

The Awareness Condition and the POV Projections*

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Abstract

In this paper we develop an analysis of reflexive binding involving the reflexive *zibun* in Japanese. We argue that the reflexive *zibun* is bound by a POV (point of view) holder that minimally *c*-commands *zibun*. A POV holder occupies the Spec position of a POV projection, a projection whose head has the POV feature. What appears to be long distance binding involving the reflexive in fact consists of two relations of construal: The immediate binder of the reflexive is the POV holder, realized as *pro*, which is in turn subject to control by an argument of the higher clause. The semantic/pragmatic properties of the individual POV projections will be shown to affect the aspects of reflexive binding hitherto considered to be accountable for only in terms of functional considerations such as the ‘awareness condition’.

1. The ‘Awareness Condition’?

The following two sentences involving the reflexive *zibun* are different in acceptability to most speakers of Japanese.

- (1) a. Minna-ga zibun_i-o home-ta toki, Takasi_i-wa hidoku odoroi-ta.
everyone-Nom self-Acc praise-Past when Takasi-Top greatly surprised be-Past
‘When everyone praised self, Takasi was greatly surprised.’
- b. ??Minna-ga zibun_i-o home-ta toki, Takasi_i-wa gussuri nemutte ita.
everyone-Nom self-Acc praise-Past when Takasi-Top fast asleep be-Past
‘When everyone praised self, Takasi was fast asleep.’

Sentence (1a) in which the reflexive *zibun* appears in the adjunct headed by *toki* ‘when’, is acceptable on the intended interpretation on which the antecedent of *zibun* is considered to be *Takasi*. Sentence (1b), on the LD binding interpretation, is low in acceptability.

At first sight, the (near-)contrast as seen in (1) appears to indicate that the difference with respect to the semantic status of the (potential) antecedent is at stake: Simply put, *Takashi* is awake and (probably) aware of the action or event involving him in (1a), while he is not awake and is (probably) not conscious of what’s going on involving him in (1b). So the ‘awareness condition’, proposed and discussed by Kuno (1973), appears to be the answer. The ‘awareness condition’ is informally stated as the following.

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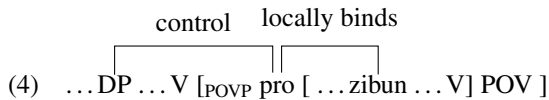
- (2) The referent of the antecedent of the re e xive *zibun* must be aware of the event or action depicted by the proposition containing the re e xive.

However, the awareness condition does not account for the fact that the following sentence, which is different from (1b) just in the addition of the modal element *kure* do as a favor in the adjunct clause, shows improvement on (1b).

- (3) Minna-ga zibun_i-o home-te kure-ta toki, Takasi_i-wa gussuri
 everyone-Nom self-Acc praise do favor-Past when Taakasi-Top fast
 nemutte ita.
 asleep be-Past

When everyone praised self (as a favor), Takasi was fast asleep.

I take the (near-)contrast between (1b) and (3) as providing a piece of evidence in favor of the analysis developed by Nishigauchi (2005), in which it is claimed that what appears to be LD re e xive binding is considered to consist of two relations:



In this analysis, *pro* is the real local binder of the re e xive *zibun*, and its semantic or pragmatic nature is determined by the head of POVP, POV. Further, this semantic/pragmatic nature of *pro* must be compatible with the semantic/pragmatic nature of DP, its purported controller, in order for the control relation to be successfully established.

Thus, our theory of re e xive binding must make reference to the following properties:

1. The semantic/pragmatic nature of *pro*, determined by the head of the POV projection.
2. The nature of the control relationship.
3. The semantic/pragmatic nature of DP.

We will focus on property 1 in the present article. In order to elucidate this property, we need to look into modal projections, which I argue consist of several sublayers. This will be the subject of section 2..

As for property 2, Nishigauchi (2005) claims that the control relation between *pro* and a DP in a higher clause should be characterized as having non-obligatory control (NOC) properties. Nishigauchi (2005) discusses property 3 in terms of the logophoric hierarchy discussed by Sells (1987).

Research along these ideas is in progress. The implications of this line of analysis in Ewe logophoricity have been explored by Nishigauchi and Orita (2008).

Similar ideas have been explored in the literature, most important among them being Koopman and Sportiche (1989) and more recently, Adesola (2006). These authors' analyses share the ideas that (i) anaphoric relations involving logophors consist of two relations mediated by a pronominal element in the Spec of the domain containing the logophor, and (ii) this pronominal element is supposed to be subject to control.

However, the present analysis differs from these studies in crucial respects. The present study hypothesizes that the control relation involving the pronominal element in SpecPOVP has the properties of NOC, while Koopman and Sportiche (1989) and Adesola (2006) assume

the relevant relation to be lexically-determined obligatory control, and internal to the domain containing the logophor, these authors argue that this pronominal element serves as an operator binding the logophor, now seen as an A'-bound variable. As to the latter point, our position is that the pronominal element in SpecPOVP is in an A-position, equipped with what may be analogous with θ -roles, so that the logophor in Ewe is characterized as an anaphor locally bound in a relativized sense and this binding relation is considered to be A-binding.

2. POV projections

In the rest of the present article, we argue that much of the semantic/pragmatic aspects of so-called LD reflexive binding derives from the nature of syntactic projections related with modality, portrayed in the crosslinguistic study of Cinque (1995), where it has been shown that the sentential component of modality (as well as aspect), consisting of a number of projections related with modality and POV, constitutes a configuration in the system of functional projections. In this section, we discuss the projections comprising the point-of-view (POV) component.

The POV projections host an argument in their Spec position, which is realized as *pro*, as suggested by Speas (2004), bearing a role specific to the projection in which it appears.¹ The argument in the Spec position of the POV projections plays two roles related to the binding of the reflexive *zibun*. Internally to the clause which contains the reflexive, the argument in the Spec of the POV projections qualifies as the antecedent of *zibun*. When the clause containing the reflexive is a subordinate clause (either as a complement of a verb or an adjunct clause), the argument in question, realizing as *pro*, opens up a gate to long distance anaphora, by means of a process which we will show is essentially characterized as (non-obligatory) control.

In the following subsections, we present our analysis of the internal structure of the POV component in the organization of a clause in Japanese. We follow Cinque (1995) in hypothesizing that the POV component consists of several specific projections in the higher part of the IP-system in the clause organization, higher than projections related to aspect but probably lower than the tense system.

Since it is not our purpose to provide a fully exhaustive description of the POV system of Japanese, we will only consider the following projections pertaining to the POV component of the language.

- (5) 1. **Evidential (Mood) Phrase (EvidP)**: indicates the nature of the speaker's evidence for the truth of propositions.
2. **Desiderative Phrase (DesidP)**: indicates the speaker's or a sentence protagonist's sensation or emotion.
3. **Evaluative (Mood) Phrase (EvalP)**: indicates the speaker's or a sentence protagonist's evaluation of the reported event or state (as good, bad, lucky, surprising, etc.)
4. **Benefactive Phrase (BenefP)**: indicates the orientation of an action considered to be benefactive (indicates who takes the action as favor).
5. **Deixis Phrase (DeixP)**: indicates the location or orientation of the event or action.

The projections in (5) are ordered in keeping with their height in the clause. Thus, we deviate from Cinque (1995) in placing EvidP above EvalP. Also, there is no position for DesidP, DeixP

¹In Japanese, some of these POV projections allow an overt argument to appear in the Spec position, marked by *wa*. We will not go into these phenomena in the present paper.

or BenefP (which may be collapsed with DeixP) in Cinque (1995), but I believe that these projections play an important role related to point of view (POV) and so-called LD anaphora.

In the following subsections, we will discuss each of these projections, starting with EvalP.

2.1 Evaluative Phrase (EvalP)

Many languages have special morphemes, either free or bound, to express the speaker's (positive, negative, or other) evaluation of the state of affairs described in [the proposition]. (Cinque, 1995, 84) As examples of linguistic expressions illustrating the morphemes expressing the evaluative mood, Cinque (1995, 84–85) points out the auxiliary *-kwun-* in Korean, which expresses surprise, and two other examples from Ngiyambaa and Menomini.

In this subsection, we are going to discuss the POV use of the auxiliary V *-te simaw* in Japanese. The observation centers on the nature of sentences like (6b).

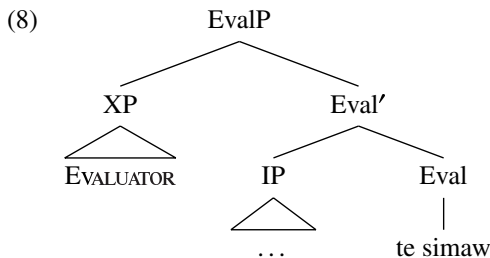
- (6) a. Hanako-ga kuruma-o kaw-ta.
 Hanako-Nom car -Acc buy-Past
 Hanako has bought a car.
- b. Hanako-ga (nanto) kuruma-o kaw-te simaw-ta.
 Hanako-Nom guess what car -Acc buy simaw-Past

Sentence (6a) is a neutral description of the fact that Hanako has bought a car, while (6b), which minimally differs from (6a) in the presence of an auxiliary V *-te simaw* attached to the main V, can have the following interpretation:

- (7) The speaker has been affected (annoyed, surprised) by Hanako's purchase of a car.

The (auxiliary) V *-te simaw* adds to the meaning of the sentence the speaker's (usually negative) attitude towards the event depicted by the core part of the proposition. Thus we consider *te simaw* as a modal auxiliary illustrating the Evaluative Phrase.²

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



Here, IP refers to the projection of whatever belongs to In, including the lower portion of Modality Phrase, and Aspectual Phrase, which has been discussed by Borer (1994).

The Spec position of EvalP is occupied by the POV holder or the Evaluator (Speas, 2004), 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 EvalP the analysis proposed by Huang (1984) to account for the empty pronominal phenomena of Chinese.

²Sentence (6b) has another meaning which derives from the aspectual meaning of *-te simaw*. The aspectual meaning of *-te simaw* has been briefly discussed in Nishigauchi (1999), drawing on Borer (1994), and we will focus on the modal use of this V in the present discussion.

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

- (9) Taro-wa [kodomo-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 SpecEvalP of the complement clause. He resents the situation caused by what the child did.

- (10) Taro_i ... [EvalP pro_i [IP ...] te-simaw]

2.2 Deixis Phrase (DeixP) and Benefactive Phrase (BenefP)

Although this type of POV projection is not mentioned in Cinque (1995), deixis plays an important role in the semantics and pragmatics of the Japanese language, and some morphemes are devoted to the expressions indicating the location and/or orientation of a given action or event.

The contrast in the following sentences illustrate the presence of Deixis Phrase (DeixP).

- (11) a. Gakusei-ga apaato-o tazune-ta.
 student-Nom apartment-Acc visit-Past
 ‘A student visited an apartment.’
 b. Gakusei-ga apaato-o tazune-te {ki-ta / ik-ta.}
 student-Nom apartment-Acc visit come-Past / go-Past
 ‘A student came / went visiting an apartment.’

Sentence (11a) is a neutral description of the event in which a student visited an apartment, while (11b) involves deictic orientations toward the speaker in case the sentence ends with *-ku* (‘come’), which may imply that the speaker lives in the apartment, and away from the speaker in case it ends with *-ik* (‘go’).

Benefactive constructions involving *-te yar / -te kure* also involve deictic orientations: *V-te yar* means that the speaker does something for the benefit of someone else, while *V-te kure(ru)* means someone else does something for the benefit of the speaker.

The benefactive (Benef) auxiliaries can cooccur, as a higher layer, with the pivot auxiliaries, as in:

- (12) Gakusei-ga apaato-o tazune-te {ki-te / ik-te} kure-ta.
 student-Nom apartment-Acc visit come / go Benefact.-Past
 ‘A student {came / went} visiting an apartment for my benefit.’

Since the benefactive carries the meaning of positive evaluation, it might be thought that the benefactive should be classified as the evaluative. However, the benefactive can cooccur with the evaluative, indicating that they are distinct.

- (13) Musuko-ni takai kuruma-o kaw-te yar-te simaw-ta.
 son-Dat expensive car-Acc buy Benefact. Eval.-Past
 ‘I bought an expensive car for my son, and I regret it.’

Thus the benefactive and the pivot phrases come below the evaluative, and the following hierarchical organization of the POV projection is obtained:

(14) EvalP >> BenefP >> DeixP

The BenefP and DeixP are distinguished from other layers of POV projections in that they host an argument in their Spec that can be characterised as Axis, who need not be aware of the benefit in the case of the benefactive. Thus, the following sentence is not necessarily a contradiction.

- (15) Takasi-wa Mari-ga tazune-te kure-ta ga, kare-ni-wa sore-ga
 Takasi-Top Mari-Nom visit Benef.Past but him-Dat-Top that-Nom
 meiwaku dat-ta.
 nuisance be-Past

As for Takashi, Mari visited him (as a favor), but it was a nuisance to him.

In this sentence, *Takashi* is the person for whom the benefactive action is intended, and to this extent we consider him to be the Axis, but it is not necessary that he is aware of the benefit. It may be someone else, the speaker for example, who appreciates Mary's visit. In this sense, the Axis is different from the Evaluator associated with the Evaluative, in that the Evaluator must be conscious of the event depicted as being bad, in the case of the evaluative *te simaw*. In the next section, it will be seen that this distinction between the Axis and other protagonists that can appear in the Spec of other POV projections plays a significant role in accounting for some phenomena involving reflexive binding.

2.3 Desiderative Phrase (DesidP)

Tenny (2006) observes that Japanese sentences expressing personal sensation and emotion require the first person pronoun subject, or the sentient, in the reportive style, marked by the sentence-ending particle *yo*. Also, if the subject is unpronounced, the speaker is understood as the subject.

- (16) { \emptyset / Watasi / *Takasi}-wa {kanasi-i / sabisi-i} yo.
 I Takashi-Top sad lonely Report.
 {I am / Takashi is}{sad / lonely}.

The same restriction applies to desiderative constructions headed by the desiderative auxiliary *ta(i)* taking the VP complement.

- (17) {Watasi / *Takasi}-wa odor-i ta-i yo.
 I Takashi-Top dance want Report.
 {I / Takashi} want(s) to dance.

The desiderative projection DesidP headed by the auxiliary *ta(i)* occupies a layer higher than the evaluative (EvalP) in light of examples such as:³

- (18) Isso kubi-ni nar-te simaw-i ta-i.
 rather be red Eval. want
 I'd rather be (in the bad situation of being) red.

³It might be thought that the use of *-te simaw* in (18) is aspectual, conveying the meaning of completeness. While I'm not in the position to remove this scepticism, I note the fact that the following sentence has only the evaluative meaning.

- (i) Kubi-ni nar-te simaw-ta.
 be red Eval.Past
 I've been red (and I'm at a loss).

From the considerations so far, the following hierarchical organization of the POV projection emerges:

- (19) DesidP >> EvalP >> BenefP >> DeixP

I suggest that sentences like (16), which seemingly involves a simple adjectival structure, is derived in such a way that AP is created by merging the first person subject (sentient) and the head A, the latter of which gets raised at the point where DesidP is created. The subject, if pronounced, is also raised to SpecDesidP, marked by *-wa*. If the subject is not pronounced, *pro* occupies SpecDesidP, being controlled by the speaker.

The choice of subject in the desiderative construction is a somewhat complicated issue, and we will not pursue the matter any further here. Some aspects of this issue can be seen in Tenny (2006).

2.4 Evidential Phrase (EvidP)

Martin (1975, 991–995) mentions *-soo(-da)* as in *Waru-soo-da* ‘It looks bad’ as an expression representing evidentiality in Japanese, imparting the meaning of ‘looks to be/do’.

The evidential *-soo(-da)* is capable of appearing with the evaluative *-te simaw*, but when it does, it has to appear after, and hence higher in the structure than, the latter, which goes against Cinque’s (1995) generalization.

- (20) Kubi-ni nar-te simaw-i soo-da.
 be fired Eval. Evid.
 ‘The bad situation of being fired is lurking.’

Another evidential auxiliary which has been discussed in the literature is *gar-*, which is used in combination with the desiderative construction, and is often translated as ‘show sign (of being sad, wanting to do so and so)’, as in:

- (21) a. Mari-wa kanasi gar-te iru.
 Mary-Top sad Evid. is
 ‘Mary (is showing sign that she) is sad.’
 b. Mari-wa kuruma-o kaw-i ta-gar-te iru.
 Mary-Top car-Acc buy Desid.Evid is
 ‘Mary (is showing sign that she) wants to buy a car.’

As was the case with the desiderative construction, the evidential construction in combination with the desiderative exhibits complicated behavior with respect to the choice of subject, and we will not go into the matter here.

The evidential projection EvidP has in its Spec position an ‘argument’ that may be identified as ‘witness’ (Speas, 2004), and this is usually realized as *pro*, which is controlled by the speaker in the case of a matrix clause.

Tenny (2006) observes, quoting Kuroda, that the nominal complement can constitute an evidential domain. While Japanese sentences expressing personal sensation strongly favor the first person subject especially in the reportive style (indicated by the sentence-ending particle *yo*) as we observed in (16), this restriction is lifted in nominal complementation headed by *koto*.

- (22) [Takasi-ga sabisi-i koto] -wa akiraka da.
 Takashi-Nom lonely that -Top obvious be-Pres
 ‘That Takashi is lonely is obvious.’

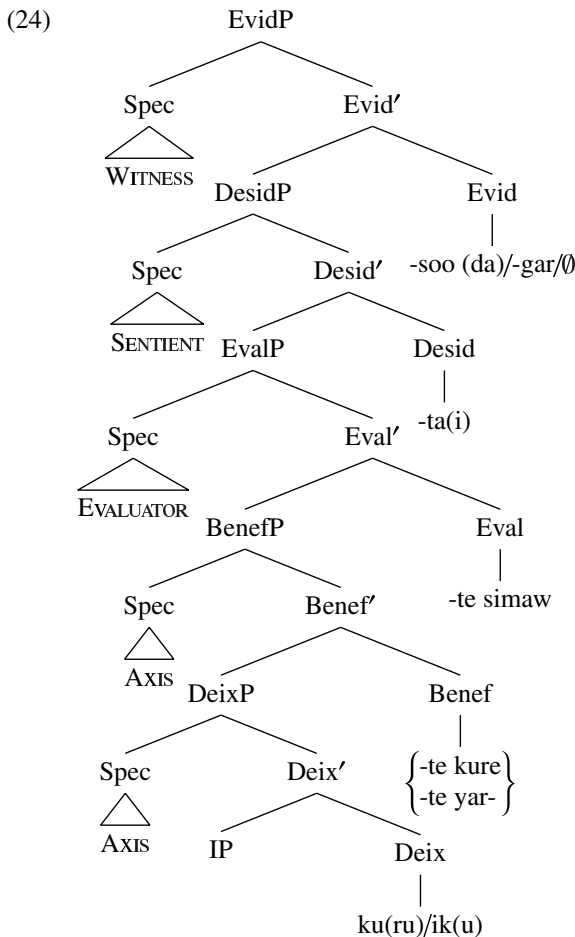
I take this as indicating that the evidential is realized by an unpronounced head, hosting a witness argument in the Spec position:

$$(23) \text{ [EvidP WITNESS [IP \dots] \emptyset_{Evid}]}$$

I assume that this unpronounced evidentiality marker (quotative evidential (Speas, 2004)) is present generally in complement clauses including those headed by the complementizer *to* that .

2.5 POV projections

From what we have discussed in the previous subsections, the POV component in the functional projections of Japanese is organized in the following way.



The Spec positions of these projections, each with its own mnemonic role specific to the projection, are occupied either by *pro*, or by an overt argument marked by *wa*, in the case of a matrix clause. Further, we have seen that these Spec positions must be assigned the identical index, which is probably at the basis of the constraint often referred to in the literature concerning the consistency of POV.

3. The analysis

3.1 Evidential vs. Benefactive

Having discussed the modal projections, we are now ready to present an analysis of the (near-)contrast between (1a) and (1b), repeated here.

- (1) a. Minna-ga zibun_i-o home-ta toki, Takasi_i-wa hido-ku odoroi-ta.
 everyone-Nom self-Acc praise-Past when Taakasi-Top greatly surprised
 ‘When everyone praised self, Takasi was greatly surprised.’
- b. ??Minna-ga zibun_i-o home-ta toki, Takasi_i-wa gussuri nemutte ita.
 everyone-Nom self-Acc praise-Past when Taakasi-Top fast asleep be-Past
 ‘When everyone praised self, Takasi was fast asleep.’

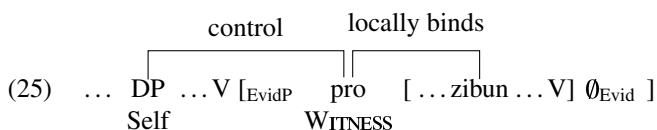
The difference here is that *Takasi*, the purported antecedent of the reflexive, was surprised in (1a), where the relevant interpretation is acceptable, while he was asleep in (1b), where the relevant interpretation fails, so the (near-)contrast appears to be captured by the ‘awareness condition’ discussed by Kuno (1973). Also, it is possible to consider sentence (1a) as a description of Takashi’s mental state, where *Takasi* can be taken to be Self in the Logophoric Hierarchy discussed by Sells (1987).

However, we have seen that the awareness condition does not account for the fact that the interpretation in (3), also repeated here, is acceptable, while the ‘awareness’ status of Takashi is the same here as in (1b), and he cannot be considered Self.

- (3) Minna-ga zibun_i-o home-te kure-ta toki, Takasi_i-wa gussuri
 everyone-Nom self-Acc praise do favor-Past when Taakasi-Top fast
 nemutte ita.
 asleep be-Past
 ‘When everyone praised self (as a favor), Takasi was fast asleep.’

Now that we have discussed the syntactic structure and semantic functions of the modal projections in section 2., we can account for the (near-)contrast here in terms of the interaction of the nature of the modal projection and the nature of the control relation involved here.

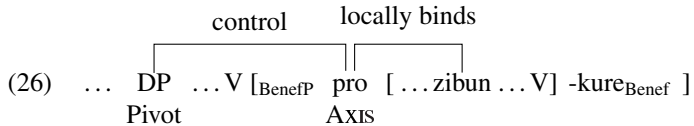
Consider the sentences in (1). These sentences have adjuncts containing the reflexive, where the POV-auxiliary is unpronounced. In subsection 2.4, we discussed that an unpronounced POV can be an evidential marker, Evid., and the evidential projection EvidP headed by the empty Evid can have *pro* in its Spec position, which can be identified as Witness (Speas, 2004). Being a Witness, *pro* needs to be controlled by an argument whose referent is aware of the event described in the adjunct clause. Therefore, the antecedent of *pro* needs to be Self (or Source).



This in turn accounts for the unacceptable status of (1b): a person who is fast asleep is unaware of anything happening to him/her, and hence cannot be considered Self, a legitimate controller.

Next, consider (3). The adjunct clause in this sentence contains the benefactive (Benef) auxiliary *kure*. As we discussed in subsection 2.2, SpecBenefP may be occupied by *pro* that is characterized as Axis, a time-location axis of the event described in the clause. The benefactive

auxiliary does carry the meaning of positive evaluation, but the person who makes this judgment need not be the person designated as Axis, as we observed in sentence (15). Thus, the person designated as Axis need not be aware of the event involving him/her (although probably s/he needs to be alive). The controller of this *pro* can be identified as Pivot, a lower entity in light of the Logophoric Hierarchy à la Sells (1987). This accounts for the acceptable status of (3).



Nothing prevents *pro* from being controlled by *Takashi*, the main clause subject, which in turn determines the reference of *zibun*, giving rise to what appears to be a LD binding interpretation.

3.2 Evidential vs. Deixis

As a modal element which functions similar to *kure* as we saw in (3), one might point out *ku(ru) come*, which, as an auxiliary, indicates the deictic direction of the action depicted in VP, evaluated from the viewpoint of anybody other than the subject of VP. We labelled this auxiliary as Deix(is) in subsection 2.2.

- (27) a. ??Minna-ga zibun_i-o yon-da toki, Takasi_i-wa gussuri
 everyone-Nom self-Acc call to-Past when Taakasi-Top fast
 nemutte ita.
 asleep be-Past
 When everyone called to self, Takasi was fast asleep.
- b. Minna-ga zibun_i-o yobi-ni ki-ta toki, Takasi_i-wa gussuri
 everyone-Nom self-Acc call to come-Past when Taakasi-Top fast
 nemutte ita.
 asleep be-Past
 When everyone came to call to self, Takasi was fast asleep.

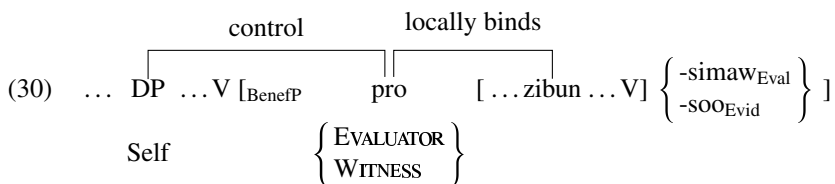
The status of sentence (27a) is on a par with (1b), in which the so-called LD binding interpretation is low in acceptability, for the same reason as (1b). The POV element present in the adjunct clause is the unpronounced Evid, which requires the *pro* in SpecEvidP to be Witness, so its controller needs to be either Source or Self, neither of which a sleeping person qualifies. In (27b), in contrast, the adjunct clause has the auxiliary *ku(ru)*, which indicates that the action denoted by VP is described from the viewpoint of someone other than the VP subject. *Pro* in SpecDeixP is identified as Axis, a time-location axis, whose consciousness is not at stake in the interpretation. So the choice of its controller can be Pivot in light of the Logophoric Hierarchy, which even a sleeping person can qualify, and this accounts for the acceptable status of (27b).

3.3 Evaluative and Evidential

It is not the case that the presence of an overt POV auxiliary in the adjunct clause makes the clause transparent to control (and so-called LD reflexive binding). Thus the following pairs of sentences, which have the evaluative (*te simaw*) in (28) and the evidential *soo* in (29) show contrasts on the relevant interpretation.

- (28) a. *Minna-ga (oroka-nimo) zibun_i-o home-te simaw-ta toki,
 everyone-Nom stupidly self-Acc praise Eval.-Past when
 Takasi_i-wa gussuri nemut-te ita.
 Taakasi-Top fast asleep be-Past
 ‘When everyone praised self (by mistake), Takasi was fast asleep.’
- b. Minna-ga (oroka-nimo) zibun_i-o home-te simaw-ta toki,
 everyone-Nom stupidly self-Acc praise Eval.-Past when
 Takasi_i-wa hido-ku odoroi-ta.
 Taakasi-Top greatly surprised be-Past
 ‘When everyone praised self (by mistake), Takasi was greatly surprised.’
- (29) a. *Minna-ga (ima-nimo) zibun_i-o erabi soo-datta toki,
 everyone-Nom any time self-Acc elect Evid.-Past when
 Takasi_i-wa gussuri nemut-te ita.
 Taakasi-Top fast asleep be-Past
 ‘When everyone appeared to be electing self (any time), Takasi was fast asleep.’
- b. Minna-ga (ima-nimo) zibun_i-o erabi soo-datta toki,
 everyone-Nom any time self-Acc elect Evid.-Past when
 Takasi_i-wa hido-ku huan-ni nat-ta.
 Taakasi-Top greatly anxious be-Past
 ‘When everyone appeared to be electing self (any time), Takasi was greatly anxious.’

The evaluative (*te*) *simaw* and the overt evidential *gar* and *soo* impose a requirement on *pro* appearing in their respective Spec positions that whoever is designated by *pro* is an Evaluator for the evaluative and a Witness for the evidential, both of which require that their controller should have the status of Self (or Source).



3.4 To recapitulate

The discussion in the present section has shown that modal auxiliaries of the kind relevant to the present discussion can be distinguished into two groups with respect to the nature of protagonists that can be identified as possible controllers, and this distinction correlates with the nature of the ‘argument’ which occupy the Spec position of the respective projections.

The deixis and benefactive projections have an Axis argument in their Spec position. As we mentioned in section 2.2, Axis is a locational axis and the referent of this argument does not make judgment as to the evaluation which may be involved in the meaning of the sentence. This is reflected on the control relation involving these modal projections, so that any intra-sentential protagonist who can be identified as Pivot may be chosen as a possible controller. When these projections are involved, the awareness condition is irrelevant because neither the Pivot nor the Axis has to be aware of the event or action involving him or her.

The evaluative and evidential projections are different in that they have Evaluator and Witness in their respective Spec positions. These arguments presuppose that they are aware of the event involving them, so control involving these projections requires that the controller should be also aware of the event described in the domain contained in the modal projection. This means that the controller must be Self or Source, and the awareness condition applies with these projections.

The following table summarises what we have observed in this section.

(31)	Projection	Spec	Controller	the awareness condition
	Evidential	Witness	Self or Source	applies
	Evaluative	Evaluator		
	Benefactive	Axis	Pivot, Self or Source	doesn't apply
	Deixis	Axis		

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