1

Long-Distance Binding of the Reflexive Anaphor *zibun* in Japanese

Shiori Ikawa

1 Introduction

Speas and Tenny (2003) raise a possibility that points of view and other aspects of speech acts are syntactically represented. Since then, there have been strands of research that examine this syntacticization hypothesis and explore the syntactic structrure behind perspective sensitive phenomena (Tenny, 2006, Nishigauchi, 2014, Charnavel, 2019, to appear, Zu, 2018). This paper provides novel evidence for another operator in the left periphery, through the examination of the Japanese long-distance (LD henceforth) bound *zibun*.

It is a cross-linguistically common pattern that reflexive anaphors allow non-local binding (Chinese *ziji* (Huang and Liu, 2001), Korean *caki-casin* (Kim and Yoon, 2009), English *-self* anaphors (Charnavel, 2019), French *lui-même* and *son propre* (Charnavel, to appear), Icelandic *sig* (Sells, 1987)). The relfexive anaphor *zibun* in Japanese also shows this pattern: *zibun* in (1) can be non-locally bound by *Taroo*.

(1)   Taroo-wa$_i$ [Hanako$_j$-ga zibun$_{i/j}$-o seme-teiru]-to itta
       Taroo-TOP Hanako-NOM self-ACC blame-ASP-that said
       'Taroo said that Hanako is blaming self.'

Such long-distance bound reflexive anaphors have logophoric flavor across languages. That is, they can be bound only when the antecedent is a point of view provider. Thus, Nishigauchi (2014) and Charanavel (to

appear) account for the LD binding of reflexive anaphors by arguing that the anaphors apparently exempt from Condition A are actually locally bound by an operator in a perspectival projection as shown in (2).

(2)   [DP_i ... ($_{phase}$ [Op_i ... [anaphor$_i$

Given that the perspectival operator decides the point of view within the domain it occurs in, one of the salient predictions this analysis makes is that the LD bound anaphors have to refer to the same entity as the reference point of all other perspectival elements in the same locality domain. In this paper, I will show that this prediction fails in Japanese, and propose that another left peripheral projection is involved in LD anaphor binding. In Section 2, I will present the data involving the Japanese anaphor *zibun*. I will show that *zibun* has an LD bound use which is sensitive to logophoricity, but its antecedent does not have to be the same as the reference point of view of other local perspectival elements. In Section 3, I will show that assuming one more projection in the left periphery will account for the data in Japanese.

2   Data

In this section, I will present data concerning Japanese LD bound anaphor *zibun* and its relation to the other point of view phenomena. In Section 2.1, I will note the assumptions about the point of view phenomena in Japanese. In Section 2.2, I will show the basic examples of LD bound and locally bound *zibun* to show that *zibun* is a reflexive anaphor that gets logophoric interpretation only in its LD bound use. In Section 2.3, I will show that *zibun* can take an antecedent different from the reference point of the other local point of view phenomena, which poses a problem to straightforward adaptation of the view by Nishigauchi (2014) and Charnavel (to appear).

2.1   Point of view phenomena in Japanese

I will assume two kinds of point of view, sentiency and empathy following Nishigauchi (2014) and Charnavel (to appear) (see also Oshima (2004, 2007) for this distinction). While it has been pointed out that *zibun* can be licensed by either kind of point of view, I will mainly confine the discussion in this paper to sentiency-relevant phenomena. I will refer to the empathetic point of view just to make sure that the motivation for my main claim stands independently of this distinction.

According to Nishigauchi (2014), the sentiency-relevant elements in Japanese include the followings; the evidential marker *soo* 'seem likely',

the evaluative marker *simaw*, which indicates the negative evaluation toward the proposition from the point of view, and psychological predicates, which can only predicate of attitude holders. From the relative position with passive voice marker I will assume that the evidential and the evaluative marker occurs higher than Voice, i.e. within CP phase.

Following Charnavel (to appear), I will assume that there is a logophoric projection in the left periphery of each phase and that the *pro* in the specifier of the projection decides the sentient point of view of the phase. I will call this projection *SentP*. I will assume that Sent head itself is independent of the evidential marker, evaluative marker or psychological predicates. The projections headed by these three markers also include *pro* which decides whose point of view matters for the interpretations of those markers, and the *pro* in SentP decides the sentiency of the domain by controlling such *pro*s, as exemplified in (3).

(3) $[_{SentP}\ pro_i\ \ldots\ [_{EvidP}\ pro_i\ \ldots\ ]]$

I will assume that SentP *pro* itself has to be controlled. The attitude verbs or speech verbs, as introducers of attitude context of their subjects, optionally license their subjects to control the SentP *pro* of their complement CPs. When there are no introducers of attitude contexts, SentP *pro* is simply controlled by the SentP *pro* in the one higher phase, resulting in the lack of point of view shifting: I will assume that, SentP as well as other left peripheral projections are in the phase edge, and thus are accessible from the left periphery of the one higher phase.

2.2   *zibun* and its sensitivity to sentiency

It has been pointed out that LD bound *zibun* is sensitive to sentiency (Kuno, 1987, Sells, 1987, Nishigauchi, 2014, a.o.). For example, Nishigauchi (2014), following Kuroda (1973) and Tenny (2006), raises the contrast in (4). The examples in (4) show that *zibun* inside a clause headed by *toki* 'when', without any point of view items, cannot be bound from the matrix clause, while *zibun* inside a causal clause headed by *node* 'because' can. Generally, causal clauses are said to provide the attitude context, while temporal clauses are not Tenny (2006), Charnavel (2019): As shown in (5), for example, the Japanese psychological predicates, whose subject must be the sentient entity Tenny (2006), can predicate of the matrix clause subject when they are inside *node*-clauses, while they cannot when they are inside *toki*-clauses, indicating that the matrix subject is the sentienty entity for the *node*-clause but not for the *toki*-clause. Thus, the contrast in (4) shows that LD bound use of *zibun* is possible only when the anteedent serves as the sentient

entity.

(4)   a.   *Mari-ga   zibun$_i$-ni mizu-o   kake-ta   toki,
                  Mari-NOM self-DAT   water-ACC pour-PAST when
                  Takasi$_i$-wa zubu-nure-ni nat-ta
                  Takasi-TOP drenched   become-PAST
                  'When Mari poured water on self, Takashi became drenched'
        b.   Mari-ga   zibun$_i$-ni mizu-o   kake-ta   node,
                  Mari-NOM self-DAT   water-ACC pour-PAST because
                  Takasi$_i$-wa zubu-nure-ni nat-ta
                  Takasi-TOP drenched   become-PAST 'Because Mari

                  poured water on self, Takasi became drenched'
                                     (Nishigauchi, 2014, 162)

(5)   a.   #kare-wa samui-toki danboo-o   ire-ta
                  he-TOP   cold-when heater-ACC put.on-PAST
                  'He put on the heater when he felt cold'[1]
        b.   kare-wa samui-node danboo-o   ire-ta
                  he-TOP   cold-because heater-ACC put.on-PAST
                  'He put on the heater because he felt cold'
                                       (Nishigauchi, 2014; 162)

    Another indication that LD bound *zibun* is sensitive to the sentiency comes from the observation that it requires the *de se* interpretation. The following example from Oshima (2004) suggests that LD bound *zibun* has to occur in the antecedent's belief about him/herself.[2]

(6)   John$_i$-wa [Mary-ga   zibun$_i$-o nikunde-ir-u]-to   omotteir-u
           John-TOP [Mary-NOM self-ACC hate-ASP-PRES-that think-PRES
           'John thinks that Mary hates self'
           # in a context where amnestic John does not identify himself
           as the person who Mary hates.

    Note that *zibun* is sensitive to sentiency only in its LD bound use, i.e. not when bound in the binding domain, which I take to be defined in terms of phases following Charnavel and Sportiche (2016) and Charnavel (to appear). As shown in (7), the locally bound *zibun* does not require *de se* interpretation.

---

[1]This sentence is interpretable only as 'He put the on the heater when it was cold,' where the predicate *samui* is not interpreted as a psychological predicate.

[2]Oshima (2004) and Nishigauchi (2014) note that the non-*de se* interpretation is licensed when there exist an empathetic point of view and *zibun* refers to it.

(7)   *Context: Taroo has a funny picture of himself. But as the picture is taken while he was drunken and he is not aware that he is the person in the picture.*

Taroo-wa   (soo-to-wa   kizuka-zu)   zibun-no syasin-o
Taroo-TOP (so-that-TOP be.aware-NEG) self-GEN picture-ACC
baramai-ta
spread-PAST

'Taroo spreaded self's picture (without being aware of the fact)'

Nishigauchi-Charnavel's line of analysis accounts for this sensitivity to sentiency in LD binding by arguing that SentP *pro* in the left periphery of the embedded clause mediates the LD binding by being controlled by the antecedent and locally binding *zibun*. Under the assumption that binding domain is defined by a phase, this binding is local, following Principle A. The sensitivity to sentiency arises because the binder is the SentP *pro*, which decides the sentient entity in that phase. Local binding of *zibun*, on the other hand, does not have sentiencey requirement because it can be directly bound by the antecedent in its local binding domain.

2.3   The crucial data

We have seen in (4)-(6) that LD bound *zibun* is sensitive to sentiency. But is it true that it refers to *local* sentient point of view? The data in (8)-(10) show that the answer is no: LD-bound *zibun* can refer to an entity different from the reference point of other local point of view phenomena, as long as the antecedent of *zibun* is the sentient entity in some higher phase. The data in (8) and (9) show that the *zibun* in the subject positions, i.e. in the CP phase of the embedded sentence, can refer to the matrix subject *Yosiko*, even though the point of view phenomena in the same phase, the evidential marker and the evaluative marker respectively, refer to the subject of the first embedded clause *Hanako*. The example in (10) suggests that the similar deviation occurs inside the vP phase: the reference point of the psychological predicate and the antecedent of *zibun* inside the modifier of the vP can deviate from each other. Thus, while it is true that LD binding of *zibun* is sensitive to sentiency in that the antecedent has to be sentient at *some point*, crucially the antecedent does not have to be the *local* sentient point of view.

(8) Yosiko$_i$-wa [Hanako$_j$-ga [zibun$_{i/j}$-ga iintyoo-ni
Yosiko-TOP Hanako-NOM self-NOM   chairperson-COP
nari-**soo**$_j$-da-to]   itta-to]   omotta
become-EVID-COP-that said-that thought
'Yosiko$_i$ thought that Hanako$_j$ said that self$_{i/j}$ seems likely (to
Hanako/*Yosiko) to be the chairperson'

(9) *Context: Hanako loves Taroo and is not happy if Yosiko starts
to date with Taroo.*

Yosiko$_i$-wa [Hanako$_j$-ga [zibun$_i$-ga Taroo-to
Yosiko-TOP Hanako-NOM self-NOM   Taroo-with
tukiai-hazimete-**simawu**$_j$-to] omotteiru-to] itta
date-start-EVAL-that   think-that   said

'Yosiko$_i$ said Hanako$_j$ thinks that self$_i$ will start to date with
Taroo, which is regrettable to Hanako$_j$'

(10) Taroo$_i$-wa [Hanako$_j$-ga [**zibun**$_i$-no-okagede **ansin**$_j$-da-to]
T$_i$-TOP   H-NOM   self$_i$-GEN-because.of worried-cop-that
itta-to]   omotta
said-that thought
'Taroo$_i$ thought Hanako$_j$ said (Hanako$_j$ is) relieved because of
self$_i$'

This set of data poses a challenge to the view that LD bound anaphors
are bound by the local SentP *pro*: Under the assumption that SentP
pro is limited to one per clause, if LD bound anaphors are bound by
the local SentP *pro*, the referent of LD bound anaphors should always
be the reference point of the local point of view phenomena.[3]

It has been recognized that empathy loci, in addition to sentient
point of view, can provide an antecedent for exempt anaphors. Then
can one maintain Nishigauchi-Charnavel's line of analysis by arguing
that *zibun* in (8)-(10) are anteceded by an operator deciding the empa-
thy locus? The answer is no. First, Nishigauchi (2014) notes that the
binding from Sentient point of view is more prioritized than that by
the empathy loci. Then it is unclear why the empathy loci in (8)-(10)
are allowed to serve as antecedents, in the presence of sentient point

---

[3]One might suspect that, in (8)-(9), a lower copy of *zibun* is inside the vP phase
and thus bound by a SentP operator in a different phase from the CP phase in which
the evaluative or evidential marker occurs, allowing the deviation in the antecedent.
But that analysis has to assume binding of SentP *pro* in vP phase by an arbitrary
DP. Such a view at least does not expect the limited directionality of deviation
mentioned in Section 3.2. In addition, this view does not account for the example
in (10).

of view. Furthermore, *zibun* can take an antecedent which is neither local sentient entity nor local empathy locus as shown in (11). In this example, the CP phase of the lowest clause contains *zibun*, the benefactive auxiliary *kure*, which is sensitive to empathy loci, and the evidential marker *soo*. Now, even in the reading where the evidential marker refers to to the point of view of *Taroo* and the empathy locus indicated by the benefactive auxiliary is *Hanako*, it is possible to interpret *zibun* as referring to *Yosiko*, which is the subject of the matrix attitude verb. This example show that *zibun* can deviate from the local attitude holder and the local empathy locus at the same time. Thus, the consideration of binding by emapthy loci does not save Nishigauchi-Charanavel's line of analysis.

(11)   *Context: Taroo is close to Hanako but not to Yosiko*

Yosiko$_j$-wa [Taroo$_i$-ga   [zibun$_j$-ga Hanako$_k$-o
Yosiko-TOP Hanako-NOM she-NOM   self-DAT
sien-site-kure$_k$-soo$_i$-da-to]   omow-ta-to] omow-ta
support-do-BENEF-EVID-COP-that think-ASP-that think-PAST

'Yosiko$_j$ said that Taroo$_i$ thinks that self$_j$ semms likely (to Taroo$_i$) to support Hanako$_k$, which is beneficial in Hanako's$_k$ shoes.'

In the next section, I will propose that there is another projection in the left periphery, which provides the local antecedent for exempt anaphors. This proposal will allow us to maintain the account for the cross-linguistic prevalence of the exempt use of reflexive anaphors, while accounting for the Japanese data.

3   Analysis

3.1   Proposal

I propose that there is another projection, *ZP*, which contains a *pro* controlled by a SentP *pro* (or a *pro* in a higher ZP). ZP is structurally represented in (12). LD binding of *zibun* is actually mediated by the *pro* in ZP in the same phase, not by the *pro* in SentP.

(12)
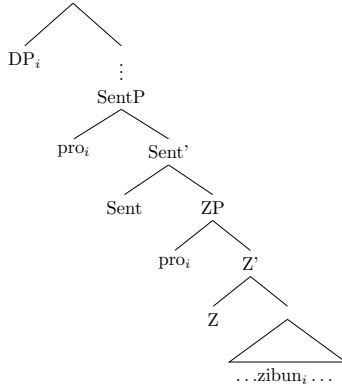
This analysis still predicts that LD bound *zibun* has to refer to the sentient point of view at some point, because the ZP *pro* has to be controlled by a SentP *pro*. Crucially, however, it does not have to be controlled by the *pro* in the closest SentP. That is, under the assumption that left peripheral projections are in the phase edge, the *pro* in ZP can be controlled by the *pro* in the SentP or ZP in one higher phase. So, for example, the reading with the deviation in (9), repeated here as (13), results because the *pro* in ZP in the local phase is controlled by the *pro* in SentP in the higher phase as indicated in (14). Note that the assumption here is that the attitude verbs or speech verbs including *say* and *think* license their subjects to be the sentient entity of their complement CPs, but not the vP that contains the verbs. Thus, vPs simply take over the information about the relevant left peripheral projections from the one higher CP phase. As the vP phase does not play any crucial roles here, I will abstract away vP phases in the representations of structures below.

(13)   *Context: Hanako loves Taroo and is not happy if Yosiko starts to date with Taroo.*

Yosiko$_i$-wa [Hanako$_j$-ga [zibun$_i$-ga Taroo-to
Yosiko-TOP Hanako-NOM self-NOM   Taroo-with
tukiai-hazimete-**simaw**$_j$-to] omotteiru-to] itta
date-start-EVAL-that   think-that   said

'Yosiko$_i$ said Hanako$_j$ thinks that self$_i$ will start to date with Taroo, which is regrettable to Hanako$_j$'

(14) [Yosiko$_i$ said [$_{SentP}$ pro$_i$ [Hanako$_j$ said [$_{SentP}$ pro$_j$ [$_{ZP}$ **pro**$_i$ [... *zibun$_i$*...]]]]]]

Note that this binding from ZP *pro* is still local. Thus, this analysis maintains the core benefit of Nishigauchi-Charnavel's line of analysis: The LD bound anaphors are actually bound by a local operator without violating Condition A. Thus, this analysis still correctly expects the cross-linguistic use of anaphors as logophoric pronouns.

3.2 Predictions about the possible choices of *zibun*'s antecedent

The current proposal expands the choices of *zibun*'s antecedent, which is required by the data shown in Section 2.3. This section will make sure that the current proposal does not overgenerate with respect to the choice of antecedent.

Shift-together

There is a restriction for the choice of the antecedent of *zibun* when there are multiple occurrences of exempt *zibun* in the same phase. The example in (15) shows that two occurrences of exempt *zibun* inside the vP phase cannot take different antecedents. This constraint holds only when both occurrences of *zibun* are non-locally bound. As shown in (15), it is possible for one *zibun* to be locally bound by *Ziroo* and the other *zibun* to be non-locally bound by either *Taroo* or *Hanako* (see Huang and Liu (2001) for the similar observation in Mandarin Chinese).

(15) Hanako-wa [Taroo-ga [Ziroo-ga zibun-no-tomodati-ni
      Hanako-TOP Taroo-NOM Ziroo-NOM self-GEN-friend-DAT
      zibun-no syukudai-o   mise-ta-to]   omow-teiru-to]
      self-GEN homework-ACC show-PAST-that think-ASP-that
      it-ta.
      say-PAST
      '#Hanako$_i$ said Taroo$_j$ thinks Ziroo showed SELF$_i$'s friend SELF$_j$'s homework.'
      '#Hanako$_i$ said Taroo$_j$ thinks Ziroo showed SELF$_j$'s friend SELF$_i$'s homework.'
      'Hanako$_i$ said Taroo$_j$ thinks Ziroo showed SELF$_i$'s friend SELF$_i$'s homework.'
      'Hanako$_i$ said Taroo$_j$ thinks Ziroo showed SELF$_j$'s friend SELF$_j$'s homework.'

This observation naturally follows from this account: On the assumption that there is one ZP inside a phase and what looks like LD

bound *zibun* is locally bound by the *pro* in ZP in the same phase, all the occurrences of *zibun* inside the same phase have to refer to the same *pro*.

The direction of deviation

The addition of ZP does not mean that any kind of deviation between *zibun* and the sentient point of view is possible. I proposed that a ZP *pro* has to be bound by a SentP *pro* at some point. This proposal correctly rules out the deviations that are not possible.

So far, we have dealt with the cases where *zibun* corefers with a DP introduced in a higher clause than the clause containing a DP which provides the point of view. Noticeably, the deviation between the antecedent of *zibun* and the point of view cannot take the reverse form: The deviation always takes a form where the point of view phenomena refer to an entity from a closer embedding clause and *zibun* refers to an entity from a higher clause, not vice versa. For example, (16) shows that the point of view for the evidential phrase can deviate from the antecedent of *zibun* only in the direction in which the evidential phrase refers to the antecedent from the closer clause than *zibun* does: While *zibun* can refer to Yosiko when the evaluative phrase refers to Hanako, the interpretation that *zibun* refers to Hanako and the evaluative phrase refers to Yosiko is dispreferred.

(16)   Yosiko$_i$-wa [Hanako$_j$-ga [zibun$_i$-ga Taroo-to
       Yosiko-TOP Hanako-NOM self-NOM   Taroo-with
       tukiai-hazimete-**simawu**$_j$-to] omotteiru-to] itta
       date-start-EVAL-that   think-that   said
       a.   'Yosiko$_i$ said Hanako$_j$ thinks self$_i$ will start to date with
            Taroo, which is regrettable to Hanako$_j$'
       b.   ??'Yosiko$_i$ said Hanako$_j$ thinks self$_j$ will start to date with
            Taroo, which is regrettable to Yosiko$_i$'

Note that this is not because the evaluative phrase *simaw* cannot refer to the non-closest embedding subject: The examples in (17) show that, as long as *zibun* is also referring to the same element, the evaluative phrase can refer to an element in a non-closest embedding clause, as well as to an element in the closest clause, similarly to *zibun*. The acceptability of (17-a) naturally follows assuming that a SentP has access to a SentP in the next phase: The *pro* in the second highest CP is controlled by the matrix subject *Hanako*, and it in turn successively controls the *pro* in the SentP in the lower phase, which in turn controls the *pro* in ZP, as shown in (18).

(17) Yosiko-wa [Hanako-ga [zibun-ga sippai-site-simaw-ta-to]
      Yosiko-TOP Hanako-NO self-NOM failure-do-EVAL-PAST-that
      Taroo-ni   itta-to] omotta
      Taroo-DAT said-that thought

    a. 'Yosiko$_i$ thought Hanako said to Taroo that self$_i$ failed
        in the exam which is regrettable to Yosiko (but not to
        Hanako)'

    b. 'Yosiko thought Hanako$_i$ said to Taroo that self$_i$ failed
        in the exam which is regrettable to Hanako (but not to
        Yosiko)'

(18) [$_{TP}$ Yosiko$_i$ said [$_{SentP}$ pro$_i$ [Hanako$_j$ say [$_{SentP}$ pro$_i$ [$_{ZP}$ pro$_i$
      [... zibun$_i$... simaw$_i$...]]]]]]

Then how can we explain the uni-directional deviation in (16)? The current analysis can naturally give an account for this pattern. In (16-b), the fact that *zibun* refers to *Hanako* suggests that the *pro* in ZP in this clause has to refer to *Hanako*. In the current system, to let this *pro* refer to *Hanako*, there should be a controller of it, i.e. a *pro* in the SentP or higher ZP accessible from this ZP, which refers to *Hanako*. If the evaluative phrase in the lowest CP phase refers to *Yosiko*, i.e. the matrix subject, the *pro* in the SentP in the lowest clause has to refer to *Yosiko* bound by a higher SentP *pro*, as shown in (19). In this configuration, there is no SentP *pro* that can control ZP *pro* in the lowest CP phase, resulting in the ungrammaticality of (16-b).

(19) [$_{TP}$ Yosiko$_i$ said [$_{SentP}$ pro$_i$ [$_{TP}$ Hanako say [$_{SentP}$ pro$_i$ [$_{ZP}$
      pro(Hanako) ...]]]]]

Thus, the possible patterns of deviation between the antecedent of *zibun* and the point of view can be accounted by the current analysis.

    This section has shown that the current analysis that there is ZP under the SentP and a ZP *pro* has to be controlled by a SentP *pro* or ZP *pro* (of the same clause or of the higher clause) correctly predicts the pattern of deviation between the referent of *zibun* and the point of view phenomena in the same clause.

4   The exceptionality of DP domain

Charnavel (to appear) raises the French data in (20) as a support of her analysis that LD bound anaphors are bound by Logophoric Operator (SentP *pro* here). Contrary to the data in Section 2.3, this example shows that the prediction of Nishigauchi-Charanavel's analysis – the prediction that the antecedent of *zibun* has to be the *local* sentient

entity – is actually correct in some cases. In this example, when the adjective is evaluated from the point of view of Loïc (i.e. when *beaux* 'beautiful' is used) and the lowest embedded clause expresses the *de re* statement from the point of view of Loïc, the exempt anaphor in the same domain has to refer to Loïc. When the adjective is evaluated from the point of view of Mary (i.e. when *affreuses* 'horrible' is used) and the lowest embedded clause is a *de dicto* expression (i.e. the exact expression made by Mary), the anaphor has to refer to Mary.

(20)   *Context: Loïc mistakes photos of Marie (taken from behind) for portraits of himself and finds them beautiful while Marie thinks they are horrible*

    a.   Loïc$_i$ pense que Marie$_k$ espère que [ces affreuses photos d'elle$_k$-même] vont se vendre
           ' Loïc$_i$ thinks that Mary$_k$ hopes that [these horrible photos of herself$_k$] will sell.

    b.   Loïc$_i$ pense que Marie$_k$ espère que [ces beaux photos d'lui$_i$-même] vont se vendre
           ' Loïc$_i$ thinks that Mary$_k$ hopes that [these beautiful photos of himself$_i$] will sell.

    c.   *Loïc$_i$ pense que Marie$_k$ espère que [ces beaux photos d'elle$_k$-même] vont se vendre
           ' Loïc$_i$ thinks that Mary$_k$ hopes that [these beautiful photos of herself$_k$] will sell.

    d.   *Loïc$_i$ pense que Marie$_k$ espère que [ces affreuses photos d'lui$_i$-même] vont se vendre
           ' Loïc$_i$ thinks that Mary$_k$ hopes that [these horrible photos of himself$_i$] will sell.   (Charnavel, to appear: 22)

The corresponding Japanese example exhibits the same pattern. This suggests that the difference between these examples and the examples in Section 2.3 is not a cross-linguistic variation, but is a difference between DP domain and vP/CP domain.

(21)   *Context: Taroo mistakes photos of Mary (taken from behind)*
       for portraits of himself and finds them beautiful while Mary
       thinks they are horrible

   a.   Taroo$_i$-wa Mary$_j$-ga [kono zibun$_{*i/j}$-no hidoi$_j$
        Taroo-TOP Mary-NOM this   self-GEN   horrible

        syasin]-ga   ur-eru-to   omotteiru-to itta
        picture-NOM sell-CAN-that think-that   said
        'Taroo said Mary thinks this horrible picture of self will
        sell'

   b.   Taroo$_i$-wa Mary-ga$_j$ [kono zibun$_{i/*j}$-no utukusii$_i$
        Taroo-TOP Mary-NOM this   self-GEN   beautiful

        syasin]-ga   ur-eru-to   omotteiru-to itta
        picture-NOM sell-CAN-that think-that   said
        'Taroo said Mary thinks this beautiful picture of self will
        sell'

Then what is special about the DP domain? I will leave this question
for future research, but any despricptively adequate theory of POV
phenomena must explain why DP internal POV elements in (20) and
(21) differ from clausal POV elements presented in (8)-(10).

5   Discussion and Conclusion

I have pointed out that the Japanese reflexive anaphor *zibun* can take
an antecedent that is different than the point of view in the same phase.
While the view by Nishigauchi (2014) and Charnavel (to appear) that
LD bound anaphors are actually locally bound by the point of view op-
erator captures the logophoric restriction and the cross-linguistic preva-
lence of LD bound anaphors, this behavior of *zibun* is not predicted by
the analysis. I have proposed that positing another operator which is
bound by the logophoric operator solves this problem while maintain-
ing the advanteges of their view. This analysis correctly predicts the
pattern of possible antecedents for *zibun*.

While I have shown that the existence of ZP is necessary to fully
account for the behavior of *zibun*, the next question is what the con-
ceptual nature of ZP is. Future research is needed to investigate whether
ZP corresponds to any kind of point of view other than sentiency or
empathy.

References

Charnavel, Isabelle. 2019. Perspectives in causal clauses. *Natural Language & Linguistic Theory* 37(2):389–424.

Charnavel, Isabelle. to appear. Logophoricity and locality: The view from french anaphors.

Charnavel, Isabelle and Dominique Sportiche. 2016. Anaphor binding: What french inanimate anaphors show. *Linguistic Inquiry* 47(1):35–87.

Huang, C-T James and C.-S. Luther Liu. 2001. Logophoricity, attitudes, and ziji at the interface. In P. Cole, G. Hermon, and J. Huang, C.-T, eds., *Long distance reflexives*. Academic Press.

Kim, Ji-Hye and James H Yoon. 2009. Long-distance bound local anaphors in korean—an empirical study of the korean anaphor caki-casin. *Lingua* 119(5):733–755.

Kuno, Susumu. 1987. *Functional syntax: Anaphora, discourse and empathy.*. University of Chicago Press.

Kuroda, S-Y. 1973. On kuno's direct discourse analysis of the japanese reflexive zibun. *Journal of Japanese Linguistics* 2(1):136–147.

Nishigauchi, Taisuke. 2014. Reflexive binding: awareness and empathy from a syntactic point of view. *Journal of East Asian Linguistics* 23(2):157–206.

Oshima, David Y. 2004. Zibun revisited: empathy, logophoricity, and binding. *Proceedings of the 20th NWLC* 23:175–190.

Oshima, David Y. 2007. On empathic and logophoric binding. *Research on language and computation* 5(1):19–35.

Sells, Peter. 1987. Aspects of logophoricity. *Linguistic inquiry* 18(3):445–479.

Speas, Peggy and Carol Tenny. 2003. Configurational properties of point of view roles. In A. M. Di Scuillo, ed., *Asymmetry in Grammar1*, pages 315–345. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Tenny, Carol L. 2006. Evidentiality, experiencers, and the syntax of sentience in japanese. *Journal of East Asian Linguistics* 15(3):245.

Zu, Xin. 2018. *Discourse participants and the structural representation of the context*. Ph.D. thesis, New York University.