

Faroese long-distance reflexives face-off against Icelandic long-distance reflexives

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Abstract

Long-distance reflexives (LDRs) in Faroese are often compared to those in Icelandic, and are even considered to have the same distribution (Thráinsson et al., 2004). In this paper I evaluate the extent to which this is true. The results from recent fieldwork show that there are clear differences between the LDR in the two closely related languages, in particular that Faroese speakers often reject LDR sentences that contain a non-third person, and that Faroese LDR is often completely acceptable out of a non-complement clause. In addition, initial findings suggest that there may be dialectal variation with respect to at least these two aspects of LDR in Faroese.

1. Introduction¹

The classic long-distance reflexive (LDR) in Icelandic, as shown in (1), with the equivalent in Faroese, has an antecedent outside of its clause.

- (1) a. **Jón** segir [að María elski **sig/bróður sinn**]. ICELANDIC
b. **Jón** sigur, [at Maria elskar **seg/beiggja sín**]. FAROESE
John says that Maria loves self/ self's brother

Faroese reflexives are often compared to Icelandic reflexives, and are assumed to have very similar, if not the same distribution (eg Thráinsson et al., 2004: 335, Thráinsson, 2007: 487). In this paper, I examine the extent to which Faroese LDR can be said to be ‘the same’ as Icelandic LDR. I start with a brief overview of Faroese anaphors generally.

1.1. Faroese reflexives in brief

Faroese has the typical Scandinavian set of third person anaphors, ie pronouns *hann/hon/tað* 3sm/f/n, *teir/tær/tey* 3plm/f/n; and reflexives *seg/seg sjálvan/sín* simple/complex/possessive, all of which each decline for case, person and number. The possessive may appear before or after the possessed noun. In addition, it is very common for a prepositional possessive phrase *hjá sær/honum* ‘by/with R.DATIVE/him’ to follow the possessed noun rather than the possessive reflexive or pronoun. Finally, a

¹ I would like to thank Jógvan í Lon Jacobsen for proof-reading the Faroese examples. Financial support for this research came from NORMS.

definite form of a noun is often used without any overt indicator of possession.

The third person simple reflexives decline for gender and case (Table 1). (The paradigms in Table 1-Table 4 come from Thráinsson et al. 2004.)

Table 1. Third person reflexive pronouns in Faroese

<i>gloss</i>	'himself/herself/itself/themself/themselves' (glossed as 'R' in this paper)
<i>N</i>	-
<i>A</i>	seg
<i>D</i>	sær
<i>G</i>	sín

The third person reflexive possessives decline for the number and gender of the possessed NP, and case, as shown in Table 2.

Table 2. Third person possessive reflexives in Faroese

	Singular			Plural		
	M	F	N	M	F	N
<i>N</i>	sín	sín	sítt	sínir	sínar	síni
<i>A</i>	sín	sína	sítt	sínar	sínar	síni
<i>D</i>	sínum	sín(ar)i	sínum	sínum	sínum	sínum
<i>G</i>	síns	sínar	síns	sína	sína	sína

The third person pronouns decline for number (singular, plural), gender (masculine, feminine, neuter/both) and case (nominative, accusative, dative, genitive), as shown in Table 3.

Table 3. Third person pronouns in Faroese

<i>gloss</i>	Singular			Plural		
	M	F	N	M	F	N
	'he'	'she'	'it'	'they m.'	'they f.'	'they n.'
<i>N</i>	hann	hon	tað	teir	tær	tey
<i>A</i>	hann	hana	tað	teir	tær	tey
<i>D</i>	honum	henni	tí	teimum	teimum	teimum
<i>G</i>	hansara	hennara	tess	teirra	teirra	teirra

Finally, the 'self' word may be used with pronouns and reflexive pronouns, and is declined for number and gender of the referent, and case (Table 4).

Table 4. Third person reflexive ‘self’ in Faroese

	Singular			Plural		
	M	F	N	M	F	N
<i>gloss</i>	‘he’	‘she’	‘it’	‘they m.’	‘they f.’	‘they n.’
<i>N</i>	sjálvur	sjálv	sjálvt	sjálvir	sjálvar	sjálv(i)
<i>A</i>	sjálvan	sjálva	sjálvt	sjálvar	sjálvar	sjálv(i)
<i>D</i>	sjálvum	sjálvari	sjálvum	sjálvum	sjálvum	sjálvum
<i>G</i>	sjálvs	sjálvs	sjálvs	-	-	-

In the local syntactic domain, which is equivalent to the coargument domain, Faroese shows the kind of complementarity between reflexives and pronouns that is predicted in Chomsky’s original Binding Conditions (Chomsky 1981, 1986), paraphrased in (2). (The square brackets indicate my simplifications of theory-specific terms and concepts.)

- (2) a. A [reflexive] must be bound in its [clause].
 b. A pronoun must be free in its [clause].

This complementarity is evident in the examples below. The bimorphemic (‘complex’) reflexive in (3a) must refer to Hjalmar and not Jógvan, while the pronoun in (3b) cannot refer to Hjalmar but can refer to Jógvan (or some other, unspecified male).

- (3) a. Jógvan_i sigur, at Hjalmar_j elskar [seg sjálvan]_{*i/j}.
Jogvan says that Hjalmar loves R self
 b. Jógvan_i sigur, at Hjalmar_j elskar [hann]_{i/*j}.
Jogvan says that Hjalmar loves him

Notice that the possessive reflexive *hjá sær* ‘of R’ construction is interchangeable with the possessive reflexive *sín* (4a,b), ie it may have either a local or a nonlocal antecedent, while the possessive pronominal *hjá honum* ‘of him’ construction may not have a local antecedent (4d), as it the case for the other (possessive) pronouns (4c).

- (4) a. Jógvan_i sigur, at Hjalmar_j dámar [sín bil]_{i/j}.
Jogvan says that Hjalmar likes R’s car
 b. Jógvan_i sigur, at Hjalmar_j dámar [bilin hjá sær]_{i/j}.
Jogvan says that Hjalmar likes car of R
 c. Jógvan_i sigur, at Hjalmar_j dámar [hansara bil]_{i/*j}.
Jogvan says that Hjalmar likes his car

- d. Jógvan_i sigur, at Hjalmar_j dámar [bilin hjá honum]_{i/*j}.
Jogvan says that Hjalmar likes car of his

Throughout this paper, possessive *sín* should be taken to encompass *hjá sær*, and possessive *hansara/hennara* should be taken to include *hjá honum/hjá henni*.

Like the other Scandinavian languages, Faroese also has a simple reflexive, and, like the other Scandinavian languages, this monomorphemic reflexive can be used with either an ‘inherently reflexive predicate’ (5a), or with a non-local antecedent, as an LDR (5b). (*Hon vaskar seg sjálva* ‘she washes R self’ is also possible, as in the other Scandinavian languages, with a more agentive interpretation.)

- (5) a. Jógvan_i vaskar sær_{i/*j}.
Jogvan washes R
- b. Jógvan_i sigur, at Maria_i elskar seg_{i/*j}.
Jogvan says that Maria loves R

The basic view of Faroese reflexives is thus the same as that in the other Scandinavian languages, and Icelandic in particular. However, Faroese long-distance reflexives have not been as closely studied as those in for example Icelandic, Norwegian or Danish. There are three primary sources of material concerning LDR in Faroese. These are Lockwood’s (1964) *Introduction to Modern Faroese*, the various works of Barnes but in particular Barnes (2001/1986), and the more recent book *Faroese: An overview and reference grammar* (Thráinsson et al. 2004).

The point of departure for the present discussion is the statement by Thráinsson (2007:487), that, “When it comes to true LDRs, Faroese is the only Scandinavian language in addition to Icelandic where true LDRs of the ‘Icelandic kind’ are systematically found”. This statement implies not only that Icelandic long-distance reflexives are both prototypical and found in a wider range of syntactic frames than the ‘middle-distance’ reflexives of the other Scandinavian languages, but that Faroese LDR is ‘the same’ as Icelandic LDR.

Neither Barnes nor Lockwood directly compare Faroese LDR to Icelandic LDR, although they both give examples that suggest that the only difference between the two is that Faroese LDR is found in a broader range of clause-types than ÍSL, specifically out of relative clauses. Barnes also suggests that the use of non-third persons can interfere with Faroese LDR, but gives evidence that this is not always the case (eg (28)).

The primary goal of this paper is thus to ascertain whether Faroese LDR is indeed essentially ‘the same’ as Icelandic LDR. Given the closeness of the two languages (phonological differences being the main ob-

stacle to mutual comprehension), such a finding would not be unexpected. However, given the variation in non-clause-bounded reflexivisation across the Scandinavian languages generally, this matter requires careful investigation before it can be said to be properly answered. In order to address this question, I will firstly define the Icelandic-style LDR (ÍSL), in §1.2. I also present the data used as the basis for this comparison in §1.3. I then compare Faroese LDR to ÍSL in the remainder of the paper, with a summary and some final remarks given at the end.

While I will not suggest a complete theoretical description of Faroese LDR here, I will note where the Faroese data suggests certain avenues for such a description. Throughout this paper, I will use the general term *seg* to refer to *seg* and *sær*, and *sín* to refer to all of the possessive forms, including *hjá sær*.

1.2. Icelandic-style LDRs

Features of Icelandic-style LDRs (ÍSLs) are summarised in (6) (based on Thráinsson, 2007).

- (6)
- a. ÍSLs occur over a finite complement-clause.
 - b. ÍSLs do not occur over an adjunct clause boundary.
 - c. The antecedent of an ÍSL must be a grammatical subject (not necessarily in the nominative case).
 - d. The ÍSL may be in the subject or object position in the embedded clause.
 - e. The antecedent of an ÍSL must be animate.
 - f. Both the objective ÍSL and the possessive ÍSL phrases have the same distribution.
 - g. ÍSLs are in contrastive distribution with pronouns

In addition, the feature in (7a) is often cited (Anderson 1986, Holmberg and Platzack 1995), even though it has been shown to be neither a necessary nor sufficient condition in the licencing of LDR (Thráinsson 1976).

- (7)
- a. ÍSLs occur with the subjunctive mood.
 - b. Embedding under a perspectivising predicate makes non-ÍSL acceptable

However, given that Faroese no longer has grammatical mood, this condition will not be addressed in this paper. (7b) is also often cited, but there is not the space to discuss this matter here (see Strahan 2009 for discussion).

1.2.1. A potted summary of LDR research

Linguists such as Höskuldur Thráinsson (1976, 1990, 2007), Joan Maling (1984, 1986, 1990), Annie Zaenen (1990, 1983, Kaplan and Zaenen, 1989/1995), Stephen Anderson (1986), Eric Reuland (Reuland and Sigurjónsdóttir 1997, Reinhart and Reuland 1993, Reuland and Koster 1991), Eiríkur Rögnvaldsson (1986), Halldór Ármann Sigurðsson (1986, 1990), and Anders Holmberg and Christer Platzack (Holmberg and Platzack 1995), are among those who have shaped our understanding, both data-wise and theoretically, of what a long-distance reflexive is, and all of these people have used Icelandic to illustrate the properties and distribution of the construction that is LDR.

A handful of other languages have also been reasonably intensively studied with respect to LDR. These include: Norwegian (Dalrymple 1993, Lødrup 2006, Bresnan 2001, Holmberg and Platzack 1995, Hellan 1988), Chinese (Cole and Wang 1996, Huang and Tang 1991, Huang 1994), Japanese (Sells 1987, Kuno 1987, Kameyama 1984, Huang 1994), Italian (Giorgi 1991, Fischer 2004) and Latin (Benedicto 1991, Clements 1975).

The general conclusions of these studies are that there are several domains in which reflexives may be bound, which are arranged in the hierarchy as shown in (8). The second line of the hierarchy shows the label often given to the kind of reflexivisation in each domain, while the third line lists some example languages.

(8)	coargument	>	non-finite	>	subjunctive	>	paragraph
	local		middle-distance		LDR		logophoricity
	English		Norwegian		Icelandic		Gokana
	Dutch		Danish		Italian		Ewe

Icelandic is also frequently presented as the gold standard language of LDR in studies of reflexives in other languages, for examples in comparison with English (Fischer 2004:504, Bresnan 2001), Danish (Hagedorn and Jørgensen 2008), North Sami (Outakoski 2003:727), and so on.

Icelandic LDR is often presented as the definitive ‘long-distance’ LDR, such that theoretical accounts of LDRs exclude binding over a non-complement clause boundary (Holmberg and Platzack 1995) (6a,b) and require subject antecedents (Dalrymple 1993) (6c). Theoretical accounts of LDR also typically appeal to the concept of logophoricity to account for its occurrence with the subjunctive mood (Bresnan 2001) (7a,b), and the ungrammaticality of LDR with the indicative mood in Icelandic (7a). Even in varieties of Icelandic and Norwegian which allow indicative LDR, the antecedent must still be a logophoric ‘perspective-holder’ (Sigurðsson 1986, Moshagen and Trosterud 1990) (7b).

The assumption therefore, that Faroese LDR is ‘the same’ as Icelandic LDR, has consequences for our understanding of linguistic variation, our theoretical predictions concerning what we believe to be possible in human language, and the theoretical mechanisms we choose to describe it. I suggest that it is more appropriate to speak of ‘Icelandic-style LDR’, than it is to refer ‘LDR’ with its implication that the Icelandic-style LDR is the only ‘real’ type. Now it remains to compare Faroese LDR with Icelandic LDR, to evaluate the extent of the similarities and differences between Faroese LDR and the features of Icelandic LDR as given in (6).

1.3. Data sources

In addition to the published material by Lockwood (1964), Barnes (2001/1986), and the *Faroese Overview and Reference Grammar* (Thráinsson et al., 2004, henceforth 'FORG'), this paper is based on new Faroese data obtained during two separate fieldwork sessions. The first of these is the Faroese pilot overview project, and the second consists of a series of individual and small group interviews conducted during the 2008 NORMS fieldwork trip. The Icelandic examples come from the Icelandic overview project, Thráinsson (2007), and from the author’s own fieldwork.

1.3.1. The Faroese pilot overview project

243 speakers completed a questionnaire on various topics of syntactic interest in the first half of 2006. The project was conducted by Höskuldur Thráinsson and colleagues from the University of Iceland. The speakers came from six different towns (the island is given after the slash, and the number of speakers in brackets): Miðvágur/Vágar (45), Tvøroyri/Suðuroy (38), Tórshavn (Havn)/Streymoy (43), Klaksvík/Borðoy (36), Fuglafjørður/Eysturoy (38) and Sandur/Sandoy (43). These are the same places as were visited in the NORMS fieldwork trip in August 2008. These two sets of results should therefore be very comparable, although not all the data has yet been analysed. In particular, the Faroese pilot overview project tested the ÍSL features in (6a, b, g).

1.3.2. Recent NORMS fieldwork

40 speakers from the same 6 towns as were visited in the overview project, plus two others, responded to a selection of questions from a questionnaire focussing on LDR. The speakers were from: Miðvágur/Vágar (8), Tvøroyri/Suðuroy (2), Vágur/Suðuroy (1), Tórshavn (Havn)/Streymoy (10), Klaksvík/Borðoy (6), Fuglafjørður/Eysturoy (5), Svínáir/Eysturoy (1) and Sandur/Sandoy (7). The average age of speakers was 45,43 years, ranging from 15 to 74. 25 females and 15 males took part. 11 speakers had

only elementary education, 4 had completed secondary education, 20 had technical or professional education, and 5 had completed university education.

A total of 146 LDR contexts were tested with the range of anaphors given in §1.1. All interviews were audio recorded, although transcription work is not yet complete. Most interviews were conducted with two or three speakers simultaneously. I have found this technique to be of immense benefit where I am not a native speaker of the language, as, when an informant needs clarification, normally at least one of the other informants understands me, and is then able to concisely describe the task to the first.

1.3.3. The Icelandic overview project

The large-scale project ‘Variation in Syntax’ was supervised by Höskuldur Thráinsson and his colleagues at the University of Iceland, surveying numerous syntactic phenomena in Icelandic. The survey was conducted in 2005-7, involving around 1,000 speakers in 40 locations around Iceland. In particular, the project tested the ÍSL features in (6a, b, g) and (7a, b).

2. Does Faroese have Icelandic-style LDR?

In this section, I will briefly compare the Faroese data from the overview project and my recent fieldwork against each of the ÍSL criteria. The Icelandic overview project data will be included where relevant. I will also briefly look at two non-ÍSL, non-local uses of reflexives in Faroese, namely non-finite LDR and reflexives in ECM/AcI clauses.

2.1. ÍSLs occur over a finite complement-clause

The most prototypical and oft-cited LDR is that out of a finite complement clause (e.g. Thráinsson 2007), typically where the matrix verb is a verb of speech or thought (sometimes referred to as ‘logophoric predicates’, eg Stirling 1993, Bresnan 2001). According to the FORG (p. 331), an ÍSL such as that in (9) ‘is fine in Faroese’.

- (9) **Maria** sigur, at tú elskar **seg**.
Maria says that you love R

However, Barnes (2001/1986: 94-95) notes that the use of non-third persons can reduce the acceptability of an LDR, as illustrated in (10).

- (10) ***Kollfiørðingurin** lovaði mær sín besta seyð,
the.man.from.Kollafjørður promised me R's best sheep
 [um eg vildi hjálpa **sær**].
if I would help R

In support of this, the Faroese overview project revealed that only around one-quarter of the informants thought the sentence in (9) sounded ‘natural’. The results are given in (11) for (near) minimal sentence pairs of ÍSLs and pronouns. Interestingly, while the two Faroese sentences containing a reflexive [sentences F109, F130] are clearly unacceptable, they are not astronomically worse than the equivalent Icelandic sentences (accepted by around 35-44% of speakers)².

(11)		yes	?	no
F57	Ingi hopar, at tú elskar hann . Ingi hopes that you love him	83	11	6
F32	Anna heldur, at hann hatar hana . Anna thinks that he hates her	85	9	6
F109	Maria sigur, at tú elskar seg . Maria says that you love R	27	18	56
F130	Óli veit, at tú elskar seg . Oli knows that you love R	25	14	61

Clearly, the versions of the ÍSL sentences with pronouns [sentences F57, F32] are completely acceptable in Faroese (where 80% ‘yes’ is interpreted as syntactically and systematically relevant), while the versions with the reflexives are rather dispreferred, with only one quarter of speakers accepting the sentences as ‘completely natural’, and well over half rejecting them. This result is unexpected, if Faroese LDR is like Icelandic LDR. However, if person does affect Faroese LDR, then these results are not unexpected. And indeed, this finding was strongly upheld by my recent fieldwork, as detailed in the following section.

Such a clash in persons has never been mentioned as relevant to LDR in Icelandic, and my own investigations suggest that a change in person in ÍSL sentences does not cause speakers to change their judgements, although no systematic study of this has yet been conducted.

2.1.1. The effect of non-third persons on Faroese ÍSL

In my recent fieldwork, ÍSL sentences in Faroese received an overall average score of 0,60, while non-ÍSL LDR sentences received an overall aver-

² Results from the overview projects are presented as percentages, while numerical results from my own fieldwork are average scores on scale from 0 (bad) to 1 (fine).

age score of 0,59. This in itself seems to be a clear indication that Faroese LDR is different to Icelandic LDR, where, based on the results of the Icelandic overview project, the respective scores are approximately 44% and 28,5%³.

Looking in detail at the particular factors which are different between Faroese and Icelandic LDR, I found a clear person effect in LDR sentences for many, but not all, speakers. In Faroese, LDR sentences (both ÍSL and non-ÍSL) containing only third persons received an overall average score of 0,75, while LDR sentences containing a first or second person pronoun received an overall average score of 0,41.

Table 5 shows the averages across each island for LDR sentences containing non-third person pronouns, versus LDR sentences containing only third persons. Suðuroy has a particularly low rate of acceptance of LDR sentences with non-third person pronouns.

Table 5. Average LDR scores: non-third person versus only third persons⁴

	Borðoy	Eysturoy	Sandoy	Streymoy	Suðuroy	Vágur	All islands
3rd person	0,87	0,71	0,71	0,78	0,68	0,72	0,75
Non-3rd pers	0,46	0,32	0,45	0,48	0,18	0,37	0,41

The sentences in (12) show the rates of acceptance for several ÍSL sentences tested, but the same effect is also found out of relative clauses (see §2.2.1). ÍSLs with only third person NPs (a-d), an intervening second person (e-g) and an intervening first person (h-i) are given. All DPs are human names or singular pronouns. (In the interest of saving space, all contextualising sentences are omitted.) The values given are an ‘LDR score’, ranging from 0 (completely unacceptable), to 1 (completely acceptable). These scores represented average values based on the judgements of all of my informants. The range of values under *sín* is due to the use of a range of possessed nouns. Note that while *seg* is clearly an LDR, and *seg sjálva/n* a local reflexive, *sín* may be either.

³ Several factors are responsible for the average rate of LDR acceptability in the Icelandic overview project, such as the inclusion of sentences with the indicative mood, the inclusion of sentences with no perspective-holder, and the inclusion of perspectivising-LDR. As predicted by the literature (eg Thráinsson 2007), LDR was impossible when there was no perspective-holder, but even the other two types of LDR were accepted by only around 40% of speakers.

⁴ On the day I received these final proofs, I also discovered that half of the speakers I consulted in Tórshavn on Eysturoy were from Northern Streymoy. Thus, the Eysturoy results reported here should not be taken as definitive. The other places are assumed to be ‘clean’.

FAROESE LDR VERSUS ICELANDIC-STYLE LDR

		seg	seg sjálva	X sín
(12)				
3ps	a. Magnus vildi hava at Gunnar skuldi tosa um X. Magnus wanted that Gunnar should talk about X	0,81	0,42	0,47-0,78
	b. Anna heldur, at hann hatar X. Anna thinks that he hates X.	0,88	0,23	0,80
	c. Hon sigur at hann elskar X. She says that he loves X.	1,0	0,17	0,53-0,83
	d. Hann veit at hon elskar X. He knows that she loves X.	0,80	0,25	0,65-0,80
2ps	e. Maria sigur at tú elskar X. Maria says that you love X.	0,40	0,0	0,40-0,43
	f. Olaf veit at tú elskar X. Olaf knows that you love X.	0,17	0,08	0,08-0,44
	g. Hann hopar, at tú elskar X. He hopes that you love X.	0,55	0,10	0,65
1ps	h. Maria sigur at eg elski X. Maria says that I love X.	0,15	0,08	0,35-0,50
	i. Olaf veit at eg elski X. Olaf knows that I love X.	0,35	0	0,13-0,28

An interesting observation here is that a typical definition of logophoricity does not appear to explain the different levels of acceptability for these LDR sentences with non-third person pronouns. For instance, logophoric/perspective accounts of LDR predict that the predicates ‘say’ and ‘hope’ will be more acceptable than ‘know’, and while this is true for the third and second person sentences here (12a-g), it does not seem to apply to the first person sentences (12h, i).

In providing an account of why the change in person causes LDR to become unacceptable, we can observe the reactions of informants when confronted with these sentences. Having a first or second person pronoun in the embedded clause caused the speakers to expect a locally bound reflexive. Since *tú* ‘you’ and *eg* ‘I’ cannot be antecedents for *seg*, *seg sjálvan* or *sín*, this caused much confusion for the informants. Notably, the confusion was not because *seg* cannot have a non-local antecedent, but because the first and second person pronouns were the only possible antecedents for any reflexive within their clause. I believe that Barnes in his study noted something similar, but his discussion is somewhat opaque⁵.

⁵ ‘[C]onfusion in simplex sentences spreads from third to first or second person, while in complex sentences confusion in the third person is dispersed by reference to the first or second.’ (Barnes 1986/2001:95) I believe the point Barnes is trying to make here is that there is some processing factor that constrains the domain under (the immediate

While there is not the space here to present a proper theoretical argument, I believe that an account of reflexivisation which is based on the notions of prominence and perspective-holders would work very well for these data. In Faroese, it appears that first and second persons are very strong contenders for being the perspective-holder of any given domain, thus the appearance of a first or second person pronoun would rule out any third person antecedency for a nonlocal reflexive. This in itself implies that either LDR binding does not occur primarily in the syntax, or that the notion of perspective-holder needs to be incorporated into the syntax (thanks to Peter Austin, p.c., for pointing out this second option). Hans Martin Gärtner (p.c.) points to Lesley Stirling's work within Discourse Representation Theory (Stirling 1993) as providing a solution to this, although she describes pure logophoricity and ÍSL, rather than the more extensive and restricted Faroese LDR being looked at here.

There is a small problem with this analysis, for which I have no explanation as yet. The sentence in (13) has a non-third person intervening NP, but its level of acceptability is similar to that of sentences containing only third persons. Interestingly, this sentence is also often accepted by Norwegian speakers (Strahan 2003).

- (13) seg seg sjálva X sín
 'we' Tróndur ynskti, at vit skuldu tosa um X.
 Trond wishes that we would talk about X. 0,83 0,09 0,50-0,83

In conclusion, while Faroese LDR can clearly occur over a finite complement clause boundary, for speakers from Suðuroy in particular, the presence of a non-third person (singular) pronoun in the lower clause makes LDR impossible.

2.2. ÍSLs do not occur over an adjunct clause boundary

ÍSLs do not occur over an adjunct clause boundary (14). Holmberg and Platzack (1995:95ff) in particular formulate an account of LDR that only allows for binding out of a complement clause, not out of an adjunct clause.

- (14) a. * **Hjálmar** hitti konuna, [sem heimsótti **sig/bróður sinn**]. ICEL.
 b. * **Hjalmar** hitti kvinnuna, [sum vitjaði **seg/beiggja sín**]. FAR.
Hjalmar met the woman who visited self/ self's brother
 c. * **Marjun** kemur, [um tú ringir til **sín**]. FAROESE
Marian (will).come if you ring to R

clause containing?) a first or second person pronoun to be interpreted with respect to that pronoun, thus excluding a third person reflexive.

Results from the Icelandic overview project show strong support for this idea, as shown in (15), where only 22% of speakers accepted the LDR out of a relative clause.

(15)	ICELANDIC	yes	?	no
T3105	Hún gerir bara það [sem passar sér]. she does only that which suits R	22	20	58

However, there is evidence in the literature that this is not entirely accurate for Faroese. Lockwood (1977) gives two examples of LDR out of finite adjunct *if*-clauses (16). The first of these could be interpreted as being within an ÍSL context (in the complement clause of the verb *segði* ‘said’), but the second is clearly an adjunct. Recall from (10) that Barnes (2001/1986) says that (16b) is unacceptable with *eg* ‘I’ instead of *hann* ‘he’ as the subject of the embedded clause.

- (16) a. Ein dagin, sum hann stóð og rakaði kongi,
one day, when he was standing shaving the king,
segði **kongur** við hann, at um hann blóðgaði **seg**,
the king said to him that if he made him (the king) bleed,
skuldi hann missa lív
he (the barber) should lose his life
- b. **Kollfiørðingurin** lovaði honum sín besta seyð,
the.man.from.Kollafjørður promised him his best sheep
um hann vildi hjálpa **sær**
if he would help him

Barnes (op. cit.:94) explicitly ‘wonders whether the nature of the clause in which the reflexive appears is as significant a factor as it is said to be in Icelandic’. He notes that LDR out of adverbial clauses is often unacceptable (17a), but that it becomes better (17b) when the meaning is similar to that of a more ‘prototypical’ (ÍSL?) reflexive (17c).

- (17) a. * **Mortan** hevði givið henni nógvar pengar,
Mortan would.have given her much money
um hon kundi lært **seg** týskt
if she could.have taught R German
- b. ? **Jógvan** hevði verið glaður, um Guðrun hevði vaskað **sær**
Jogvan would.have been happy if Gudrun had washed R
- c. **Jógvan** vildi, at Guðrun hevði vaskað **sær**
Jogvan wanted that Gudrun had washed R

The evidence in the literature then seems to suggest that Faroese LDRs are most acceptable when they are ÍSLs, but that some non-ÍSL examples exist, although there is some disagreement between in particular FORG and Barnes. As I will show below, the difference in acceptability between complement and adjunct LDR in Faroese is not as great as the difference in acceptability between LDR in sentences containing only third persons and sentences containing non-third person pronouns. In addition, there may be place-related variation with respect to the complement versus adjunct LDR, which may account for the disagreement found in published sources. I will look at relative clauses and adverbial clauses in the next two sections.

2.2.1. Relative clauses

According to the results from the Faroese overview project, binding out of a relative clause is completely natural for around two-thirds of speakers (18). As with the overview results for binding out of a finite complement clause, this result is a little unexpected, as ÍSL does not include binding out of relative clauses (although Stirling 1992 includes some relative clauses as 'logophoric contexts'). Especially sentence [F45] is difficult to interpret in any way as being more prototypical LDR than sentence [F63].

(18)		yes	?	no
F115	Malan sigur tað, sum passar henni . [henni = Maluni] Malan says that which suits her	90	5	5
F120	Katrin visti ongan, sum var góður við hana [hana = K] Katrine knew no-one who was good to her	70	13	18
F45	Hann brúkar tað, sum passar sær . he uses that which suits R	62	15	22
F63	Hon visti ongan, sum var forelskaður í sær . she knew no-one who was in.love with R	67	12	22

These results found in the Faroese overview project are very similar to those found in my recent fieldwork, where reflexives in a relative clause had an overall LDR score of 0,60. There appears to be some place-related variation, as shown in Table 6, with speakers from Eysturoy, Streymoy and Sandoy being generally more accepting of this kind of LDR than speakers from elsewhere.

Table 6. Average LDR scores out of a relative clause

	Borðoy	Eysturoy	Vágur	Streymoy	Sandoy	Suðuroy	average
LDR score	0,53	0,75	0,52	0,65	0,64	0,54	0,60

My informants generally showed a slight preference for *seg* over *sín* as an LDR out of a relative clause (Table 7), although, given the small differ-

ences in acceptability, this is probably due to involve the plausibility of the overall interpretation of the sentence, rather than an inherent binding difference between the two reflexives. The biggest differences were in Borðoy and Suðuroy, the two most ‘outlying’ islands visited.

Table 7. Average LDR scores: *seg* vs *sín* out of a relative clause

	Borðoy	Eysturoy	Vágar	Streymoy	Sandoy	Suðuroy	average
LDR <i>seg</i>	0.67	0.80	0.60	0.68	0.59	0.63	0.65
LDR <i>sín</i>	0.50	0.75	0.48	0.65	0.64	0.48	0.59

With respect to the presence of a non-third person and the acceptability of LDR out of a relative clause, there was one sentence which tested this in my recent fieldwork, as shown in (19). Oddly enough, (19a) with *seg* was accepted by some people, (three speakers, from Havn/Streymoy and Sandoy), and (19b) with *sín abba* ‘R’s grandfather’ was also accepted as ‘completely natural’ by several speakers (in fact, all four speakers from Havn/Streymoy who judged this sentence), with another being unsure.

- (19) a. * Eg vísti **Mariu** bókina, sum var skrivað um **seg**
I showed Maria the book which was written about R
- b. % Eg vísti **Mariu** bókina, sum var skrivað um **sín abba**
I showed M the book which was written about R’s grandad

It is difficult to judge whether this sentence was rejected by the other speakers due to the grammatical function of the intended antecedent, or the presence of a non-third person pronoun. I will refer to these two sentences in more detail in the section on the grammatical function of the LDR, below.

LDR out of a relative clause, with only third persons, was accepted by around half of my speakers, eg (20). (These sentences were also tested with *brúkar* ‘use’ instead of *keypir* ‘buy’, with similar results.)

- (20) a. **Hann** keypir tey amboðini, sum passa **sær**. [0,54]
He buys those tools which suits R
- b. **Hann** keypir tey amboð, sum passa **sínum stjóra**. [0,44]
He buys those tools which suit R’s boss

We may note in passing that the kind of LDR in (20) is found in Norwegian (Lødrup 2006), where each of the three reflexives (*seg*, *seg sjølv* and *sin*) may be bound out of a relative clause, where the relativised noun is inanimate. Furthermore, similar sentences with an LDR out of a relative clause were somewhat acceptable to speakers of Vestjysk Danish (Strahan, in progress), and Hedmark Norwegian (recent fieldwork by the author). However, while Faroese fits this pattern, my informants appear to prefer

binding over animate relativised DPs (0,75) to inanimate relativised DPs (0,37). While I suspect that this may be due to the plausibility of the test sentences, this pattern has also been noted for Swedish (Teleman et al. 1999, plus my own recent fieldwork in Torsby).

The fact that Faroese allows a reflexive to find its antecedent outside of the relative clause containing it is another difference between Faroese LDR and ÍSL, which prohibits this type of LDR.

2.2.2. Adverbial clauses

There is considerable variation among Faroese speakers as to the acceptability of LDR out of an adverbial *when*-clause, illustrated in (21).

- (21) a. * **Maria er so glað, tá onkur dámar **sínar** bollar.** [0,16]
Maria is so happy when someone likes Rs bread-rolls
- b. ✓ **Maria** er so glað, tá onkur dámar **seg**. [0,61]
Maria is so happy when someone likes R

Only two speakers accepted *sínar* in (21a) with a nonlocal antecedent, both from Havn, with everyone else clearly rejecting it, while over half of my informants accepted the version with *seg* (21b). (Both sentences were judged by 20 informants.)

In addition, several other sentences with reflexives in adverbial clauses were presented to a subset of the informants, and were met with mixed reactions. The sentences in (22) were accepted by all three speakers in Tórshavn, although the speaker from Suðuroy thought both were dreadful.

- (22) a. **Hann** smílist til hennara altíð, tí at hon hyggur eftir **sær**.
he smiles to her always when (that) she looks at R
- b. **Hann** elskar Fríðu, sjálvt um henni ikki dámar **seg**.
he loves Frida even though she doesn't like R

It appears that at least some speakers do not differentiate between complement and adverbial clause with respect to LDR binding, and that this may be a matter, at least partially, of dialectal variation. Speakers from Havn seem far more willing than other speakers to accept non-complement (and non-relative clause) LDR.

2.2.3. The effect of non-third persons on LDR in different clause types

Comparing the acceptability of LDR out of a complement clause (ÍSL style) with that out of relative and adverbial clauses, Table 8 shows that, overall, these were all fairly uniformly acceptable to my speakers, except for those from Suðuroy and Sandoy, and, to a lesser extent, Eysturoy. Notice that speakers from Vágur and Streymoy were relatively highly

accepting of adverbial LDR, although this figure is skewed slightly towards a range of sentences which were acceptable to a few speakers, rather than a range of speakers who judged just a few sentences. Speakers from Eysturoy were most accepting of relative clause LDR.

Table 8. Average LDR scores out of different clause types

	Borðoy	Eysturoy	Vágar	Streymoy	Sandoy	Suðuroy
Complement	0,46	0,42	0,52	0,62	0,55	0,71
Relative cl.	0,54	0,75	0,53	0,62	0,64	0,54
Adverbial	-	0,33	0,63	0,54	0,17	0,10

Since person has already been established as a relevant factor in the acceptability of LDR, it is useful to separate out the factors of clause type and person (Table 9). Teasing out the factors in this way highlights some interesting differences. Firstly, excepting the anomalous non-third person relative clause score for Streymoy, the person effect applies to LDR out of all clause types. Secondly, only Sandoy and Streymoy speakers seem to allow non-third persons with non-complement LDR at all. Also, speakers from both Sandoy and Suðuroy seem to have the neatest hierarchy with respect to LDR and clause type, where ÍSL/complement clause LDR is the most acceptable, and even some non-third person LDR is allowed, followed by relative clause LDR, where non-third person LDR is worse or unacceptable, and finally adverbial LDR, which also doesn't permit non-third person LDR.

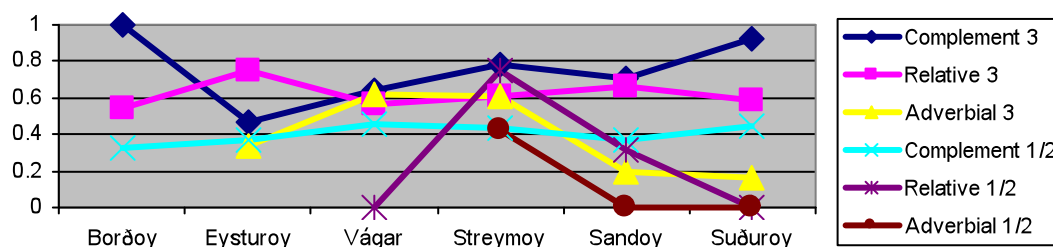
Please bear in mind that the data presented in this table only gives an indication of the differences, and should not be treated as statistically reliable at this stage.

Table 9. Average LDR scores: non-third person versus only third persons, for complement and adverbial clauses

Island	Borðoy		Eysturoy		Vágar		Streymoy		Sandoy		Suðuroy	
	1, 2	3	1, 2	3	1, 2	3	1, 2	3	1, 2	3	1, 2	3
Complement	0,33	1,0	0,37	0,46	0,45	0,63	0,43	0,78	0,37	0,71	0,44	0,93
Relative cl.	-	0,54	-	0,75	0	0,56	0,75	0,61	0,31	0,66	0	0,59
Adverbial cl.	-	-	-	0,33	-	0,63	0,42	0,61	0	0,20	0	0,17

These patterns are easier to visualise in Figure 1.

Figure 1. Average LDR scores: non-third person versus only third persons, for complement and adverbial clauses



In summary, at least some Faroese speakers allow LDR out of a non-complement clause. The variation in speaker responses may be the cause of the variation in the literature as to the acceptability of this kind of LDR in Faroese. Finally, regarding possible dialectal variation, it appears that speakers from Havn/Streymoy do not have the same interaction of clause type and person as speakers from elsewhere, while this interaction effect seems particularly pronounced in the south, on Sandoy and Suðuroy.

2.3. The antecedent of an ÍSL must be a grammatical subject (not necessarily in the nominative case)

In Icelandic, the antecedent of an LDR must be a grammatical subject (23a), although the surface case may be anything (23b) (Thráinsson 2007). The FORG states that, in Faroese, an object cannot be the antecedent of an LDR out of a finite complement clause, because an object is not a ‘strong’ antecedent (24).

- (23) a. * Ég sagði við **Hjálmar**, [að Guðrún elskaði **sig/bróður sinn**].
I told Hjalmur that Gudrun loved self/self's brother ICEL.
- b. **Jóni** finnst [að þú hafir svikið **föður sinn**]. ICELANDIC
John.DAT reckons that you have betrayed self's father
- (24) Eg fortaldi **Hjalmari**, at Guðrun elskaði ***seg/hann**. FAROESE
I told Hjalmur that Gudrun loved R/him

While it is not entirely clear what the FORG means by ‘strong’ antecedency, the ability to be a perspective-holder (and to have other features associated with subjects in general such as being highly ‘prominent’) is probably related.

LDRs with object antecedents were not tested in either the Faroese or Icelandic overview projects.

Recent fieldwork seems to indicate that the grammatical function of the antecedent may not be a factor in determining the acceptability of LDRs in Faroese. As mentioned above, the sentences in (25a,b) do not

appear to have been judged significantly worse than other LDR test sentences with a first person singular pronoun (see (12h,i) above for comparison).

- (25) a. Eg vísti **Mariu** bókina, sum var skrivað um **seg** [0,30]
I showed M the book which was written about R
- b. Eg vísti **Mariu** bókina, sum var skrivað um **sín abba** [0,45]
I showed M the book which was written about R's grandad

This construction, especially the possessive (25b), was particularly acceptable to speakers from Havn, where all 4 speakers completely accepted this sentence. The single speaker from Suðuroy and all three from Vágur rejected both (25a) and (25b).

These sentences have a relativised noun which is inanimate (see §2.2.1 above), which could be assumed to be contributing to the acceptability of the LDR (given that this kind of LDR is acceptable in eg Norwegian, according to Lødrup 2006). However, given that the grammatical object *Maria* in the higher clause in these sentences is not a thematic agent/actor, these judgements are still decidedly unexpected. An anonymous reviewer suggests that the indirect object could be a better LDR antecedent than a direct object, but unfortunately I have no data to test this idea.

I actually did include two other LDR sentences with grammatical objects which could have acted as antecedents. Unfortunately, both of these test sentences with no interfering non-third person NPs and with ‘possible’ LDR object antecedents have a context biasing a subject antecedent reading, and the Faroese seem to be particularly sensitive to context when judging LDR (comparing my experiences with the same questionnaire in Vestjylland, Iceland, Norway and Sweden with the Faroes). Given the relative (and surprising) acceptability of (25), the question of whether LDRs may have an object antecedent in Faroese cannot yet be declared closed, but it does appear that having a subject antecedent may be another feature of ÍSLs which is not a necessary condition of Faroese LDR.

2.4. The ÍSL may be in the subject or object in the embedded clause

The reflexive itself may occur in the subject of the embedded clause in both Icelandic and Faroese (26), (27) (Thráinsson 2007, Thráinsson et al. 2004, Barnes 2001/1986). There are many more, and more natural, examples of this with the possessive reflexive than with the ‘objective’ reflexive *seg*, for the simple reason that most verbs take nominative subjects, and there is no nominative form of *seg*⁶.

⁶ This is not entirely accurate – the nominative form of Icelandic *sig* could be argued to be the nominative forms of the pronouns *hann*, *hún*, *það*, ‘he, she, it’ etc with *sjálvur*, given that these occur ‘locally bound’ in constructions like *Honum fannst hann sjálvur*

- (26) a. **Martin** segir [að **bókin sín** fáist enn þá í verslunum]. ICEL.
 b. **Martin** sigur, [at **bók sín** fæst enn í handlunum]. FAROESE
Martin says that book R's can.be.gotten still in the shops
- (27) a. **Guðrún** segir [að **sér líki** vel tónlist] ICELANDIC
 b. (**Guðrun** sigur, at) **sær** dámar væl musikk. FAROESE
Gudrun says that R likes well music

The LDR need not be in the complement of a logophoric predicate, as (28) from Barnes shows (from a natural Faroese text). This is ungrammatical in Icelandic (Ásgrímur Angantýsson, p.c.).

- (28) **Hann** kann gera við meg, [hvat **sær** lystir]. FAROESE
he can do with me what R likes

2.5. The antecedent of an ÍSL must be animate

The antecedent of an ÍSL must be animate (29).

- (29) * **Þetta vandamál** kraððist þess ICELANDIC
this problem demanded (it)
 [að við hugsuðum stöðugt um **sig**].
that we thought constantly about it

According to my own data, this restriction does appear to hold for Faroese, as shown in (30).

- (30) a. * **Fíggjarliga kreppan** kraðdi, FAROESE
the financial crisis demanded
 at politikararnir tosaðu nógv um **seg**.
that the politicians talked much about R
- b. **Maria** kraðdi, at granskararnir tosaðu nógv um **seg**. FAROESE
Maria demanded that the researchers talked much about R

The antecedent may be an animal (31a,b), although informants feel uneasy about animals ‘hoping’ and ‘thinking’. It seems more as though the agents of these predicates may be antecedents for LDRs, rather than that ‘any animate DP’ may be the antecedent of an LDR. Comparing (30) and (31), we observe that the LDR antecedent must fulfil both animacy conditions.

myndarlegastur ‘He_i thought he_i self_i was the best-looking’, where *finnast* takes a dative subject and a nominative complement (judgement thanks: Jóhannes Gísli Jónsson).

- (31) a. **Hundurin** hopar, at Magnus elskar **seg**.
the.dog hopes that Magnus loves R
 b. **Fíkurin** heldur, at maðurin hatar **seg**.
the.elephant thinks that the.man hates R

2.6. The objective and possessive ÍSL phrases have the same distribution

It is difficult to state categorically that the possessive and the objective LDRs in Faroese have the same distribution, since it appears that non-syntactic constraints are important. In some minimal pairs, there is indeed little difference between the two reflexives (32). However, in other minimal pairs, *seg* is much more preferred than *sín* (33), while in others the reverse is true (34).

(32) *seg*, *sín* equally good

- a. **Hann** bað Mariu vaska **sær**. [seg 0,92]
he asked Maria to.wash R
 b. **Hann** bað Magnus taka **sína húgvu** og fara. [sín 1,0]
he asked Magnus to.take R's hat and go
 c. **Hon** kendi ongan, sum var góður við **seg/systur sína**. [seg ,97]
she knew no-one who was good to R/sister R's [sín 0,97]
 d. **Anna** heldur, at hann hatar **seg/systur sína**. [seg 0,88]
Anna believes that he hates R/sister R's [sín 0,80]

(33) *seg* much better

- a. **Beintu** dámar ikki fólk, sum flenna at **sær**. [seg 0,90]
Beinta likes not people who laugh at R
 b. **Mariu** dámar best fólk, sum flenna at **sínum skemtisøgum**.
Maria likes best people who laugh at R's jokes [sín 0,43]
 c. **Hann** brúkar tey amboðini, sum passa **sær/sínum stjóra**.
he uses those tools which suit R/R's boss [seg 0,75, sín 0,43]
 d. **Maria** er so glað, tá onkur dámar **seg/sínar bollar**. [seg 0,61]
Maria is so happy when someone likes R/R's buns [sín 0,16]

(34) *sín* marginally better

- a. **Hann** hopar, at tú elskar **seg/beiggja sín**. [seg 0,55, sín 0,65]
he hopes that you love R/brother R's
 b. **Maria** sigur, at tú elskar **seg/systur sína**. [seg 0,38, sín 0,43]
Maria says that you love R/sister R's

- c. Eg vísti **Mariu** bókina, sum var skrivað
I showed Maria the book which was written
 um **seg/abba sín**. [seg 0,33, sín 0,43]
about R/grandfather R's
- d. **Hann** keypir tey amboðini, sum passa **sær/sínum stjóra**.
he buys those tools which suit R/R's boss [seg 0,25, sín 0,33]

None of the test sentences contained an NP-encased LDR, so the question of the presence of an overt subject, and the comparison of a DP with a clause cannot be addressed here.

2.7. ÍSLs are in contrastive distribution with pronouns

While at least some speakers allowed that a pronoun could be used to refer to the same nonlocal referent as an LDR, many speakers insisted that using a reflexive in such cases was far preferable. It is difficult to judge in these cases whether there is in fact complementarity or contrastivity between the LDR and a pronoun. My belief is that the syntax does not play a substantial role in Faroese LDR, thus the issue of complementarity is not a simple matter for the informants to decide. The sentences in (35) were judged by at least some speakers to be acceptable with both an LDR and a pronoun.

- (35) a. **Hon** sigur, at hann elskar **systur sína/hennara**.
she says that he loves sister R's/hers
- b. **Gunnar** segði Fríðu, at hon kundi læna **bílin hjá sær/honum**.
Gunnar told Frida that she could borrow car.the of R/him
- c. **Hann** brúkar tey amboð, sum passa **sínum/hansara stjóra**.
he uses those tools which suit R's/his boss
- d. **Magnus** hyggur ikki at ræðufilimum, tí at tær ræða **seg/hann**.
M. looks not at horror.films because that they scare R/him

2.8. Other non-local uses of reflexives

2.8.1. LDRs – non-finites

According to FORG (p333), a reflexive is required if the antecedent is the ‘local’ subject, as is the case with the upstairs object of object-control verbs, eg (36a,b) *bað* ‘bade’, and the upstairs subject of subject-control verbs, eg (36c,d) *lovaði* ‘promised’.

- (36) a. **Jógvan** bað meg raka **sær/honum**.
Jogvan asked me to.shave R/him
- b. **Jógvan** lovaði mær at raka **sær/*honum**. (promised)

- c. Eg bað **Jógvan** raka **sær/*honum**.
I asked J to shave R/him
- d. Eg lovaði **Jógvan** at raka ***sær/honum**. (promised)

Lockwood gives several examples of non-finite LDR, with both the objective *seg* (37a) and possessive *sín* (37b) reflexives.

- (37) a. **hann** bað hana vaska **sær**
he asked her to wash him (most likely)
he asked her to wash herself (also possible)
- b. hann bað **hana** vaska **sær sjálvari** (addition of feminine *self* to avoid ambiguity, according to Lockwood)
he asked her to wash herself

Interestingly, Lockwood states that, in order to disambiguate the referents in (38a), a pronoun could be used to refer to the local antecedent (38b).

- (38) a. **hann** bað hann taka húgvu **sína** og fara
he told him to take cap R's (the speaker's) and go
- b. hann bað **hann** taka húgvu **hansara** og fara
(hansara/his = the cap of the one told to go)

I am not aware of other instances in the anaphora literature of this ‘reverse Binding Condition complementarity’ between pronouns and reflexives, where a pronoun has a local antecedent and a reflexive a non-local one. This particular example is even more striking, since both the local and non-local DPs are masculine pronouns, that is to say, using the pronoun to refer to the local DP does not have a gender-disambiguation effect. I have some evidence of my own to support Lockwood’s example, in that nearly half of my informants reported that a pronoun could have a local antecedent on at least one occasion, even when pressed to reconsider their judgement. I conclude that something other than simply syntactic binding conditions is controlling the distribution of anaphors in Faroese.

I tested non-finite LDR with contextualising sentences to bias the informant towards selecting either the local or the nonlocal entity as the antecedent, as shown in (39) with *sín* and in (40) with *seg*.

- (39) a. Í veitsluna hjá Gunnari kom ein maður, sum gjørdi ónáðir.
to the party of Gunnar came a man who made a.kerfuffle
Gunnar bað **hann** taka húgvu **sína** og fara.
Gunnar asked him (to) take hat R's and go
- b. Gunnar hevði keypt eina húgvu til gentu sína í Danmark.
Gunnar had bought a hat for girlfriend R's in Denmark

Hann bað Magnus taka sína húgvu og
He asked Magnus (to) take R's hat and
 fara til Danmarkar við henni.
go to Denmark with it

- (40) a. Magnus kom skitin aftur av skipi.
Magnus came dirty back off the .ship
 Áðrenn Maria vildi mussa hann, bað hon hann vaska sær.
Before Maria would kiss him, asked she him (to) wash R
- b. Magnus kom troyttur og skitin aftur av fjalli.
Magnus came tired and dirty back from the .mountains
Hann bað Mariu vaska sær,
He asked Maria (to) wash R
 so at hann kundi hvíla seg í baðnum.
so that he could rest himself in the .bath

It was found that nearly all Faroese speakers used the contextualisation sentence as the primary cue for identifying the antecedent of the reflexive. Only one speaker (of 40) had any real difficulty seeing anything other than the syntactically local NP as the antecedent. I conclude that LDR over a non-finite clause boundary is completely acceptable in Faroese, with both *seg* and *sín*. *Seg sjálvan* was not tested as an LDR in Faroese over a non-finite boundary, and should probably be investigated.

2.8.2. LDRs – AcI

The ‘small clause’ or ‘accusative with infinitive’ construction is like local binding in Faroese, and requires a reflexive to refer to the higher subject, according to FORG (p. 334).

- (41) **Tær** søgdu [[**seg**] [einki vita um tað]].
they said R not to.know about it
 ‘They_i said they_i didn’t know about it.’

It was found during the recent fieldwork in the Faroes that all reflexives are fine in AcI/ECM constructions, to the extent that the AcI/ECM construction itself was acceptable. Many people rephrased (42a) to (42b), ie these speakers put the reflexive into an object position, removing the passivised structure. This is similar to what was found for Norwegian (Strahan 2003), namely that the AcI/ECM construction, in particular combined with a passivised ‘small clause’, is often not considered natural speech.

- (42) a. **Jórunn** hoyrði **seg** verða umtalaða. [0,82]
Jorunn heard R be mentioned.
 b. **Hon** hoyrði, at tey tosa um **seg**.
she heard that they spoke about R

The *hjá sær* possessive construction was found here too, as shown in (43).

- (43) a. **Hon** hoyrði **sína pitsu** verða umtalaða. [0,81]
She heard R's pizza be mentioned
 b. **Hon** hoyrði **pitsuna hjá sær** verða umtalaða
she heard the pizza of R be mentioned

The ECM construction was preferred when the small clause was active, as in (44).

- (44) a. **Jeffrei** hoyrði **seg/seg sjálfvan/sín agent** svara ymiskum
 [0,95, 0,71, 0,83]
Jeffrey heard R/R self/R's agent answer various things

Some speakers spontaneously produced a similar construction, but with a nonlocal antecedent, when correcting another sentence, as in (45a) being rephrased to (45b) by speaker S24A.

- (45) a. * **Maria** er so glað, [tá onkur dámar **seg**].
Maria is so happy when someone likes R
 b. **Maria** er so glað, [tá onkur heldur [**seg** vera fitta]].
Maria is so happy when someone thinks R be nice

This sentence is ungrammatical in Icelandic, since the reflexive is not within a complement clause, and is a nice example of an adverbial LDR.

3. Summary and final remarks

Faroese LDR is ‘the same’ as Icelandic LDR in that:

- a. Both occur out of a finite complement clause.
- b. The LDR may be in the subject or object position in the embedded clause.
- c. The antecedent must be animate.

Some features of Faroese LDR are difficult to judge against ÍSLs:

- d. Whether the objective *seg* and possessive *sín* have the same distribution, since many test sentence frames are more plausible with one or the other.
- e. Whether reflexives are in contrastive distribution with pronouns syntactically – it appears they do not have equivalent interpretations.

Finally, Faroese LDR differs from ÍSL on several key points:

- f. Faroese LDR out of a relative clause or even an adverbial clause is often as acceptable as out of a complement clause.
- g. While grammatical subjects are very strongly preferred as antecedents of LDRs, surprisingly, some speakers accepted a grammatical (and logical) object as the antecedent of a relative-clause LDR.
- h. Use of a non-third person pronoun in a sentence often renders LDR unacceptable.
- i. There appears to be dialectal variation in the distribution of Faroese LDRs, especially when the factors of clause type and person are combined.

With respect to the dialectal variation, speakers from the southern islands (Sandoy and Suðuroy) rate LDR best out of complement clauses, then relative clauses, and worst out of adverbial clauses (ie, these speakers have the most ÍSL-like LDR). Concurrently, the level of acceptability in each of these clause types is increasingly worse when non-third persons are involved. On the other hand, speakers from Tórshavn/Streymoy show the least interference from either clause type or person. LDR in the capital dialect thus seems to be more relaxed than even Icelandic-style LDR.

Miðvágur (Vágar) speakers allow a pronoun (both possessive and objective) to have a local (singular) subject antecedent, although speakers from elsewhere generally rejected attempts at coreference between a pronominal anaphor and a coargument subject. Speakers from Miðvágur also overwhelmingly prefer the possessive phrase *hjá sær* to the possessive reflexive *sín*.

Speakers from Klaksvík/Borðoy are very influenced by context in selecting the antecedent for *sín*, but not *seg*. Speakers from Tórshavn/Streymoy allow an object antecedent for LDRs, with appropriate contextualisation. Given that Havn speakers were also among the most liberal in their acceptance of most non-ÍSL LDR, it may be that *seg* and *sín* are not true reflexives in Havnamál, and may be more like the logophoric pronouns of languages like Ewe and Gokana.

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