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Author(s)	西垣内 泰介 (Taisuke Nishigauchi)
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‘Point of View’ and the Logophoric Anchor*

Taisuke Nishigauchi

Abstract

The present paper discusses the functional projection ModP, which is motivated by the point of view (POV). First, we discuss *-te simaw*, a POV-sensitive auxiliary V, as a head of this projection. This projection is present in any clause structure, at least in the languages discussed here.

The perspective provided by the properties of ModP sheds a new light on long distance anaphora involving the reflexive in Japanese and many other languages. The reflexive may be bound by a PRO in SpecModP. This opens up a gate to long distance anaphora — PRO in SpecModP can be controlled by the *secondary ego* in the higher clause, whose POV is transmitted to the semantic content of the complement clause.

1. Introduction

The purpose of this article is to present some phenomena which suggest the existence of a functional category which is motivated by the point of view (POV) of discourse-participants, most notably the speaker/addressee in the discourse in the case of the matrix clause, and protagonists salient in the sentence for the complement clause.

We will refer to this category as Mod(ality), and its maximal projection as ModP. This analysis claims that the Spec position of ModP (SpecModP) is the position hosting the POV holder.

The observation centers on the nature of sentences like (1b).

- (1) a. Hanako-ga ronbun-o kai-ta.
 -Nom paper -Acc wrote
 ‘Hanako wrote a paper, or Hanako has written a paper.’
 b. Hanako-ga ronbun-o kai-te simaw-ta.
 -Nom paper -Acc write simaw-Past

Sentence (1a) is a neutral description of the fact that Hanako has written a paper, while (1b), which minimally differs from (1a) in the presence of an auxiliary V *-te simaw* attached to the main V, can have the following interpretation:

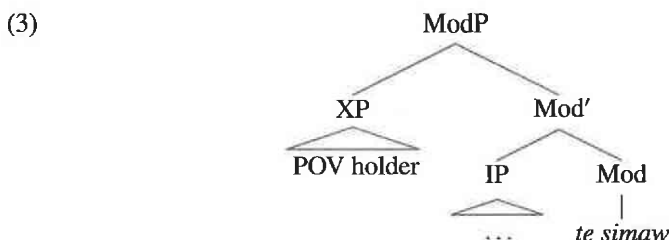
- (2) The speaker has been affected (annoyed, surprised) by Hanako’s achievement.

*I would like to thank Joe Emonds for his comments on an earlier version of this paper. Discussions with Maki Kishida have been very helpful. This article is an extension of the ideas which were explored in Nishigauchi (1999a).

The (auxiliary) V *-te simaw* adds to the meaning of the sentence the discourse-participant's (usually negative) attitude towards the event depicted by the core part of the proposition.

Sentence (1b) has another meaning which derives from the aspectual meaning of *-te simaw*. The aspectual meaning of *-te simaw* has been briefly discussed in Nishigauchi (1999a), drawing on Borer (1994), and we will focus on the modal use of this V in the present discussion.

On the structural side, we are going to say that *te simaw*, in its relevant use, occupies the head of Mod(al)P, as in the following structure.



Here, 'IP' refers to the projection of whatever belongs to Infl, including AspP, which has been discussed by Borer (1994). Our position concerning the status of ModP as to whether it forms part of the I(nfl)-system or C(omp) system will be left open in the present discussion.

The Spec position of ModP is occupied by the 'POV holder', which is usually an empty category (PRO) whose referential value is determined by the speaker, especially in the case of the matrix clause, or a salient protagonist involved in the discourse. Here I have in mind for the matrix clause ModP the analysis proposed by Huang (1984) to account for the empty pronominal phenomena of Chinese.

When the sentence involving *te simaw* is embedded in the complement of a *belief*-type V, typically the subject of the main V is the POV holder, although as we will discuss below, it is not exclusively the subject.

- (4) Taro-wa [kodomu-ga sono botan-o osi-te simaw-ta] to omow-teiru.
 -Top child -Nom that button -Acc press simaw-Past that thinks
 'Taro believes that a child pressed the button on him (he resents the situation caused by that).'

In this sentence, Taro, subject of the *belief*-V, is the POV holder and controller of PRO in the SpecModP of the complement clause. He resents the situation caused by the child's behavior.

2. ModP is above TopP

2.1 'Overt' POV Holder

There are cases in which the POV holder, or 'subject' of Mod, is overtly realized in the sentence. As a case in point, I suggest that *wa*-marked NP, which usually serves as a Topic of the sentence, can be a POV holder. So (5) is ambiguous in a very subtle way.

- (5) Hanako-wa sono botan-o osi-te simaw-ta.
 -wa that button -Acc press simaw-Past

This sentence has the following interpretations.

- (6) a. As for Hanako, she pressed a button and this led to a situation which annoyed me.
 [POV = the speaker]

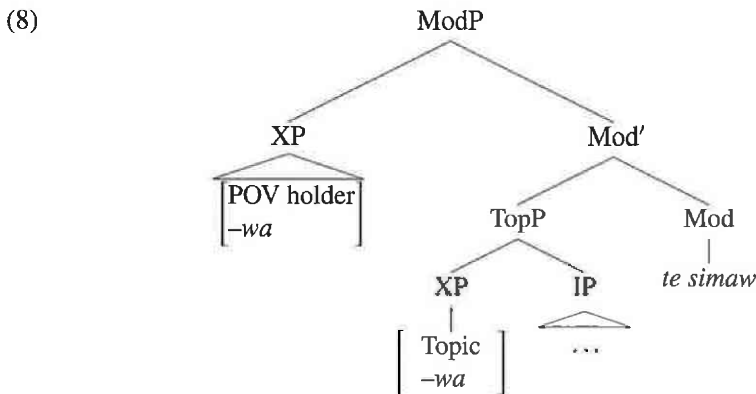
- b. Hanako was upset by her own embarrassing act of pressing a button. [POV = Hanako]

Reading (6a) is that on which the speaker is the POV holder and Hanako is the topic of the sentence, while (6b) represents the reading on which Hanako is the POV holder. This latter reading suggests that a *wa*-marked NP can be in the Spec position of ModP, as well as in TopP.

As the interpretation spelled out by (6b) suggests, if the *wa*-marked NP is the POV holder, the agent and topic of the proposition expressed by the sentence has to be identical with the referent of the POV-holder. In other words, sentence (5) does not have an interpretation which could be spelled out as something like the following:

- (7) Hanako was upset by the fact that I (or you) pressed that button.

We posit the following syntactic structure for the relevant construction.



Here, there are two possible positions in which *wa*-marked NP may appear. If the higher Spec position of ModP is occupied by an empty category, which by default is controlled by the speaker, the *wa*-marked NP serves as the topic of the sentence, while if an overt *wa*-marked NP appears in Spec ModP, the understood topic is also the same individual, which suggests the presence of an empty category in Spec TopP which must be bound by the POV holder.

- (9) a. [_{ModP} PRO(POV=Speaker) ... [_{TopP} anything/anybody-*wa* ...
 b. [_{ModP} POV=somebody else_i ... [_{TopP} PRO_i ...

What is missing is the pattern depicted by the following:

- (10) * [_{ModP} POV=somebody else_i ... [_{TopP} PRO_j(POV = Speaker) ...

I consider this a kind of intervention effect — control of PRO in TopP by the speaker is blocked by the presence of the POV holder in ModP above it.

The situation depicted thus far is analogous to the semantic properties of sentences like (11) discussed by Chomsky (1973).

- (11) It is intolerable (for John) to have to study Latin.

Here it is the speaker who finds it intolerable that he or she (or, John, if *for John* is present) has the obligation of studying Latin. The following sentence, in which *for John* is preposed, has a slightly different meaning.

- (12) For John, it is intolerable to have to study Latin.

Here it must be John who finds it intolerable to have the obligation. Notice that in (12) the POV holder *John* is also the agent (and topic) of the sentence. This sentence lacks the interpretation on which John finds it intolerable for me (the speaker) or people in general to have the language requirement.

This fact can be captured if we suppose that *for John* in (12) occupies SpecModP, be it by movement or by merge, granting the existence of this projection in English as well.

2.2 Multiple occurrences of *-wa*

The structure depicted in (8) claims that ModP forms a layer above TopP. This should invite a number of theoretical questions. First of all, TopP has been considered to be a layer in the CP-domain (Rizzi, 1997). If ModP is above TopP, then ModP should also be considered in the CP-domain. A second question, of more basic nature, is: Is the structure (8) empirically justifiable? How can you show that ModP should be above TopP and not the other way around?

This subsection will be devoted to the second of the questions raised above, concerning the validity of structure (8) in which ModP is placed above TopP.

The validity of this structure would be most straightforwardly demonstrated if we could examine sentences in which two occurrences of *wa*-marked DPs are available. This wish is only partially granted by examples like the following.

- (13) ??Yamada-*wa* Taro-*wa* Tokyo-*e* it-te-simaw-ta.
 -*wa* -*wa* -to go-te-simaw-Past

The meaning of this sentence that is expected to exist is: Mr. Yamada has been negatively affected by the fact that as for Taro he has gone to Tokyo. However, it is not clear whether this sentence, whose grammatical status itself is unclear, has such an interpretation. My assessment of this sentence is that, if it is acceptable to some extent, the most dominant interpretation is that on which the second occurrence of *wa*-marked DP, *Taro-wa* has a contrastive meaning, rather than as being a topic. For the distinction between the two uses of *wa*-marked expressions, cf. Kuno (1973) among many others. This appears to be a general strategy adopted by the speaker to deal with sentences with multiple occurrences of *wa*-marked expressions, so that *wa*-marked expressions, except in the first occurrence, are interpreted as contrastive elements.

Nevertheless, the positive aspect of the observation of (13) is that it is possible to interpret the first occurrence of *wa*-marked DPs as having the status of POV-holder, though it also allows an interpretation as topic, and that the second occurrence of *wa*-marked DPs can never be interpreted as a POV-holder.

2.3 Modal adverbs

If we cannot fully rely on sentences with multiple occurrences of *wa*-marked expressions in determining relative positions of ModP and TopP, is there any way we can construct an argument to establish the structure?

One possible argument that comes to mind has to do with the use of modal adverbs. The relative order between modal adverbs and *wa*-marked expressions appear to be rigidly fixed. Thus consider the following sentences.

- (14) a. Zannen-na-koto-ni, Hanako-*wa* sono botan-o osi-te simaw-ta.
 regrettably -*wa* that button -Acc press simaw-Past
 'Regrettably, Hanako pressed that button (and this led to a situation by which the speaker is annoyed, etc.)'

- The generality of the distribution of ModP will be seen to play an important role when we discuss the issue of reflexive binding in section 6.

3. Positions of *-ga*

It has been observed, in Kuno (1973) among others, that the nominative subject of a sentence can have two types of interpretation. Consider the following simple sentence.

- (16) Musume-ga idai-ni hait-ta.
daughter-Nom medical school-to enter

One way of interpreting this is a neutral description of the state of affairs: (My) daughter has been admitted to a medical school. The other interpretation is the exhaustive listing of the nominative subject: (While I had expected both my son and daughter would go to medical school,) my daughter (alone) has been admitted. This latter interpretation is more readily obtained when the nominative subject is pronounced with stress.

Just this ambiguity is retained when the clause (16) is 'embedded' in the *te simaw* context with *wa*-marked NP.

- (17) Yamada-san-wa musume-ga idai-ni hait-te simaw-ta.
Mr. Yamada -wa daughter-Nom medical school-to enter simaw Past

We have observed in the previous sections that the *wa*-marked NP may be interpreted either as Topic of the sentence, in which case the speaker is the POV holder, or as POV holder, in which case Mr. Yamada is also Topic. And this ambiguity can be further multiplied by the ambiguity associated with the nominative subject, between the neutral description and exhaustive listing interpretations, with the result that the following interpretations are available, some of them may be more or less plausible than others.

- (18) a. I am upset by (am envious of) the fact that as for Mr. Yamada, his daughter has been admitted to a med school.
b. I am upset by (am envious of) the fact that as for Mr. Yamada, it was his daughter (alone) that has been admitted to a med school.
c. Mr. Yamada is upset by the fact that his daughter has been admitted to a med school (for he is worried about the tuition, etc.).
d. Mr. Yamada is upset by the fact that it was his daughter (alone) that has been admitted to a med school (for he had expected that his son will also be admitted).

Nishigauchi and Uchibori (1993) relate the ambiguity involving the nominative subject to the distinction between the cardinal and presuppositional interpretations, drawing on Diesing's (1992) theory of indefinites. Nishigauchi and Uchibori assimilate the neutral description interpretation to the cardinal interpretation, and the exhaustive listing to the presuppositional interpretation, respectively. They further follow Diesing in that they support the structural correspondence between the two interpretations:

- (19) a. On the cardinal interpretation, the NP is interpreted in VP.
b. On the presuppositional interpretation, the NP is interpreted in IP.

Scope and other properties associated with indefinite NPs are shown to follow from this structural dichotomy. Further, if the ambiguity between the neutral description and exhaustive listing can be assimilated with the distinction between the cardinal and presuppositional interpretations, the former distinction can also be ascribed to the structural correspondence as well, at the point where interpretation is performed.

The mapping hypothesis (19) is outmoded, and we need to update the intent of this hypothesis using the current theoretical apparatus. First, the hypothesis presupposes the VP-internal subject, which is indeed assumed in Diesing (1992). However, in current research, stemming from Larson (1988) among others, subject, especially Agent, is considered to be introduced at the ν P-layer. So (19a) is untenable as it is. This also affects (19b) as well, for if ν P is part of IP, neither clause of (19) makes sense in the current theoretical setting.

In the present discussion, I adopt the Subj(ect)P projection, put forth by Cardinaletti (2004) as a projection of the IP-system higher than VP, for the projection intended by Diesing (1992) in her use of the term IP in (19b).

4. No movement/dislocation to SpecModP

As the following examples indicate, topic is capable of hosting expressions which are dislocated from various positions in the sentence.

- (20) a. Sono ronbun-wa Taro-ga yon-da.
 that article-wa -Nom read-Past
 'That paper, Taro has read.'
 b. Tokyo-e-wa Hanako-ga it-ta.
 -to-wa -Nom go-Past
 'To Tokyo, Hanako went.'

The topics in (20a,b) can be considered to be dislocated from the object and (selected) adverbial positions, respectively. Saito (1985) argues that topicalization in Japanese involves binding of empty pronominals.

The *wa*-marked DP in SpecModP is different from topics in that no relation of dislocation can be possible from sentence-internal positions.

- (21) Taro-wa Hanako-ga tatai-te-simaw-ta.
 -wa -Nom hit-te-simaw-Past

Sentence (21), in which the *wa*-marked DP *Taro* could be considered to be dislocated from the object position of the V *tatai* 'hit', does not allow an interpretation on which Taro resents the fact that Hanako has hit him. This sentence can only be interpreted with *Taro* as the topic of the sentence, and its POV holder can only be the speaker.

One reason for the absence of dislocation involving SpecModP has to do with the thematic status of elements occupying this position. Expressions occupying this position are probably associated with the θ -role of Experiencer or something akin to it, judging from the semantic behavior of the expressions, which would presumably be a conceptual problem for the assumption that ModP is part of the CP-system. If this is correct, the only way a DP can occur in SpecModP must be by merge, thereby fulfilling the thematic requirement on its head element *-te simaw*. This precludes the possibility of any kind of movement from within VP (or ν P), especially from positions which are both θ - and case-marked. The remaining possibility is pronominal binding analogous to Saito's (1985) analysis of topicalization in Japanese. But this presupposes that the binder is an operator or some kind of A'-element. This may not conflict with our supposition that ModP belongs to the CP-layer, but since we are also supposing that SpecModP is a θ -position, we must acknowledge that this invites a number of conceptual problems.¹

¹Movement to a θ -position is not excluded, given the theory of control in Hornstein (2003). However, the type of movement that Hornstein claims is at work in control is from a non-case position, as distinct from the cases under

Whether the lack of c-command (24a) is relevant to the present case depends on the analysis one adopts for psych constructions like (23). If we adopt the type of analysis in which the clausal complement is moved to the subject position from a position in which it is c-commanded by the Experiencer argument (Belletti & Rizzi, 1988; Pesetsky, 1995), which in consideration in the present section.

(23) is 'Mr. Yamada', example (23) does not necessarily attest the lack of c-command by the antecedent, on the ancillary assumption that control is determined derivationally.

Still, the property of optionality (24b) is attested by (23), for as mentioned above, the content of the complement clause can be understood as representing the speaker's viewpoint, in addition to Mr. Yamada's. Further, it is possible to interpret the complement clauses in the following examples as representing Mr. Yamada's viewpoint.

- (25) a. Yamada-no hukigen-wa [Hanako-ga sar-te simaw-ta koto]-o
 Yamada-Gen crossness-Top Hanako-Nom go away simaw-Past that-Acc
 imi-site iru.
 mean is
 'Yamada's ill temper means that Hanako has gone away (on him).'
- b. [Hanako-ga sar-te simaw-ta koto]-ga Yamada-no
 Hanako-Nom go away simaw-Past that-Nom Yamada-Gen
 puraido-o kizu-tuke-ta.
 pride-Acc hurt-Past
 'That Hanako has gone away (on him) damaged Yamada's pride.'

In neither of the examples in (25) does 'Mr. Yamada' c-command the clause which contains *-te simaw*, and yet it is possible to understand these sentences in such a way that the complement clause represents Mr. Yamada's resentment. Example (25b) shows that the c-command requirement is not in force even if one adopts the movement analysis of psych constructions, for there is no point in the derivation where 'Mr. Yamada' c-commands the complement clause.

Thus these observations suggest that the POV holder of the complement clause, which we posit as PRO that occupies SpecModP, is determined by an argument or part of an argument of the immediately higher clause. The argument or part of the argument in the higher clause can qualify as the 'controller' of PRO (=POV holder) so long as it can be identified as having a certain specific characteristic. We suggest that the relation involved in the determination of the value of PRO at work here is essentially that of non-obligatory control.

5.2 The *secondary ego*

We have characterized the sentences in (25) in such a way that the controller has the θ -role of Experiencer or it is an element that can be contextually construed as having the role of Experiencer. Actually, in what follows, we are going to argue that control of PRO in SpecModP is different from the more familiar type of control, in the sense of determining the pronominal/anaphoric reference involving the 'understood subject' of infinitives and gerunds in languages like English,² in that what is vital in control of PRO in SpecModP is the choice of individual whose POV is reflected in the semantic content of the complement clause.

In this analysis, I draw heavily on the ideas of Sigurðsson (1990), who presents an insightful analysis of long distance reflexives in Icelandic, a language widely known as showing intriguing interactions between long distance anaphora and modality. Sigurðsson (1990) argues that long distance anaphora and modality of the complement clause are both dictated by the POV of a salient individual among discourse participants or sentence-internal protagonists. Sigurðsson uses the term *secondary ego* to refer to such an individual. The speaker or the author of the story is the *primary ego*.

²Cf. e.g. Nishigauchi (1984) for an analysis of control in English in which θ -roles play a vital part in determining the controller for PRO.

As the following contrast (Sigurðsson, 1990, (3) and (4)) shows, long distance binding of the reflexive *sig* is typically observed when it appears in the complement clause in the subjunctive mood, and not in the indicative.

- (26) a. Jón segir að María elski sig/hann.
 John says that Mary loves (SUBJ) self/him
 ‘John_i says that Mary loves him_i.’
 b. Jón veit að María elskar *sig/hann.
 John knows that Mary loves (IND) self/him
 ‘John_i knows that Mary loves him_i.’

Sigurðsson characterizes the selection of modality in such a way that the indicative mood is employed when the primary ego takes responsibility for the truthfulness of the sentence, the story being told from its own POV, while the subjunctive mood is used when the *primary ego* does not take responsibility for the truthfulness of the content of the complement clause, which reflects the *secondary ego*’s POV. Long distance binding of reflexives is observed exactly when the semantic content of the complement clause represents the *secondary ego*’s referential perspective.

Pursuing this idea, how can this salient individual, the *secondary ego*, be identified in the sentence? I am going to argue that the *secondary ego* is chosen on the basis of the three primitive roles, presented by Sells (1987), that are ascribed to discourse participants or sentence-internal protagonists that can serve as possible antecedents of logophors.

- (27) SOURCE: The one who makes the report.
 SELF: The one whose “mind” is being reported.
 PIVOT: The one from whose point of view the report is made.

Details of this analysis will be the main topic of section 6., but to allow the reader a little preview, the semantic content of the complement clauses in sentences (23) and (25) all reflect Mr. Yamada’s POV — in other words, the controller for PRO in SpecModP in all these sentences is *Yamada*, and this choice is made on the basis of the fact that *Yamada* can be understood as having the role of SELF, an individual whose mental state is being described in the sentence, which overlaps with its characterization as Experiencer from the θ -theoretic perspective.

6. Reflexive binding

6.1 Theory of binding and *zibun*

It is easy to see that the proposal of the present analysis has something to say about binding relations involving the reflexive *zibun*, for it has been argued in the present discussion that clause structure contains a projection which is motivated by POV, and binding involving *zibun* is also known to be sensitive to POV.

It is well-known that the reflexive element in Japanese *zibun* is capable of being bound long-distance by an argument, most notably subject, of a higher clause.

- (28) a. Taro_i-wa [Hanako_j-ga zibun_{i/j}-o hihan-si-ta to] omow-ta.
 -Top -Nom zibun-Acc criticize-Past that think-Past
 ‘Taro thought that Hanako had criticized self.’
 b. Taro_i-wa [Hanako_j-ga zibun_{i/*j}-o tatai-ta to] omow-ta.
 -Top -Nom zibun-Acc hit-Past that think-Past
 ‘Taro thought that Hanako had hit self.’

In (28a), *zibun* in the complement clause can be bound either by the complement subject or the matrix subject, while in (28b), *zibun* can only be bound by the matrix subject, as has been observed by Ueda (1986), who argues that *zibun* is essentially a pronominal.

Reinhart and Reuland (1993) claim that reflexivity is a property to be ascribed to a predicate, which in their analysis consists of the head P of the predicate, typically a verb, and all of P's arguments. Relevant to our consideration is their condition A:

- (29) Condition A: If a predicate is reflexive-marked, the predicate is reflexive.

In this definition, a predicate is said to be reflexive iff two of its arguments are coindexed; a predicate is reflexive-marked iff (i) the head of the predicate is an inherently reflexive verb like *schamen* 'shame' in Dutch, or (ii) one of the predicate's arguments is a SELF-anaphor such as *zichzelf*, which works as a 'reflexivizer'. Consider the following sentences in Dutch, which are provided by their work.

- (30) a. Max_i schaamt zich_i / *zichzelf_i
 shames SE / *SELF
 'Max is ashamed.'
 b. Max_i haat zichzelf_i / *zich_i
 hates SELF / *SE
 'Max hates himself.'
 c. Max_i wast zich_i / zichzelf_i
 washes SE / SELF
 'Max washes himself.'

In (30a), in which the inherently reflexive verb *schamen* 'shame' is the head of the predicate, *zich*, a SE (simplex expression) anaphor can be used to make the predicate reflexive. In (30b), in which the head of the predicate is negatively marked for inherent reflexivity, the SELF-anaphor *zichzelf* has the property of 'reflexivizing' the predicate. That either a SE-anaphor or a SELF-anaphor can be used in (30c) shows that the verb *wassen* 'wash' can have either value of [\pm reflexive] as one of its inherent lexical properties.

The Japanese reflexive *zibun* appears to be close in character to SE-anaphors in Reinhart and Reuland's (1993) sense (although Aikawa (1993) is reluctant about this characterization), for *zibun* favors local binding when it is used in a predicate whose head verb has a property assimilated to inherently reflexive verbs, as has been argued by Aikawa and Tsujimura (1996).

In addition to the Sino-Japanese verbs which are prefixed with *zi* (such as *zisatu-su* 'commit suicide') or *ziko* (such as *ziko-syookai-su* 'introduce self, do self-introduction'), discussed by Aikawa and Tsujimura (1996), Kishida (2005) observes that Japanese has a small number of verbs which may be assimilated to those verbs which are characterized by Reinhart and Reuland (1993) as being inherently reflexive. Those verbs are listed below:

- (31) *hazi(ru)* 'be ashamed', *hokor(u)* 'take pride', *kenson-su* 'humble (oneself)', *hige-su(ru)* 'deprecate (oneself)'

The Japanese reflexive *zibun*, used in a predicate headed by one of these verbs, only allows local binding by the complement subject.

- (32) Taro_i-wa [Hanako_j-ga zibun_{*i/j}-o kenson-si-te iru to] omow-ta.
 -Top -Nom zibun-Acc humble-Past is that think-Past
 'Taro thought that Hanako humbled self (herself).'

Pursuing the matter further along this line, then, the fact that sentence (28b) only allows long-distance binding by the matrix subject is due to the property of the verb used in the complement clause: *tatak* ‘hit’ is inherently negatively marked for reflexivity, while the ambiguity of sentence (28a) indicates that the verb *hihan-su* ‘criticize’ is ambiguous with respect to being either reflexive or non-reflexive.

6.2 *Zibun* as anaphor vs. logophor

Long-distance binding involving *zibun* as seen in (28) has been used to claim that *zibun* is a logophor. Is *zibun* always a logophor, or is it sometimes an anaphor, other times a logophor? If so, when is it an anaphor, when a logophor?

Huang and Liu (2001) give a very clear view on this matter, based on their analysis of the Chinese reflexive *ziji*. According to Huang and Liu (2001), *ziji* is an anaphor if it is locally bound, and it is a logophor if it is bound long distance. The “dividing line” between the two areas, they claim, is the notion of Governing Category in the sense of Chomsky (1981).

Our position in the present work is close to Huang and Liu’s (2001) in that we accept that *zibun* bound long distance is a logophor, but, as we shall show shortly, we recognize that there are instances of *zibun* bound in a simple clause that can be logophors. Also, we essentially follow Reinhart and Reuland’s (1993) view that reflexivity is largely a matter of predicates. The difference between Huang and Liu’s (2001) analysis and ours will be made clear as discussion proceeds.

In fact, we do not make any theoretical distinction between *zibun* used as anaphor and *zibun* used as logophor. We present the following, extremely simple characterization of *zibun*.

- (33) *Zibun* is locally bound by DP in SpecVP (and/or SpecvP), SpecSubjP, or SpecModP.

We take it that SpecVP and SpecSubjP (in the sense of Cardinaletti (2004)) are the two positions accorded to subject. And it is when *zibun* is locally bound by one of these, provided that the head of the predicate is inherently reflexively-marked, that *zibun* behaves as a syntactic (and semantic) anaphor.

When *zibun* is bound by an element in SpecModP of the clause immediately containing it, *zibun* (semantically) functions as a logophor. Recall that SpecModP is usually occupied by PRO, which is controlled either by a discourse participant (the speaker and/or the addressee) or a sentence-internal protagonist. Now our claim is that it is this control process that enables *zibun* to assume the character of being bound long distance. The reflexive *zibun* itself is always bound locally, viz. within the clausal projection in which it appears. Therefore, our claim is that, syntactically, *zibun* is always an anaphor, subject to local binding.

6.3 Locally bound logophors?

Our analysis differs from Huang and Liu (2001) in that we claim that *zibun* as a logophor can be bound in a simple clause. The occurrence of *zibun* in the following sentence constitutes such a case.

- (34) Hanako-wa *zibun*-no kodomo-ga botan-o osi-te simaw-ta.
 -wa self-Gen child-Nom button -Acc press simaw-Past

Prima facie, the DP marked by *wa* can either be interpreted as POV holder or a topic. In the latter case, the speaker is the POV holder. However, this sentence does not allow the ambiguity that is generally ascribed to sentences like (5). Of the two possible interpretations that (5) allows, (34) has only the interpretation described by (35a).

- (35) a. Hanako was upset by her own child pressing the button.
 b. *As for Hanako, her child pressed the button, and this has annoyed me.

That is, sentence (34) allows only the interpretation that Hanako is the *secondary ego*, the POV holder. Observe, in contrast, the following sentence where the non-reflexive pronoun is used instead of *zibun* in the corresponding position.

- (36) Hanako-wa kanozyo-no kodomo-ga botan-o osi-te simaw-ta.
 -wa she-Gen child-Nom button -Acc press simaw-Past

There is a clear contrast between (34) and (36), so that the latter allows either of the interpretations in (35).

This is because in (34) there is no DP in the sentence that c-commands *zibun* except the sentence-initial *Hanako(-wa)*, which itself can either be topic, in which case it is in SpecTopP or POV-holder, in which case it is in SpecModP. However, in light of (33) *Hanako(-wa)* should be in SpecModP, otherwise there would be no binder available for *zibun*.³ This accounts for the unique interpretation that (34) has, with *Hanako* the POV holder and *zibun* a logophor.

Sentence (37), as distinct from (34), is ambiguous in a way related to the interpretation of both *wa*-marked DP and *zibun*.

- (37) Hanako-wa musume-ga zibun-o seme-te simaw-ta.
 Hanako-wa daughter-Nom self-Acc accuse simaw-Past

It is possible to interpret this sentence in three different ways. First, *Hanako* can be the topic. In this case, *zibun* can only be bound by the lower subject, so that it was her daughter who blamed herself. This is indeed permissible because the head of the predicate is *hihan-s(u)* 'criticize', which has an option of being an inherently reflexive verb. Second, *Hanako* can be the POV holder. In this case, *zibun* can still be bound, as a syntactic anaphor, by the lower subject, *musume* 'daughter', for the same reason as with the first reading. Finally, on another interpretation in which *Hanako* is the POV holder, *zibun* can be bound by this POV holder, this time as a semantic logophor. These three interpretations can be elucidated by the following paraphrases:

- (38) a. As for Hanako, her daughter blamed herself, and this has plagued me.
 b. Hanako is upset by the fact that her daughter blamed herself.
 c. Hanako is upset by the fact that her daughter blamed her.

It is on this third reading that *zibun* is locally bound as a logophor.

6.4 The logophoric anchor

In this section, we discuss how binding of *zibun* by SpecModP (as a logophor) is related to long distance binding.

Let us start with a standard case of long distance binding in (28b), which we repeat here as (39).

³PRO would be in SpecModP if there is no overt expression there. If PRO is there, it can be controlled by the *primary ego*, in what may be called the unmarked case, or some individual previously mentioned in discourse. Presumably, control of PRO in SpecModP which is the immediate binder for *zibun*, by the *primary ego* results in the specific use of *zibun* used as the first person pronoun. But this use is limited to military and athletes' speech in the current locution. Also related, I believe, is the use of *zibun* referring to the addressee, which is common in the Kansai (Osaka-Kobe) dialects.

- (39) Taro_i-wa [_{ModP} PRO [_{SubjP/VP} Hanako_j-ga zibun_{i/*j}-o tatai-ta] to] omow-ta.
 -Top -Nom zibun-Acc hit-Past that think-Past
 'Taro thought that Hanako had hit self.'

In keeping with (33), let us see if *zibun* can be bound by either SpecVP or SpecSubjP. This will lead to a violation of Reinhart and Reuland's (1993) Condition B:

- (40) Condition B: If a predicate is reflexive, the predicate is reflexive-marked.

Taking the projection of 'predicate' to be either VP or SubjP, the predicate in (39) becomes reflexive, but the head V of this predicate *tatai* 'hit' is not inherently reflexive-marked, nor, on our assumption, is *zibun* a reflexivizer. So the predicate in (39) is not reflexive-marked, which leads to a violation of Condition B if *zibun* is bound by SpecVP or SpecSubjP.

Then, *zibun* can be bound by PRO in ModP. This opens up a gate for long distance binding: *zibun* is bound by PRO, PRO is controlled by something higher outside the clause. In (39), the matrix subject *Taro* controls PRO, and ultimately binds *zibun*, but this is not because this DP is a subject or is in a position c-commanding PRO. Rather, as was discussed in section 5., the selection of a controller of PRO in SpecModP is based on the choice of the *secondary ego*, the individual whose POV is reflected on the semantic content of the complement clause, in keeping with the idea of Sigurðsson (1990). Such an individual is picked out in terms of the roles played by discourse-participants or sentence-internal protagonists. These are the roles that are associated with the antecedents for logophoric elements in the analysis of logophoricity in various languages by Sells (1987).

Along the line of analysis suggested in section 5., we maintain that PRO in SpecModP is controlled by a DP in the higher clause identified as the *secondary ego*, an individual that has a semantic or discourse role that is salient in a relevant sense. Our notion of the **logophoric anchor**, referring to PRO controlled by the *secondary ego*, incorporates the definitions provided by Sells (1987).

- (41) **Logophoric anchor:** PRO in SpecModP is controlled by the *secondary ego*. The *secondary ego* is identified as one of the following:

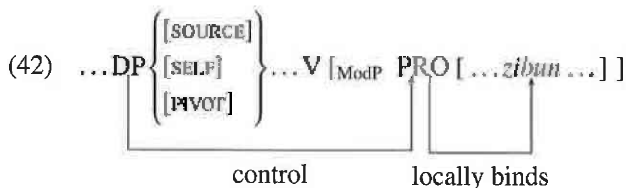
SOURCE: The one who makes the report.

SELF: The one whose "mind" is being reported.

PIVOT: The one from whose point of view the report is made.

PRO thus controlled serves as a *logophoric anchor*.

Together with (33), which defines the local binding of *zibun*, our analysis of long-distance anaphora involving *zibun* is schematically summarized as follows:



This is one possible way to realize Sigurðsson's (1990) ideas about long distance anaphora in a theoretical format. In describing the mechanism of long distance anaphora, Sigurðsson (1990, 335) writes:

Not only must the antecedent of a long distance reflexive be an appropriate secondary ego; its point of view must also be able to "transmit" down into the clause that contains the reflexive.

The control relation in (42) is one way to realize the "transmission" process. The most notable elements that execute the "transmission" in this sense are verbs of saying and cognitive activities. Thus the control relation between the *secondary ego* and the logophoric anchor (PRO) is mediated by V in (42).

Now let us see how the *secondary ego* can be identified in individual cases.

SOURCE

Let us return to the analysis of (39). Here, the matrix subject *Taro* can be identified as SOURCE, for it is the subject of the verb of saying, and it can be picked up as the controller for PRO in ModP, which locally binds *zibun*.

That it is the roles enumerated in (41) that are relevant to the present concerns, not subjecthood or structural restrictions based on c-command, can be seen by the (near-) acceptability of the following example, adapted from Kameyama (1985) by Sells (1987).

- (43) ?Taro-wa Takasi_i-kara [Yosiko-ga zibun_i-o kirat-te iru to] kii-ta.
 Taro-Top Takasi-from Yosiko-Nom self-Acc hate is that hear-Past
 'Taro heard from Takasi_i that Yosiko hates self_i.'

In this example, the DP *Takasi*, which is contained in PP and hence does not c-command the reflexive, can be the controller for PRO in SpecModP, which works as a logophoric anchor. This is because *Takasi* can be identified as the SOURCE of the message that is being conveyed in the communication depicted by the sentence.

In my own judgment, the reading of (43) on which *Taro* is the antecedent of *zibun* is more prevalent than the interpretation just described, on which the antecedent is *Takasi*. But I submit that this is not (merely) because *Taro* is the matrix subject or is in a c-commanding position. Rather, the meaning of this sentence suggests that *Taro* receives the message from *Takasi*, so that the content of the message can be understood as representing the understanding that *Taro* comes to have as the result of the communication. In this sense, (43) can be read as describing what is in Taro's mind. Thus understood, *Taro* in (43) can be said to play the discourse role of SELF, one of the roles enumerated in (41).

SELF

The discourse role of SELF is typically observed in psych constructions like the following.

- (44) [C. Kyoozyu-ga zibun_i-o in'yoo-si-ta koto]-ga Yamada_i-o utyooten-ni si-ta.
 Prof. C.-Nom self-Acc quote-Past that-Nom Yamada-Acc in ecstasy make-Past
 'That Prof. C. quoted self drove Yamada crazy.'

This sentence can be understood as describing what is in Yamada's mind, so *Yamada* here can be identified as having the discourse role of SELF (more popularly, Experiencer as a θ -role). A number of analyses have been proposed to account for the backward binding phenomena exemplified by (44) in terms of c-command that can be obtained in derivation, that is to say, in terms of structures and derivations in which the complement clause is moved from a position in which it is c-commanded by *Yamada*, an argument with the Experiencer role, along the lines of Belletti and Rizzi (1988) and Pesetsky (1995) — Motomura (2004) being one of the most recent attempts in Japanese.

The relevance of the notion of discourse role SELF (as well as the θ -role Experiencer) is motivated independently of the structure and syntactic derivation proposed for the constructions under consideration. Consider the following example.

- (45) *[C. Kyoozyu-ga zibun_i-o in'yoo-si-ta koto]-ga Yamada_i-o yuumei-ni si-ta.
 Prof. C.-Nom self-Acc quote-Past that-Nom Yamada-Acc famous make-Past
 'That Prof. C. quoted self made Yamada famous.'

On the surface, (45) minimally differs from (44) in the choice of the predicate. However, the choice of the predicate in (44) has made the whole sentence function as a psych construction while the predicate in (45) has made the sentence a causative sentence which does not (necessarily) have an implication about psychological states. This may or may not determine the structure of the sentence in such a way that (44) and (45) have radically different structures, but what is clear is that *Yamada* in (44) has a discourse role of SELF (and the θ -role of Experiencer) while this is not so in (45).

Thus in our analysis, the binding of *zibun* in (44) is effected in such a way that *zibun* is bound by PRO in SpecModP of the complement clause, and this PRO is controlled by *Yamada* in the matrix clause by virtue of the latter having the discourse role of SELF, the individual whose 'mind' is being talked about.

Notice that this analysis, in which long distance binding of the reflexive *zibun* is mediated by control, which is in turn determined on the basis of semantic (or discourse) factors, does not in itself refute analyses of psych constructions in which movement is invoked in the derivation. It might be the case that sentence (45) also involves movement of the complement clause so that there is a point in derivation in which *Yamada* c-commands PRO in SpecModP of the complement clause. Our analysis claims that *Yamada* is unable to qualify as a possible controller for PRO even if it c-commands the latter. We will discuss psych constructions in greater detail in a later section.

PIVOT

The relevance of the discourse role of PIVOT can be illustrated by sentences like the following.

- (46) Hanako-ga zibun_i-o tazune-te ki-ta toki, Taro_i-wa sono mura-ni
 Hanako-Nom self-Acc visit come when Taro-Top that village in
 3-nen sun-de i-ta.
 3 years live be-Past
 'When Hanako came to see self, Taro had been living in the village for three years.'

These and similar sentences have been discussed by Kameyama (1985) and Sells (1987). Huang and Liu (2001) present similar sentences involving *ziji* in Chinese.

In sentence (46), *Taro* can be identified as the PIVOT — an individual from whose point of view or location the event is being depicted in the sentence. In this particular sentence, the use of the verb *ku(ru)* 'come' in the adverbial clause signals that the event is being described with *Taro* as the deictic axis. If we replace this verb with *ik(u)* 'go', which implies the opposite (or neutral) deictic axis, the interpretation involving *Taro* as the antecedent of *zibun* becomes much harder to obtain. This is because, with this latter choice of verb, the deictic axis turns out to be either the complement subject *Hanako* (the opposite axis) or the speaker (the neutral axis).

Sentences like (46) do not in themselves provide evidence for or against the relevance of the structural restrictions based on c-command to long distance binding of the reflexive. In

the particular case of (46), it is conceivable that the adverbial clause has been moved from its base-generated position, in which it was c-commanded by the matrix subject. In the next subsection, we will consider the relevance of c-command to the general theory of anaphora involving the reflexive.

6.5 The relevance of c-command

Huang and Liu (2001) argue that a constituent in the specifier position of subject is capable of binding the reflexive *ziji*. Huang and Liu consider this a generally acknowledged phenomenon, and go on to claim that a spec constituent in subject is in a relation that they call 'subcommand', which they consider to be a subspecies of c-command, to the reflexive in the object position. Huang and Liu consider binding by subcommand a hallmark of local binding. Their analysis is based on examples like the following (Huang and Liu's (2001) (76)).

- (47) Zhangsan_i-de jiaobao hai-le ziji_i.
 Zhangsan-Gen arrogance hurt-Past self
 'Zhangsan's arrogance harmed self.'

I find an example that corresponds to this sentence in Japanese not so high in acceptability:

- (48) ??Yamada-no gooman-sa-ga zibun-o kizu-tuke-ta.
 Yamada-Gen arrogance-Nom self-Acc hurt-Past
 'Yamada's arrogance harmed self.'

My own assessment of these cases from my observation of Japanese examples is that the type of example that motivate Huang and Liu's (2001) analysis based on 'subcommand' is most easily obtained when we consider sentences involving the inherently reflexive verbs listed in (31). Thus I find the following example, whose predicate is headed by one of the inherently reflexive verbs, perfectly acceptable.

- (49) Yamada-no taido-wa zibun-o kenson-site i-ru.
 Yamada-Gen attitude-Top self-Acc humble(V) be-Pres
 'Yamada's attitude humbles self.'

But notice that this is effected only in tandem with the choice of the head noun in subject. Thus, the following sentence is not so good, while the verb used here is the same as in (49).

- (50) ??Yamada-no hyoozyoo-wa zibun-o kenson-site i-ru.
 Yamada-Gen expression-Top self-Acc humble(V) be-Pres
 'Yamada's facial expression humbles self.'

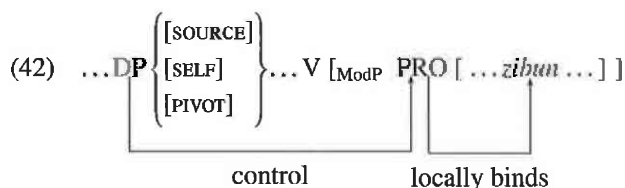
My account of the difference between (49) and (50) is the idea that local binding involving the reflexive is really a relation holding between coarguments, as has been argued by Reinhart and Reuland (1993). What makes the anaphoric relation possible in (49) is that the semantic content of the head N of the subject of this sentence is 'transparent' to the extent that the nominal expression in the spec position can be interpreted as if it were a coargument with the reflexive in the object position. In other words, the following inference has to hold:

- (51) [_{DP} X's N(P)] V *zibun* ⇒ X V *zibun*

The detail of this line of consideration has yet to be worked out, but the point of the present discussion is that binding involving the reflexive that holds between coarguments constitutes

the core cases of local anaphora, where one argument (typically subject) c-commands the reflexive appearing as the other argument (typically, object).

Turning to long distance binding, the following schema, repeated here, represents the essence of our analysis.



Our analysis is that control of PRO in SpecModP is what makes long distance binding possible, and that the nature of this process is that of non-obligatory control, which does not require the structural condition of c-command.

We have already observed cases like (43) in which control of the logophoric anchor by a *SOURCE*-argument does not require c-command. Also, in section 5, we considered some cases in which the determination of the POV-holder (the logophoric anchor) for the complement clause does not require c-command, independent of long distance anaphora in that subsection. Thus, correlated with the examples in (25), we have sentences like the following, in which the respective antecedent does not c-command the logophoric anchor (PRO in SpecModP) or *zibun* in the complement clause.

- (52) a. Yamada_i-no hukigen-wa [Hanako-ga zibun_i-o hihan-si-ta koto]-o
 Yamada-Gen crossness-Top Hanako-Nom self-Acc criticize-Past that-Acc
 imi-site iru.
 mean is
 'Yamada's ill temper means that Hanako had criticized self.'
- b. [Hanako-ga zibun_i-o hihan-si-ta koto]-ga Yamada_i-no puraido-o
 -Nom self-Acc criticize-Past that-Nom Yamada-Gen pride-Acc
 kizu-tuke-ta.
 hurt-Past
 'That Hanako had criticized self damaged Yamada's pride.'

In neither of these sentences does the antecedent c-command *zibun*. In (52a) *Yamada* appears in the spec position of the matrix subject. In (52b), the antecedent is in the spec position of what appears to be an object at least in the structure that is pronounced. Even if one adopts an analysis of psych construction in which the complement clause is moved from a position in which it is c-commanded by *Yamada-no puraido* 'Yamada's pride', there is no point in the derivation in which *Yamada* can c-command *zibun*.

On the other hand, both of these sentences can be interpreted in such a way that they describe what's going on in Yamada's mind. In this sense, *Yamada* can be construed as the *secondary ego*, an individual having the discourse role of *SELF*, and for this reason can be considered to be the controller of PRO in SpecModP of the complement clause, which in turn serves as the logophoric anchor. This results in the interpretation of sentences in (52) in such a way that the POV holder for the content of the complement clause is Yamada, and also he is the ultimate antecedent of *zibun*.

6.6 More on psych constructions and c-command

The acceptability of long distance anaphora in sentences like (52b) might be taken as obviating analyses of psych constructions in which the complement clause containing the reflexive is base-generated (introduced by merge) in a position c-commanded by an argument with the Experiencer role, which serves as the antecedent for the reflexive, and gets moved to the subject position, such as Belletti and Rizzi (1988), Pesetsky (1995), and Motomura (2004) in Japanese, among many others. This is because the acceptability of 'backward anaphora' in sentences like (44) and those in (53) has had considerable weight in developing those movement analyses, with varying specifics.⁴

- (53) a. The rumor about himself_i worries John_i.
 b. [Hanako-ga zibun_i-o hihan-si-ta koto]-ga Yamada_i-o odorokase-ta.
 Hanako-Nom self-Acc criticize-Past that-Nom Yamada-Acc surprise-Past
 'That Hanako had criticized self surprised Yamada.'

The movement analysis has been largely motivated by the observation that it makes a derivational stage like the following available.

- (54) [*e*] [[worries [the rumor about himself]] John]

Given the structure in (54), the Experiencer argument *John* c-commands the reflexive anaphor in the DP now occupying the object position. On the assumption that binding requirements on anaphors must be fulfilled derivationally, a derivational stage like (54) is justified.

However, the existence of sentences like (52b) might be taken as indicating that such a movement analysis is superfluous, since the backward anaphora case in (52b) should be accounted for without reference to c-command, for there is no point in the derivation of (52b) at which *Yamada* c-commands *zibun* or its containing clause, even if one adopts a movement analysis of psych constructions. The same can be said about (55) as opposed to (53b).

- (55) The rumor about himself_i has damaged John_i's pride.

Given that there are sentences involving psych constructions in which anaphora must be accounted for independent of c-command anyway, why must one have recourse to movement for the purpose of obtaining c-command? Indeed, Pollard and Sag (1992) adopt this logic to delimit the scope of theories of binding based on structural considerations.

Nevertheless, there is reason to believe that psych constructions involve movement. This has to do with the fact that the Experiencer argument (representing SELF, and hence the *secondary ego*) in psych constructions can be a quantifier.

- (56) a. The rumor about himself_i worried everyone_i.
 b. [Hanako-ga zibun_i-o hihan-si-ta koto]-ga daremo_i-o odorokase-ta.
 Hanako-Nom self-Acc criticize-Past that-Nom everyone-Acc surprise-Past
 'That Hanako had criticized self surprised everyone.'

Sentences involving disjunction (*or*) yield the same result.

- (57) a. The rumor about himself_i worried [John or Bill]_i.

⁴Motomura (2004) presents arguments based on quantifier-scope, and Nishigauchi (1999b, chapter 4) shows that the movement analysis of psych constructions is motivated by the functional interpretation of *wh*-constructions.

- b. [Hanako-ga zibun_i-o hihan-si-ta koto]-ga [Yamada ka Suzuki]_i-o
 Hanako-Nom self-Acc criticize-Past that-Nom Yamada or Suzuki-Acc
 odorokase-ta.
 surprise-Past
 'That Hanako had criticized self surprised either Yamada or Suzuki.'

On the assumption, widely acknowledged in the literature, that binding of anaphors (or pronominals) by a quantificational expression requires that the latter c-commands the former at some point of derivation, the acceptability of sentences in (56) and (57) can be readily accounted for, given a movement analysis.

On the other hand, the following sentences are unacceptable.

- (58) a. *The rumor about himself_i has damaged everyone's_i pride.
 b. ?*[Hanako-ga zibun_i-o hihan-si-ta koto]-ga daremo_i-no puraido-o
 Hanako-Nom self-Acc criticize-Past that-Nom everyone-Gen pride-Acc
 kizu-tuke-ta.
 hurt-Past
 'That Hanako had criticized self damaged everyone's pride.'

These sentences are unacceptable because, even if we assume movement, there is no point in the derivation at which the quantifier c-commands the reflexive or the constituent containing it.

Thus it is clear from the observations so far that the availability of anaphoric relations in sentences like (52), in which there can be no point in derivation where the antecedent c-commands the reflexive even if one assumes a movement analysis, does not warrant concluding that movement analyses of psych constructions are unmotivated or unnecessary. The availability of backward anaphora itself, which was thought to be the motivation for Belletti and Rizzi's (1988) movement (or unaccusative) analysis, does not provide a motivation for movement analyses in general, since, as we have been discussing throughout, the antecedent of the reflexive bound long-distance is not determined structurally.

6.7 The position of *-te simaw*

Let us consider what would happen if a psych construction involving an occurrence of *zibun*, such as (53b), is further embedded as complement to a *belief*-type V.

- (59) Suzuki_i-wa [[Hanako-ga zibun_{i/j}-o hihan-si-ta koto]-ga Yamada_j-o
 Suzuki-wa Hanako-Nom self-Acc criticize-Past that-Nom Yamada-Acc
 odorokase-ta to] omow-ta.
 surprise-Past that think-Past
 'Suzuki thought that that Hanako had criticized self surprised Yamada.'

As the indexing on the example shows, either the matrix subject or the apparent object (Experiencer) of the lower clause is able to be the antecedent of *zibun*.

This is a remarkable fact, since in a GB-type (pre-Minimalist) syntax in which D-structure has all the lexical items ready in the sentence, there is a point in the derivation of this sentence (at D-structure) in which the Experiencer argument of the middle clause more immediately c-commands the subject of the matrix clause, assuming analyses of psych constructions like Belletti and Rizzi (1988). Even in the face of this asymmetry in c-command, the interpretation of *zibun* in (59) allows ambiguity with respect to its antecedent.

This fact can be taken as another piece of evidence that what is at stake in long distance anaphora involving the reflexive is non-obligatory control. The following sentence, which has non-obligatory control of PRO, exhibits just the same ambiguity.

- (60) John_i thinks that [PRO_{i/j} earning more money] would please Mary_j.

Notice that (60) also involves a psych construction in the complement clause so that *Mary* has a chance of being the sole c-commander of PRO in the derivation. And yet, control of PRO in (60) allows ambiguity. Being insensitive to the immediacy of c-command can be taken as a property of non-obligatory control.

This property is preserved in Japanese sentences involving psych constructions with the reflexive, where the lowest clause has an occurrence of *-te simaw*, a POV-sensitive auxiliary V.

- (61) Suzuki_i-wa [[Hanako-ga zibun_{i/j}-o hihan-si-**te simaw**-ta koto]-ga
Suzuki-wa Hanako-Nom self-Acc criticize simaw-Past that-Nom
Yamada_j-o odorokase-ta to] omow-ta.
Yamada-Acc surprise-Past that think-Past
'Suzuki thought that that Hanako had criticized self surprised Yamada.'

This sentence allows just the same ambiguity as (59), so the antecedent of *zibun* can be either *Yamada*, the Experiencer argument of the middle clause, or *Suzuki*, subject of the matrix clause. This can be explained in terms of control of PRO in the SpecModP of the clause containing *zibun*. Either the Experiencer of the middle clause or subject of the matrix clause can be the controller of this PRO, for they can both be identified as SELF, and since the relevant process has the properties of non-obligatory control, either choice is acceptable. Depending on the choice of the controller, the antecedent of *zibun* is accordingly determined.

Now compare (61) with the following:

- (62) Suzuki_i-wa [[Hanako-ga zibun_{i/??j}-o hihan-si-ta koto]-ga Yamada_j-o
Suzuki-wa Hanako-Nom self-Acc criticize-Past that-Nom Yamada-Acc
odorokase-**te simaw**-ta to] omow-ta.
surprise simaw-Past that think-Past
'Suzuki thought that that Hanako had criticized self surprised Yamada.'

In this sentence, the interpretation on which the matrix subject is the antecedent is dominant, though the other interpretation on which the middle-clause Experiencer is the antecedent is not impossible. This is because the middle clause consists of ModP headed by *te simaw*, a POV-sensitive auxiliary V, and the controller of PRO hosted in its Spec position must be chosen from the matrix clause. That the other interpretation, on which the middle clause Experiencer is the antecedent, is not impossible is to be explained by the fact that any clause consists of ModP. The difference is, if the ModP is headed by a POV-sensitive item, control involving that domain becomes more prevalent.

7. Long Distance Reflexives in Icelandic

Long distance reflexives in Icelandic exhibit very interesting behavior from the perspective of the present article. It has been traditionally acknowledged in the literature that modality of the embedded clause containing the reflexive plays an important role in long distance anaphora in Icelandic. Long distance anaphora involving the reflexive *sig* is possible only when the clause containing it is in the subjunctive mood. This process is generally impossible when the containing clause is in the indicative mood. We repeat the examples from section 5.2.

- (26) a. Jón segir að María elski sig/hann.
 John says that Mary loves(SUBJ) self/him
 'John_i says that Mary loves him_i.'
- b. Jón veit að María elskar *sig/hann.
 John knows that Mary loves(IND) self/him
 'John_i knows that Mary loves him_i.'

Sigurðsson (1990) argues that it is incorrect to identify the possibility of long distance anaphora involving the reflexive with the mood selection. Here I mention two points among the numerous arguments presented by Sigurðsson.

One point is that it's not the case that long distance anaphora involving the reflexive is possible in just any subjunctive clause. One notable case is the adjunct clause, which resists long distance anaphora from the main clause. Long distance anaphora is impossible in the following example, even though the connective *þó* 'although' requires the subjunctive mood in the clause that it heads.

- (63) María er hér enn þó að ég skammi *sig/hana.
 Mary is here still although I scold(subj) self/her
 'Mary_i is still here although I scold her_i.'

Sigurðsson adds that long distance anaphora becomes available if the whole sentence (63) is embedded as complement to a verb such as *segja* 'say', which requires a subjunctive complement.

Secondly, Sigurðsson points out that there are some speakers of Icelandic (including himself) who accept some indicative clauses containing a long-distance reflexive. For such speakers, (26b) is not so bad.

However, concerning sentences like (26b), Sigurðsson (1990, 333) observes that the verb *vita* 'know' has various connotations. It can mean either 'be aware of' or 'be certain', and the latter meaning, which reflects Mary's feelings or opinions so that Mary is identified as the *secondary ego*, having the role of SELF, is preferred if the reflexive in the complement is used felicitously, even for those speakers who accept (26b).

Thus, the characterization of long distance anaphora involving the reflexive in Icelandic turns out to be very similar to the characterization of the process in Japanese, which has been portrayed in the present article. In both languages, it is always the individual who can be identified as the *secondary ego* that can be picked out as the antecedent of the reflexive bound across a clause.

Sigurðsson (1990, 311, 334) points out the subject-orientation of long distance reflexives in Icelandic, a well-known property shared by the parallel process in Japanese (among many other languages that permit this process). In our analysis, subject-orientation should be taken as an overall characterization, if not a mere approximation, and by no means reflects a precise analysis of the phenomenon. Subject is the most likely position to host the most salient individual depicted in the sentence, and this is the reason (if not the sole reason) that we most often find the individual identified as the *secondary ego* in subject.

In fact, Sigurðsson (1990, 334) presents the following example to show that the object can host a *secondary ego* in the absence of an appropriate expression in the subject.

- (64) ??Bréfið sannfærði Maríu um að ég hefði gleymt sér.
 letter convinced Mary about that I had(subj) forgotten self
 'The letter convinced Mary_i that I had forgotten self_i.'

In our analysis, 'Mary' can be the *secondary ego* because this sentence can be understood as describing Mary's belief as the result of a kind of communication depicted in the sentence, hence she can be identified as SELF. We can think of an analogous example in Japanese, which is probably higher in acceptability than (64).

- (65) Sono tegami-ga Yamada_i-ni [Hanako-ga zibun_i-o sake-te i-ru
 that letter-Nom Yamada-Dat Hanako-Nom self-Acc avoid is
 koto]-o osie-ta.
 that-Acc tell-Past
 'That letter told Yamada_i that Hanako is avoiding self_i.'

Yamada in this sentence can be identified as the *secondary ego* from the same reasoning that worked for (64).

These observations suggest that the analysis of long distance anaphora based on the logophoric anchor works for both Japanese and Icelandic. In particular, the presence of ModP, the functional projection motivated by POV, is even more straightforwardly motivated in Icelandic, where the choice of modality in the form of indicative and subjunctive moods plays a vital role, in particular, in the area of long distance anaphora. While it is true that Sigurðsson (1990) argues against holding to modality as the immediate basis for long distance anaphora, it is also true that in the majority of cases the reflexive appears in a subjunctive complement clause, and even when the complement clause is in the indicative mood (for those speakers who accept the relevant examples), it is conceivable that there can be a licensing relation between the head of ModP, morphologically realized as modal inflections, and PRO that appears in SpecModP, where the subjunctive Mod head most likely licenses PRO in its spec, which in turn serves as the logophoric anchor.

Given that they are so similar, what's the difference between the two languages with respect to long distance anaphora? The answer is straightforward. The difference lies with the ease with which the "transmission" of POV in the sense of Sigurðsson (1990) takes place. In Icelandic, there are strict conditions that must be met in order for this transmission to take place. In Japanese, transmission occurs freely. While the present article started out discussing clauses with *-te simaw*, a POV-sensitive auxiliary V, as representing the projection of ModP, this projection is overtly realized by various expressions mentioned in section 2.4, and covertly realized in any clause at all. And the complement clause is always transparent to transmission of the *secondary ego*'s POV. Furthermore, there is no restriction on the syntactic or semantic properties of the mediating V: In Japanese, V can be anything so long as it takes a complement clause, and there is no restriction with respect to factivity or choice of modality in the complement clause as in Icelandic.

8. Conclusion

The present paper has been discussing the functional projection ModP, which is motivated by POV. We started out the discussion with clauses with *-te simaw*, a POV-sensitive auxiliary V, as a head of this projection. SpecModP of the matrix clause is usually occupied by PRO, which is controlled by the *primary ego* (the speaker, the author of the story, etc.), but can be overtly realized by a DP marked by *-wa*, given a POV-sensitive modality marker like *-te simaw*. The behavior of this type of *wa*-marked DPs, in contrast to topic expressions which are also marked by *-wa*, has been discussed. This projection is present in any clause structure, at least in the languages discussed here.

The theoretical status of ModP, in particular whether it is part of the I-system or C-system, has to be left open for further investigation.

The perspective provided by the properties of ModP, together with the insights of Sigurðsson (1990), sheds a new light on long distance anaphora involving the reflexive in Japanese, as well as, hopefully, other languages exhibiting this process. In the present analysis, the reflexive may be bound by subject of the predicate, viz. the DP in either VP (or ν P) or SubjP. If the reflexive is not bound predicate-internally, it may be bound by a DP, PRO in SpecModP. This opens up a gate to long distance anaphora — PRO in SpecModP can be controlled by the *secondary ego* in the higher clause, whose POV is transmitted to the semantic content of the complement clause. The *secondary ego* is selected in terms of the roles played by the discourse-participants or sentence-internal protagonits, viz. SOURCE, SELF, and PIVOT.

Subject-orientation of long distance anaphora, observed in probably all languages exhibiting this process, can be accounted for in such a way that subject is the most likely position to host the *secondary ego*.

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Author's E-mail Address: gauchi@sils.shoin.ac.jp

Author's web site: <http://banjo.shoin.ac.jp/~gauchi/>