Layered Binding in *De Se* Reports

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**Synopsis**

*De se* reports raise a Binding Theory puzzle.

1. McCain convinced Palin to vote for herself. The problem is capturing the reading where *herself* is *de re*, while accounting for the presence of the reflexive.

**The idea: variables carry two indices.**

- **Basic indices** track actual identity facts.
- **Higher-order indices** track identity facts in attitude worlds.

Pronouns in (1) share only basic indices:

McCain convinced Palin [PRO1 vote for herself1].

**Extras:** A more economical way of thinking of *de se/de re* (only one kind of LF); a solution to related puzzles.

**The problem**

- McCain wants to be elected.
- Palin wants to be elected.
- McCain convinced Palin [only one kind of LF]; a solution to related puzzles.

• The source of the problem: variable indices in reports must track two kinds of identity facts.

• McCain expects that he will be elected.

The verb binds an index.

McCain convinced Palin [PRO1 vote for herself1].

Chierchia’s (1989) account of *De Se*; Heim (1994); Lakoff (1972, Heim 1994).

**The solution: we must track two kinds of fact separately, via two series of indices.**

- **Basic indices** (subscript position) track actual identity facts and determine covaluation for BT purposes.
- **Higher-order indices** (superscript position) track identity facts in attitude worlds—and, by doing this, they track the ‘mode of presentation’ the attitude holder associates to the relevant individuals.

The new LF of (1):

[McCain convinced Palin1 [PRO1 vote for herself1]]

This reconciles standard BT with Chierchia-style semantics for the *de se*.

- (1) is ruled in by standard condition A because, by assumption, BT only deals with basic indices. Similarly, *mutatis mutandis*, (5) is ruled out by standard condition B. Right predictions for subject-control verbs and cases where traces control PRO also fall out.

- Attitude verbs still bind PRO. In addition, PRO has a dedicated *de se* index, hence it lexically encodes its *de se* character. (This allows us to predict that reports like (2) have only a *de se* reading.)

**Compositional Implementation**

- **The starting point:** attitude verbs perform obligatory assignment.