

On reflexive binding in North Sami*

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1. Introduction

Anaphoric binding and the systems that regulate the binding in the languages of the world are longstanding topics in syntactic theory. The classical binding theory (Chomsky, 1981) is quite successful in dealing with local anaphora but faces problems in various environments of non-local relations. In this paper I will investigate some aspects of reflexivity and anaphors, anaphoric binding, and long distance (LD) binding in North Sami¹.

- (1) Mun_j basan iehčan_j.
I-NOM wash-1sg self-1sg-ACC
'I wash myself.'
- (2) Mun_i dáhttun Piera_j bassat iehčan_i/ mu_i/ iežas_j.
I-NOM want-1sg P-ACC wash self-1sg-ACC / I-ACC / self-3sg-ACC
'I want Piera to wash myself/ me/ him(self).'

According to binding condition A (BT-A) of the Binding Theory reflexives are bound in a local binding domain that includes the reflexive, the governor(s) of the reflexive and an accessible subject/ SUBJECT (Chomsky, 1981), as in (1). Long distance anaphors (LDAs) have the ability to be bound in domains that are larger than what is predicted by BT-A. Locally bound anaphors are in complementary distribution with pronouns whereas LDAs are not necessarily so, as in (2) above. In this

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¹ Abbreviations used in this paper:

LDA=Long Distance Anaphora	NOM=Nominative Case	ACC=Accusative Case
GEN=Genitive Case	ESS=Essive Case	ILL=Illative Case
Neg=Negation Verb	NegF=Negation form	IMP= Imperative form
PASS= passive verb form	VAbes=Verbabessive	1/2/3 = 1 st / 2 nd / 3 rd
person COND= Conditional form	sg/ pl/ du = singular/ plural/ dual	

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paper I intend to show that the local domain approach alone is insufficient and that conditions over predicates and the syntactic arguments as well as the feature composition of the argument NPs are to be considered in order to account for the reflexive binding in North Sami.

In section 2 of this paper I present the problems that North Sami anaphora poses to Binding Condition A. In this short introduction I demonstrate the discussed phenomena with the help of North Sami examples. In section 3 I discuss the difference between an inherently reflexive predicate and a predicate that is reflexive-marked. In North Sami a verb can carry a reflexive meaning in itself and in that way it can prevent and block the use of a reflexive or a pronoun in the sentence. In section 4 I present the core of this paper namely the differences between a locally bound anaphor and an anaphor that is bound beyond the local domain in North Sami. In this section I will also consider some of the observed barriers for binding as well as sum up features that North Sami reflexives possess. Section 5 provides some concluding remarks.

2. The theory

In traditional GB theory the reflexive is subject to Principle A, which states that the reflexive or the NP with the feature [+anaphora] must be bound in the minimal domain containing it, its governors and an accessible subject/SUBJECT (see e.g. Haegemann, 1991: 209, Chomsky, 1981:211; 13). In (3) the Binding Theory is stated schematically.

- (3) Principle A: An anaphor must be A-bound within its local domain D.
 Principle B: A pronoun must be A-free within its local domain D.
 Principle C: An R-expression must be A-free.

The reflexive has a similar feature composition as its antecedent, as in the example (4).

- (4) Dii_i oaidnibehtet iežadet_i.
You-2pl-NOM see-2pl self-2pl-ACC
 ‘You see yourselves.’

If the feature compositions fail to match then the sentence is ungrammatical, as in (5).

- (5) *Mun_i oainnán iežat_j.
I-NOM see-1sg self-2sg-ACC
 ‘I see yourself.’

In this paper I take a closer look at the North Sami reflexive *ies̥*². Nominative case is in North Sami licensed to subjects and will therefore fall outside the frame of this paper as reflexives do not occupy the position of the subject³. Even though the forms of the accusative and genitive case to a large extent coincide it is the accusative case of *ies̥* that is of interest for this paper as it is the case that is licensed to internal arguments. The rest of the cases, illative, locative, comitative and essive, fall outside the frame of this paper of the reason that they are not normally⁴ licensed to the internal arguments but often occur at adjunct positions⁵.

It is difficult to comprehensively see how different languages and their special anaphoric constructions such as long distance binding follow from the principles of the theory of Binding. In English there are “stricter” rules about the position of the antecedent in the sentence than there are in North

² When *ies̥* is used as a reflexive pronoun it agrees with its antecedent in number and in person. All the forms besides nominative occur with a possessive suffix and illative and locative are derived from *al-*.

³ A reflexive can occupy the subject position in an embedded infinitive clause in Exceptional Case Marking (ECM) constructions. Reflexives and pronominals are not in complementary distribution as they occupy the subject position in such constructions in North Sami. In such cases the reflexive is licensed accusative/objective case by the governing matrix verb of the main clause.

(a) [IP Mun_i jáhkken [IP iehčan_i (?leat) vuoitán]].
I-NOM believed-1sg self-1sg-ACC (to have) won.
 ‘I believed myself to have won.’

(b) [IP Mun_i jáhkken [IP mu_i (leat) vuoitán]].
I-NOM believed-1sg I-ACC (to have) won.
 ‘I believed me to have won..’

⁴ I haven’t in this paper looked at the predicates that take more than two arguments nor have I investigated the function of the predicate complement (predicative) since the ongoing study of these subjects in North Sami is still badly uncompleted. I want, however, to point out that some three-placed or ditransitive predicates, e.g. *give* and *send*, may licence the reflexive another case besides the accusative. The reflexive is in such examples locally governed and bound.

(a) Earát vajáldahte su, muhto son_i attii alccesis_i
Others forgot-3pl 3sg-ACC but 3sg-NOM gave-3sg self-3sg-ILL
girjji skeaŋkan.
book-ACC present-ESS
 ‘The others forgot him, but he gave himself a book as a present.’

⁵ Anaphoric expressions that occur in adjunct/non-argument positions need not be bound (Harbert, 1995:202;26). “In cases where the anaphor is not an argument, there can be no reflexive-marked predicate” (Reinhart&Reuland, 1993:671;13).

Sami. In English the antecedent of the reflexive is the closest possible subject, as in (6a).

- (6) a. [IP John_i washed himself_i].
 b. [IP John_i wanted [IP me_j to wash him_i]].
 c. * [IP John_i wanted [IP me_j to wash himself_i]].

The NP me is the accessible subject of the reflexive in (6b) and in (6c). The pronominal him in (6b) is free in its governing domain, the lower IP, and thus the sentence is grammatical. Condition A is not fulfilled in (6c) as the reflexive fails to be bound in its governing category, the lower IP. The features of the subject NP me of the lower IP do not match with the features of the reflexive himself and when these two expressions are co-indexed the sentence becomes ungrammatical.

In North Sami there are some constructions that at first sight seem to violate the principles of the Binding Theory. The LDA shown in (7) can take an antecedent that is located outside the local binding domain and does therefore not follow from the standard formulations of BT. Personal pronouns can but need not to be bound by an antecedent outside their local domain.

- (7) [IP Piera_i dáhttui [IP mu_j bassat su_{i/k} / iežas_i
Piera-NOM wanted/asked-3sg I-ACC wash Acc-3sg / self-3sg-ACC
 / iehčan(iežan)_i]].
 / *self-1sg-ACC*
 ‘Piera asked/wanted me to wash him(her)/ him(self) / myself.’

Long distance binding of anaphors is possible out of non-finite clauses but impossible out of a finite clause (8a and 8b).

- (8) a. * [IP Mun_i bivddán [CP ahte [IP don_j basat iehčan_i]]].
I-NOM want/wish-1sg that you-NOM wash-2sg self-1sg-ACC
 ‘I want/wish that you wash myself.’
 b. * [IP Mun_i bivddán [CP ahte [IP don_j basasivččet
I-NOM want/wish-1sg that you-NOM wash-2sg-Cond
*iehčan_i]]].
self-1sg-ACC
 ‘I want/wish that you would wash myself.’*

The example (8b) also shows that not even the conditional mode of the verb *bassat* “to wash” can save the sentence from becoming

ungrammatical. North Sami differs from for example Icelandic, which allows long distance binding across the boundaries where the lower clause is apparently tensed, and the mode of the governing verb is subjunctive (Thráinsson 1991, Harbert 1995:193). An example of long-distance binding in Icelandic is shown in (9).

- (9) [IP Jón_i sagði[CP að [IP ég hefði svikið sig_i].
 (Thráinsson 1991:55;3)
Jon-NOM say that I-NOM had-Sub betray self-3p
 ‘John said that I had betrayed him(self).’

In addition to the reflexive usage of the pronoun *ieš* presented above there are some special constructions in North Sami where the status of the pronoun *ieš* is somewhat unclear or where the pronoun seems to serve other means than that of reflexivity⁶.

3. Reflexivity and the reflexive-marked predicate

There are verbs in North Sami that inherently carry a reflexive meaning. These intransitive verbs are derived from transitive verbs by the means of suffixes that often change the semantic content of the original verb. I want to argue that it is not so much the reflexive pronoun that is subconsciously understood⁷ but rather the feature of reflexivity [+REF] at the verb. As long

⁶ In (a) the reflexive is used twice in order to emphasize and point out who is talking. In (b) the reflexive expresses some sort of a possession. The occurrence of the reflexive in sentence (b) could perhaps be counted as a locally bound anaphor in similar way as the ZIJI-anaphor in Mandarin Chinese (Huang&Liu, 2001, Pan, 2001). For the time being it is, however, more appealing to me to treat this instance of *ieš* as something else than a pure locally bound anaphor. In Finnish such sentences are constructed with the help of a possessive suffix on the main word or with the help of the word *oma* (own), or both. In this paper I will leave sentences like (a) and (b) outside the analysis for the time being.

- (a) Mii jurddašeimmet ieš iehčamet vuoitán.
We-NOM thought-1pl self-NOM self-1pl-ACC won
 ‘We (ourselves) thought us to have won/we had won.’
- (b) Váldde biergasiid iežat fárrui!
Take-2sg-IMP thing-pl-ACC self-Gen-2sg with
 ‘Take the things with you!’

⁷ Nickel (1994:112; 6) suggests that sentences that have a reflexive verb as their predicate don’t take a reflexive pronoun as their object since the reflexive pronoun is subconsciously understood.

as the inherently reflexive verb stands without an overt object it is always preferred before the reflexive marked⁸ predicate, see (10).

- (10) Mun_i basadan_i.
I-NOM wash-self-1sg
 ‘I wash myself.’

As the inherently reflexive predicate receives an overt internal argument it gets ungrammatical no matter whether the argument is a reflexive or a pronoun, which is shown in (11).

- (11) *Mun_i basadan_i mu_i/ iehčan_i/ beatnaga.
I-NOM wash-self-1sg I-ACC/self-1sg-ACC / dog-sg-ACC
 ‘I wash myself me/ myself / the dog.’

This indicates that reflexive objects may only occur with non-reflexive verbs.

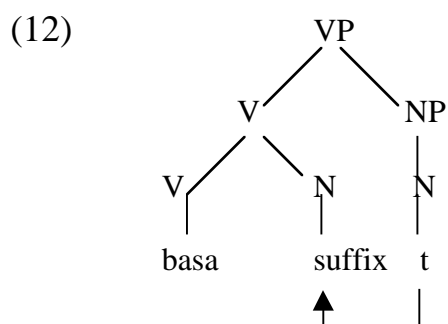
Even if an inherently reflexive verb does not take an overt object the internal argument of the verb is still understood by the native speakers. The only restriction is that the person features of the derived verb must agree with the person features of the subject⁹. One explanation, in the vein of Baker (1988) and Nishigauchi (1992), could be that the inflectional suffix *-dit* (even *-(a)llat*, *-(a)ddat*) is generated as the NP complement of VP and has then moved to the head of the phrase leaving a trace¹⁰ at the complement position. The verb itself has the object incorporated into it

⁸ The term reflexive marked predicate is taken from Reinhart & Reuland (1993).

⁹ The external argument of the derived reflexive predicate can be either overt, as in (13), or non-overt, as in (15).

¹⁰ This trace *t* then prevents the use of any other element at this filled position. This suggestion would even fulfill the Theta Criterion and explain why there can't be an overt object in (11) since any argument position that is filled by a trace can't be filled by any other element.

(movement of N-zero to V-zero, i.e. head-movement), namely the suffix itself¹¹, which is shown in (12).



A reflexive marked predicate in North Sami is one that either has two of its arguments co-indexed, as in (13), or that has a reflexive as its syntactic argument, as in (14). This is an example of reflexive binding in the local domain.

- (13) Mun_i basan_i iehčan_i.
I-NOM wash-1sg self-1sg-ACC
 ‘I wash myself.’

- (14) *pro* basan_i iehčan_i.
wash-1sg self-1sg-ACC
 ‘I wash myself.’

Dropping of the subject is possible when the subject has the person features [1st] or [2nd]¹². The reflexive checks its feature composition upon the verb and marks the predicate reflexive, as it is co-indexed with the non-overt subject. Subject dropping is possible also when the verb carries the feature [+REF] inherently in which case the predicate then carries both person features and reflexivity features as in (15).

¹¹ Empirical predictions that support this view: resultative secondary predicates are allowed, (a), but passivization isn’t allowed (b).

- (a) Mun basadin buhtisin.
Isg-NOM washedself-1sg clean-ESS
 ‘I washed myself clean.’
- (b) *Mun basaduvvojin.
Isg-NOM washself-1sg-PASS
 ‘I was washed self.’

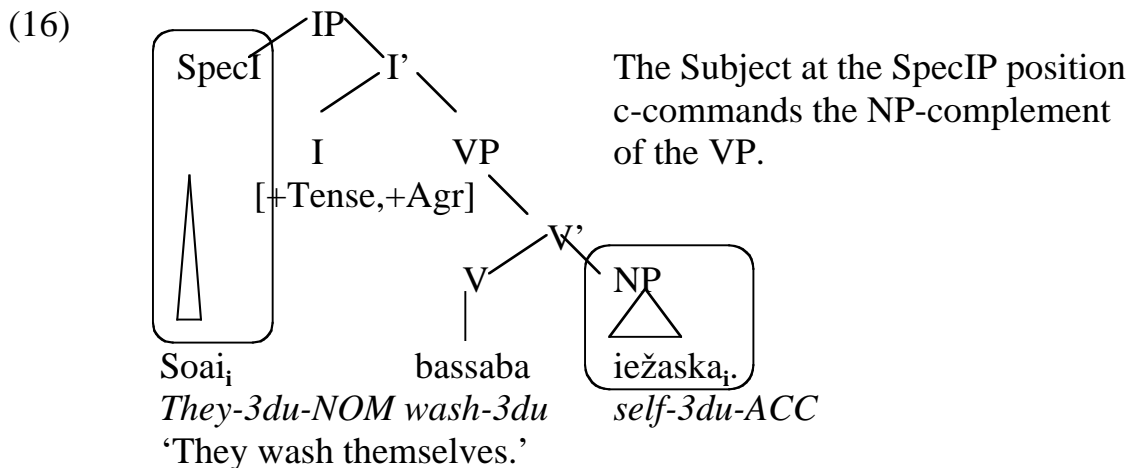
¹² In everyday speech and in some recorded oral contexts (folk tales) 3.person subject dropping is quite common depending often on the discourse factors. Otherwise one can’t leave out 3.person subjects.

- (15) *pro* basadan.
Wash-self-1sg
 ‘I wash myself.’

4. Anaphoric Binding in North Sami

4.1 The local domain of binding

The most local governing category of the argument reflexive in North Sami is the tensed IP. In this domain the reflexive is governed by the matrix verb. The antecedent/binder of the reflexive in this domain is the overt or non-overt subject of the clause. The subject of the clause has moved to SpecIP (specifier position) in order to receive nominative case and this satisfies the Extended Projection Principle. The reflexive is c-commanded by its antecedent, shown in (16).



Reflexives and pronominals are in complementary distribution in this local domain, consider (17), as expected by the standard Binding Theory. This domain corresponds to the root sentence¹³ discussed in Chomsky (1981) and it is therefore always a governing category for the governed reflexive.

- (17) a. Son_i bassá iežas_i /*su_i/su_k.
3sg-NOM wash-3sg self-3sg-ACC / 3sg-ACC
 ‘S/he washes h(er)imself / him/her.

¹³ Chomsky suggests that the following principle be adapted to the theory of government (Chomsky 1981:220;9):

”(99) A root sentence is a governing category for a governed element”.

- b. Moai_i basse iežame_i /*munno_i.
1du-NOM wash-1du self-1du-ACC/ 1du-ACC
 'We wash ourselves/us.'

Reflexives in the local domain are strictly subject-oriented and allow only a sloppy identity reading in the case of VP ellipsis. Consider the example in (18).

- (18) Máhtte_i addá Márehii_j [gova alddis_{i/*j}]
M-Nom give-3sg Máret-ILL picture-ACC self-3sg-LOC
 ja nu dahká Piera ge.
and so do-3sg P-NOM too
 'Máhtte gives Máret a picture of him/*herself and so does Piera, too.'
 Sloppy reading: Piera gives Máret a picture of him.
 Strict reading: *Piera gives Máret a picture of Máhtte.

4.2 Binding domain of the LDA

Binding domain of a reflexive in North Sami can, as said before, be extended to yield a higher clause. There are restrictions to this extension, however. Binding across of a tensed clause in North Sami is banned but binding across a non-finite clause is allowed. Consider (19).

- (19) [IP Máhtte_i dáhttu [IP mu_j bassat iežas_i /iehčan_j]].
M-NOM want-3sg I-ACC wash self-3sg-ACC/ self-1sg-ACC
 'Máhtte wants me to wash him(self)/ myself.'

The locally bound but not the long-distance bound reflexives are in complementary distribution with pronominals/pronouns. Consider (20).

- (20) [IP Máhtte_i dáhttu [IP mu_j bassat su_i / *mu_j]]
M-NOM want-3sg I-ACC wash s/he-ACC / I-ACC
 'Máhtte wants me to wash him / *me.'

Binding across the tensed relative clause in (21) is banned for the reflexive.

- (21) Máhtte_i hávskkuha Bireha_j [lanjas, mii lea
M-NOM entertain-3sg B-ACC room-LOC that be-3sg
*várrejuvvon sutnje_{i/j} /*alccesis_{i/j}.*]
reserve-PASS 3sg-ILL/ Self-3sg-ILL
 ‘Máhtte entertains Biret in a room that is reserved for him/her
 *himself/herself.’

Binding beyond a complex noun phrase (NP)¹⁴ where the reflexive is contained as an argument is, however, allowed. Huang and Tang (1991) have also noted similar binding into an island in Mandarin Chinese. Consider the Sami and the Chinese example in (22).

- (22) a. Máhtte_i hávskkuha Bireha_j [NP alccesis_{i/*j} várrejuvvon lanjas].
M-NOM entertain-3sg B-ACC self-3sg-ILL reserve-PASS room-LOC
 ‘Máhtte entertains Biret in a room (that is) reserved for
 him(self)/*herself.’
 b. Zhangsan₁ bu xihuan [NP[CP neixie piping ziji₁ de ren]].
Zhangsan not like those criticize self DE person
 ‘Zhangsan₁ does not like those persons who criticized him₁.’
 (Huang&Liu 2001:145;11)

As Huang and Liu (2001) pointed out, purely formal account will encounter problems since many of the formal approaches, as for example the head movement approach, would wrongly rule out sentences like the ones above.

Only sloppy identity reading of the reflexive is possible in the case of VP ellipsis, as is shown in (23).

- (23) Máhtte_i hávskkuha Bireha_j [alccesis_{i/*j} várrejuvvon
M-NOM entertain-3sg B-ACC self-3sg-ILL reserve-PASS
lanjas] ja nu dahká Piera_k ge.
room-LOC and so do-3sg P-NOM too
 ‘Máhtte entertains Biret in a room (that is) reserved for
 him(self)/*herself and so does Piera (too).’

¹⁴ Since it not quite certain whether this locative DP is an adjunct clause or not I will just concentrate on the properties that is has as a complex NP.

- Reading: Piera_k entertains Berit_j in a room that is reserved for him(self)_k.
 BUT *Piera_k entertains Berit_j in a room that is reserved for Máhtte.

The fact, that only sloppy and not the strict identity reading is available in these examples in North Sami, implicates that the reflexive in these examples could be an instance of core anaphora. This would mean that a reflexive can be bound beyond the local domain and still be a syntactical anaphora. There is, however, an instance of so called “*picture-noun reflexive*” present also in North Sami that allows split antecedents and that can take non-subject argument as its co-antecedent. Consider (24).

- (24) Mun_i čájehan dutnje_j [NP čáppa gova alddáme_[i,j]].
I-NOM show-1sg 2sg-ILL pretty picture-sg-ACC self-1du-LOC
 ‘I show you a pretty picture of ourselves.’

This instance of non-core anaphora reinforces the point of view taken in many of the recent approaches (see. Reinhart&Reuland 1993, Bouchard 1984), which suggest that not all the LDAs are true anaphors but may instead be camouflaged pronouns or even logophors.

Reflexives in North Sami may also be interpreted by the language speakers as having an extended binding domain to a higher clause than what the examples show above. This is so in cases where the closest potential binder is the actual binder and where this actual binder shares the same *phi*-features as the higher potential binders do, consider example (25a). Any intervening potential binders that have different *phi*-features than the reflexive block reflexive binding, as is shown in example (25b).

- (25) a. [Máhtte_i dadjá [Jovna_j diehtit [Máreha_k bávččagahttit iežas_{?i/j/k}]]].
M-NOM say-3sg J-ACC know M-ACC hurt self-3sg-ACC
 ‘Máhtte says that Jovna knows that Máret hurts him(self)_{i/j}/ herself_k.’

Reading(s):

1. Máhtte_i says: “ Jovna_j knows that Máret_k hurts herself_k”.
2. Máhtte_i says: “ Jovna_j knows that Máret_k hurts him(self)_j”.
3. Máhtte_i says: “ Jovna_j knows that Máret_k hurts me/myself_i”.

- b. [Máhtte_i dadjá [Jovna_j diehtit [mu_k bávččagahttit
M-NOM say-3sg J-ACC know I-ACC hurt
**iežas_{i/j}/ su_{i/j}]]].
self-3sg-ACC/ 3sg-ACC
 ‘Máhtte says that Jovna knows that I hurt *himself/ him.’*

A reflexive may even ignore a potential binder and seek an antecedent in a higher domain as long as it is locally bound. Local syntactic binding is, however, a necessary requirement for such binding to obtain. Consider (26).

- (26) [Máhtte_i dadjá [mu_j diehtit [Máreha_k bávččagahttit iežas_{i/*j/k}
M-NOM say-3sg J-ACC know M-ACC hurt self-3sg-ACC
*/*iehčan_j]].
 /self-1sg-ACC
 ‘Máhtte says that I know that Máret hurts him(self)_i/herself_k
 /*myself_j.’*

This is not a sufficient condition for the binding to obtain, however. The choice of the predicate, in the matrix clause as well as in the embedded infinitival clause that does not contain the reflexive, to a great extent dictates whether the binding be licit or not. The verbs that allow long distance binding in this particular domain are the ones of reporting, saying, feeling, knowing or sensing, although even here there might be some, not yet discovered, restrictions. Interpretation of the (25a) shows already the ambiguity of the semantic content of the sentence and one gets into serious trouble when trying to cope with the interpretation of the example (26). Here the borderline between syntax and pragmatics is fading. The interpretation of the sentence depends more and more on the discourse while the reflexive is still syntactically bound. Testing of the semantic content of such examples as shown above is very difficult, but it is obvious that the source of the reported sayings or thoughts and the point of view, whether they be sentence-internal or discourse-dependent, should be taken into account when reflexive binding in North Sami is discussed.

4.3 Syntactically non-bound reflexive

There is no distinct form for the non-bound reflexive but it resembles the syntactically bound form. This syntactically free reflexive reveals the point of view of the SELF of the discourse source of the sentence. It seems to me

as if only the 1st person reflexive¹⁵ can be entirely unbound syntactically whereas the other instances of non-syntactic reflexives seem to require an antecedent of some form¹⁶. C-command and subject-orientation are not required features for this non-syntactic reflexive since a clausal antecedent is possible but not necessary. Syntactically unbound reflexive is not in complementary distribution with pronominals. Whereas the reflexives are bound in the introduced extended long-distance binding domain they are not syntactically bound in these following example in (27).

- (27) Iehčan lassin dušše golbma olbmo
Self-1sg-Gen supplement-ESS only three person-pl-ACC
 dorjo jurdaga.
supported-3pl idea-ACC
 ‘Besides myself, only three persons supported the idea.’

5. Some observed barriers for binding

A strong barrier for reflexive binding in North Sami is the embedded tensed IP, which even yields the embedded CP to be an absolute barrier for outside government and binding. A tensed IP cannot be embedded in North Sami unless it is a complement of a CP¹⁷. An anaphoric reflexive can in no circumstances be bound outside the tensed IP neither when contained in a complement clause, (28), nor when contained in an adverbial clause, (29).

- (28) [IP Máhtte_i dáhttu [CP ahte [IP mun_j basan su_{i/k} / iehčan_j /
M-NOM want-3sg that I-NOM wash-1sg he-ACC / self-1sg-ACC /
 *iežas_i .]]]
self-3sg-ACC
 ‘Máhtte_i wants that I_j wash him_{i/k} / myself_j / *himself_i.’

¹⁵ In cases of non-bound non-syntactic reflexive I interpret the reflexive to be semantically collective and actually singular.

¹⁶ I see these bound but highly discourse dependent reflexives as belonging to periphery between the truly non-bound and the syntactically bound reflexives. I do admit that it may be difficult to make such a differentiation at all times.

¹⁷ I have left direct quotes outside the frame of this paper although some aspects of quotation and discourse will be shortly discussed in the section that considers the binding of non-syntactic reflexives.

- (29) [IP Máhtte_i oinnii mu_j [CP go [IP *pro* bassen su_{i/k}/ iehčan_j
M-NOM saw-3sg I-ACC when pro washed-1sg he-ACC/self-1sgACC
 /*iežas_i .]]]
 /self-3sg-ACC
 ‘Máhtte saw me when I washed him_{i/k}/ myself_j/ *himself_i.’

When the governing category of a reflexive in the tense-lacking clause could be extended to the matrix clause, this was not done in the negative counterpart. Consider (30).¹⁸ This was what I expected to happen because the negation word in North Sami is a verb that carries agreement features. The negation form of the main verb determines the tense of the predicate, consider (31).

- (30) Máhtte_i bivdá ahte mu_j in basa
M-NOM ask-3sg that I-NOM Neg-1sg wash-Negf
 su_{i/k}/ *iežas_i.
he-ACC /self-3sg-ACC
 ‘Máhtte asks/wishes that I don’t wash him/ *himself.
 ‘M. wishes me not to wash him/*himself.’

- (31) a. Mun in basa...
I-NOM Neg-1sg wash-Negf
 ‘I don’t wash...
 b. Mun in bassan...
I-NOM Neg-1sg washed-Negf
 ‘I didn’t wash...’

Sub-commanding but non-argument antecedents in North Sami behave differently from those observed e.g. in Mandarin Chinese. Even without

¹⁸ There is one negative adverbial clause reduct in North Sami that does allow reflexive binding by the matrix subject, namely *verbabessive*, (a). The construction itself corresponds actually to that of the English example, (b). For the time being I must, unfortunately, leave further discussion and analysis of these particular sentences to be held on a later occasion.

- (a) Máret_i gohččui mu_j leat váibatkeahttá iežas_i
M-NOM ordered-3sg 1sg-ACC be tire-cause-VAbes self-3sg-ACC /
 su_{i/k}/ iehčan_j.
3sg-ACC/ self-1sg-ACC
 ‘Máret told me not to make her(self)/ myself tired.’
 (LIT: Máret told me to be without making her(self)/ myself tired.)
 (b) John told me to be quiet.

any intervening potential binders, sub-commanding antecedents are ruled out in North Sami. In the next example one can see the difference between Mandarin Chinese and North Sami in the case of sub-commanding non-argument antecedent, (32).

- (32) a. *Piera_i gáđašvuohta vahágahtii *iežas_i/ su_i*
J-GEN envy-NOM harmed-3sg self-3sg-ACC/ 3sg-ACC//
[su iežas]_i.
[3sg-ACC self-3sg-ACC]
 ‘Jovna’s envy hurt him.’
- b. *Zhangsan_i de jiaoao haile ziji_i.*
Zhangsan’s arrogance hurt-ASP self
 ‘Zhangsan_i’s arrogance harmed him_i.’
 (Cole, Hermon, Huang 2001; xxix:(35))

6. Features of the reflexives

In the next table I present the features of reflexives and their binding in North Sami. The border between the two groups of syntactically bound long-distance reflexives is blurred since the two groups are so similar. Some instances of long-distance bound reflexives are discourse dependent to such an extent that they may resemble syntactically non-bound reflexives rather than syntactically bound reflexives. The clearest borderline goes between the locally and syntactically and governed reflexive, and those instances that may be long-distance bound or discourse-dependent.

	Bound	subject - oriented	c-command	Identity reading in VP ellipsis	Binding of the reflexive	complementary distribution with pronouns
Locally bound syntactic reflexive	yes	yes	yes, at some relevant level	sloppy identity only	bound by the co-argument subject in the tensed IP	yes
Long-distance reflexive	yes	yes	yes, at some relevant level	sloppy identity only	bound by the subject of the containing clause or/and by the subject of the matrix clause	no
Non-syntactic reflexive	Need not be syntactically bound	no	no	discourse dependent	need not be bound	no
"Picture-noun reflexive"	yes	need not be	need not be	sloppy identity	can take a non-subject co-antecedent	no
Pronouns [+pronominals]	can but need not be bound	need not be	need not be	both strict and sloppy identity	outside the minimal GC	—

7. Conclusions

The linguistic data considered in this paper implies that a purely formal approach to reflexive binding can't explain all the instances of reflexive occurrence in North Sami. To give an adequate account for the reflexive binding relations in North Sami I attest there to be two binding domains for reflexives, each having strictly defined binding rules: the local domain and the long-distance domain. In addition to the two binding domains for reflexives I also argue there to exist a non-bound, non-syntactic occurrence of a reflexive that is to be considered separately from the two syntactic binding domains of reflexives. The binding in the local domain follows the principles of the standard binding theory and is object to the BT-A. Whether there is a domain for long-distance bound reflexives and how this

domain is defined seem to be language specific questions. In North Sami syntactic binding may be extended over the local binding category in case where the embedded clause is infinitival. Binding of the “*picture-noun reflexives*” in North Sami is similar to that of English and needs to be further studied in a later occasion. I personally believe the syntactically unbound anaphora, as presented in this paper, to be a universal feature of all languages although the overt presentation of this expression may vary greatly between languages.

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