"/>	E.S.: 1, V.S.: 1, A.M.: 1, F.S.: 1, S.F.: 1, S.K. 1, P.R.: 1, R.S.: 1, M.: 1, F.S.: 1
- (4) Paula lässt sich/ihr die Maus auf die Hand laufen.
- *sich* bezieht sich auf:

Paula	<input type="checkbox"/>	E.S.: 1, V.S.: 1, A.M.: 1, F.S.: 1, S.F.: 2, S.K. 1, P.R.: 1, R.S.: 1, M.: 2, F.S.: 1
-------	--------------------------	---
 - *ihr* bezieht sich auf:

Paula	<input type="checkbox"/>	E.S.: 5, V.S.: 5, A.M.: 5, F.S.: 5, S.F.: 5, S.K. 5, P.R.: 5, R.S.: 5, M.: 5, F.S.: 5
andere Person	<input type="checkbox"/>	
- (5) Die Großmutter lässt den Wellensittich sich/ihr auf den Kopf fliegen.
- *sich* bezieht sich auf:

Die Großmutter	<input type="checkbox"/>	E.S.: 1, V.S.: 1, A.M.: 1, F.S.: 1, S.F.: 2, S.K. 1, P.R.: 1, R.S.: 2, M.: 1, F.S.: 3
----------------	--------------------------	---
 - *ihr* bezieht sich auf:

Die Großmutter	<input type="checkbox"/>	E.S.: 3, V.S.: 2, A.M.: 2, F.S.: 4, S.F.: 4, S.K. 5, P.R.: 2, R.S.: 4, M.: 1, F.S.: 3
andere Person	<input type="checkbox"/>	E.S.: 1, V.S.: 1, A.M.: 1, F.S.: 1, S.F.: 2, S.K. 1, P.R.: 1, R.S.: 2, M.: 1, F.S.: 1
- (6) Willi lässt die Chance sich/ihm nicht durch die Finger gleiten.
- *sich* bezieht sich auf:

Willi	<input type="checkbox"/>	E.S.: 1, V.S.: 1, A.M.: 1, F.S.: 1, S.F.: 2, S.K. 1, P.R.: 1, R.S.: 2, M.: 1, F.S.: 1
-------	--------------------------	---
 - *ihm* bezieht sich auf:

Willi	<input type="checkbox"/>	E.S.: 5, V.S.: 4, A.M.: 4, F.S.: 5, S.F.: 5, S.K. 5, P.R.: 4, R.S.: 5, M.: 3, F.S.: 4
andere Person	<input type="checkbox"/>	E.S.: 4, V.S.: 5, A.M.: 5, F.S.: 2, S.F.: 2, S.K. 1, P.R.: 4, R.S.: 2, M.: 4, F.S.: 4
- (7) Andrea lässt die Katze sich/ihr nicht ins Haus kommen.
- *sich* bezieht sich auf:

Andrea	<input type="checkbox"/>	E.S.: 1, V.S.: 1, A.M.: 1, F.S.: 1, S.F.: 5, S.K. 1, P.R.: 1, R.S.: 2, M.: 2, F.S.: 2
--------	--------------------------	---
 - *ihr* bezieht sich auf:

Andrea	<input type="checkbox"/>	E.S.: 3, V.S.: 2, A.M.: 3, F.S.: 3, S.F.: 5, S.K. 5, P.R.: 2, R.S.: 5, M.: 3, F.S.: 2
andere Person	<input type="checkbox"/>	E.S.: 2, V.S.: 1, A.M.: 1, F.S.: 1, S.F.: 5, S.K. 2, P.R.: 3, R.S.: 2, M.: 4, F.S.: 1
- (8) Willi lässt sich/ihm die Chance nicht durch die Finger gleiten.
- *sich* bezieht sich auf:

Willi	<input type="checkbox"/>	E.S.: 1, V.S.: 1, A.M.: 1, F.S.: 1, S.F.: 1, S.K. 1, P.R.: 1, R.S.: 1, M.: 1, F.S.: 1
-------	--------------------------	---
 - *ihm* bezieht sich auf:

Willi	<input type="checkbox"/>	E.S.: 5, V.S.: 5, A.M.: 5, F.S.: 5, S.F.: 4, S.K. 5, P.R.: 5, R.S.: 5, M.: 5, F.S.: 5
andere Person	<input type="checkbox"/>	E.S.: 5, V.S.: 5, A.M.: 5, F.S.: 1, S.F.: 2, S.K. 2, P.R.: 4, R.S.: 2, M.: 2, F.S.: 4
- (9) Andrea lässt sich/ihr die Katze nicht ins Haus kommen.
- *sich* bezieht sich auf:

Andrea	<input type="checkbox"/>	E.S.: 2, V.S.: 1, A.M.: 1, F.S.: 1, S.F.: 2, S.K. 1, P.R.: 2, R.S.: 1, M.: 1, F.S.: 1
--------	--------------------------	---
 - *ihr* bezieht sich auf:

Andrea	<input type="checkbox"/>	E.S.: 5, V.S.: 4, A.M.: 5, F.S.: 5, S.F.: 5, S.K. 5, P.R.: 5, R.S.: 5, M.: 5, F.S.: 5
andere Person	<input type="checkbox"/>	E.S.: 4, V.S.: 1, A.M.: 1, F.S.: 1, S.F.: 3, S.K. 1, P.R.: 2, R.S.: 1, M.: 1, F.S.: 1
- (10) Der Pessimist fühlte den Himmel über sich/ihm einstürzen.
- *sich* bezieht sich auf:

Der Pessimist	<input type="checkbox"/>	E.S.: 1, V.S.: 1, A.M.: 1, F.S.: 1, S.F.: 1, S.K. 1, P.R.: 1, R.S.: 1, M.: 1, F.S.: 1
---------------	--------------------------	---
 - *ihm* bezieht sich auf:

Der Pessimist	<input type="checkbox"/>	E.S.: 2, V.S.: 3, A.M.: 3, F.S.: 3, S.F.: 2, S.K. -, P.R.: 4, R.S.: 3, M.: 4, F.S.: 3
andere Person	<input type="checkbox"/>	E.S.: 3, V.S.: 3, A.M.: 3, F.S.: 1, S.F.: 5, S.K. -, P.R.: 3, R.S.: 1, M.: 2, F.S.: 1

- (11) Der Bauarbeiter sah das Gerüst auf sich/ihn niederstürzen.
- *sich* bezieht sich auf:

Der Bauarbeiter	<input type="checkbox"/>	E.S.: 1, V.S.: 1, A.M.: 1, F.S.: 1, S.F.: 1, S.K. 1, P.R.: 1, R.S.: 1, M.: 1, F.S.: 1
-----------------	--------------------------	---
 - *ihn* bezieht sich auf:

Der Bauarbeiter	<input type="checkbox"/>	E.S.: 3, V.S.: 4, A.M.: 4, F.S.: 3, S.F.: 3, S.K. 5, P.R.: 5, R.S.: 5, M.: 2, F.S.: 3
andere Person	<input type="checkbox"/>	E.S.: 1, V.S.: 1, A.M.: 1, F.S.: 1, S.F.: 1, S.K. 1, P.R.: 1, R.S.: 1, M.: 1, F.S.: 1
- (12) Der Fußgänger sah die Radfahrer auf sich/ihn zurasen.
- *sich* bezieht sich auf:

Der Fußgänger	<input type="checkbox"/>	E.S.: 1, V.S.: 1, A.M.: 1, F.S.: 1, S.F.: 1, S.K. 1, P.R.: 1, R.S.: 1, M.: 1, F.S.: 1
die Radfahrer	<input type="checkbox"/>	E.S.: 2, V.S.: 3, A.M.: 2, F.S.: 1, S.F.: 3, S.K. 5, P.R.: 5, R.S.: 4, M.: 2, F.S.: 4
 - *ihn* bezieht sich auf:

Der Fußgänger	<input type="checkbox"/>	E.S.: 2, V.S.: 1, A.M.: 2, F.S.: 2, S.F.: 3, S.K. 5, P.R.: 2, R.S.: 3, M.: 2, F.S.: 2
andere Person	<input type="checkbox"/>	E.S.: 1, V.S.: 2, A.M.: 1, F.S.: 1, S.F.: 1, S.K. 1, P.R.: 1, R.S.: 1, M.: 1, F.S.: 1
- (13) Der König ließ den Gefangenen vor sich/ihn niederknien.
- *sich* bezieht sich auf:

Der König	<input type="checkbox"/>	E.S.: 1, V.S.: 1, A.M.: 1, F.S.: 1, S.F.: 1, S.K. 1, P.R.: 1, R.S.: 1, M.: 1, F.S.: 1
den Gefangenen	<input type="checkbox"/>	E.S.: 5*, V.S.: 3, A.M.: 2, F.S.: 5*, S.F.: 5, S.K. 5, P.R.: 5*, R.S.: 4, M.: 5, F.S.: 2

*nur wenn vorm Spiegel
 - *ihn* bezieht sich auf:

Der König	<input type="checkbox"/>	E.S.: 1, V.S.: 1, A.M.: 1, F.S.: 4, S.F.: 3, S.K. 3, P.R.: 2, R.S.: 5, M.: 1, F.S.: 2
den Gefangenen	<input type="checkbox"/>	E.S.: 5, V.S.: 5, A.M.: 5, F.S.: 5, S.F.: 5, S.K. 5, P.R.: 5, R.S.: 5, M.: 5, F.S.: 5
andere Person	<input type="checkbox"/>	E.S.: 1, V.S.: 2, A.M.: 1, F.S.: 1, S.F.: 1, S.K. 1, P.R.: 1, R.S.: 1, M.: 1, F.S.: 1
- (14) Britta ließ den Ball auf sich/sie zurollen.
- *sich* bezieht sich auf:

Britta	<input type="checkbox"/>	E.S.: 1, V.S.: 1, A.M.: 1, F.S.: 1, S.F.: 1, S.K. 1, P.R.: 1, R.S.: 1, M.: 1, F.S.: 1
--------	--------------------------	---
 - *sie* bezieht sich auf:

Britta	<input type="checkbox"/>	E.S.: 3, V.S.: 4, A.M.: 4, F.S.: 4, S.F.: 5, S.K. 5, P.R.: 5, R.S.: 5, M.: 5, F.S.: 3
andere Person	<input type="checkbox"/>	E.S.: 1, V.S.: 2, A.M.: 1, F.S.: 1, S.F.: 2, S.K. 1, P.R.: 1, R.S.: 1, M.: 1, F.S.: 1
- (15) Die Demonstrantin ließ den Polizisten auf sich/sie zukommen.
- *sich* bezieht sich auf:

Die Demonstrantin	<input type="checkbox"/>	E.S.: 1, V.S.: 1, A.M.: 1, F.S.: 1, S.F.: 1, S.K. 1, P.R.: 1, R.S.: 1, M.: 1, F.S.: 1
-------------------	--------------------------	---
 - *sie* bezieht sich auf:

Die Demonstrantin	<input type="checkbox"/>	E.S.: 2, V.S.: 1, A.M.: 1, F.S.: 3, S.F.: 3, S.K. 5, P.R.: 3, R.S.: 3, M.: 3, F.S.: 1
andere Person	<input type="checkbox"/>	E.S.: 2, V.S.: 2, A.M.: 1, F.S.: 1, S.F.: 2, S.K. 1, P.R.: 2, R.S.: 1, M.: 1, F.S.: 1
- (16) Die jungen Eltern ließen die Verantwortung auf sich/sie zukommen.
- *sich* bezieht sich auf:

Die jungen Eltern	<input type="checkbox"/>	E.S.: 1, V.S.: 1, A.M.: 1, F.S.: 1, S.F.: 1, S.K. 1, P.R.: 1, R.S.: 1, M.: 1, F.S.: 1
-------------------	--------------------------	---
 - *sie* bezieht sich auf:

Die jungen Eltern	<input type="checkbox"/>	E.S.: 2, V.S.: 2, A.M.: 4, F.S.: 4, S.F.: 3, S.K. 2, P.R.: 4, R.S.: 5, M.: 5, F.S.: 3
andere Person	<input type="checkbox"/>	E.S.: 2, V.S.: 2, A.M.: 1, F.S.: 1, S.F.: 2, S.K. 1, P.R.: 1, R.S.: 1, M.: 1, F.S.: 2
- (17) Maja ließ die Müdigkeit über sich/sie kommen.
- *sich* bezieht sich auf:

Maja	<input type="checkbox"/>	E.S.: 1, V.S.: 1, A.M.: 1, F.S.: 1, S.F.: 1, S.K. 1, P.R.: 1, R.S.: 1, M.: 1, F.S.: 1
------	--------------------------	---
 - *sie* bezieht sich auf:

Maja	<input type="checkbox"/>	E.S.: 2, V.S.: 3, A.M.: 5, F.S.: 4, S.F.: 4, S.K. 5, P.R.: 5, R.S.: 4, M.: 2, F.S.: 2
andere Person	<input type="checkbox"/>	E.S.: 2, V.S.: 4, A.M.: 5, F.S.: 1, S.F.: 3, S.K. 3, P.R.: 5, R.S.: 1, M.: 3, F.S.: 2
- (18) Maja ließ die Müdigkeit sich/sie überkommen.
- *sich* bezieht sich auf:

Maja	<input type="checkbox"/>	E.S.: 3, V.S.: 1, A.M.: 1, F.S.: 5, S.F.: 4, S.K. 3, P.R.: 3, R.S.: 5, M.: 5, F.S.: 1
------	--------------------------	---
 - *sie* bezieht sich auf:

Maja	<input type="checkbox"/>	E.S.: 4, V.S.: 4, A.M.: 4, F.S.: 3, S.F.: 2, S.K. 3, P.R.: 3, R.S.: 1, M.: 1, F.S.: 2
andere Person	<input type="checkbox"/>	E.S.: 3, V.S.: 4, A.M.: 4, F.S.: 2, S.F.: 3, S.K. 3, P.R.: 5, R.S.: 5, M.: 3, F.S.: 3

- (19) Maja ließ sich/sie die Müdigkeit überkommen.
- *sich* bezieht sich auf:

Maja	<input type="checkbox"/>	E.S.: 4, V.S.: 5, A.M.: 4, F.S.: 1, S.F.: 3, S.K. 5, P.R.: 3, R.S.: 5, M.: 2, F.S.: 4
------	--------------------------	---
 - *sie* bezieht sich auf:

Maja	<input type="checkbox"/>	E.S.: 4, V.S.: 5, A.M.: 5, F.S.: 5, S.F.: 5, S.K. 5, P.R.: 4, R.S.: 5, M.: 4, F.S.: 5
andere Person	<input type="checkbox"/>	E.S.: 4, V.S.: 5, A.M.: 5, F.S.: 2, S.F.: 3, S.K. 3, P.R.: 3, R.S.: 2, M.: 5, F.S.: 3
- (20) Der Vater lässt den Jungen sich/ihm Zigaretten besorgen.
- *sich* bezieht sich auf:

Der Vater	<input type="checkbox"/>	E.S.: 2, V.S.: 2, A.M.: 2, F.S.: 4, S.F.: 3, S.K. 3, P.R.: 2, R.S.: 5, M.: 1, F.S.: 3
den Jungen	<input type="checkbox"/>	E.S.: 1, V.S.: 1, A.M.: 1, F.S.: 1, S.F.: 2, S.K. 1, P.R.: 2, R.S.: 1, M.: 1, F.S.: 1
 - *ihm* bezieht sich auf:

Der Vater	<input type="checkbox"/>	E.S.: 2, V.S.: 1, A.M.: 1, F.S.: 1, S.F.: 2, S.K. 3, P.R.: 1, R.S.: 2, M.: 1, F.S.: 1
den Jungen	<input type="checkbox"/>	E.S.: 4, V.S.: 5, A.M.: 5, F.S.: 5, S.F.: 5, S.K. 5, P.R.: 5, R.S.: 5, M.: 3, F.S.: 5
andere Person	<input type="checkbox"/>	E.S.: 1, V.S.: 2, A.M.: 1, F.S.: 1, S.F.: 1, S.K. 1, P.R.: 3, R.S.: 1, M.: 1, F.S.: 2
- (21) Der Vater lässt sich/ihm den Jungen Zigaretten besorgen.
- *sich* bezieht sich auf:

Der Vater	<input type="checkbox"/>	E.S.: 5, V.S.: 4, A.M.: 4, F.S.: 4, S.F.: 2, S.K. 3, P.R.: 3, R.S.: 5, M.: 5, F.S.: 4
den Jungen	<input type="checkbox"/>	E.S.: 1, V.S.: 5, A.M.: 5, F.S.: 2, S.F.: 2, S.K. 3, P.R.: 5, R.S.: 5, M.: 2, F.S.: 5
 - *ihm* bezieht sich auf:

Der Vater	<input type="checkbox"/>	E.S.: 3, V.S.: 5, A.M.: 5, F.S.: 5, S.F.: 5, S.K. 5, P.R.: 5, R.S.: 5, M.: 5, F.S.: 5
den Jungen	<input type="checkbox"/>	E.S.: 5, V.S.: 5, A.M.: 5, F.S.: 5, S.F.: 5, S.K. 5, P.R.: 5, R.S.: 5, M.: 5, F.S.: 5
andere Person	<input type="checkbox"/>	E.S.: 3, V.S.: 3, A.M.: 4, F.S.: 2, S.F.: 3, S.K. 3, P.R.: 3, R.S.: 2, M.: 5, F.S.: 1
- (22) Die Mutter lässt die Kleine sich/ihr die Schokolade in den Mund stecken.
- *sich* bezieht sich auf:

Die Mutter	<input type="checkbox"/>	E.S.: 2, V.S.: 2, A.M.: 2, F.S.: 3, S.F.: 3, S.K. 3, P.R.: 3, R.S.: 5, M.: 5, F.S.: 3
die Kleine	<input type="checkbox"/>	E.S.: 1, V.S.: 1, A.M.: 1, F.S.: 1, S.F.: 1, S.K. 1, P.R.: 1, R.S.: 1, M.: 1, F.S.: 1
 - *ihr* bezieht sich auf:

Die Mutter	<input type="checkbox"/>	E.S.: 1, V.S.: 1, A.M.: 1, F.S.: 3, S.F.: 1, S.K. 1, P.R.: 1, R.S.: 1, M.: 5, F.S.: 1
die Kleine	<input type="checkbox"/>	E.S.: 4, V.S.: 5, A.M.: 5, F.S.: 5, S.F.: 5, S.K. 5, P.R.: 5, R.S.: 5, M.: 5, F.S.: 5
andere Person	<input type="checkbox"/>	E.S.: 1, V.S.: 2, A.M.: 1, F.S.: 1, S.F.: 3, S.K. 2, P.R.: 2, R.S.: 2, M.: 1, F.S.: 2
- (23) Die Mutter lässt sich/ihr die Kleine die Schokolade in den Mund stecken.
- *sich* bezieht sich auf:

Die Mutter	<input type="checkbox"/>	E.S.: 4, V.S.: 4, A.M.: 5, F.S.: 4, S.F.: 3, S.K. 5, P.R.: 4, R.S.: 5, M.: 5, F.S.: 5
die Kleine	<input type="checkbox"/>	E.S.: 1, V.S.: 4, A.M.: 5, F.S.: 1, S.F.: 1, S.K. 1, P.R.: 5, R.S.: 5, M.: 5, F.S.: 5
 - *ihr* bezieht sich auf:

Die Mutter	<input type="checkbox"/>	E.S.: 4, V.S.: 5, A.M.: 5, F.S.: 5, S.F.: 5, S.K. 5, P.R.: 5, R.S.: 5, M.: 5, F.S.: 5
die Kleine	<input type="checkbox"/>	E.S.: 5, V.S.: 5, A.M.: 5, F.S.: 5, S.F.: 5, S.K. 5, P.R.: 5, R.S.: 5, M.: 5, F.S.: 5
andere Person	<input type="checkbox"/>	E.S.: 3, V.S.: 4, A.M.: 4, F.S.: 1, S.F.: 2, S.K. 1, P.R.: 3, R.S.: 5, M.: 5, F.S.: 1
- (24) Maja lässt Willi sich/ihr eine Geschichte erzählen.
- *sich* bezieht sich auf:

Maja	<input type="checkbox"/>	E.S.: 3, V.S.: 1, A.M.: 1, F.S.: 2, S.F.: 1, S.K. 5, P.R.: 1, R.S.: 5, M.: 5, F.S.: 4
Willi	<input type="checkbox"/>	E.S.: 2, V.S.: 2, A.M.: 2, F.S.: 1, S.F.: 3, S.K. 3, P.R.: 3, R.S.: 1, M.: 1, F.S.: 2
 - *ihr* bezieht sich auf:

Maja	<input type="checkbox"/>	E.S.: 2, V.S.: 1, A.M.: 1, F.S.: 2, S.F.: 2, S.K. 1, P.R.: 1, R.S.: 2, M.: 1, F.S.: 1
andere Person	<input type="checkbox"/>	E.S.: 1, V.S.: 1, A.M.: 1, F.S.: 1, S.F.: 1, S.K. 2, P.R.: 1, R.S.: 1, M.: 1, F.S.: 2
- (25) Maja lässt sich/ihr Willi eine Geschichte erzählen.
- *sich* bezieht sich auf:

Maja	<input type="checkbox"/>	E.S.: 4, V.S.: 3, A.M.: 5, F.S.: 3, S.F.: 2, S.K. 5, P.R.: 4, R.S.: 5, M.: 2, F.S.: 5
Willi	<input type="checkbox"/>	E.S.: 2, V.S.: 5, A.M.: 5, F.S.: 2, S.F.: 3, S.K. 3, P.R.: 3, R.S.: 5, M.: 5, F.S.: 5
 - *ihr* bezieht sich auf:

Maja	<input type="checkbox"/>	E.S.: 4, V.S.: 5, A.M.: 5, F.S.: 4, S.F.: 4, S.K. 3, P.R.: 5, R.S.: 5, M.: 5, F.S.: 5
andere Person	<input type="checkbox"/>	E.S.: 1, V.S.: 3, A.M.: 4, F.S.: 2, S.F.: 3, S.K. 1, P.R.: 2, R.S.: 2, M.: 2, F.S.: 1

- (26) Die Spieler hören die Fans sich/sie anfeuern.
- *sich* bezieht sich auf:

Die Spieler	<input type="checkbox"/>	E.S.: 3, V.S.: 1, A.M.: 1, F.S.: 2, S.F.: 3, S.K. 5, P.R.: 4, R.S.: 5, M.: 2, F.S.: 3
die Fans	<input type="checkbox"/>	E.S.: 2, V.S.: 2, A.M.: 2, F.S.: 3, S.F.: 2, S.K. 3, P.R.: 1, R.S.: 1, M.: 1, F.S.: 1
 - *sie* bezieht sich auf:

Die Spieler	<input type="checkbox"/>	E.S.: 1, V.S.: 1, A.M.: 2, F.S.: 2, S.F.: 2, S.K. 1, P.R.: 1, R.S.: 1, M.: 1, F.S.: 2
die Fans	<input type="checkbox"/>	E.S.: 5, V.S.: 5, A.M.: 5, F.S.: 5, S.F.: 4, S.K. 5, P.R.: 5, R.S.: 5, M.: 5, F.S.: 5
andere Leute	<input type="checkbox"/>	E.S.: 2, V.S.: 2, A.M.: 1, F.S.: 2, S.F.: 3, S.K. 2, P.R.: 2, R.S.: 1, M.: 1, F.S.: 2
- (27) Die Spieler hören sich/sie die Fans anfeuern.
- *sich* bezieht sich auf:

Die Spieler	<input type="checkbox"/>	E.S.: 4, V.S.: 5, A.M.: 5, F.S.: 2, S.F.: 3, S.K. 5, P.R.: 5, R.S.: 5, M.: 5, F.S.: 5
die Fans	<input type="checkbox"/>	E.S.: 2, V.S.: 5, A.M.: 5, F.S.: 4, S.F.: 4, S.K. 3, P.R.: 5, R.S.: 5, M.: 2, F.S.: 5
 - *sie* bezieht sich auf:

Die Spieler	<input type="checkbox"/>	E.S.: 5, V.S.: 5, A.M.: 5, F.S.: 5, S.F.: 3, S.K. 5, P.R.: 5, R.S.: 5, M.: 5, F.S.: 5
die Fans	<input type="checkbox"/>	E.S.: 5, V.S.: 5, A.M.: 5, F.S.: 3, S.F.: 5, S.K. 5, P.R.: 5, R.S.: 5, M.: 5, F.S.: 5
andere Leute	<input type="checkbox"/>	E.S.: 1, V.S.: 1, A.M.: 1, F.S.: 1, S.F.: 2, S.K. 1, P.R.: 1, R.S.: 1, M.: 1, F.S.: 1
- (28) Der Polizist ließ den leblosen Körper auf sich/ihn fallen.
- *sich* bezieht sich auf:

Der Polizist	<input type="checkbox"/>	E.S.: 1, V.S.: 1, A.M.: 1, F.S.: 1, S.F.: 1, S.K. 1, P.R.: 1, R.S.: 1, M.: 1, F.S.: 1
--------------	--------------------------	---
 - *ihn* bezieht sich auf:

Der Polizist	<input type="checkbox"/>	E.S.: 4, V.S.: 4, A.M.: 4, F.S.: 4, S.F.: 3, S.K. 5, P.R.: 2, R.S.: 5, M.: 3, F.S.: 2
andere Person	<input type="checkbox"/>	E.S.: 1, V.S.: 1, A.M.: 1, F.S.: 1, S.F.: 1, S.K. 1, P.R.: 2, R.S.: 1, M.: 1, F.S.: 1
- (29) James Bond ließ die junge Frau auf sich/ihn fallen.
- *sich* bezieht sich auf:

James Bond	<input type="checkbox"/>	E.S.: 1, V.S.: 1, A.M.: 1, F.S.: 1, S.F.: 1, S.K. 1, P.R.: 1, R.S.: 2, M.: 1, F.S.: 1
------------	--------------------------	---
 - *ihn* bezieht sich auf:

James Bond	<input type="checkbox"/>	E.S.: 3, V.S.: 3, A.M.: 4, F.S.: 4, S.F.: 3, S.K. 5, P.R.: 2, R.S.: 4, M.: 1, F.S.: 3
andere Person	<input type="checkbox"/>	E.S.: 1, V.S.: 1, A.M.: 1, F.S.: 1, S.F.: 1, S.K. 1, P.R.: 1, R.S.: 1, M.: 1, F.S.: 1
- (30) James Bond ließ die junge Frau sich/ihm in die Arme fallen.
- *sich* bezieht sich auf:

James Bond	<input type="checkbox"/>	E.S.: 1, V.S.: 2, A.M.: 2, F.S.: 1, S.F.: 1, S.K. 1, P.R.: 1, R.S.: 5, M.: 2, F.S.: 3
------------	--------------------------	---
 - *ihm* bezieht sich auf:

James Bond	<input type="checkbox"/>	E.S.: 5, V.S.: 2, A.M.: 3, F.S.: 4, S.F.: 3, S.K. 5, P.R.: 2, R.S.: 1, M.: 5, F.S.: 2
andere Person	<input type="checkbox"/>	E.S.: 1, V.S.: 2, A.M.: 1, F.S.: 1, S.F.: 1, S.K. 1, P.R.: 1, R.S.: 1, M.: 1, F.S.: 2
- (31) Aber er ließ den Mann neben sich/ihm untergehen.
- *sich* bezieht sich auf:

er	<input type="checkbox"/>	E.S.: 1, V.S.: 1, A.M.: 1, F.S.: 1, S.F.: 1, S.K. 1, P.R.: 1, R.S.: 1, M.: 1, F.S.: 1
----	--------------------------	---
 - *ihm* bezieht sich auf:

er	<input type="checkbox"/>	E.S.: 3, V.S.: 2, A.M.: 3, F.S.: 3, S.F.: 3, S.K. 1, P.R.: 1, R.S.: 1, M.: 2, F.S.: 2
andere Person	<input type="checkbox"/>	E.S.: 1, V.S.: 2, A.M.: 1, F.S.: 1, S.F.: 1, S.K. 2, P.R.: 2, R.S.: 3, M.: 1, F.S.: 1
- (32) Meine Mitbewohnerin ließ das Essen bei sich/ihr unterm Bett verschimmeln.
- *sich* bezieht sich auf:

Mitbewohnerin	<input type="checkbox"/>	E.S.: 1, V.S.: 1, A.M.: 1, F.S.: 1, S.F.: 1, S.K. 1, P.R.: 1, R.S.: 1, M.: 1, F.S.: 1
---------------	--------------------------	---
 - *ihr* bezieht sich auf:

Mitbewohnerin	<input type="checkbox"/>	E.S.: 3, V.S.: 2, A.M.: 2, F.S.: 2, S.F.: 2, S.K. 2, P.R.: 3, R.S.: 1, M.: 5, F.S.: 2
andere Person	<input type="checkbox"/>	E.S.: 2, V.S.: 2, A.M.: 1, F.S.: 1, S.F.: 2, S.K. 1, P.R.: 1, R.S.: 1, M.: 1, F.S.: 2

References

- Baltin, Mark. 1982. A landing site theory of movement rules. *LI* 13 (1). 1-38.
- Baltin, Mark. 2003. The interaction of ellipsis and binding: implications for the sequencing of Principle A. *NLLT* 21. 215-246.
- Bobaljik, Jonathan. 2002. A-chains at the PF-interface: Copies and ‘covert’ movement. *NLLT* 20. 197-267.
- Bošković, Željko. 2001. *On the Nature of the Syntax-Phonology Interface: Cliticization and Related Phenomena*. Amsterdam: Elsevier.
- Büring, Daniel. 2001. Let’s phrase it! In Müller, G. & W. Sternefeld (eds.) *Competition in Syntax*. Studies in Generative Grammar 49. Berlin & New York: de Gruyter. 69-105.
- Burzio, Luigi. 1986. *Italian Syntax: A Government-Binding Approach*. Dordrecht: Reidel.
- Chomsky, Noam. 1986. *Barriers*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.
- Chomsky, Noam. 1995. *The Minimalist Program*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.
- Chomsky, Noam. 2000. Minimalist inquiries: the framework.. In R. Martin, D. Michaels, & J. Uriagereka (eds.) *Step by Step: Essays on Minimalist Syntax in Honor of Howard Lasnik*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press. 89-156.
- Chomsky, Noam. 2001. Derivation by phase. In m. Kenstovicz (ed.) *Ken Hale, A Life in Language*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press. 1-51.
- Dowty, David. 1991. Thematic proto-roles and argument selection. *Language* 67. 547-619.
- Fox, Danny. 2000. *Economy and semantic interpretation*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.
- Frey, Werner. 1993. *Syntaktische Bedingungen für die semantische Interpretation*. Studia Grammatika 35. Akademie Verlag: Berlin.
- Grewendorf, Günther. 1983. Reflexivierung in deutschen AcI-Konstruktionen – kein transformations-grammatisches Dilemma mehr. *Groninger Arbeiten zur Germanistischen Linguistik* 23. 120-196.
- Grewendorf, Günther. 1985. Anaphern bei Objekt-Koreferenz im Deutschen: ein Problem für die Rektions-Bindungs Theorie. In W. Abraham (ed.) *Erklärende Syntax des Deutschen*. Gunter Narr Verlag: Tübingen. 137-171.
- Grewendorf, Günther. 1988. *Aspekte der deutschen Syntax*. Gunter Narr Verlag: Tübingen.
- Grimshaw, Jane. 2000. Locality and extended projection. In P. Coopmans, M. Everaert & J. Grimshaw (eds.) *Lexical Specification and Insertion*. Amsterdam/Philadelphia, John Benjamins. 115-133.
- Gurtu, M. 1985. Anaphoric relations in Hindi and English. PhD Thesis. Central Institute of English and Foreign Languages, Hyderabad.
- Haider, Hubert. 1985. Über *sein* oder nicht *sein*: Zur Grammatik des Pronomens *sich*. In W. Abraham (ed.) *Erklärende Syntax des Deutschen*. Gunter Narr Verlag: Tübingen. 223-254.
- Haider, Hubert. 1987. *Deutsche Syntax, generativ – Parameter der deutschen Syntax*. Ms. Vienna University.
- Haider, Hubert. 1993. *Deutsche Syntax Generativ*. Tübingen: Narr.
- Hale, Kenneth & Samuel Keyser. 1994. On argument structure and the lexical expression of syntactic relations. In K. Hale & S. Keyser (eds.) *View from Building 20*. 53-109.
- Harbert, Wayne & Veneeta Srivastav. 1988. A complement/adjunct binding asymmetry in Hindi and other Languages. *Cornell Working Papers in Linguistics* 8. 79-105.
- Hestvik, Arild. 1991. Subjectless binding domains. *NLLT* 9. 455-496
- Höhle, Tilman. 1978. *Lexikalistische Syntax*. Tübingen: Max Niemeyer Verlag.
- Kayne, Richard. 1975. *French Syntax: The Transformational Cycle*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.
- Kluender, R. 1986. Sätzchen: German small clauses as Ss. *Proceedings of NELS* 16.
- Kratzer, Angelika. 1996. Severing the external argument from its verb. In J. Rooryck & L. Zaring (eds.) *Phrase Structure and the Lexicon*. 109-137.
- Lee-Schoenfeld, Vera. (To appear). Agentivity versus auxiliary choice: evidence from pronominal binding in German AcI-constructions. (To be published by John Benjamins in proceedings of Workshop on Cross-linguistic Variation in Auxiliary Selection, UC Davis, May 2003.)
- Legate, Julie. 2003. Some interface properties of the phase. *LI* 34 (3).
- McCloskey, James. 2000. Quantifier float and Wh-movement in an Irish English. *LI* 31. 57-84.

- McCloskey, James. 2001. Resumption, successive cyclicity, and the locality of operations. In S. Epstein & D. Seeley (eds.) *Derivation and Explanation in the Minimalist Program*. Blackwell Publishers.
- Nissenbaum, Jon. 2000. Investigations of covert phrase movement. PhD thesis. MIT, Cambridge, MA.
- Pica, Pierre. 1987. On the nature of the reflexivization cycle. *Proceedings of NELS 17*. 483-499.
- Primus, Beatrice. 1989. Parameter der Herrschaft: Reflexivpronomina im Deutschen. *Zeitschrift für Sprachwissenschaft* 8, 1: 53-88.
- Pustejovsky, James. 1984. Opacity and the accessibility of subject in German A.c.I.-constructions. *Proceedings of NELS 14*. GLSA, UMass Amherst. 360-376.
- Reinhart, Tanya & Eric Reuland. 1993. Reflexivity. *LI* 24. 657-720.
- Reintges, Chris, Philip LeSourd & Sandra Chung. (To appear). Movement, Wh-agreement, and apparent Wh-in-situ. In L. Cheng & N. Cover (eds.) *Wh-Movement on the Move*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.
- Reis, Marga. 1973. Is there a rule of subject-to-object raising in German? *CLS* 9: 519-529.
- Reis, Marga. 1976. Reflexivierung in deutschen A.c.I.-Konstruktionen. Ein transformations-grammatisches Dilemma. *Papiere zur Linguistik* 9: 5-82.
- Safir, Ken. (To appear). *The Syntax of Anaphora*. Oxford University Press.
- Sorace, Antonella. 2000. Gradients in auxiliary selection with intransitive verbs. *Language* 76 (4). 859-890.
- Svenonius, Peter. (To appear). On the edge. In D. Adger, C. de Cat & G. Tsoulas (eds.) *Peripheries*. Kluwer, Dordrecht. 259-287.
- Vikner, Sten. 1995. *Verb Movement and Expletive Subjects in the Germanic Languages*. New York & Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Wurmbrand, Susi. 2001. *Infinitives: Restructuring and Clause Structure*. Mouton de Gruyter, Berlin & New York.