Syntax II – Class #12
Long-Distance Binding: Anaphors and Logophors

1. Parameterization of Binding Domains

• There exist anaphors which can be bound less locally than we find in English.
• There also exist pronouns which must be free in a broader domain than English pronouns.

• If binding domains are parameterized across languages, then learner needs to know:
  (a) what kind of nominal expression an NP is: anaphor, pronominal, r-expression
  (b) what the relevant binding domain is in the language
  (c) whether an anaphor/pronoun must be subject-oriented/free or not

• If binding domains differ for different elements within a language, then learner needs to know status and binding domain for each anaphor and pronoun independently.

...at this point, then, life looks pretty hard for the learner.

2. Predicting the Domain of Anaphora

• The array of cross-linguistic variation seems to be much narrower than we would expect if there was free parameterization of binding domains for individual expressions.

(1) a. LD-disjointness requirements for pronouns are rare; mostly, just anaphors vary

  i.e., the local binding domain IS privileged after all

  b. LD-anaphors are morphologically simplex; complex anaphors & reciprocals always local

  if binding domain of anaphor is predictable from morphology, learning is much easier

  c. LD-anaphors are subject-oriented

  further reduces learning burden; lends a clue to the analysis of LD-anaphora

  d. ‘Blocking Effect’ is predictable from inflectional properties of language

  further reduces the learning task, can be accounted for under head-movement approach
3. Role of Morphology in Parametric Variation

(2) a. morphological complexity of anaphors strongly influences their locality requirements

   BUT
   i. difference between mid-range and LD anaphors not yet accounted for
   ii. doesn’t account for locality of some monomorphemic anaphors (e.g. French *se)
   iii. story needs finessing in order to account for dual status of Polish *siebie.

b. inflectional properties of a language may determine whether LD anaphors show blocking effects or not.

   BUT
   i. status of Japanese unclear: may be no blocking effect on *zibun
   ii. more languages need checking in order to confirm the typology
   iii. why should just person act as a blocker, and not number?

c. subject-orientation of anaphors is largely reduced to account of locality requirements

   BUT
   i. account of LD subject orientation doesn’t explain local subject-orientation, when it occurs

4. Anaphors & Logophors (most examples taken from Cole, Hermon & Lee, in press)

ANAPHORS: require a syntactic antecedent, typically a c-commanding subject

LOGOPHORS: require an antecedent with an appropriate discourse/semantic role

(3) SOURCE ‘the source of communication’
SELF ‘the one whose mental state the sentence describes’

    PIVOT ‘the center of deixis or the perspective of the sentence’

(categories based on Sells 1987, Aspects of Logophoricity, Linguistic Inquiry)

• Mandarin Chinese (M) allows *ziji to have a non-local antecedent:

(4) Johni thinks [Tomj knows [Billk likes himself*ij/kj]].

(5) M Zhangsanj renwei [Lisi zhidaow Wangwu k xihuan ziji*j/kj].
Zhangsan thinks Lisi knows Wangwu like self.
‘Zhangsan thinks that Lisi knows that Wangwu likes himself.’
• The antecedent of zi ji does not need to be the SELF or the SOURCE

(6) Zhangsan i wang ji le Lisij hen taoyan zi ji/j de ge ge.
   Zhangsan forgot PRF Lisi very hate self’s brother
   ’Zhangsan forgot that Lisi hates his own brother.’

(7) Zhangsan bu xiao de Lisij hen taoyan ziji/j.
   Zhangsan not aware Lisi very hate self
   ’Zhangsan was not aware that Lisi hates him/j.

• Teochew dialect of Chinese, spoken in Singapore (T): antecedent of kaki must be SOURCE or SELF:

(8) a. Ah Meng i m kite kaki Ah Leng toryam kaki ??i/j gai ah hia.
   Ah Meng not remember Ah Leng hate self’s brother
   ’Ah Meng forgot that Ah Leng hates her brother.’

 b. Ah Meng i m zai da Ah Leng zeng taryam kaki ??i/j.
   Ah Meng not know that Ah Leng really hate self
   ’Ah Meng does not know that Ah Leng hates herself.’

• Antecedent as Internal SOURCE is ok in Teochew

(9) a. Ah Leng gai Ah Maj da Ah Meng k m zai kaki/*j/k hiao zo.
   Ah Leng with grandmother say Ah Meng not know self knows how do
   ’Ah Leng told her grandmother that Ah Meng didn't knows she/he can do it.’

 b. Ah Leng da Ah Meng toi dio kaki/j
   Ah Leng say Ah Meng see asp self
   Ah Leng says Ah Meng saw her

• Antecedent as Internal SELF is ok in Teochew

(10) a. Ah Leng siangseng Ah Meng do kia lai toi dio kaki/j
   Ah Leng believe Ah Meng at mirror in see asp self
   ’Ah Leng believes Ah Meng saw herself in the mirror.’
b. Ah Leng jengwui Ah Meng bo suka kaki ij
Ah Leng feels Ah Meng not like self
Ah Leng feels that Ah Meng dislikes \{her\} \{himself\}.

• ‘Speaker evaluative’ modifiers can be used as diagnostics of SOURCE (Sells 1987)

(11) John told Fred that that fool Alan was harming him.

(12) M Zhangsan i gaosu Lisi nei ge shagua Wangwu k shanghai ziji i/*j/*k.
Zhangsan tell Lisi that CL fool Wangwu harm self
'Zhangsan told Lisi that that fool Wangwu harmed \{him\} \{himself\}.'

(13) T Ah Meng i ga Ah Leng dã hi gai sagua Ah Soi k hai kaki *i/*j/*k.
Ah Meng with Ah Leng say that CL fool Ah Soi harm self
'Ah Meng told Ah Leng that that fool Ah Soi harmed \{*him\} \{*her\} \{herself\}.'

• Adverbials as diagnostics of SELF (Sells 1987)

(14) John thinks that Mary \{mysteriously\} \{inexplicably\} hates him.

(15) M Zhangsan i renwei [Wangwu j momingsqimiao de xihuan ziji i/*j/*j].
Zhangsan thinks Wangwu inexplicably DE like self.
'Zhangsan thinks that Wangwu inexplicably likes \{him\} \{himself\}.'

(16) T Ah Meng i jengwui Ah Leng j mok meng ki miao gai suka kaki ij.
Ah Meng feel Ah Leng inexplicably DE like self
'Ah Meng thinks that Ah Leng inexplicably likes \{him\} \{himself\}.'

• Speaker’s knowledge of self

(17) M Zhangsan i qing laoban jiangshang ziji de haizi.
Zhangsan ask owner reward self’s child
'Zhangsan i asked that the owner reward his own child.'
(18) T Ah Meng kio towkang siai kaki gai gia.
    Ah Meng ask owner reward self ‘s child
    ‘Ah Meng asked the owner to reward his own son.’

- Conclusion so far: antecedent of kaki in Teochew must be SOURCE/SELF; antecedent of ziji in Mandarin need not.

(5) M Zhangsan renwei [Lisi zhidaow Wangwu xihuan ziji i/j/k].
    Zhangsan thinks Lisi knows Wangwu like self.
    ‘Zhangsan thinks that Lisi knows that Wangwu likes himself.’

- ‘Blocking Effect’

(19) M Zhangsan renwei [Wangwu zhidaow wo xihuan ziji i/j].
    Zhangsan thinks Wangwu know I like self.
    ‘Zhangsan thinks that Wangwu know that I like myself.’

- Distinguishing ‘Blocking Effect’ from PIVOT restriction: antecedent must be the PIVOT of the sentence. 1st/2nd person PIVOT blocks 3rd person antecedent even when PIVOT does not c-command ziji.

(20) a. Zhangsan shuo [[nij zuo de chunshi] haile ziji i/j].
    Zhangsan say you do silly deeds harm self
    ‘Zhangsan says that the silly things you have done have harmed you.’

b. Zhangsan shuo [[Lisi zuo de chunshi] haile ziji i/j].
    Zhangsan say Lisi do silly deeds harm self
    ‘Zhangsan says that the silly things Lisi has done have harmed him/you.’

(21) a. Zhangsan cong nij nar ting shuo Mali k hen taoyan ziji i/j/k.
    Zhangsan from you there hear say Mary very hate self
    ‘Zhangsan heard from you that Mary hates herself.’

b. Zhangsan cong Lisij nar ting shuo Mali k hen taoyan ziji i/j/k.
    Zhangsan from Lisi there hear say Mary very hate self
    ‘Zhangsan heard from Lisi that Mary hates herself.’

- PIVOT may even follow ziji

(22) a. Zhangsan zhidaow Mali gen ziji i/j/k shuoguo ni xiang qu Taiwan.
    Zhangsan knows Mary with self said you want go Taiwan
    ‘Zhangsan knows Mary told him/herself that you want to go to Taiwan.’
b. Zhangsan zhidao Mali gen ziji??j shuoguo Xiao Ming xiang qu Taiwan
Zhangsan knows Mary with self said Xiao Ming want go Taiwan
'Zhangsan knows Mary told him/herself that Xiao Ming want to go to Taiwan.'

• Same PIVOT requirement holds in Teochew

(23) T Ah Meng jengwui Ah Leng j tai zai wâk suka kaki*i/*j/*k.
   Ah Meng think Ah Leng knows I like self
   'Ah Meng thinks Ah Leng know that I like *
   *him
   *her
   myself
   .'

(24) Ah Meng jengwui Ah Soi j tai zai Ah Leng k suka kaki*i/*j/*k.
   Ah Meng think Ah Soi know Ah Leng like self
   'Ah Meng thinks Ah Soi know that Ah Leng likes *
   him
   her
   herself
   .'

(25) a. Ah Meng dâ [lej zor gai sa s]k hai liao kaki??i/*j/*k.
   Ah Meng say you do 's silly deed harm perfect self
   'Ah Meng says that the silly thing you have done harmed *
   *him
   you
   .'
b. Ah Meng dâ [Ah Leng j zor gai sa si]k hai liao kaki*i/*j/*k.
   Ah Meng say Ah Leng do 's silly deed harm perfect self
   'Ah Meng says that the silly thing Ah Leng has done harmed *
   him
   her
   .'

• Interim Conclusion: Mandarin requires antecedent of ziji to be PIVOT; Teochew imposes a stronger requirement on antecedent of kaki, which must be PIVOT and SOURCE/SELF.

Bound Variable vs. Constant Interpretations of LD Reflexives

(26) \[ S_1 Mary j believes that John saw her at the movies] and \[ S_2 Susan does too].

(27) \[ S_1 Mary saw herself in the mirror] and\[S_2 Susan did too].

(28) \[ S_1 Zhangsan kanjian ziji]; \[ S_2 Lisi ye yiyang].
   Zhangsan saw self Lisi also the same
   'Zhangsan saw himself and so did Lisi.'
Zhangsan says that Lisi always mistreats him; so does Wangwu.

Zhangsan says that Lisi always mistreats himself; so does Wangwu.

Conclusion: ziji is interpreted as a bound variable in VP-ellipsis, not as a pronoun.