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Sugamoto, Nobuko, Ph.D.

University of California, Los Angeles, 1989

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UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

Los Angeles

The Pronominality of Referential Expressions

A dissertation submitted in partial satisfaction of the requirements for the degree Doctor of Philosophy in Linguistics

by

Nobuko Sugamoto

1989

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To my family members

who live far away

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

THE PRONOMINALITY OF REFERENTIAL EXPRESSIONS

CHAPTER I. INTRODUCTION 1

1.1. Classes of Referential Expressions . . 1
1.2. The Organization of the Thesis 4

CHAPTER II. PRONOMINALITY 12

2.0. Introduction 12
2.1. Size of Lexical Class. 12
2.2. Morphological Properties 18
2.3. Semantic and Implicational Properties. 23
2.3.1. Semantic Properties. 23
2.3.2. Implicational Properties 37
2.4. Referential Properties 41
2.4.1. Grammatical Persons. 41
2.4.2. Grammatical Number 45
2.5. Syntactic Properties 53
2.5.1. Syntactic Distribution 53
2.5.2. Co-occurrence Properties 60
2.6. Interpretive Characteristics 69
2.7. Summary. 75

CHAPTER III. COMPOUND REFLEXIVES IN ENGLISH 83

3.0. Introduction 83
3.1. Nominal and Pronominal References. . . 83
3.2. Referential Possibilities of Nouns and Pronouns 87
3.3. Iconicity and Markedness 93
3.4. Markedness Correspondence Between Form and Reference. 99
3.5. Compound-Reflexives in English 105
3.6. Obligatory and Non-obligatory Uses of Compound Reflexives. 112
3.7. Summary. 121

CHAPTER IV. JIBUN: THE HEAD REFLEXIVE IN JAPANESE . . 124

4.0. Introduction 124
4.1. Nominal Jibun. 124
4.2. Pronominal Jibun 127

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4.2.1. Pronominal Jibun in Conversation. . . 128
4.2.2. Pronominal Jibun in a 1st person Narrative 136
4.2.3. Pronominal or Reflexive Jibun 141
4.3. Reflexive Jibun 149
4.3.1. Syntactic Approach. 149
4.3.1.1. Subject-Antecedent Condition. 149
4.3.1.2. Clause-Unbounded Condition. 154
4.3.1.3. C-Command Condition 156
4.3.2. Functional Approach 163
4.3.2.1. [+animate] Condition. 163
4.3.2.2. [+alive], [+aware] Condition. 163
4.3.2.3. Speech Styles 167
4.3.2.4. Topicality. 174
4.4. Jibun as the Speaker. 179
4.5. Summary 197

CHAPTER V: CONCLUSION 203

BIBLIOGRAPHY 213

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

APPOS	appositive
COMP	complementizer
COND	conditional
HON	honorific
IMP	imperative
INT	interrogative
NEG	negative
PL	plural
PASS	passive
QUO	quoatative
SP	sentence final particle

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ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

This is the opportunity to finally express my heartfelt thanks to the many people who have contributed in many ways to the completion of this thesis.

First, I would like to thank the members of my dissertation committee. Sandy Thompson has guided me in linguistics and spirit continuously through my years at UCLA. Without her unfailing help whenever I needed it, it would not have been possible for me to become a linguist. She has patiently gone through the very first draft of this thesis and provided many argumentative, organizational and editorial comments that helped to reshape the thesis a great deal. Pamela Munro's positive reaction to my proposal of the thesis topic years ago kept me alive in my heart at moments of skepticism during my research. She has read earlier versions of the thesis with keen interest and given me many insightful comments which helped to improve the thesis in many ways. Russell Schuh, who was kind enough to replace George Bedell, who was out of the country, was consistently helpful of me and made himself easily available for consultation during the time he was busiest as chairman of the department. I am also sincerely grateful to Noriko Akatsuka and Ben Befu of the Department of East Asian Languages and Cultures for

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having been on the committee and supporting me with their helpful comments on the thesis. I have been most fortunate to have such a committee to oversee my work to its completion, providing not only advice in the subject but also such warmth and personal understanding.

I am also grateful to the faculty and office staff of the Department of Linguistics for the intellectual and mental stimulation and financial support I have received during my student years in the department.

I wish to thank my fellow student, Tomiko Hayashi, who has given me friendly encouragement through linguistic discussions and in countless other ways in my personal life. Martha Schoen and Janice Colombo are my special American friends, who were kind enough to make themselves available as my English consultants.

Thank you everyone. I have learned from you what could be the best of life as much as I learned about linguistics.

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(To appear) "Pronominality: A Noun-Pronoun Continuum" in Linguistic Categorization. John Benjamins. Amsterdam/Philadelphia.

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ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION

The Pronominality of Referential Expressions

by

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Doctor of Philosophy in Linguistics
University of California, Los Angeles, 1989
Professor Russell G. Schuh, Co-chair
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In discussing the referential interpretation of NPs, we speak of the subcategories of NPs, such as "nouns", "pronouns" and "reflexives". In doing so, we are assuming that those terms stand for universal categories of some sort but hardly ever ask what the bases are on which such category labels are defined. Are they morphological, semantic, syntactic or interpretive catogories? Are they a little of each of them? If they are, specifically what are the properties that differentiate one category from another category within a language and what are the ones that relate one category in a language to a category in another language?

This thesis takes three of the subcategories of lexical NPs, namely, personal "nouns', "pronouns" and

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"reflexives", and examines them in their morphological, semantic, referential, synatactic and interpretive aspects with the objective of defining properties that characterize those categories in each of these grammatical aspects.

The aim of this study is to develop a concept of the "pronominality" of referential expressions. Pronominality is a multidimentional, scalar concept which extends gradationally from one end point, where nominal properties in different grammatical aspects cluster, to the other end, where pronominal properties cluster. These nominal or pronominal properties of referential expressions are correlated in a certain way. A certain degree of pronominality in one grammatical aspect of a given referential expression is predictive of a certain degree of pronominality in other grammatical aspects of the expression.

A consequence of this composite notion of pronominality is that it presents the differences in syntactic and interpretive characteristics of Japanese and English "reflexives" in a light which identifies the issue as one to be explained in connnection with other aspects of the pronominality of each of them. The study shows that the referential jibun in Japanese is a functional derivative of the nominal jibun 'self', with morphological, semantic/implicational, distributional and

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interpretive characteristics of a noun, while the English compound reflexives are a morphological, distributional and interpretive subcategory of the English ordinary pronouns.

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CHAPTER I. INTRODUCTION

1.1. Classes of Referential Expressions

A linguistic reference to a referent may be made in the form of a "noun", a "pronoun" or a "reflexive". Those terms of referential expressions are familiar enough to us that we assume that they stand for universal categories of some sort but hardly ever question what may be the basis on which such category labels are defined and why a referential expression (a lexical NP used for identifying a referent) in a language is taken to be in one and not others of such categories.

Jespersen (1969:68) makes the following remark about his semantic and functional taxonomy of pronouns in English: "... nowhere is it perhaps so difficult as here to give a practicable definition or to say why these words are classed together as 'pronouns'."

In Japanese, the status of "pronouns" as a grammatical category is a debatable one. The name daimeishi 'pronoun' is said to have been created after a Dutch term for 'pronoun' and has been used in describing the Japanese grammar since. However, the validity of the category daimeishi in the system of grammar of Japanese has remained open to dispute (cf. Hashimoto 1948; Matsushita 1934; Okamura 1972; Sakuma 1936; Tokieda 1907; Yasuda

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1928, among others). From the standpoint of both syntactic and functional distribution, Kuroda (1965) pointed out a close resemblance between English "pronouns" and Japanese "Øs" rather than Japanese "pronouns". Regarding referential expressions in Korean, Hwang (1983) points out some incongruity in morphological makeup and function of so-called "pronouns" in Korean and "pronouns" in Indo-European languages. As for the so-called "reflexives", it is well known that the semantic content, interpretive conditions and referential range of "reflexives" vary markedly across languages (cf. Faltz 1977).

Nonetheless, it is true that we feel that languages have groups of referential expressions that may collectively be identified by those terms and that they have some universal applicability. But then, what are the properties of each of these groups of expressions in a given language, and what is it that relates a group in a language to a group in another language? Are they morphological, semantic, syntactic, or interpretive categories?

This thesis will take the three subclasses of referential expressions, namely, common "nouns", personal "pronouns", and "reflexives" in Japanese and English, and examine them in their morphological, semantic, syntactic, and referential aspects with the objective of defining

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properties that characterize these classes in each of these aspects. We will take those properties which are typical of nouns as "nominal", and those properties which are typical of pronouns as "pronominal".

The aim of this thesis is to develop a concept of the "pronominality" of referential expressions. Pronominality is a multidimensional, scalar concept which extends gradationally from one end point, where nominal properties in each of the dimensions cluster, to the other end point, where pronominal properties cluster. Those expressions which have most of the nominal properties are highly nominal and low in pronominality. Those expressions which have most of the pronominal properties are highly pronominal. Both nominal and pronominal properties will be found to coexist in some referential expressions. These are expressions of intermediate pronominality. My contention will be that these nominal and pronominal properties in different aspects of referential expressions are correlated in a certain way. An expression which is high, intermediate or low in one aspect of pronominality is likely to be high, intermediate or low in another aspect of pronominality also. This multi-aspectual and scalar concept of pronominality enables us to relate the subclasses of referential expressions with one another in some measurable way not only within a language but also across languages. This thesis will thus be a comparative

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study in two ways: 1) it compares the classes of referential expressions within a language, and 2) it compares them across two contrastive languages, Japanese and English.

A consequence of this composite notion of pronominality is that it presents the differences in syntactic and interpretive characteristics of Japanese and English "reflexives", a much discussed subject, in a light which identifies the issue not as one to be defined in a single aspect of syntax but as one to be explained in connection with other aspects of the pronominality of each of them.

1.2. Organization of the Thesis

In CHAPTER II, Pronominality, I will identify nominal characteristics of referential expressions in terms of their morphological, semantic, implicational, referential, syntactic and interpretive properties. The reverse or lack of a nominal characteristic is a pronominal characteristic.

In Section 2.1, Lexical Entries, the three subclasses of referential expressions in Japanese and English are compared with respect to the number of lexical entries of each class. The class of nouns in both languages is a set of an indefinite number of lexical entries. The class of Japanese pronouns is a larger set of lexical entries than

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the class of English pronouns. Most of Japanese pronouns carry some semantic and implicational properties which English pronouns do not have. English pronouns come in a set of basically one lexical entry per one combination of grammatical person and number.

In Section 2.2, Morphological Properties, Japanese nouns, pronouns and reflexives are found to be equally nominal with respect to their morphological capacity to take affixes. English pronouns and reflexives, which do not take affixes, are distinctly different from nouns in this morphological aspect. If we take this morphological characteristic to be typical of nouns, and therefore a nominal characteristic, then English pronouns and reflexives, which lack this nominal property, are distinctly less nominal and higher in this morphological aspect of pronominality (conversely, lower in nominality) than the rest of the classes both in English and Japanese.

In Section 2.3, Semantic and Implicational Properties, semantic and implicational properties are defined as nominal characteristics. According to these nominal characteristics, the classes of pronouns and reflexives in Japanese are more nominal than their English counterparts since most of the Japanese pronouns and reflexives have some semantic properties and stylistic and/or performative implications as residual nominal properties. The class of English pronouns and reflexives, which do not have

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implicational properties or semantic properties, except in the case of 3rd person singular pronouns, are more pronominal than their counterparts in Japanese in terms of the semantic and implicational aspects of pronominality.

In Section 2.4,, Referential Properties, lexicalized grammatical person and number are defined as pronominal characteristics. Pronouns typically have them lexicalized; nouns typically do not have them lexicalized. English pronouns and reflexives, which have both lexicalized grammatical person and number are more pronominal than their Japanese counterparts, which do not have lexicalized number.

In Section 2.5, Syntactic Properties, the syntactic capacity to occur in all cases and to take modifiers are defined as nominal characteristics. Japanese nouns, pronouns and reflexives are found to be equally nominal in this syntactic respect. English pronouns and reflexives are distinctly limited in this syntactic capacity. They are more pronominal than their counterparts in Japanese in terms of this syntactic feature of pronominality.

In Section 2.6, Interpretive Characteristics, a semantically based process of referential interpretation and long range of reference are defined as nominal referential characteristics. Both Japanese and English pronouns in general have a shorter range of reference than nouns. The comparison between Japanese and English

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reflexives in the interpretive aspect of pronominality is deferred until CHAPTERS III and IV.

Section 2.7, Summary, draws the following conclusions from the discussion in the preceding sections in CHAPTER II. Generally, there is less class distinction among the Japanese referential expressions than among the English referential expresssions. Compared to English pronouns and reflexives, both Japanese pronouns and reflexives are more like nouns. English reflexives are a morphological and syntactic subcategory of English pronouns. Japanese reflexives are not a subcategory of Japanese pronouns. Nouns, pronouns and reflexives in Japanese and English fall roughly in the order of

J./E. nouns > J. pronouns/reflexives > E. pronouns > E. reflexives

with the more nominal to the left and the more pronominal to the right.

The subject of discussion in CHAPTER III is the interpretive aspect of the compound-reflexives in English. I will present a functional account of the interpretive characteristics of the compound-reflexives and argue for the relevance of their morphological, semantic and syntactic characteristics to their interpretive characteristics. Parallel examples which will be cited from Japanese will involve the emphatic compound pronouns

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in the form of NP-jishin. The principle that underlies the functional account to be given is the diagramatic iconicity between the markedness of form and the markedness of meaning. In terms of pronominality, it will be shown that English reflexives constitute a morphological, syntactic, functional and interpretive subcategory of English pronouns.

The subject of discussion in CHAPTER IV is the interpretive aspect of the Japanese head reflexive, jibun. I will first review the syntactic and functional accounts of the interpretive conditions on jibun that have been presented in the past. Recognizing jibun as a referential expression with empathy, I will claim that the primary referent of jibun is the speaker of the speech in which jibun occurs (using both "speaker" and "speech" to refer to both spoken and written form of language). The speaker as the primary empathy focus and referent of jibun prevails through his speech overriding other potential referents. This view of the speaker as the primary referent of jibun gives what has conventionally been taken to be the 1st person "pronominal" jibun separate from "reflexive" jibun a proper place in defining the principal function of referential jibun and its range of reference. In terms of pronominality, it will be shown that referential jibun is a semantic, implicational and functional derivative of nominal jibun and not a

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subcategory of Japanese ordinary pronouns, as English compound reflexives are of English ordinary pronouns.

CHAPTER V is a summary and conclusion of the thesis. This brings us back to what motivated the study presented in this thesis. Although native speaker intuition could sometimes be a dangerous guide to follow, I have had a lingering feeling about the Japanese head reflexive jibun that there is something very nominal about it that is not shared by English compound reflexives. Perhaps we are dealing with something that is very different in nature, not only in the much debated area of referential interpretation but also in its entirety as a word. Perhaps the syntactic capacity and referential characteristics of a word have some correlation with other grammatical aspects of the word. The aim of this study is to lay out such correlations among different aspects of a referential expression under the term pronominality.

A general conclusion of the findings about the different grammatical aspects of the subcategories of referential expressions in Japanese and English is that the differences among these subcategories in Japanese are smaller than the differences among them in English. Both the Japanese pronouns and h-reflexive jibun are less pronominal than the English pronouns and c-reflexives. In particular, the study reveals that the Japanese h-reflexive jibun is less pronominal than the English c-

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reflexives in all of the different grammatical aspects of pronominality. Jibun as an empathetic referential expression is a functional derivative of nominal jibun 'self', with the morphological, semantic/implicational, distributional, and interpretive characteristics of a noun. On the other hand, English c-reflexives constitute a subcategory of English ordinary pronouns, with morphological, distributional and interpretive characteristics of high pronominality. The findings in this study bear out our initial hypothesis about pronominality that the different grammatical aspects of the referential expressions are correlative among themselves; a certain degree of pronominality in one aspect of pronominality of a given referential expression is predictive of a certain degree of pronominality in other aspects of pronominality of the expression.

For the Romanization of Japanese in this thesis, the Hepburn system is employed including the examples which are cited from other sources which employ other Romanization system of Japanese. In such cases, zibun is changed to jibun and other minor spelling chages are made in the cited examples (e.g., 'ti' to 'chi'). Also, in some examples from other sources, some of the English glosses are changed (e.g., 'nom' to 'SUB', 'acc' to 'OBJ', '$self_i$ (= him_i)' to 'him_i [= $self_i$]') to keep consistency

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in the way of glossing in this thesis. I apologize to the linguists to whom I am indebted for the examples for taking the liberty to make those adjustments without their prior conscent.

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CHAPTER II. PRONOMINALITY

2.0. Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to develop the concept of "pronominality" of referential expressions. To that end, I will take the three NP subclassess of personal "nouns", "pronouns", and "reflexives" in Japanese and English for comparison in their morphological, semantic, referential and syntactic aspects.[1] Pronominality is a gradational concept. The reverse of pronominality is nominality. A referential expression which is high in pronominality is conversely low in nominality. In the following discussion, I may occasionally use "nominality" instead of "pronominality" if the property in question is typically a nominal one, but whenever either of the terms is used, they should be understood as reverse terms of the same gradational idea.

2.1. Size of Lexical Class

Crosslinguistically the class of nouns is an open set of words, whereas the class of pronouns comes typically in a paradigmatic set of limited number of words. One thing

---

1. This leaves other classes of NPs such as proper nouns, indefinite pronouns, interrogative pronouns, clitics, and zero forms out of the discussion.

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that is notable about Japanese pronouns is their multiplicity. There is a group of words in Japanese which are like pronouns in English. To list those in Modern Japanese (Meiji, Taishoo and Shoowa eras, 1868 - present):

1st person: wata(ku)shi, washi, boku, ware, o(no)re, wagahai, shoosei, temae, jibun, etc.

2nd person: anata, kimi, omae, kisama, jibun, etc.

3rd person: kare, kanojo, kono-hito, ano-hito, sono-hito, koitsu, soitsu, aitsu, yatsu, jibun, etc.

By comparison, English pronouns are limited in number in a set of basically one pronoun per grammatical person/number, and declensional varieties. For instance, the English nominative pronouns include

1st person: I (sing.), we (pl.)

2nd person: you (sing., pl.)

3rd person: he (sing., male), she (sing., female), they (pl.)

According to the typology of reflexives by Faltz (1977), morphological forms of reflexives divide into noun phrase reflexives and verbal reflexives (e.g., French se, Jean se voit 'Jean sees himself'). NP-reflexives further divide into the three morphological types: head reflexives, adjunct reflexives and compound reflexives. The head reflexive (henceforth abbreviated as "h-reflexive") consists of a nominal head (and a possible

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adjunct element). Japanese has several stylistic variations of this type of reflexive:[2]

1. jibun 'self'
   jishin 'self'
   jiko 'self'
   onore 'self'
   mizukara 'self'

For example,

2. Hawai no sekai-daikai de **Scot**$_i$ wa **jiko**$_i$[= **jibun**$_i$]
   Hawaii GEN world meet at (name) TOP self self

   no motsu sekai-kiroku o oohaba ni kooshishi, 8-
   GEN have world record OBJ big:margin by break

   jikan 39-fun no shin sekai-kiroku de
   hour minutes GEN new world record with

   yuushooshita.
   won

   (Cited from a newspaper article.)

   'At the International Athletic Meet in Hawaii, **Scot**$_i$ broke his own [= **self**$_i$'s] world record by a big

   margin, and won (the race) with the new world record of 8 hours and 39 minutes.'

3. **Hito**$_i$ wa mazu **onore**$_i$/**jibun**$_i$ o shir-
   people TOP first self self OBJ know

   anakerebanaranai.
   must

   '**One**$_i$ must know himself [= **self**$_i$] first.'

---

2. Languages other than Japanese which have this type of reflexives are Basque (buru 'head'), Fula (hoore 'head'), Malagasy (tena 'body'), Tagalog (sarili), Hindi (apnā), etc. Some head reflexives may have a redundant possessive pronoun as a modifier agreeing with the subject, such as Turkish kendi-ni 'REFL - 3.SG.POSS.ACC' and Modern Hebrew acm-o 'REFL + 3.M.SG.POSS'. (Cf. Faltz 1977.)

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4. **Hahaoya**$_i$ wa **jishin**$_i$/**jibun**$_i$ to wa kyuuni tooku
mother$_i$ TOP self$_i$ self$_i$ from TOP suddenly far

natta mono demo miru yoona isshu seisanna
became thing like see as:though a:kind:of savage

reitansa o kao ni arawashite mite ita.
coldness OBJ face in show see was
(Cited from a novel.)

'The **mother**$_i$ was looking at (it) with a kind of savage coldness on$_i$ (her) face as though (she) was looking at something which suddenly became distant from herself [= **self**$_i$].'

5. **Shooichi**$_i$ wa sooshite **mizukara**$_i$ [= **jibun**$_i$] o
(name)$_i$ TOP thus self self$_i$ OBJ

nagusamete sugoshita.
console passed:time
(Cited from a novel.)

'**Shooichi**$_i$ passed his time consoling himself [= **self**$_i$] this way.'

Among those varieties of h-reflexives, jibun has the most general use. For this reason, I will discuss only jibun in the remainder of this thesis. (Mizukara and onore are literary and their use is quite limited. Jiko and jishin are intermediate in literariness and frequency of use.)

English has compound reflexives (henceforth abbreviated as c-reflexives), which have a pronominal

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head, my, our, your, him, her, or them, plus a reflexive morpheme, -self/selves, as an adjunct such as:[3]

6. my-self
   your-self
   him-self
   them-selves

If we take a characteristic of nouns to be a nonfinite class of lexical entries and of pronouns to be a small and finite class, then Japanese pronouns which come in several varieties in each category of grammatical person and are a large group as a whole may be said to be less pronominal compared to English pronouns which are a smaller group as a whole. The comparison between Japanese pronouns and h-reflexives is a difficult one. Considering simply the number of h-reflexives as a whole and pronouns as a whole, h-reflexives are a smaller set than the set of all pronouns in Japanese, which places the class of h-reflexives higher on the continuum of pronominality than the class of pronouns. But, for the same function of reflexive reference, Japanese h-reflexives come in a number of varieties. I will place them on about the same level as ordinary pronouns in terms of their degree of

---

3. A justification of taking the pronoun rather than the -self as the head of the compound form is the historical background of the English c-reflexives (see Section 2.5.1, Chapter III). See also Faltz (1977) in this regard and for other languages which have compound reflexives.

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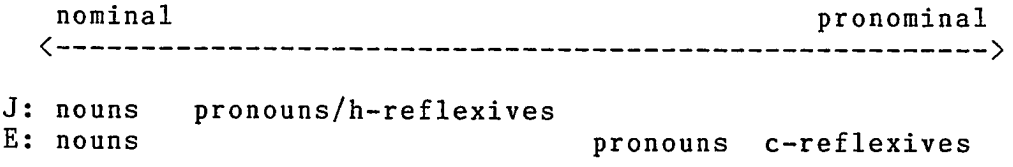
pronominality. In English, the c-reflexives take a specific form of a pronoun (an accusative or possessive) plus self. They cannot be formed of a noun, e.g., *John-self, or of any pronominal head, e.g., *he-self. This makes them a smaller class of lexical entries than the class of nouns or ordinary pronouns, and lower in this aspect of pronominality than the class of ordinary pronouns in English.

And if we think of nouns, pronouns and reflexives in Japanese and English on one continuum in terms of the size of the lexical entries, they would compare roughly as follows.

7. Pronominality and the Size of Lexical Classes



The class of nouns both in Japanese and English is open. The size of the class of pronouns in Japanese is far larger than the class of pronouns in English, which makes Japanese pronouns as a whole lower relative to English pronouns in this aspect of pronominality (or, conversely, higher in nominality). English c-reflexives are morphological derivatives of a sub-group of morphological varieties of English pronouns.

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2.2.. Morphological Properties

It is characteristic of nouns as a class that they tend to remain constant in form. For example, cases of nouns are indicated by postpositional case markings in Japanese. In English, they are marked by prepositional case markings if the cases have explicit case markers. But in both languages nouns themselves remain morphologically intact as the following comparison shows.

8.

	Japanese	English
nominative:	**kodomo** ga child NOM	Ø a **child**
accusative:	**kodomo** o child ACC	Ø a **child**
dative:	**kodomo** ni child DAT	to a **child**
genitive:	**kodomo** no child GEN	of a **child** (or, a **child**'s)
etc.		

To distinguish grammatical number, nouns in Japanese optionally take a plural suffix, -tachi, -gata, -ra, or -domo,[4] and nouns in English take -(e)s obligatorily. Lack of the suffix indicates singularity in the case of English. Consider the following.

---

4. -gata is deferential. -domo is non-deferential. -tachi and -ra are the most commonly used and are neutral with regard to deference. -tachi is the most commonly used in speech; -ra is more often found in writing.

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9.

Japanese	English
otona-**tachi** adult pl.	adult-**s**
shoojo-**ra** girl pl.	girl-**s**
sensei- **gata** teacher pl.	teacher-**s**
kerai- **domo** retainer pl.	retainer-**s**

Case and number marking of pronouns and reflexives may differ from case and number marking of nouns in the same language. Typically in English, pronouns decline for different cases and have supplementary forms for different numbers. Japanese pronouns and reflexives, on the other hand, are no different from nouns in this regard; they remain morphologicaly unchanged for different cases and optionally take a suffix for plurality. Compare the examples below with those above.

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10.

	Japanese	English
nominative:	**watashi** ga I NOM	Ø **I**
	jibun ga self NOM	-
accusative:	**watashi** o I ACC	Ø **me**
	jibun o self ACC	**myself**
dative:	**watashi** ni I DAT	to **me**
	jibun ni self DAT	to **myself**
genitive:	**watashi** no I GEN	of **mine** (or, **my**)
	jibun no self GEN	of **myself**
plurals:	**watashi**-tachi I pl.	**we**
	jibun-tachi self pl.	**ourselves**

If we take the tendency to be morphologically constant and have the capacity to take morphological extensions characteristic of nouns as a class in comparison to

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pronouns,[5] then we may say that a word is nominal to the extent that it fulfills these characteristics, and conversely that a word is pronominal to the extent that it lacks this characteristic. Figure 11 below shows Japanese and English nouns, pronouns and reflexives in comparison along the continuum of the morphological aspect of pronominality.

---

5. This does not mean that pronouns are necessarily declensional, as in the case of Japanese, Korean or Chinese. It means that, among the referential expressions, the class of nouns is more likely to be constant in form than other classes. For example, in Latin, which is a synthetic language, nouns have case and number suffixes attached to them, but they tend to keep a constant nominal stem:

'people'	sing.	nominal	:	**popul**-us
		accusative:		**popul**-um
		genitive	:	**popul**-ī
		dative	:	**popul**-ō
	pl.	nominal	:	**popul**-ī
		accusative:		**popul**-ōs
		genitive	:	**popul**-ōrum
		dative	:	**popul**-ī

Latin pronouns have different forms for different numbers:

	sing.	pl.
1st person:	ego, egomet	nos, nosmet
2nd person:	tu, te, (etc.)	vos, (etc.)

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11. Pronominality and Morphological Properties

J: nouns
pronouns
h-reflexives

E: nouns pronouns/c-reflexives

In both Japanese and English, nouns are morphologically constant for different numbers and cases and capable of taking the full range of morphological extensions. Pronouns and h-reflexives in Japanese are like nouns in this respect; they do not change in form for different number and case, and they are morphologically fully expandable. Pronouns and h-reflexives in Japanese are as nominal as nouns in Japanese in this morphological aspect of pronominality. English pronouns are declensional and are limited in the capacity of taking morphological extensions. Compound-reflexives in English are a split case: their pronominal head is declensional because of their pronominal nature, and their adjunct, -self, is semi-nominal in its morphological behavior, e.g., -selv-es for plural. See Section 2.5.1, Chapter III for a historical background of the compound structure of English reflexives. For our purposes here, I will focus on the head constituent of theirs which is pronominal and declensional as the primary morphological characteristic

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of English c-reflexives. The declined case form of the pronominal head is lexically determined to be genitive or accusative depending on each reflexive (see Chapter III). In general, the differences among the morphological properties of Japanese nouns, pronouns and h-reflexives are not as great as those among the same classes in English. The figure in (11) indicates that Japanese pronouns and reflexives are more nominal than their counterparts in English in this morphological aspect of pronominality.

2.3. Semantic and Implicational Properties

2.3.1. Semantic Properties

Nouns are a lexical category whose primary funtion is to name an entity, whereas the primary function of pronouns is to refer to an entity. For example, a deictic pronoun kore 'this', are 'that' or sore 'it' refers to a thing without naming it. Therefore, a sentence like This is different from that does not make sense unless there are two different things, one closer than the other, which are referred to by this and that. On the other hand, nouns like isu 'chair' and tsukue 'desk' semantically define the entities they signify. And so, a sentence like A chair is different from a desk is possible without referring to a specific chair or a desk. It can be said,

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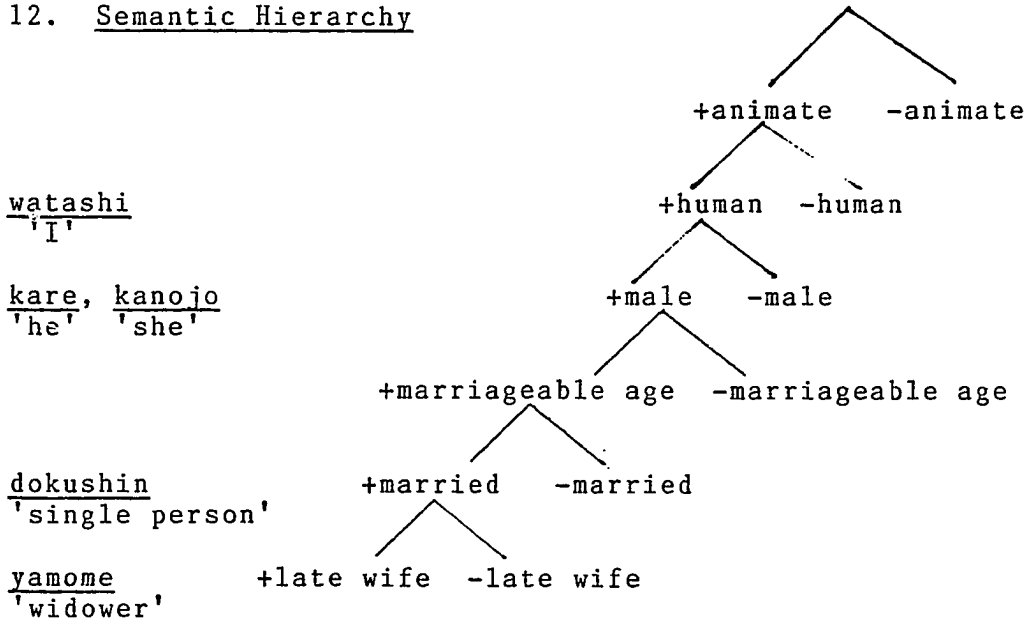
then, that semantic nounness of a word correlates to the extent to which the word fulfills this function of naming. This defining function of a word is substantiated by the lexical semantic properties of the word.

Imagine a semantic hierarchy such as the one illustrated in (12) below in which semantic features are arranged in a branching hierarchy with broader defining terms higher and narrower defining terms lower in the hierarchy.

12. Semantic Hierarchy



And if we, in an attempt to capture such a thing as degrees of semantic information of words, employ this hierarchy and talk about relative semantic specificity of words, we can say that in general the semantic information carried by nouns reaches down to the lower levels in this

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hierarchy, while pronouns have some of the upper level semantic features only. In other words, it is a characteristic of nouns as a class to be high in degrees of semantic specificity.

By contrast, it is characteristic of pronouns as a class that their lexical semantic content is limited to some broad features, such as typically those of animacy and gender. For example, watashi 'I' has the lexical content of [+1st person] only (besides [+animate] and [+human] which are shared by all personal, [+human], pronouns by definition). Others like boku, ore, shoosei, and wagahai, etc. have an added feature [+male]. Considering that the primary function of pronouns is to make an anaphoric reference rather than to name an entity, it is appropriate to take limited semantic content or semantic unspecificity a semantic measure of pronominality of a word.

Within the same subclass of referential expressions, some words may be more specific in semantic content than some others. For example, hito 'person', otoko 'man', and seinen 'young man' are in the same class of nouns, but hito [+human] is a broader term than otoko [+human, +male], which is in turn a broader term than seinen [+human, +male, +youth]. In this limited semantic aspect of pronominality, it can be said that hito is higher than otoko which is higher than seinen in pronominality (or,

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conversely, seinen is higher than otoko which is higher than hito in nominality). Likewise, in the class of pronouns, watashi [+1st person] is higher in pronominality than boku [+1st person, +male].[6] As an illustration, these nouns, hito, otoko, seinen, and pronouns, watashi, boku are shown relative to one another on the continuum of this limited semantic aspect of pronominality below in (13).

13. Semantic Properties and Pronominality

Nominal [+specific]			Pronominal [-specific]
<----------			---------->
seinen 'young man'	otoko/boku 'man' 'I'		hito/watashi 'person' 'I'
[+human] [+male] [+youth]	[+human] [+male]	[+human] [+male]	[+human] [+human]

An advantage of this scaler view of semantic pronominality is that it provides an explicit mechanism for an explanation for some words having both nominal and pronominal or pronoun-like uses. These words of dual uses

6. Needless to say, however, this is not to suggest that semantic pronominality of any two (or more) words may be weighed relative to one another. For example, a pair of nouns like sun and banker or a set consisting of secretary, prisoner, and baby may not be compared to one another for relative degrees of semantic pronominality.

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share the fact that they are broad in meaning, hence high in semantic pronominality (or low in semantic nominality).

In Japanese, the category "pronoun" is not a well established one. Japanese grammarians disagree about recognizing pronouns as a grammatical category in Japanese. Some say that the difference between nouns and pronouns in Japanese is only semantic. To begin with, the grounds on which the seemingly distinct category labels of "noun," "pronoun," and "reflexive" are assigned to words have not been discussed explicitly. Even though some semantic tendencies may be pointed out about pronouns as a class (that they are broad in meaning with limited semantic properties such as [±male] and [±human]), some words which are considered nouns, such as "man" and "person," are semantically just as broad. The class distinction may be functional, but what that functional basis is is not properly delineated. As might be expected, then, there are some fuzzy borderline cases between these categories.

For example, hito is one of those words with the broad meaning of 'mankind, human being, person'. Some typical examples of its nominal use in a generic sense of 'mankind, people' are as shown below.

14a. **Hito** wa banbutsu no reichoo dearu.
man TOP all:things of primate is

'Humans are the lord of all creation.'

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b. **Hito** no unmei wa wakar-anai.
people of future TOP know NEG

'There is no telling of people's future.'

Also, in a sense of an individual person:

15. Itoo to yuu **hito**
(name) QUO called person

'a person named Itoo'

One of the many semantic interpretations of this word is the meaning of 'other people, others':

16a. **Hito** wa **hito**, ware wa ware.
others TOP others I TOP I

'Others are others, I am I.'
(Each one in his own way.)

b. Kare wa **hito** no yuu koto o kik-anai.
he TOP others of say things OBJ listen-NEG

'He does not listen to what others/other people say.'

c. **Hito-** goto da to omotte chuuishite-i- masen
others matter is QUOT thingk carefully is NEG

deshita.
PAST

'Since (I) thought it was somebody else's concern, (I) was not paying attention to (it).'

Semantic and functional equivalents of this use of hito are often rendered by indefinite pronouns in other languages, such as autres 'others' in French as in a d'autres 'say it to others', or others in English as in

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'think of others' or 'do to others as you would be done by'.

Like deictic pronouns this and that etc., hito 'other(s)' as a pronoun is a discourse dependent notion in that there are no lexical-semantic class of things which are these or those or 'others' independently of what they refer to in some discourse context. For example, a nominal chair defines a lexical semantic class of things independently of a discourse context in which it may be used, but the pronominal this or others does not define a lexical semantic class in the same way as chair does. Similarly, the nominal hito defines a lexical semantic class, i.e., 'human beings', and this semantic class is independent of a discourse context. In contrast to this, the indefinite pronominal use of hito as exemplified in (15) includes in its meaning the discourse functional notion "other" for the meaning of 'other (people)'. Nominal hito does not have this meaning of 'other' unless it is explicitly added as in hoka no hito 'other GEN people'.

As a specific case of this use of hito for 'other(s)', it is also used to refer specifically to the 1st person=speaker himself. The following are examples of such a use of hito.[7]

---

7. See Suzuki (1976) for more examples of this sort.

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17a. Anata, yokumo **hito** o damashita wa ne.
you dare person OBJ cheated SP SP

'How dared you cheat me.'
(Suzuki 1976)

b. Che, **hito** o baka-ni shiteyagara.
tut person OBJ fool make

'Tut, (he) made a fool of me.'
(Suzuki 1976)

c. Kora, **hito** ga majimeni shinpaishiteyatteru
hey person SUB seriously worry

noni. Jaa katteni shi-tamae. Sayoonara.
in spite of well freely do IMP goodbye

'Hey, I have been seriously worried (about you).
Well, (you) suit (yourself). Goodbye.'
(Suzuki 1976)

d. **Hito** no koto o ko da-tte. Demo ii wa.
person of matter OBJ child is QUOT but alright SP

'(She) called me a kid. But, that's all right.'
(Suzuki 1976)

e. Sekkaku **hito** ga shinsetsuni motteitteageta
specifically person SUB kindly brought

noni, ano hito wa arigatoo to mo iw-anai
despite that person TOP thank QUOT even say NEG

'When I was so kind and took the trouble of bringing it (to her), she does not even say "thank you".'

These uses of hito (in bold face) refer specificaly to the 1st person. It is not uncommon in Japanese for a speaker to refer to himself/herself by some term definable by the relationship he/she holds to the addressee. For example, the speaker may refer to himself/herself as okaasan 'mother' or sensei 'teacher' or something else depending

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on his/her status in relationship to the addressee. These status expressions and the particualr use of hito exemplified in (17) are what are grouped as "ji-shoo-shi" (self-refer-terms) in Japanese (Suzuki 1983).[8]

As I will discuss in the next section (2.4, Referential Properties), it is a pronominal characteristic to incorporate into the meaning of a word a discourse dependent referential notion, such as the deictic meaning, definiteness and the notion of "other" as well as grammatical person and number. Those words which are used with one or more of these notions included in their own meanings (that is, not by the use of a modifier or specifier like an article such as the) are pronominal to the degree that they have incorporated such properties into their meanings. The 1st person pronominal use of hito has incorporated in its meaning the referential [+1st person] and [+definite] that accompanies the 1st person. So, while the nominal use of hito can take modifiers, such as aru 'a certain' as in aru hito 'a certain person' or hito-ri 'one-person' as in hito-ri no hito 'one person', the 1st person pronominal use of hito cannot co-occur with such modifiers: (The numerical index 1 indicates that its referent is the 1st person.)

---

8. It is not that any noun can be a self-referring term. See Suzuki, 1983, for some of these conditions on "jishoo-shi".

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18a. Che, ***aru*** **hito**$_1$ o baka-ni shiteyagara.
tut certain person OBJ fool make

(Lit.) 'Tut, (he) made a fool of ***a certain me.**'

b. ***Hito-ri** **no** **hito**$_1$ no koto o ko da-tte.
one person GEN person GEN matter OBJ kid is QUOT

(Lit.) '(She) calls ***one me** a kid...'

The point I am trying to illustrate by the word hito is that its broad semantic content, 'mankind, human being(s), person(s)', makes it a noun which ranks high in semantic pronominality, and that the word is more likely than words of lower semantic pronominality to function like a pronoun with some referential property/ies incorporated in its meaning.

The use of hito for the meaning of 'other(s) [+human]', as in (16), is a semantic extension, and it is pronominal to the extent that it has incorporated the discourse dependent referential notion 'other' in its interpretation. The use of the word as a self-referring term, as in (17), is also pronominal to the extent that it has incorporated the meanings of '1st person' in its interpretation.

Analogous cases from other languages are man in German and personne in French. Man, an indefinite pronoun in German translatable in English variously as 'one, we, you, someone, they, people', etc., is a morphological and semantic and functional derivative of a nominal Mann 'man'

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(P. Grebe, 1963). Personne in French has two functions, one as a nominal 'person' as in une bonne personne 'a good person', and another as a pronominal 'anyone, nobody' as in Je doute que personne y reussisse 'I doubt whether anyone will succeed in it', or Personne n'est venu 'No one came'. The pronominal personne has incorporated the referential indefiniteness in its interpretation. In both cases of German Mann/man and French personne, the pronominal counterparts exhibit divergence from their nominal counterparts in referential and cooccurrence aspects as well. (See Section 2.4. Referential Properties and 2.5. Syntactic Properties.)

The scalar view of semantic pronominality explains the diachronic phenomenon as in Japanese that many pronouns have nouns of broadly defined meanings as their origins. For example, one of the second person pronouns in Japanese is anata (used from around the Edo Era, 1590-1867), as in,

19. **Anata** wa Yamada-san desu ka?
you TOP Yamada-Mr. is INT

'Are **you** Mr. Yamada?'

This was formerly an expression used to refer to a third person indirectly with an implicational property [+deference], as in

20. Choochin to kasa o motte, **anata** no o-
lantern and umbrella OBJ take far/3rd P GEN HON

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yashiki made o- okurimooshiagete maire.
house as far as HON send IMPERATIVE

'Take a lantern and an umbrella, and accompany (her) to her house **afar.**'
(Keisei Azuma Kagami (18 century), cited in Niimura 1974)

The 3rd person pronominal use of anata in the above example was in turn a semantic extension of the word's original locative meaning 'far, distant', as in

21. kita no shooji no **anata** ni
north of sliding-paper-screen GEN yonder at

'**beyond** the north paper screen'
(From Hahakigi, Genji Monogatari (11 century), cited in Niimura, 1974)

Konata, sonata, kochi, sochi, etc. used with reference to the 1st or 2nd person in Classical Japanese are similar examples, all having locative origins.[9]

Of those pronouns in Japanese which do not have locative origins, boku, which is a [+male] 1st person pronoun (used from around the Meiji Era, 1867-1944, to the present) used to have, in addition to [+male], an implicational property [+humble]. This property, which is now lost, apparently was a semantic heritage, as is [+male], from boku's original nominal meaning 'a man who serves for others' (cf. Ikegami 1972; Ikegami and Katoo

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9. For etymological information and examples in this study, I have consulted Niimura, 1974, Oono, et al. ed., 1975, and Suzuki, 1972, among others.

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1972; Niimura 1974). As a first person pronoun now, boku has lost its nominal meaning as a 'male menial' but kept the broad semantic property [+male] and acquired the referential property [+1st person]. Similarly, watakushi, another 1st person pronoun neutral to gender (from around the Muromachi Period, 1392-1573), had the original nominal meaning of 'private' (as opposed to 'public') as in (cf. Ikegami 1972; Ikegami and Katoo 1972; Niimura 1974)

22. toshigoro ooyake **watakushi** on- itoma nakute
lately publicly private HON free time lack

'lately having no time publicly or **privately**'
(Akashi, Genji Monogatari, 11 century, cited in Oono, 1975)

This meaning of watakushi 'private' remains in Modern Japanese in expressions such as

23a. kinsen o **watakushi**-suru
money OBJ personal do

'embezzle money'

b. **watakushi** o saru
personal OBJ leave

'efface oneself; rise above oneself'

c. **shi**- ken
personal opinion

'personal opinion'
(Note: shi and watakushi are two different readings of the same Chinese character meaning 'private'.)

d. **watakushi**-goto
personal matters

'personal matters'

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Ikegami (1972) gives the following example as a precursor of watakushi later to become a 1st person pronoun.

24. **watakushi** ni mo itokoso ureshikere
private in also very pleased

'quite pleased **personally** also'
'to me also quite pleasing'
(Ochikubo Monogatari (9 century))

In the beginning of its use as a 1st person pronoun, watakushi was used by an inferior addressing a suprior in formal speech with the implicational property [+humble], which is apparently a semantic implication of its nominal meaning of 'personal matters' in a humble sense. This implication was lost later and watakushi has come to have only the referential property [+1st person], a further step toward a higher pronominality.

The figure in (25) below to be considered in conjunction with the figure in (13) of Semantic Pronominality illustrates (with wata(ku)shi and anata as examples) the diachronic aspect of the connection between nouns of high pronominality (i.e., low nominality) and pronouns as their derivatives.

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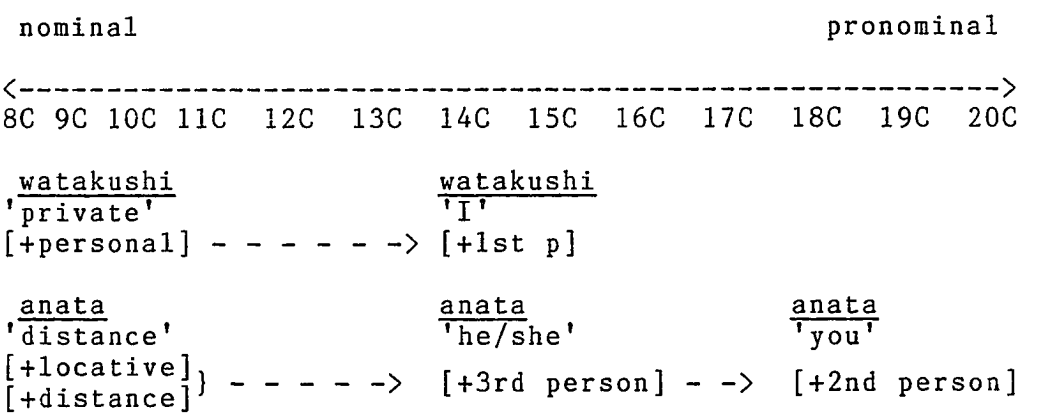
25. Semantic Properties and Pronominality



2.3.2. Implicational Properties

Those pronouns listed earlier in Section 2.1 (Lexical Class) are not all equally in common use in current Japanese. They vary not only in lexical semantic properties but also in speech styles and sociolinguistic implications. For example, among the 1st person pronouns, wata(ku)shi [±male] is the most commonly used one with no semantic property (other than those by definition of a personal pronoun, i.e., [+animate], etc.) or socio-linguistic implications in current Japanese. (See pp. 37 - 39 for some more comments on wata(ku)shi.) Another 1st person pronominal boku [+male] is used typically by young male speakers on informal occasions in current Japanese. As mentioned earlier, in the early stages of their pronominal use, both watakushi and boku used to have a [+humble] implication resulting from their nominal

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meanings 'private' and 'a male menial' respectively. Ware is older than wata(ku)shi and is seldom used in singular in current Japanese, but its reduplicted plural form ware-ware 'I-I, we' is in common use as a formal, oratorical, or written counterpart of wata(ku)shi-tachi 'I-PL, we'. Shoosei [+male] has a modest implication and is used by grown men only, typically in a personal written communication. Wagahai [+1st person, +male] sounds pompous and is seldom used in current Japanese in writing or speaking. Temae has a humble implication, typically used in business situations in a group sense of temae-domo 'temae-PL, we' in modern Japanese. But, this expression is used seldom now. Among the second person pronouns, anata [±male] is the most commonly used, but this is considered nondeferential in modern Japanese and is not used to address one's superiors in social standing. Kimi [±male] is used by men for both male and female referents. Both ananta and kimi used to be deferential in the beginning, then chaged to be nondeferential. Omae is also nondeferential and informal, used mostly by men. And so on.

All in all, most Japanese pronouns have some stylistic (e.g., [±formal]), performative (e.g., [±deferential], [±humble]), and/or sociolinguistic (e.g., [±trade]) implications in addition to the semantic property, [±male]. Those implications associated with those

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pronouns are in the most cases direct or indirect consequences of the words' original nominal meaning. If we take referential properties such as definiteness, grammatical person and number as typically pronominal, then stylistic or performative implications which are mostly residual nominal properties from their nominal origins can be said to be non-pronominal properties, and the words which carry those properties less pronominal. The figure in (26) below illustrates pronominality and implicational properties of pronouns as discussed above with some of the 1st person pronouns in Japanese as examples.

26. Pronominality and Implicational Properties

nominal [+imp'l properties] ⟵ pronominal [-imp'l properties] ⟶

	temae 'I'	boku 'I'	watakushi 'I'	watashi 'I'
Stylistic Properties:	[+formal]	[-formal]	[+formal]	-
Performative Properties:	[+humble]	-	-	-
Sociolinguistic Properties:	[+trade]	-	-	-

It is interesting also to note the phonological aspect of the pronominalizing process of the word watakushi. In the 17 century (early Edo Period 1603-1697), the same

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Chinese character which stands for the nominal and pronominal watakushi came to have a contracted reading, watashi. This contracted reading of the character is applicable only when the word is used as a pronoun but not when it is used as a noun. For example, when the character is pronounced fully as watakushi, as in (27a) below, it may mean the nominal 'private' or pronominal 'my', but when it is contracted as watashi, as in (27b), it only means the pronominal 'my'.

27a. **watakushi** no shisetsu
private/I of institution

'a **private** institution' or '**my** institution'

b. **watashi** no shisetsu
I of institution

'**my** institution'

Thus, the 1st person pronominal watashi has derived from the 1st person pronominal watakushi, which had derived from the nominal watakushi. This shortened phonological form is more commonly used now formally or informally than the full form watakushi, which by contrast implies formal speech. It can be said that the contracted pronominal watashi has gone one step further than the non-contracted pronominal watakushi in the pronominalization process of the word as it is free of stylistic implications and now has a distinct phonological form of its own as a pronoun,

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thus removing itself further from its original nominal form and meaning.

2.4. Referential Properties

2.4.1. Grammatical Persons

Grammatical persons are referential rather than semantic properties. In contrast to semantic properties which are lexical and characteristically nominal, referential properties are discourse dependent and are characteristically pronominal. It is in accordance with the referential function of pronouns that they have lexicalized grammatical person whereas nouns tend to be free of grammatical person.

For example, in Japanese nouns are flexible as to the grammatical persons they refer to. It is quite normal to use proper nouns and a certain class of ordinary nouns (e.g., status/role nouns) referring to the 1st, 2nd or 3rd person depending on the discourse situation, as in the following examples. (Note: The numerical subscripts, 1, 2 and 3, in the examples below and elsewhere stand for the 1st, 2nd and 3rd person references, respectively.)

28a. **Sensei$_1$/Otoo-san$_1$** wa iki-masen.
teacher father TOP go NEG

'Teacher$_1$/Father$_1$ won't go."
(The subject noun as the 1st person)

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b. **Yamada-san$_2$/Sensei$_2$/Otoo-san$_2$** ga osshatte
Yamada teacher father SUB say

kudasai.
REQUEST

'Please Mr. Yamada$_2$/Teacher$_2$/Father$_2$ say that.'
(The subject noun as the 2nd person)

c. **Yamada-san$_3$/Sensei$_3$/Otoosan$_3$** ga osshaimashita.
Yamada teacher father SUB said

'Mr. Yamada$_3$/Teacher$_3$/Father$_3$ said so.'
(The subject noun as the 3rd person.)

In English, on the other hand, it appears as though nouns have the referential property [+3rd person] lexicalized with them, as in:

29a. {**John** / **The teacher**} *am/*are/is Japanese.

b. {**John** / **The teacher**} *speak/speak Japanese.

However, in a vocative use outside of a sentence category, nouns can actually refer to the 2nd person as in the following examples.[10]

30a. **John$_2$**, where are you$_2$ going?

b. Hey, **John$_2$**. (cf. Hey, you$_2$.)

c. **Ladies$_2$** and **gentlemen$_2$**!

Also, in child speech and adults speech to children, it is common to use a noun for reference to the 1st person.

---

10. Cf A. Banfield, 1982, for E(xpressions) or utterances outside of a sentence as a category.

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31a. **Mommy**$_1$'s going to fix lunch now.

b. **Martha**$_1$ will go too.

In contrast to what we saw about nouns, pronouns have lexically fixed grammatical person (as shown in the list of Japanese or English pronouns in Section 1, Lexical Class). Lexicalization of discourse dependent properties such as grammatical person is typically a pronominal characteristic. Generalizing this observation further, we can say that a word is nominal to the extent that it is free of the grammatical persons and that conversely a word is pronominal to the extent that it has lexicalized a grammatical person.

Now the Japanese h-reflexive jibun is like a noun in this respect. Its grammatical person varies according to the grammatical person of its antecedent. In (32a) below, jibun refers to the 1st person watashi 'I', in (b) to the 2nd person anata 'you', and in (c) to the 3rd person kare 'he'.

32a. **Watashi**$_1$ wa **jibun**$_1$ ni jishin ga arimasu.
I$_1$ TOP self$_1$ in confidence SUB have

'I$_1$ have confidence in myself [= **self**$_1$].'

b. **Anata**$_2$ wa **jibun**$_2$ ni jishin ga arimasu ka?
you$_2$ TOP self$_2$ in confidence SUB have INT

'Do you$_2$ have confidence in yourself [= **self**$_2$]?'

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c. **Kare**$_3$ wa **jibun**$_3$ ni jishin ga arimasu.
he$_3$ TOP self$_3$ in confidence SUB have

'He$_3$ has confidence in himself [= **self**$_3$].'

d. **Jibun**$_2$ ga yatta n desu ka?
self$_2$ SUB did COMP be INT

'DId you [= **self**$_2$] do it yourself?'

e. Atode **jibun**$_{1,3}$ ga yarimasu kara kamaw- anai de
later self$_{1,3}$ SUB do since bother NEG be

kudasai.
REQUEST

'Since I/he/she [= **self**$_{1,3}$] will do it later, please don't bother (to do it) now.'

This shows that referential jibun does not have a lexicalized person, but its person is the person of its referent. On the other hand, c-reflexives in English have lexicalized persons:

33. myself$_1$

yourself$_2$

himself$_3$, etc.

This difference between Japanese and English reflexives is due to the difference in their morphological makeup. The lexicalized person of an English c-reflexive is a property associated with the pronominal head constituent, i.e., my$_1$-, your$_2$-, him$_3$-, etc., not the adjunct constituent, i.e., -self, which is the reflexive morpheme in this construction.

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According to our hypothesis about pronominality and grammatical persons, the h-reflexive jibun is more nominal than the c-reflexives in English. The figure in (34) below illustrates our discussion on pronominality and grammatical person in this section.

34. Pronominality and Grammatical Person

	nominal [-gram. person]	pronominal [+gram. person]
	<----------	---------->
J:	nouns h-reflexives	pronouns
E:	nouns	pronouns c-reflexives

2.4.2. Grammatical Number

Grammatical number is another referential property. Grammatical number is not an inherent semantic property of a noun (with some exceptions, like people in the sense of 'persons', which have [+plural] as a lexical property). Grammatical number is a discourse dependent property which is associated and morphologically marked (if the language does so) with each use of a noun.

In Japanese the grammatical number of a noun is not normally made explicit. For example, the nominal hito in (35) below may mean 'person' in singular or plural and gakusei 'student' in singular or plural.

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35a. **Hito** ga iru.
person(s) SUB is/are

'There is a person.'
'There are people.'

b. **Gakusei** ga iru.
student(s) SUB is/are

'There is a student.
'There are students.'

When a noun takes a deictic modifier such as kono 'this', sono 'that', or ano 'that (over there)', the interpretation of the grammatical number of the noun is generally restricted to that of singular, even though the grammatical number of the noun itself is morphologically unmarked and can be just as ambiguous as in the case of hito and gakusei in (35) above. Compare the following with (35).

36. **Kono gakusei** wa Nihonjin desu.
this student TOP Japanese is/are

'This student is a Japanese.'
?'These students are Japanese.'

It is not that kono 'this' or other deictic adjectives are themselves [-plural]. If a plural reading is intended in the above sentence, one can make that interpretation explicit by adding some explicit plural expression such as a plural suffix, -tachi, or a quantifier, such as san-nin 'three-persons', as in (37) below.

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37a. **Kono gakusei-tachi** wa Nihonjin desu.
these student PL TOP Janese are

'These students are Japanese.'

b. **Kono san- nin no gakusei** wa Nihonjin
these three persons GEN students TOP Japanese

desu.
are

'These three students are Japanese.'

The 3rd person pronouns, kare/kanojo 'he/she', etc., are relatively new in the history of Japanese, and they are rarely used in speaking or writing.[11] Instead, the compound form of a deictic plus hito 'person', kono/sono/ano + hito 'this/that/that person', is the most commonly used expression in spoken Japanese for reference to a 3rd human referent. In a functional sense, these deictic phrases are pronouns or pronominal phrases of spoken Japanese. Morphologically speaking, as explained above, the sturcture, deictic + noun, could be either singular or plural. However, that is not exactly the case with the deictic + hito. The deictic + hito is less flexible with grammtical numbers than the deictic + gakusei in the examples in (36) and (37) above. In other

---

11. The 3rd person pronouns, kare 'he', kanojo 'she', kare-ra 'they', etc. are used typically in modern novels. They are never used in newspaper articles. These expressions are said to have been created around the turn of the century out of the necessity of translating the pronouns, he and she, in Western languages into Japanese.

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words, the former is more resistant to a plural interpretation than the latter. Compare the sets of examples in (38) and (39) below.

38a. **Kono gakusei** wa Nihonjin desu. (= 36)
this student TOP Japanese is/are

'This student is a Japanese.'
?'These students are Japanese.'

b. **Kono hito** wa Nihonjin desu.
this person TOP Japanese is
'This person is Japanese.'
*'These persons are Japanese.'

Cf.
c. **Kare** wa Nihonjin desu.
he TOP Japanese is

'He is Japanese.'

39a. ?**Kono gakusei** wa **minna** Nihonjin desu.
this student TOP all Japanese are

(Intended reading) 'These students are all Japanese.'

b. ***Kono hito** wa **minna** Nihonjin desu.
this person TOP all Japanese are

(Intended reading) 'These persons are all Japanese.'

Cf.
c. ***Kare** wa **minna** Nihonjin desu.
he TOP all Japanese is

*'He is all Japanese.'

(38a), with kono gakusei, marginally allows a plural interpretation, but (38b), with kono hito, allows only a singular interpretation. So does kare 'he' in (38c). Similarly, (39a), with kono gakusei and minna, again marginally allows a plural interpretation, but (39b), with

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kono hito and minna, is unacceptable. And so is kare and minna in (39c). For kono/sono/ano + hito to be interpretable as plural, it must explicitly have a plural suffix such as -tachi as in (40a), as is the case with kare 'he' as in (40b) below.

40a. **Kono hito- tachi** wa (minna) Nihonjin desu.
this person PL TOP all Japanese are

'These people are (all) Japanese.'

b. **Kare-ra** wa (minna) Nihonjin desu.
he PL TOP all Japanese are

'They are (all) Japanese.'

Recall that hito by itself may mean singular or plural person(s) without an explicit plural suffix as in the sentence hito ga iru 'there is/are person(s)' in (34a) given earlier, or in phrases like koko no hito 'people here' or kono san-nin no hito 'these three people'. It seems that the coupling of kono and hito seems to change the nature of hito or the phrase itself. The contrasts highlighted by the examples in (38a, b) and (39a, b) above showed that the interpretation of grammatical number of hito in the phrase kono hito is not like that of an ordinary noun in a similar phrase, but it is like that of a pronoun, inflexible about the grammatical number. The fact that hito in this particular phrase is associated with a particular grammatical number [+singular] sets it somewhat apart from hito as an ordinary noun in

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expressions other than this sequence. Deicticness is dependent on the discourse situation and is referential. So is grammatical number; it signifies, not a semantic meaning, but the number of the referent(s), which is discourse dependent and referential in nature. It is not accidental that grammatical number is lexicalized with pronouns for the implementation of their distinctive referential function. The fact that hito in the sequence of kono hito is resistant to a plural interpretation than an ordinary noun like gakusei in the parallel sequence

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suggests that kono/sono/ano + hito phrases are indeed (quasi-)pronouns in spoken Japanese.[12]

Another example of a pronoun-like use of a noun being associated with a grammatical number is the case of French

---

12. Many of the present pronouns mentioned in the beginning of this chapter (Section 2.1, Lexical Class) have a deictic origin similar to the phrases kono/sono/ano + hito. The 2nd person pronominal anata, the 3rd person pronominal kare [+male] and kanojo [-male], for example, belong to the set of words which have the morphological makeup of one of the deictic ko, so, (k)a and the interrogative do- plus a locative/directional. The ko, so, (k)a series of deictics (which used to be independent deictics in Classical Japanese but are now reduced to bound morphemes), indicate relative distance to the positions of the 1st and 2nd persons:

ko 'the place, person, or thing near the 1st person'
so 'the place, person, or thing near the 2nd person'
(k)a 'the place away from both the 1st and 2nd persons' (ka is the older form of a)
do 'which, where'

The following are examples of expressions which include one of the above. (Classical Japanese is abbreviated as C. J. and Modern Japanese as M. J. below.)

a.	ko	-nata 'direction'	a) here, this place, this way b) 1st or 2nd person (in C. J.)
b.	so		a) there, that place b) 2nd person (in C. J.)
c.	ka		a) a far place
d.	a		a) a far place b) 2nd or 3rd person (in C. J.); 2nd person (in M. J.)
e.	do		a) where b) who

(This footnote contiues to the next page under the footnote number 13. This arrangement was necessary in order to accomodate to the wordprocessing capacity.)

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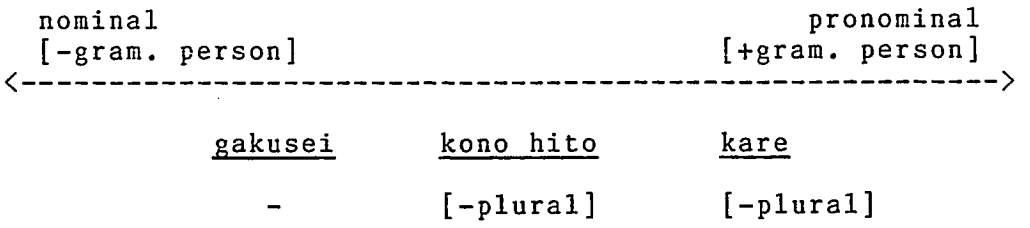
personne mentioned earlier.[13] Prominal personne, but not nominal personne, has incorporated in its meaning a negative referential property [+zero] in some of its uses such as Personne 'no one' in answer to Qui est là? 'who is there'.

The figure in (41) below illustrates the discussion in this section on grammatical number and pronominality.

41. Grammatical Number and Pronominality



13. (Continuing from footnote 12)

f.	ko		a) here, this place b) this (one)
g.	so	-re	a) there b) that (one)
h.	ka		a) a far place b) that (one) c) 3rd person (in M. J.)
i.	do		a) which one
j.	ka	-no- jo GEN woman	a) she
k.	ko		a) this person
l.	so		a) that person
m.	a	-no- hito GEN person	a) that person
n.	do		a) which person

Morphologically, a-nata in (d), for example, is 'the one yonder', and ka-re in (h) is 'the one yonder' or 'that one', and ka-no-jo in (j) is 'the woman yonder' or 'that woman'.

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A nominal gakusei is neutral for grammatical number while a pronominal kare has a lexicalized grammatical number [-plural]. A quasi-pronominal phrase kono hito is also strongly associated with the grammatical number [-plural].

2.5. Syntactic Properties

In this section, we will examine how pronominality of the referential expressions as we disccussed in the preceding sections may be reflected in their syntactic aspect.

2.5.1. Syntactic Distribution

Nouns occur in all syntactic roles both in Japanese and English. Pronouns also occur in all syntactic roles. Below are some examples of nouns and pronouns in Japanese and English in different tions.

	nouns		pronouns
Subjects:			
42.	**Kodomo** ga kita. child SUB came	b.	**Kare** ga kita. he SUB came
	'The **child** came.'		'**He** came.'
Objects:			
43.	**Kodomo** o homeru. child OBJ praise	b.	**Kare** o homeru. he OBJ praise
	'(someone) praises a **child.**'		'(someone) praises **him.**'

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Dative Objects:

44. **Kodomo** ni hanasu.
child DAT speak

'(someone) speaks to a **child.**'

b. **Kare** ni hanasu.
he DAT speak

'(someone) speaks to **him.**'

Genitives:

45. **kodomo** no shashin
child GEN picture

'a **child**'s picture'

b. **kare** no shashin
he GEN picture

'**his** picture'

Other Prepositional Phrases:

46. **Kodomo** to iku.
child with go

'(someone) goes with a **child.**'

b. **Kare** to iku.
him with go

'(someone) goes with **him.**'

If we take the syntactic capacity to occur in all syntactic roles to be typical of nouns and hence a nominal characteristic, then pronouns in Japanese or English which have no limitations in this capacity are equally nominal in this distributional aspect of pronominality.

What about reflexives? Japanese h-reflexives occur in all cases. Below are examples of jibun in different NP positions.

Subject:

47. Taroo$_i$ wa **jibun$_i$** ga shita koto o mitometa.
Taroo$_i$ TOP self$_i$ SUB did fact OBJ admitted

'Taroo$_i$ admitted the fact that he$_i$ [= **self$_i$**] did (it).'

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Object:

48. Taroo$_i$ wa **jibun**$_i$ o hometa.
Taroo$_i$ TOP self$_i$ OBJ praised

'Taroo$_i$ praised himself$_i$ [= **self**$_i$].'

Dative Object:

49. Taroo$_i$ wa **jibun**$_i$ ni chikatta.
Taroo$_i$ TOP self$_i$ to swore

'Taroo$_i$ swore to himself$_i$ [= **self**$_i$].'

Genitive:

50a. Taroo$_i$ wa **jibun**$_i$ no hisseki o mitometa.
Taroo$_i$ TOP self$_i$ of handwriting ACC recognized

'Taroo$_i$ recognized his$_i$ [= **self**$_i$'s] handwriting.'

b. Taroo$_i$ wa **jibun**$_i$ no shashin o totta.
Taroo$_i$ TOP self$_i$ of picture ACC took

'Taroo$_i$ took a picture of himself$_i$ [= **self**$_i$].'

Prepositional Phrases:

51a. Taroo$_i$ wa **jibun**$_i$ ni jishin ga aru.
Taroo$_i$ TOP self$_i$ in confidence NOM has

'Taroo$_i$ has confidence in himself$_i$ [= **self**$_i$].'

b. Taroo$_i$ wa **jibun**$_i$ e no mooshiire o
Taroo$_i$ TOP self$_i$ toward of offer ACC

kotowatta.
declined

'Taroo$_i$ declined an offer to him$_i$ [= **self**$_i$].'

English reflexives, on the other hand, are restricted in syntactic distribution. They occur in object positions, direct, indirect or prepositional, but not in

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the subject or possessive position. The following are examples.

Subject:

52. $John_i$ admitted the fact that $\{^{he_i}_{*\textbf{himself}}\}$ did it.

Object:

53. $John_i$ praised $\textbf{himself}_i$.

Genitive:

54. $John_i$ recognized $\{^{his_i}_{*\textbf{himself's}}\}$ handwriting.

Prepositional Objects:

55a. $John_i$ bought $\textbf{himself}_i$ a present.

b. $John_i$ did that for $\textbf{himself}_i$.

c. $John_i$ took a picture of $\textbf{himself}_i$.

d. $John_i$ wrote about $\textbf{himself}_i$.

e. $John_i$ pulled it toward $\textbf{himself}_i$.

The syntactic positions where English reflexives can occur are object positions, whether as a direct, indirect or prepositional object NP. This distributional restriction on English reflexives makes them syntactically disticnt from nouns or pronouns.

The explanation for this distributional characteristic of English reflexives is to be found in the evolutionary background of English c-reflexives.[14] Old English did not

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14. I relied on Earle (1887), Emerson (1894), Ishibashi et al. (1981), among others for the diachronic account of English reflexives given in what is to follow.

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have what are presently known categorically as "reflexives". It used instead ordinary personal pronouns, which made a case like (57a) below ambiguous between coreferential and non-coreferential readings.

56a. Hē ofsticode **hine**.
(From Ishibashi, et al., 1981, p.763)

'He$_i$ killed himself$_i$.'
'He$_i$ killed him$_j$.'

b. Ye clothe **you**.
(Haggai 1.6, cited in Earle, 1887, p.452)

'You clothe yourselves.'

c. I made **mē** a table.
(Robinson Crusoe, cited in Earle, 1887, p.452)

'I made myself a table.'

The usage developed to attach an adjectival self of the emphatic meaning of 'same, very, identical' to the corresponding form of the pronoun, as in

57. Hē ofsticode **hine selfne**.
(From Ishibashi et al., 1981, p.763)

(Lit.) 'He killed him self.'

When the emphatic self was used for a pronoun in the subject position, it often took a redundant dative pronoun before it, as in

58a. ic **mē self**
I me self
(From Ishibashi et al., 1981, p.763)

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b. hē **him selfa**
he him self
(From Ishibashi et al., 1981, p.763)

c. gē **ēow selfe**
you you self
(From Ishibashi et al., 1981, p.763)

The compound reflexive forms of a dative/accusative pronoun + self, i.e., mēself (1st, sing), þēself (2nd, sing), himself (3rd, m, sing), hireself (3rd, f, sing), hemself (3rd, pl), were established by the end of Middle English period. In other words, the historical process of English c-reflexives is such that they had from the start of their development the case property of [+accusative/dative] associated with their pronominal head. Later in the 13C, mēself and þēself became, respectively, mīself (> myself) and þīself (> thyself) through the sound change of mē to mī and þē to þī, consequently appearing to have the form of a genitive pronoun + self instead of an accusative/dative pronoun + self, which was their original form. By analogy with those genitive reflexive forms of the singular 1st and 2nd persons, ūreself and yūreself were created for the plural 1st and 2nd person reflexives in the 14C. Further, as the originally adjectival self came to be taken for a noun, our selven (> ourselves) and youre selven (> yourselves) came into use. Though the original syntactic frame for the formation of English c-reflexives was

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obscured through those phonological and morphological changes in time, the original case property of [+accusative/dative] associated with the pronominal head, irrespective of their present morphological forms, remains to restrict English c-reflexives to occur only in the NP positions where ordinary pronouns would occur in the accusative/dative case form. I will indicate this distributional property of English c-reflexives by [+object]. (The interpretive aspect of reflexives and other NP classes will be discussed in the next chapter.)

Examples (42) through (46) with nouns and (47) and (51) with reflexives showed that the classes of nouns, pronouns and h-reflexives in Japanese are not different in terms of their distributional properties; they occur in all syntactic roles. Similarly for nouns and pronouns in English; they occur in all syntactic roles. English c-reflexives, which occur only in [+object] NP positions, are thus exceptional in this distributional property.

Taking the capacity of a referential expression to occur in all syntactic roles as typically nominal in the distributional aspect of pronominality, it can be said that nouns, pronouns and h-reflexives in Japanese are equally nominal in this respect. So are nouns and pronouns in English. English c-reflexives are the only exception. Their distributional limitations set them

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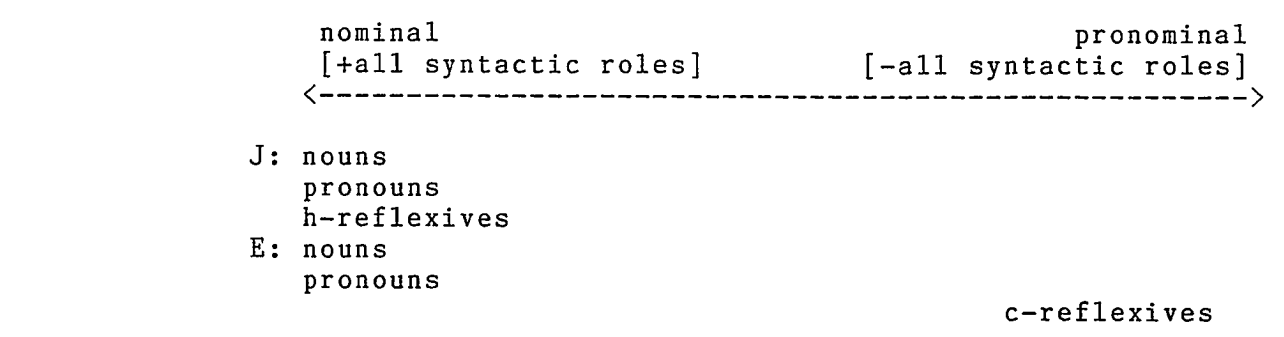
apart from the rest of the subclasses, making them less nominal (more pronominal) on the continuum of pronominality. The figure in (59) below summarizes the above.

59. Distributional Properties and Pronominality



2.5.2. Co-occurrence Properties

Nouns as a class have the capacity to cooccur with a range of modifiers, such as adjectives, deictics, genitives, articles (if the language has them) or noun complement clauses. For example, the following expressions are possible with nouns in Japanese or English.

adjectives:	chiisai **kodomo** small child	'small **children**'
demonstratives:	ano **kodomo** that child	'that **child**'
genitives:	anata no **kodomo** you of child	'your **child**'

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relative clauses: Nihongo ga hanaseru **kodomo**
Japanese NOM can:speak child

'a **child** who can speak Japanese'

articles: (Japanese does not have articles.)

English: 'a/the **child**'

Japanese pronouns and h-reflexives are like nouns in this respect; they take modifiers in the same way as nouns do. Pronouns and c-reflexives in English are different. Compare the following examples in Japanese and English.

adjectives:

60a. **Isogashii anata** no jama wa shi-taku-nai-n
busy you of disturbance TOP do want NEG COMP

desu kedo...
BE but

(Lit.) 'Though I do not want to bother **busy you...**'
?busy you in English.

b. **Muchina watashi** demo sonogurai no koto wa
ignorant I even such of matter TOP

shittemasu.
know

(Lit.) 'Even **ignorant I** know things like that.'
?ignorant I in English.

c. **Gankona kare** wa zettai ayamattarishi-nai.
stubborn he TOP absolutely apologize NEG

(Lit.) '**Stubborn he** would never apologize.'
*stubborn he in English.

d. **Yasashii kanojo** wa yurushitekureta.
gentle she TOP forgave:me

(Lit.) '**Gentle she** forgave me.'
*gentle she in English.

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e. Sono toki watashi wa **muchina jibun** o hazukashii
that time I TOP ignorant self SUB embarassing

to omotta.
QUO thought

(Lit.) 'At the time, I was embarassed for **ignorant myself.**'
*ignorant myself but ?ignorant me in English.

f. I cann't wait to see **sweet little you.**

demonstratives:

61a. Sore wa **kono watashi** ni mo wakar- imasen
it TOP this I to also understand NEG

(Lit.) 'It is not understandable to **this me**, either.'
*this me in English.

b. **konna watashi** ni dare ga shita?
such I to who NOM made

'Who made **such a me**?'
?such a me in English.
(From a popular song of 1940s)

c. **Sono anata** ga sonna koto o shir-anai hazu ga
that you SUB such thing OBJ know NEG NOM NOM

nai.
NEG

'It cannot be that **that you** don't know such a thing.'
*that you in English.

d. Hanashite-iru to, **sono kare** ga yattekita.
talk are then that he SUB came

(Lit.) 'Just when we were talking (about him), **that he** came.'
*that he in English.

e. Suchuwadesu wa jishin kizu o otte- ita ga, **sono**
stewardess TOP self wound OBJ suffer was but that

jibun o mo kaerimizu jookyaku no dasshutsu
self OBJ even consider passengers GEN escape

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o tasuketa.
OBJ helped

(Lit.) 'The stewardess was herself wounded, but without attending to **that herself**, she helped passengers to escape.'
*that herself in English.

f. Kare wa tayoreru mono wa jibun dake da to
he TOP rely thing TOP self only is QUOT

zutto omotte-kita ga, chikagoro wa **sono jibun**
all-along think came but lately TOP that self

saemo tayorinaku natte-kita.
even unreliable became

(Lit.) 'He has thought all along that the only person he can rely on is he himself, but these days he is not even sure of **that himself.**'
*that himself in English.

possessives:

62a. ?watashi no anata
I of you

(Lit.) 'my you'
*my you in English.

b. ?kimi no kanojo
you of she

(Lit.) 'your her'
*your her in English.

c. ?anata no kare
you of he

(Lit.) 'your he'
*your he in English.

d. *watashi/*anata/*kare no jibun
I you he of self

(Lit.) *'my myself/your yourself/his himself'

relative clauses:

63a. [**Nihongo ga hanas-eru**] **kare** wa Nihon ni itte mo
Japanese SUB speak can he TOP Japan to go even

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fujiyuushi- nai.
inconvenience NEG

'**He who can speak Japanese** does not feel inconvenienced in Japan.'

b. Shirayukihime no mama-haha wa [**kagami ni**
Snow White of step mother TOP mirror in

utsutta] **jibun** o sekai-ichi utsukushii to
reflected self OBJ world one beautiful QUOT

omotte-ita.
think was

(Lit.) 'The stepmother of Snow White thought of **herself reflected in the mirror** as the most beautiful in the world.'
*herself reflected... but ?the she reflected ... in English.

c. Kare wa [**moo wakaku-nai**] **jibun** o jikakushite
he TOP any more young NEG self OBJ aware

ita.
was

(Lit.) 'He was aware of **himself who was no longer young.**'
*himself who was ... in English.

articles: (Japanese does not have articles.)

64a. *a/the you
*a/the yourself

b. ?In your new dress you are not **the ordinary you we are used to.**

c. ?I looked at myself in the mirror today, and **the myself** I saw was not **the myself I expected.**

These examples illustrate that Japanese pronouns and h-reflexives, like nouns, take adjectival modifiers, as in (60), demonstrative modifers, as in (61), and relative clauses, as in (63). Quantifiers as prenominal modifiers

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are different, however.[15] Expressions involving prenominal quantifiers such as in (65) are possible with nouns but not with pronouns.

65a. futari no **kodomo**(-tachi)
two GEN child PL

'two **children**'

b. *?futari no **watashi/anata/kare**-tachi
two GEN I you he PL

*'two **I/you/he**'

However, hitori no watashi/anata/kare 'one GEN I/you/he' for the meaning of 'lone I/you/he' or 'I/you/he who am/are/is by myself/yourself/himself' is possible.

In English, the situation is more complex.[16] Nouns take modifers. Between pronouns and c-reflexives, pronouns are more able to take modifers than c-reflexives. As shown in the English glosses in (60) through (64), adjectives may be possible with 1st and 2nd person pronouns. Some more examples of the same sort are embraceable you, stupid me and silly me. These are exclamatory or vocative uses of pronouns, and are not a general, productive pattern, however. As arguments in a sentence, they seem to be better as objects, as in (60a),

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15. This was brought to my attention by P. Munro in one of her comments on an earlier version of this thesis.

16. This was also pointed out to me by P. Munro in her comments on an earlier version of this thesis.

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than as subjects, as in Sweet little you is/*are really going to like this, which is marginal in acceptability. Some speakers do not accept this sentence. Others who accept it marginally prefer is to are. This seems to have to do with the lowered pronominality of the expression you as the result of its taking modifiers like a noun. Normally, pronouns or c-reflexives in English do not take an article, but it is marginally possible for them to take an article, adjective and relative clause in some context, as in (64b, c).[17]

In both Japanese and English, possessive phrases with pronominal or reflexive human possessee, as in (63), are difficult to accept. In Japanese, the difficulty seems to be partly semantic. A human referent possessed by another human referent is a rather difficult situation to conceptualize. This pragmatic difficulty with a possessive reading between human references can be diminished in certain situations such as a master-slave relationship, as in oosama no dorei 'the king's slaves', where slaves are actually 'owned' by a king, or a mother-baby relationship, as in watashi no akanboo 'my baby', where the baby's biological existence is dependent on the care of the mother, or some other sort of closely bonded proprietary or monopolistic relationships such as a

17. I owe these examples to Munro in her comments on an earler version of this thesis.

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marital relationship, as in watashi no otto 'my husband', or the like such as watashi no booifurendo 'my boy friend'. Because of this, the most common interpreration of a possessive interpretation between humans implies possession in a mental sense between people in a more or less binding relationship. It is for this reason that possessive expressions involving a human possossed are taken not in the literal sense of possession but as emphasizing close bondage or affinity between the two NPs, often among family members or people in intimate relationships. Expressions in English such as my Bob, your Betsy, My Wallis from her David (an inscription by the Duke for the Duchess of Windsor, Newsweek: March 30, 1987) are for this same reason viewed as terms of endearment. Such is the case in Japanese also with possessive phrases of personal pronouns. Expressions such as boku no kanojo 'I GEN she' or anata no kare 'you GEN he' are possible in colloquial speech among younger Japanese speakers for the meaning of 'my girl friend' or 'your boy friend (or young husband)' respectively. The acceptability of a possessive phrase with a pronoun improves a great deal and in fact it becomes quite good when it includes some adjective, such as in watashi no daijina anata '(Lit.) my dear you' and kimi no okininiiri no kanojo (ga kita yo) '(Lit.) your favorite she (is coming)'. Possessives with jibun, as in (62d), are also

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odd. But that oddity in Japanese feels more like the semantic incongruity of saying something like 'my myself, your yourself, his himself', which are oddly redundant.

In summary, there is little difference in the co-occurrence properties of nouns, pronouns, and reflexives in Japanese; basically they take the full range of modifiers. If we take the syntactic capacity to take modifiers as typical of nouns and a nominal property on the co-occurrence aspect of pronominality, then, Japanese nouns, pronouns and reflexives are equally nominal in this respect. In English, by contrast, there are noticeable differences in the co-occurrence properties of these classes of referential expressions. Nouns have the full capacity to take modifiers. English pronouns and c-reflexives generally do not take modifiers, though it is easier for pronouns to take modifiers than for c-reflexives. Pronouns and reflexives in Japanese, which take modifiers more freely than their counterparts in English, are less pronominal in this aspect of pronominality. The figure in (66) below summarizes the above.

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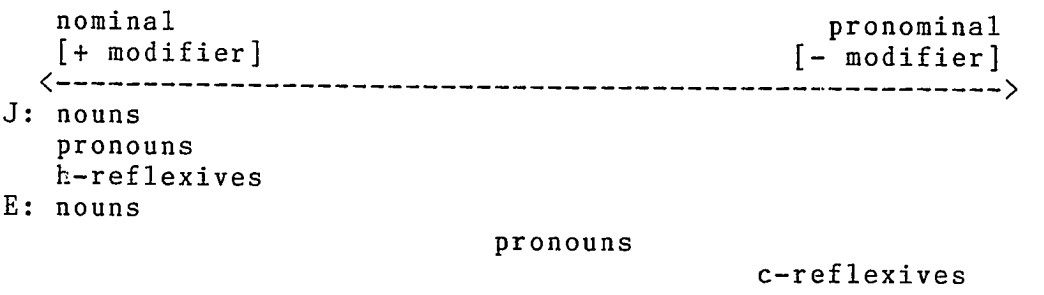
66. Co-occurrence Properties and Pronominality



2.6. Interpretive Characteristics

In addition to the phonological, morphological, semantic and syntactic aspects discussed in the preceding sections of this chapter, nouns, pronouns and reflexives function as referential expressions. In this section, we will discuss some interpretive characteristics of them as referential expressions.

Let us first consider what may be characteristic of the interpretation of a nominal form of reference. As has been pointed out in studies of discourse (Chen 1986, Clancy 1980, Fox 1987, Givón 1983b, Hinds 1983, Li and Thompson 1979, among others), the use of a nominal, pronominal or elliptical form of reference is motivated by various discourse contextual, organizational and/or linear

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factors.[18] Whatever the factors which trigger the choice of a nominal form at a given point in discourse, the interpretation of it is based primarily on its word-internal information.

By way of explanation of this, let us take the simple situation in (67) and (68) below and consider the process of interpretation of a nominal form in comparison with the interpretation of a zero form, both shown in bold face.

67. Mary_i is bright and $\{\mathbf{Jane}_j / \mathbf{\emptyset}_i\}$ courageous.

68. The man_i is bright and $\{\text{the } \mathbf{woman}_j / \mathbf{\emptyset}_i\}$ courageous.

Needless to say, a zero form has no lexical semantic propertoes of its own as part of the input for its referential identification. Its interpretation is based entirely on external factors, whether they may be syntactic, semantic or discourse-pragmatic. In this case,

---

18. Most typically a nominal form of reference is used for the initial mention of a referent. Clancy (1980) reports that in English 32% and in Japanese 29% of all noun phrases in her data were used to introduce new referents. A nominal form also typically marks the beginning of a discourse organizational unit of different sorts. Factors such as change in time or space of episodes, actions vs. comments, shift in point of views, background vs. foreground informations, real vs. story worlds, and so forth combine to comprise discourse organizational boudaries of varying degrees. Clancy finds also that in both English and Japanese, existence of other referents in the immediately preceding context plays a strong role in eliciting nominal forms of reference.

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the elliptical subject of the second clause will be interpreted to be coreferential with the subject of the first clause under the same-subject condition in co-ordinate clauses or, in discourse terms, under the discourse condition of topic continuity of the first subject, Mary in (67) and the man in (68). If, on the other hand, the second clause subject is in a nominal form, such as Jane in (66) or the woman in (67), then its referential interpretation will be different from the zero form because its interpretation is not based on the structural conditions of these sentences but it is critically based on its own semantic information. As a consequence, Jane will not be interpreted as coreferential with Mary in (67) or the woman with the man in (68), as they do not match semantically.

This process of semantic matching is itself independent of syntax or discourse. An example to the point is the word matching exercise in the following, which can take place without a sentence or discourse context.

69. Of the three words below, choose one that shares the most in meaning with the word "mother."

(A) bull (B) woman (C) chair

Semantic properties, which are lexical attributes of each word, are by nature independent of syntax or discourse.

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In this regard, word-internal semantic properties are a syntax and discourse independent basis for a referential interpretation.

Needless to say, this is not to say that the interpretation of a nominal form is based on its internal semantic information only, or that only a nominal form has word-internal semantic information as a basis of its interpreation. Pronouns have some broad semantic properties, which serve as an input and part of the conditions for their referential interpretation. But, since the semantic properties of a pronoun is limited, its interpretation is more susceptible to external conditions than the interpretation of a noun. The point is that, if the referential interpretation of a given form is based on one or more of the different types and sources of conditions, namely, the syntactic conditions of the sentence, sentence-internal or -external semantic conditions, word-internal semantic conditions, and discourse-pragmatic conditions, the interpretation of a zero form is subject to all but word-internal semantic conditions, which it does not have. The interpretation of a pronominal or nominal form will be subject to any of these types of conditions depending on the case. But the interpretation of a nominal form is proportionately more dependent on its own specific word-internal semantic information than on any other type of conditions. A case

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in point is a proper name, whose word-internal semantics is so specific that it is taken to have its own unique referent.

With respect to referential range, the interpretation of a zero form which is entirely dependent on external conditions will be mostly bound in its immediate environment. In contrast to this, a nominal form whose interpretation is less subject to external conditions will be less environment-bound in its interpretation. In this connection, Givón (1983a, b, c) points out that on the average full NPs have a longer referential look-back distance (the number of clauses between an NP and the last covert or overt previous mention of the same referent), zero forms a shorter distance, and pronouns a middle distance. Text-based statistical studies confirm this observation. Both Clancy's (1980) and Chen's (1986) statistics show that the percentage of the use of nominal references over pronominal and zero forms increases as the number of intervening clauses increases. Hinds (1983) shows that, of the three classes of nouns, pronouns and elliptical references in his data, nouns have the longest average referential distance (7.8 clauses) followed by pronouns (5.8 clauses) and elliptical references (1.9 clauses).

To recapitulate, the referential interpretation of a nominal form of reference is primarily a process of

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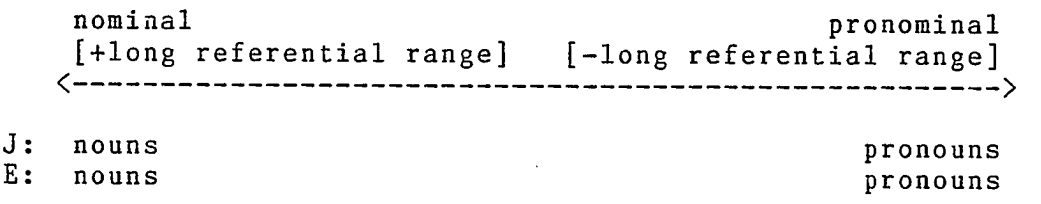
semantic identification between the referential expression and what is known about its referent from the preceding context. The semantic identification is in itself independent of syntactic or discourse conditions. A consequence of this is a long referential distance as a characteristic of nominal reference. Pronouns have a medium referential distance. A short referential distance is a characteristic of zero forms. Figure (70) below summarizes the discussion on the interpretive aspect of nouns and pronouns in this section.

70. Pronominality and Referential Range



How then do h-reflexives in Japanese and c-reflexives in English compare in regard to their interpretive basis and referential range? And, if we take the average referential distance of a subclass of referential expressions as any indicator of the pronominality of the class, then how do Japanese h-reflexives and English c-reflexives compare in this aspect of pronominality? This will be the subject of Chapters 3 and 4 to follow.

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2.7. Summary of CHAPTER II

CHAPTER II discussed morphological, semantic, syntactic and interpretive characteristics of nouns, pronouns and reflexives in Japanese and English in contrast. Those characteristics which are typical of nouns were defined as nominal properties. According to the gradational concept of pronominality (the reverse of nominality) of referential expressions, one which has more of those nominal properties is higher in nominality (i.e., lower in pronominality) and one which has less of those nominal properties is higher in pronominality.

As a lexical class, the class of nouns is a nonfinite set while the class of pronouns is a limited set. In this regard, it is notable that, compared to the sets of pronouns and c(ompound)-reflexives in English, the sets of pronouns and h(ead)-reflexives in Japanese are relatively large, providing a variety of choices with different semantic, implicational and stylistic properties. Comparing simply the sizes of the classes, Japanese pronouns and h-reflexives can be said to be more nominal than the classes of pronouns and c-reflexives in English.

Section 2.2 discussed morphological characteristics of the classes. Nouns tend to stay constant in form and have the capacity to take bound morphemes instead. It can be said in this regard that a referential expression is

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nominal to the extent it has this morphological capacity of taking morphological extensions and that a referential expression is pronominal to the extent that it is limited in this capacity. In Japanese, nouns and pronouns and h-reflexives alike have this capacity to take affixes. In English, there is a distinct difference in the morphological characteristics of nouns and pronouns. Japanese pronouns and h-reflexives are more like nouns than English pronouns and c-reflexives in this morphological aspect of pronominality.

Section 2.3 discussed lexical semantic properties as nominal characteristics. Semantic properties implement the primary function of nouns, which is to define things by naming. By contrast, the primary function of pronouns lies in making reference. For that effect, pronouns have lexicalized referential and discourse dependent properties such as person, number and definitness, but have only broad semantic properties. It can be said, then, that a referential expression is nominal to the extent that it satisfies the function of defining a referent semantically. Conversely, an expression is pronominal to the extent that its semantic content is diminished and referential properties lexicalized. In this semantic aspect of pronominality, among expressions of the same class, one of broad meaning can be said to be relatively higher in pronominality than another of more specific

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meanings. Some words of broad meanings, such as hito in Japanese or personne in French, which are normally regarded as nouns, actually have pronominal uses.

Section 2.4 discussed implicational properties as extensions of smantic properties of nouns. In this regard, a referential expression with implicational properties can be said to have residual nominal characteristics, and to that extent it is less pronominal in the implicational aspect of pronominality. Multiple Japanese pronouns, which are differentiated in use by such implicational properties, can be said less pronominal compared to English pronouns, which do not have such properties.

Section 2.5 discussed the syntactic aspect of pronominality. With syntactic distribution as a criterion of promoninality, a nominal characteristic is defined in Section 2.5.1 as the capacity of an expression to occur in all cases. In this regard, nouns, pronouns and h-reflexives in Japanese, none of which are limited in this distributional capacity, can be said to be equally nominal. Nouns and pronouons in English are not limited in this distributional capacity, and are equally nominal. English c-refelxives, however, are narrowly limited in this capacity. This limitation of English c-reflexives makes them distinctly more pronominal in the distributional aspect of pronominality.

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In terms of syntactic co-occurrence, a nominal characteristic is defined in Section 2.5.2 as the capacity to take the full range of modifiers. Japanese nouns, pronouns and h-reflexives share this nominal characteristic more than English subclasses do.

Section 2.6 compared the basis of referential interpretation and referential range of the subclasses. The interpretation of a referential expression may be based on semantic, syntactic and/or pragmatic conditions. The primary basis of the interpretation of a nominal form is its word-internal semantic information. The other side of this interpretive characteristic of a nominal form is that its interpretation is less dependent on syntax or discourse conditions, which are external to itself. From this it follows that a nominal form of reference is able to have a long referential distance extending beyond its immediate discourse or syntactic context. The opposite of this is the case of a zero form, which does not have its own internal semantic information and is entirely dependent on external conditions for its interpretation. As a result, its referential distance is characteristically closely limited to its immediate context. Pronominal forms of reference are somewhat intermediate between nominal and zero forms of reference with respect to the basis of interpretation and referential distance. They utilize both internal and

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external conditions for interpretation, and their average referential distance is somewhere intermediate between those of nominal and zero forms of reference. Taking the interpretive basis and referential distance of an expression as some indicator of its referential pronominality, an expression which has a long referential distance is more nominal, and an expression which has a short referential distance is more pronominal in the referential aspect of pronominality.

Figure (71) below summarizes these nominal and pronominal properties along the continuum of morphological, semantic, syntactic and referential aspects of pronominality.

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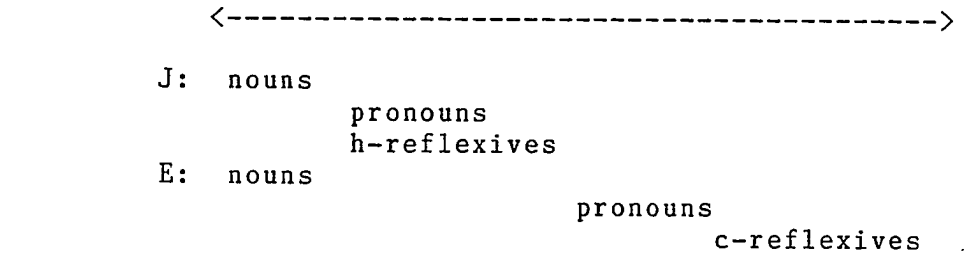
71. Aspects of Pronominality

	Nominal	Ponominal
Lexical Class	[+open class]	[-open class]
Morpho. Properties:	[+mor. constant]	[-mor. constant]
	[+mor. extension]	[-mor. extension]
Semantic Properties:	[+sem. specific]	[-sem. specific]
	[+imp. properties]	[-imp. properties]
Referen. Properties:	[+nonlexical g. p.]	[-nonlexical g. p.]
	[+nonlexical g. n.]	[-nonlexical g. n.]
Syntactic Properties:	[+all syn'tic roles]	[-all syn'tic roles]
	[+modifiers]	[-modifiers]
Inter. Properties:	[+long ref. dis.]	[-long ref. dis.]



Overall, our discussion in this chapter has revealed that the subcategories of referential expressions, "nouns", "pronouns" and "reflexives", in English are noticeably more distinct than their counterparts arein Japanese.

Across the two languages, the class of nouns is categorically similar. They are an open set of lexical entries, tend to be constant in form and affixable, semantically specific, have implications, do not have lexicalized grammatical number and person, can occur in

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all cases, can co-occur with modifiers, and have a long range of reference.

Pronouns in both languages are a small set, have lexicalized referential properties (grammatical person and number), occur in all cases, and have a medium referential distance. But Japanese pronouns and English pronouns are distinctly different in the morphological, implicational and syntactic aspects. Japanese pronouns are the same with nouns in their morphological and syntactic capacities. English pronouns are disctinctly different from nouns in these aspects of propnominality. In general, Japanese pronouns are more nominal than English pronouns.

Reflexives in both languages are the most different from each other. Japanese h-reflexives are much more like nouns (less pronominal) than English c-reflexives. English c-reflexives are distinctly more pronominal than English nouns and pronouns.

The findings summarized above make the classes of nouns, pronouns and reflexives in Japanese and English fall roughly in the order shown below with respect to their overall pronominality:

J./E. nouns > J. pronouns/reflexives > E. pronouns > E. reflexives

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with high nominality to the left and high pronominality to the right. The degrees of pronominality as discussed in this chapter are relative among the subclasses of referential expressions and among individual expression. A class (or an expression) which is higher than other class (or an expression) in a certain aspect of pronominality may be lower than that class (or that expression) in other aspect of pronominality. In spite of some possible conflicts in the pronominality of any two classes (or expressions), there is a noticeable correlation among the aspects of pronominality of the three subclasses of referential expressions in the two languages. A certain degree of pronominality in one aspect of pronominality of a class (or an expression) is predictive of a corresponding degree of pronominality in other aspects of pronominality of the class (or an expression).

In the next two chapters, I will discuss how the pronominality of Japanese and English reflexives as they are discussed in this chapter may be reflected in the interpretive aspect of pronominality.

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CHAPTER III. COMPOUND REFLEXIVES IN ENGLISH

3.0. Introduction

CHAPTER II on pronominality of referential forms discussed morphological, semantic, referential and syntactic aspects of the subcategories of referential expressions in Japanese and English in comparison. In this chapter, I will focus on the interpretive aspect of English c-reflexives and argue for a functional explanation for the relationship between their form and interpretation.

3.1. Nominal and Pronominal References and the C-command Condition

To start with, let us consider Chomsky's (1982) proposal of the binding conditions A, B and C, which are meant to explain, in the simplest cases, the referential

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relationship between the first and second NPs in each of the sentences below.[1]

1a. **John** defended **John.**
 b. **John** defended **him.**
 c. **John** defended **himself.**

For our present purposes, the configurational condition in all these sentences is such that the first NP c-commands the second NP.[2] In (a), the second noun is noncoreferential with the c-commanding first NP. In (b), the pronoun is noncoreferential with the c-commanding first NP. In (c), the reflexive NP is coreferential with the c-commanding first NP.

This interpretive pattern generally holds in the corresponding Japanese sentences as shown below.

---

1. With respect to referential indexing, Chomsky (1982) divides nominal expressions into three subcategories of:
   (1) anaphors
   (2) pronominals
   (3) R(eferential)-expressions.

   For each of these categories, there is an "indexing principle":
   (A) An anaphor is bound in its governing category.
   (B) A pronominal is free in its governing category.
   (C) An R-expression is free.

   A is "bound" if A is an argument NP coindexed with a c-commanding argument NP; if not bound, it is "free."

2. A simplified definition of c-command is as follows (cf. Reinhart 1983).

   A c-commands B iff the first branching node dominating A dominates B, and A does not dominate B, nor B, A.

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2a. **Taroo** wa **Taroo** o bengoshita.
Taroo TOP Taroo OBJ defended

'**Taroo** defended **Taroo.**'

b. **Taroo** wa **kare** o bengoshita.
Taroo TOP he OBJ defended

'**Taroo** defended **him.**'

c. **Taroo** wa **jibun** o bengoshita.
Taroo TOP self OBJ defended

'**Taroo** defended **himself.**'

The interpretive parallelism between the Japanese and English sentences above leads to identifying jibun as an "anaphor" in Japanese, since, like the English c-reflexive it is coreferential with the c-commanding first NP. However, this approach to referential conditions on NPs as a ternary set of complementary interpretive categories runs into difficulty in accounting for some obvious empirical facts in the overall treatment of reference.

Japanese has the emphatic -jishin 'self' which can be suffixed to a NP, as in

3a. **Anata-jishin** ga iki-nasai yo.
you self SUB go IMP SP

'(I tell you that) **you** go **yourself.**'
'Why don't **you** go **yourself**?'

b. **Daitooryoo-jishin** ga sore o mitometa.
president self SUB it OBJ admitted

'**The President himself** admitted it.'

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Now when this -jishin is suffixed to the second noun and pronoun in the sentences in (2a, b) above, they can be coreferential with the c-commanding first NP, as in (4a,b) below.[3]

4a. **Taroo$_i$** wa **Taroo$_i$-jishin** o bengoshita.
Taroo$_i$ TOP Taroo$_i$ self OBJ defended

(Lit.) '**Taroo$_i$** defended **Taroo$_i$ himself.**'

b. **Taroo$_i$** wa **kare$_i$-jishin** o bengoshita.
Taroo$_i$ TOP he$_i$ self OBJ defended

(Lit.) '**Taroo$_i$** defended **him$_i$-self.**'

Cf.

c. **Taroo$_i$** wa **jibun$_i$-jishin** o bengoshita.
Taroo$_i$ TOP self$_i$ self OBJ defended

'**Taroo$_i$** defended **himself$_i$.**'

One might say that the coreference above is attributable to the function of -jishin acting as a "reflexive" morpheme. However, that claim cannot be maintained in a case where a noun alone in a position which satisfies the syntactic c-command condition for noncoreference can be coreferential with the first NP, as in the following examples cited from Evans (1980).

5a. Look, fathead. If everyone loves Oscar's mother, then certainly **Oscar** must love **Oscar**'s mother.
(Evans' (47), p.356)

---

3. This use of jishin is different from the use of jishin as one of the stylistic variants of h-reflexives in Japanese given in Chapter II. In the compound expression NP-jishin, it is taken to be an emphatic adjunct.

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b. I know what John and Bill have in common. John thinks that Bill is terrific and **Bill** thinks that **Bill** is terrific.

(Evans' (49), p.356)

c. Everyone here admires someone on the committee. Joan admires Susan, Mary admires Jane, and **Oscar** admires **Oscar**.

(Evans' (53), p.357)

How can the coreferential possibility in (4a, b) and and (5) can be explained? What does the emphatic -jishin do to change the referential possibility between the paired NPs in (4a, b)? Is the morphological similarity between the English reflexives, as in (1c), and Japanese emphatic compounds, as in (4a, b), relevant at all to an explanation of the referential similarity between them. How can the reference of the emphatic pronominal compound, kare-jishin, in (4b) be explained? These are the questions I will address in the rest of this chapter.

3.2. Referential Possibilities of Nouns and Pronouns

How can we explain our first inclination to take the nominal and pronominal NPs in sentences (1a, b) and (2a, b) as noncoreferential, and also explain the coreferential readings of (4) and (5) at the same time? Obviously, a syntactic approach will not do since the sentences in (1), (2) and (5c) present exactly the same syntactic conditions. As an alternative approach to the question, I will present a functional explanation based on the

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principle of markedness correspondence of form and reference.

This functional explanation first hypothesizes that both nouns and pronouns in the second NP position in these sentences have the potential to allow both coreferential and noncoreferential interpretations with the first NP. For reasons that I will discuss later, the coreferential potential of a noun or pronoun in this position is a marked reference under normal discourse circumstances. Under this hypothesis, the referential indexing of the NPs in the sentences (2a, b) will be represented as in (6a, b) below, where ">" means that the referential index at the open end of ">" is "unmarked" and preferred or overt and the referential index at the closed end of ">" is "marked" and covert or the unpreferred of the two potential references.

6a. **Taroo**$_{i}$ wa **Taroo**$_{j>i}$ o bengoshita.

'**Taroo**$_{i}$ defended **Taroo**$_{j>i}$.'

b. **Taroo**$_{i}$ wa **kare**$_{j>i}$ o bengoshita.

(Lit.) '**Taroo**$_{i}$ defended **him**$_{j>i}$.'

Note: English does not allow the coreferential interpretation $\underline{him}_{i}$ in the above sentence. This will be discussed later in Section 3.3.

Any number of factors may be relevant to the interpretation of a given NP in a sentence in some discourse context. But limiting our discussion now to the

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single, isolated sentence in (6a), let us consider what may be relevant to determining the referent of the second Taroo, given the information available in this sentence only.

It is important to recognize, first of all, that (6a) is an anomalous sentence by the standard norm of our language use, whether the two Taroos may be taken to be coreferential or noncoreferential. It is a kind of sentence one would normally not produce or find himself having to interpret. The first spontaneous reaction of any speaker of the language to this sentence would be one of puzzlement. The reason for the abnormality of the sentence lies in the fact that it gives notably conflicting messages, so much so that to discuss the interpretive possibilities of such a sentence is not to debate in which reading this sentence is natural, but to debate why this sentence is unnatural in either of the alternative readings we may take. What are the conflicting messages about this sentence that cause us feel uncomfortable about this sentence?

A number of both discourse-based and sentence-internal reasons can be considered for favoring a coreferential or noncoreferential interpretation of the two NPs in question. The first is the transitive predicate of the sentence, bengoshita 'defended' as a force for a noncoreferential interpretation. Most transitive verbs

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are "extroverted" as opposed to "introverted" (Haiman 1982). Extroverted verbs are those verbs whose objects are typically distinct from their subjects, such as (one) kicks (another), (one) sees (another), and (one) accuses (another). Introverted verbs are those verbs whose objects in the normal circustances are the same as their subjects. Cross-linguistically, Haiman notes, verbs of grooming and chage of posture are in this class, such as in English (one) shave (oneself), (one) dresses (oneself), and (one) sits (himself) down. The coreferential objects of those verbs are normally inexplicit. The distinction between extroverted transitive verbs and introverted transitive verbs is a pragmatic one (therefore, it may be different depending on social or other pragmatic conditions). But the great majority of transitive verbs are extroverted. As a verbal category then, a transitive verb's unmarked object is a noncoreferential object. Let us call this implication of a transitive verb about the reference of its object with reference to its subject a verbal interpretive implication: an unmarked object of a transitive verb is one that is noncoreferential with the subject. This is a verb-based, sentence-internal implicational factor for noncoreference between the two NPs in question.

There are discourse-based implicational factors. As noted earlier (in footnote 16, Section 2.6, Chapter II),

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the use of a nominal form of reference in discourse typically implies (a) a new referent, (b) a switched/discontinuous referent, or (c) a referent at the beginning of a discourse boundary of some sort. (More than one of them may apply at the same time. For instance, a referent could be a new referent and a switched referent in relationship to some preceding referent, and it may be at the beginning of a new paragraph in a narrative.)

Taking the sentence in (6a) to be complete by itself with no context assumed outside of the sentence itself, the first instance of Taroo is a typical case where the nominal interpretive implication (a) above is true about its referent. That is, this instance of Taroo is the first mention of the referent i. Since this is a single sentence standing by itself, text based referential implications (b) and (c) are irrelevant concerning this first Taroo.

Then, with reference to the second Taroo, both nominal implications (a), a new referent, and (b), a switched/discontinuous referent, are discourse-based interpretive forces for noncoreference between the two Taroos. Since there is no discourse organizational boundary within a sentence, the implication (c) is irrelevant here. For the interpretation of the two Taroos in (6a), then, both nominal and verbal interpretive

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implications are positive forces for a noncoreferential reading of the sentence.

On the other hand, the standard norm of language use is such that identical proper names have the same, unique referent through a coherent piece of discourse. The expected interpretation of two identical names is that of coreference unless otherwise specified by differential remarks like the other John, the older John, another John, John, the father, John Brown, Sr. and so forth. This pragmatic consideration is a force favoring a coreferential interpretation of the two Taroos in this sentence. For convenience of reference, I will call this interpretive implication a pragmatic referential implication of a proper name: under normal circumstances of discourse, identical proper names imply the same referent.

The unusualness of this sentence is due to the fact that whichever interpretation is taken, it has to be taken against an interpretive implication or implications which suggest(s) the opposite. Given a sentence like (6a) with conflicting interpretive implications, the interpretive choice is a relative decision to take the more likely of the available choices. The point is that, for this reason, this sentence feels oddly ambiguous to many readers. The interpretation of (6a) is not as clear cut

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as the c-command based configurational prescription for a disjoint reference makes it appear.

Now, taking the emphatic compound form, Taroo-jishin, in (4a), let us consider why the emphasis reverses the interpretive preference of the second Taroo, and favors the coreferential interpretation of the object over the noncoreferential interpretation in this sentence. In order to consider this question, I must leave this particular sentence for a while and discuss the iconicity principle and markedness notion in linguistics in the next section.

3.3. Iconicity and Markedness

The specific aspect of the general iconic principle that is relevant to our concern here is the correspondence between the phonological size and accessibility of the referent, as Givón (1983b) pointed out in connection with his claim about correspondences between linguistic forms and reference. He observes that the more accessible a referent the less coding material it requires. The following scale from Givón correlates zero, pronominal and nominal forms of reference along the continuum of accessibility of referents:

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more continuous/accessible

zero anaphora
unstressed/bound pronouns ('agreement')
stressed/independent pronouns
full NP's

more discontinuous/inaccessible topics

The chart represents the correspondence between the phonological aspect of zero forms, pronouns and nouns as coding devices and their referents' accessibility. Zero forms have the minimum (zero) phonological size. Phonologically, the class of nouns is more complex than the class of pronouns. All English pronouns are monosyllabic while English nouns can have several syllables. To compare the average phonological size of nouns and pronouns, I made a simple quantitative comparison. Random samples of 43 nouns, the first (personal) noun appearing in every fifty pages of a comprehensive English dictionary (Kenkyuusha 1960), were selected, and the average number of morphemes and phonemes in a noun was computed and compared with the average number of morphemes and phonemes of seven English pronouns (in the nominal case): I, we, you (sing.), you (pl.), he, she, they. English nouns have 2.30 morphemes and 7.28 phonemes on the average; English pronouns have 1.00 morpheme and 3.29 phonemes on the average. Japanese pronouns are notably larger in phonological size, e.g., wata(ku)shi 'I', anata 'you', kanojo 'she'. To compare

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them with the class of nouns, 46 nouns were sampled in the same method from a comprehensive Japanese dictionary (Niimura 1974), and their average phonological size was compared with that of seven commonly used Japanese pronouns: wata(ku)shi 'I', boku 'I', anata 'you', kimi 'you', kare 'he', kanojo 'she'. Japanese nouns have 2.04 morphemes and 6.67 phonemes on the average; Japanese pronouns have 1.57 morphemes and 5.14 phonemes on the average.

Now, along with the iconic principle is the notion of "markedness" that has been utilized in linguistic accounts of sound, form, meaning and syntax. The convention of markedness has its history of different applications in linguistics, but, generally speaking, markedness is a binary notion of the marked vs. unmarked of two opposing entities relating to a linguistic phenomenon (or, it could be a ternary notion if neutrality in markedness is included). The type of opposition may vary, but "marked" generally refers to that item of the oppositon which is characterized by the existence of some mark in the relevant convention of markedness, and "unmarked" refers to the other item of the opposition which is characterized by the absence of such a mark.

For example, markedness may concern a distributional opposition with the distributionally more "restricted" as the marked and the "less restricted" as the unmarked (cf.

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Troubetzdoy 1967). Or, as in generative phonology, the unmarked may mean the "expected" or universally "natural" or "unless otherwise mentioned" property/ies in regard to some given property/ies or environments (cf. Chomsky and Halle 1968). Or, the unmarked may be the "zero" or "absent" form and the marked the "explicit" or "added" form in a paired opposition, such as the morphological coding of singular vs. plural, or present vs. past as in English Ø vs. -(e)s for number and Ø vs. -ed for tense. Or, as with sentence types, the unmarked may be the "basic," most "common" or "simple" ones of the oppositions, such as the indicative vs. interrogative, positive vs. negative, and active vs. passive sentences. Or, as in semantic marking, the markedness oppostion may be that of "more specific" vs. "less specific" or "generic" in sense. For example, the plural man in a generic sense of [±male], as in All men must die, is more general and unmarked relative to men [+male] and women [-male], as in All men and women must die (Lyons 1979).

When this notion of markedness opposition is applied to referential interpretation, the expected or most likely referent is the [-marked] one and other unexpected or less likely referents are [+marked] referents. Applying this markedness convention to the phonological aspect of the referential forms, the phonologically zero (absent) form is the phonologically [-marked] form, corresponding to a

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predictable, [-marked] referent. The class of nouns, which is phonologically the most complex of the classes of nouns, pronouns and zero forms, is the phonologically [+marked] form, corresponding to a hard to predict [+marked] referent. The class of pronouns, which is phonologically intermediate between the other two classes, is [±marked], corresponding to referents which are intermediate and [±marked] in predictability.[4] Between the two classes of nouns and pronouns (not considering zero forms for comparison), nouns are the phonologically [+marked], and pronouns are the phonologically [-marked], class.

To apply the markedness convention to the semantic aspect of these classes, zero forms, which are void of semantic content, are semantically [-marked], corresponding to the referential -markedness of their referents and phonological -markedness of the form. Nouns as a class, which is semantically the most specific of the the classes, are the [+marked] class, corresponding to their referential and phonological +markedness. Pronouns as a class, which are semantically intermediate between zero forms and nouns, are semanticaly [±marked], corresponding to their referential and phonological

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4. Although the phonemic size only (cf. Section 4.2) does not determine markedness in phonology, it is sufficient here for our puposes to show a contrast in the phonological sizes of the classes.

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±markedness. Between the two classes of nouns and pronouns, nouns are [+marked], and pronouns are [-marked].

In summary, underlying the correspondence between the phonological aspect of the referential forms and predictability of their referents is the principle of diagramatic iconicity between signs and meanings (cf. Peirce 1932). In addition to this sound-referent iconic correspondence, there is also the semantic aspect of the correspondence. The three-fold correspondences among the referential, phonological and semantic aspects of the classes of nouns, pronouns and zero forms are shown below using the markedness notion to characterize the oppositions among the three classes of referential forms.

7.

high accessibility of referents	referents	phonological complexity	semantic specificity
↑ zeros	: -marked	-marked	-marked
pronouns	: ±marked	±marked	±marked
↓ nouns	: +marked	+marked	+marked
low accessibility of referents			

The broad generalization to be drawn from the above is: reference to a [+marked] referent takes a phonologically and semantically [+marked] means of reference; reference to an intermediate, [±marked], referent takes a phonologically and semantically [±marked]

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means of reference; and reference to a [-marked] referent takes a phonologically and semantically [-marked] means of reference. In other words, there is a markedness correspondence among the referential, phonological and semantic aspects of the oppositions of the classes of nouns, pronouns and zero forms.

In line with this generalization is a remark by Haiman (1980) that "increased morphological complexity is an icon of increased semantic complexity. ... markedness is iconically motivated: categories that are marked morphologically ... are also marked semantically (p.528)." Including the morphological contrast of the classes, the markedness correspondence above may be restated such that there is a markedness correspondence among morphological, phonological, semantic and referential aspects of the classes of nouns, pronouns and zero forms. A [+marked] referent tends to take morphologically, phonologically, semantically [+marked] means of reference. With this generalization in mind let us now go back to the examples and the question that we left at the end of Section 3.2.

3.4. Markedness Correspondence Between Form and Reference

The question we left in Section 4.2 was why the emphasis reverses the interpretation of the sentences in (6) and (4), repeated below:

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6a. **Taroo**$_i$ wa **Taroo**$_{j>i}$ o bengoshita.
Taroo^i TOP Taroo$^{j>i}$ OBJ defended

'**Taroo**$_i$ defended **Taroo**$_{j>i}$.'

b. **Taroo**$_i$ wa **kare**$_{j>i}$ o bengoshita.
Taroo^i TOP him $^{j>i}$ OBJ defended

(Lit.) '**Taroo**$_i$ defended **him**$_{j>i}$.'

4a. **Taroo**$_i$ wa **Taroo**$_i$**-jishin** o bengoshita.
Taroo^i TOP Taroo^i self OBJ defended

(Lit.) '**Taroo**$_i$ defended **Taroo**$_i$ **himself.**'

b. **Taroo**$_i$ wa **kare**$_i$**-jishin** o bengoshita.
Taroo^i TOP he ^{i} self OBJ defended

(Lit.) '**Taroo**$_i$ defended **him**$_i$**-self.**'

c. **Taroo**$_i$ wa **jibun**$_i$**-jishin** o bengoshita.
Taroo^i TOP self ^{i} self OBJ defended

(Lit.) '**Taroo**$_i$ defended **himself**$_i$**-self.**'

In (6a, b), the preferential interpretation of the second NP is that of noncoreference with the first NP. In (4a, b), the second NP compounded with the emphatic -jishin is interpreted as coreferential with the first NP.

According to the principle of markedness correspondence between form and reference discussed in the preceding section, a highly marked reference calls for a highly marked form of reference in production while a highly marked form of reference indicates a highly marked reference in interpretation. By this principle, if the +markedness of a proper noun alone is not +marked enough in form to imply a highly [+marked] object referent, then adding some semantic and/or phonological [+marked]

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element(s) to a bare nominal form would increase its +markedness and affect its referential probability.

Now the difference between (4a) and (6a) is the added -jishin to the proper noun. -jishin is an emphatic morpheme, which at the same time increases the phonological size and it is usually accompanied by some degree of emphatic stress also. With these semantic, morphological and phonological [+marked] elements added to the single form of a proper noun, the degree of +markedness of the referential form is noticeably increased. The increased +markedness of the compound nominal form is an interpretive force favoring the [+marked] of the two possible object referents. Following the indexing convention adopted in (6a), where the interpretive possibilities of the second noun were shown as $\underline{\text{Taroo}}_{j>i}$, the interpretation of the compound form in (4a) will now be shown as in (8):

8. **Taroo**$_i$ wa **Taroo**$_{(j>i)}$**-jishin**$_i$ o bengoshita.
   Taroo$_i$ TOP Taroo$_{(j>i)}$ self$_i$ OBJ defended

   (Lit.) '**Taroo**$_i$ defended **Taroo**$_i$ **himself.**'

This indicates that, when the referential form is the proper noun alone, the non-coreferential object referent j is the [-marked] and preferred referent by the verbal and discourse based referential implications (as discussed in Section 3.2), and the coreferential referent i is the

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[+marked] and unpreferred referent, as in (6a), but that, when the emphatic -jishin is added, the referential preference is reversed so that the [+marked] referent i, is now the chosen interpretation over the [-marked] referent j. The result is a coreferential interpretation of the two Taroos.

Similarly, in (6b) with a simple pronoun in the second NP position, the interpretive implication based on the transitive verb of the sentence makes a noncoreferential interpretation of the object the [-marked] and preferred, same as in (6a). Unlike (6a), where the proper noun has the semantically motivated interpretive force for coreference with other occurrence(s) of the same name, the pronominal kare 'he' in (6b) indicates only that its referent is a known male referent, which includes the referent i of the subject Taroo.

Adding the emphatic -jishin to the pronoun in (6b) produces the sentence in (4b). The added emphasis places a focus on the marked object referent and reverses the referential choice, as shown in (9) below.

9. Taroo$_i$ wa **kare**$_{(j>i)}$**-jishin**$_{i>j}$ o bengoshita.
   Taroo$_i$ TOP he self OBJ defended
   (Lit.) 'Taroo$_i$ defended **him**$_{(j>i)}$**-self**$_{i>j}$.'

The referent i of the first Taroo is one of the possible known referents of the object pronoun, but it is a marked

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referent by the verbal implication which prefers an object different from its subject. The added emphatic -jishin calls attention to the normally unpreferred coreferential object.

(10a) below shows that emphasis, whether by an explicit morpheme, by stress, or by contrast in the context (usually accompanied by some amount of contrastive stress), does make a difference in the interpretive choice.

10a. **Taroo**$_i$ wa **kare**$_{i>j}$ ni toohyooshite, **Hanako**$_k$ wa
Taroo^i TOP he$_{i>j}$ for vote Hanako^k TOP

kanojo$_{k>1}$ ni toohyooshita.
she$_{k>1}$ for voted

(Lit.) '**Taroo**$_i$ voted for **him**$_{i>j}$ and **Hanako**$_k$ voted for **her**$_{k>1}$.'

b. **Taroo**$_i$ wa **kare**$_{j>i}$ ni toohyooshita.
Taroo^i TOP him$_{j>i}$ for voted

(Lit.) '**Taroo**$_i$ voted for **him**$_{j>i}$.'

c. **Hanako**$_i$ wa **kanojo**$_{j>i}$ ni toohyooshita.
Hanako^i TOP she$_{j>i}$ for voted

(Lit.) '**Hanako**$_i$ voted for **her**$_{j>i}$.'

Though the difference is very subtle, it is easier to get a coreferential reading in each of the conjoined clauses in (10a) than it is in each of the independent clauses in (10b, c). The reason for this is that the pronouns in (10a) are contextually in contrast to each other and receive some amount of contrastive emphasis.

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Recall also the examples in (5) from Evans, which would all be read with some contrastive emphasis on the second NP in question. Another example of emphasis by simple stress affecting the reference of a pronoun is in (11) below from Akmajian and Jackendoff (1970).

11a. John_i hit Bill_j and then George_k hit $\textbf{him}_{j>i}$. (untstressed him)

b. John_i hit Bill_j and then George_k hit $\textbf{him}_{i>j}$. (stressed him)

In the normal reading of the sentence with no stress on him, him refers to Bill rather than John by the parallel analogy between the coordinate clauses (some other third person not considered). That is, in the normal reading, Bill_j is the unmarked and John_i is the marked reference of $\text{him}_{j>i}$. But when him is stressed, the referential preference is reversed so that the marked John_i rather than the unmarked Bill_j is the chosen interpretation.

In the case of (6c), which has the reflexive jibun combined with emphasis, jibun-jishin, the interpretation does not change, because the reflexive form itself chooses the reflexive referent_j of the verb. (The interpretive conditions of reflexive jibun is the subject of the next chapter.) The addition of -jishin redundantly adds more emphasis to the referent of the reflexive.

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Taking the Japanese compound form of a NP plus emphatic -jishin as an example, I have shown in this section that emphasis calls forth a marked interpretation, an interpretation which would otherwise be an unpreferred interpretation in a given context. What, then, does the markedness correspondence of form and reference as illustrated above tell us about compound reflexives in English? Let us consider this question in English next.

3.5. Compound-Reflexives in English

We noted earlier in Section 2.4, CHAPTER II, that Old English did not have what is presently known as the lexical "reflexive" category in English. Instead, it used ordinary pronouns for both nonreflexive and reflexive references, as in (58a) in Section 2.5.1, CHAPTER II, repeated below in (12), or it used an emphatic adjective self along with a pronoun to specifically mean coreference, as in (59) in Section 2.5.1, CHAPTER II, repeated below in (13).

12. He_i ofsticode **$hine_{i,j}$**.
    (Lit.) 'He_i killed **$him_{i,j}$**.'
13. He_i ofsticode **$hine_i$ selfne.**
    (Lit.) 'He_i killed **$him_{i,*j}$ self.**'

Apparently, there is a functional parallel between the emphatic jishin in Japanese and the emphatic self in (13)

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above. A question one might ask is since the Japanese jishin and the Old English self are emphatics, why should they not be used with non-object nouns or pronouns. And, in fact, Japanese jishin is used with non-object NPs as well, as in (3a, b) in which the NP is the subject (Section 3.1, this chapter), and (14) below, in which the compound form is in the genitive case.

14. Kare wa **kare-jishin** no zaisan o motte-iru.
he TOP he self of property OBJ have is
'He has **his own** property.'

The difference between Japanese and English is that in Japanese the emphatic compound is a productive pattern; -jishin combines with a pronoun or noun of any case. In Modern English, it is no longer a productive pattern; self can only be combined with a pronoun in the (direct, indirect or prepositional) object role, and the morphological form of the head pronoun has been lexicalized (cf. Section 2.5.1, CHAPTER II). In other words, the English c-reflexives are morphological derivatives of object case pronouns for the specific referential purpose of calling attention to the otherwise marked, unpreferred and covert referent of the object pronoun through the mechanism of markedness correspondence between form and reference as discussed in Section 3.4. English c-reflexives are a proper subclass of English

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ordinary pronouns morphologically, semantically (the same semantic properties as the pronouns), referentially (the same grammatical person and number as the pronouns), distributionally (limited to the [+object] case), and interpretively (the [+marked] of the potential pronominal referents).

Modern English grammar does not allow a corresponding form to the Japanese example in (9), an ordinary pronoun with a semarate emphatic morpheme, or the interpretive possibility "j>i" of the pronoun because by the end of the Middle English period the emphatic compound form was lexicalized and grammaticalized so that it formed a complementary opposition to the single pronoun him for coreference vs. noncoreference in these sentences (cf. Section 2.5.1, CHAPTER II). Consequently, a form like him self is archaic in Modern English and a form like him, himself in one NP position in contradiction to the complementarity in reference of the ordinary him and the compound himself is not possible in English, as in (15) below. (Note: Himself in this example must not be read as a right dislocated himself which originates in the nominative case, as in He said so himself.)

15. *John$_i$ defended **him$_j$ himself$_i$**.

The correspondence between the marked, compound pronominal form and the marked, coreferential object and

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the resultant complementarity in reference between the ordinary and compound pronouns are grammaticalized rules in English in such a way that they apply uniformly through all grammatical persons, not only the 3rd but also 1st and 2nd persons alike, even though it is a given rule of discourse that, unlike a 3rd person referent, the 1st and 2nd person referents are constant within a sentence. To illustrate,

16a. I_i went back to **my**$_{i,*j}$ home.

b. You_i went back to **your**$_{i,*j}$ home.

c. He_i went back to **his**$_{i,j}$ home.

17a. *I_i hit **me**$_{i,*j}$.

b. I_i hit **myself**$_i$.

18a. *You_i hit **you**$_{i,*j}$.

b. You_i hit **yourself**$_i$.

(16a, b) illustrate the constancy of the 1st and 2nd person referents in comparison to the variability of reference of a 3rd person pronoun in (16c). In (17a) and (18a) also, so far as the reference of the 1st and 2nd person pronouns is concerned, it is unambiguously clear, yet these sentences are ungrammatical in English. This is in contrast to German, which has a 3rd person reflexive, sich, as in (19) but uses an ordinary pronoun for the 1st or 2nd person reflexive reference, as in (20) and (21).

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19a. Hans$_i$ sah **ihn**$_j$.
Hans^i saw him^j

'Hans$_i$ saw **him**$_j$.'

b. Hans$_i$ sah **sich**$_j$.

Hans saw himself

'Hans saw **himself**.'

20. Ich sah **mich**.
I saw me

(Lit.) 'I saw **me** (= myself).'

21. Du sahst dich.
you saw you

(Lit.) 'You saw **you** (= yourself).'

In Japanese, reflexive references are normally expressed by the person-free reflexive jibun, as in (22a). But, given the right context, it is possible to express a reflexive reference appropriately by an ordinary 1st person pronoun, as in (21b, c).

22a. Watashi wa **jibun**$_i$ o mita.
I TOP self^i OBJ saw

'I$_i$ saw myself [= **self**$_i$].'

b. Watashi wa sonna **watashi(-jishin)** ga iya ni
I TOP such I self SUB dislike to

natte shimat- ta.
become COMPLETION PAST

(Lit.) 'I have come to dislike such **me** (= myself).'

b. Soo hanashite iru aida, watashi wa 20-nen mae
so speak is while I TOP 20 years before

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to wa mohaya onaji-dewanai **watashi** o
from CONT no longer same- NEG I OBJ

hakkiri-to ishikishite ita.
clearly aware was

(Lit.) 'While talking so, I was fully aware of **me** who was no longer the same as 20 years ago.'
'While talking so, I was fully aware of myself, no longer the same one as 20 years ago.'

The English compound pronoun, however, can co-occur, although not quite good, with nouns in the object case, as in (4a), repeated in (23) below.

23. ?John$_i$ defended **John$_i$ himself.**

The very fact that nominal John and himself can marginally co-occur without a referential conflict as in *(15) is evidence that in English also a nominal form in this syntactic position does have the potential to refer to the c-commanding NP, although it may be a covert reference under normal circumstances.

As the independent emphatic self of Old English was lost and fixed in the compound form, that lexicalized compound form itself became an emphatic in Modern English. As an emphatic, it can occur totally irrespective of reflexive reference in the nominative case, as in (24), and then right dislocated, as in (25), in the prepositional object case, as in (26), or in the predicate nominal case, as in (27).

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24a. I **myself** said so.
b. He **himself** said so.

25a. I said so, **myself.**
b. He said so, **himself.**

26a. I spoke to her **herself.**
b. John spoke to you **yourself.**

27a. She is beauty **itself.**
b. You are selfishness **itself.**

Where there is no reflexive vs. nonreflexive opposition between alternative referents, the "emphatic" purpose of the compound form is more apparent. The "reverse" effect of referential preference is the most noticeable when there is a sharp contrast between markedness of alternative referents such as in the case of objects coreferential vs. noncoreferential with the subject. For this remarkable effect of emphasis on interpretive choices, the compound form has come to be known more for its dramatic reflexive effect rather than for its basic function of reflexive or nonreflexive emphasis. As the result, the definitive label of this compound form now is a "reflexive pronoun" rather than some other names such as "emphatic pronoun" (Sweet 1891) or "intensive pronoun", which are expressive of the original function of the compound form, or the simply descriptive, "compound pronoun" (Ishibashi 1973). Viewed in this light, it becomes clear that the reflexive function of the compound form is something to be

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considered in connection with the effect of emphasis in the matter of reference and not vice versa as the phrase "emphatic uses of a reflexive pronoun" or "emphatic reflexive pronoun" errorneously suggests, or as the question is often posed, "why a reflexive pronoun has an emphatic use" when the question should in fact be "why the emphatic pronoun has a reflexive function."

3.6. Obligatory and Non-obligatory Uses of C-Reflexives

Let us now see when in English the c-reflexive is required and when it is optional and when it is not possible at all, and consider how that may be explained from the functional point of the correspondence between the markedness of the form and the markedness of its reference.

First, it is obligatory as a coreferential object of a transitive verb, as shown by the same sentence type exemplified in (1c) in our earlier discussion.

29a. John$_i$ killed ***him**$_i$/**himself**$_i$.
b. John$_i$ defended ***him**$_i$/**himself**i.
c. John$_i$ saw ***him**$_i$/**himself**$_i$.
d. Someone$_i$ shot ***him**$_i$/**himself**$_i$.
e. The antenna$_i$ hit ***it**$_i$/**itself**$_i$ (as it broke).
f. History$_i$ repeats ***it**$_i$/**itself**$_i$.

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A c-reflexive is obligatory as a coreferential dative object of a ditransitive verb:

30a. John$_i$ gave ***him**$_i$/**himself**$_i$ a present.

b. John$_i$ sent ***him**$_i$/**himself**$_i$ a present.

c. John$_i$ bought ***him**$_i$/**himself**$_i$ a present.

31a. John$_i$ gave a present to ***him**$_i$/**himself**$_i$.

b. John$_i$ sent a package to ***him**$_i$/**himself**$_i$.

c. John$_i$ sent a present for ***him**$_i$/**himself**$_i$.

A c-reflexive is obligatory as a coreferential prepositional object of a group of verbs which may be called quasi-transitive verb:[5]

32a. John$_i$ listened to ***him**$_i$/**himself**$_i$.

b. John$_i$ talks to ***him**$_i$/**himself**$_i$.

c. John$_i$ looked at ***him**$_i$/**himself**$_i$.

d. John$_i$ doesn't care for ***him**$_i$/**himself**$_i$.

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5. For cross-language comparison, many verbs in this group in English are transitive verbs in Japanese which take direct objects. For example:

a.	to look for (a person)	'(hito)	o	sagasu'
		person	OBJ	look:for
b.	to wait for (a person)	'(hito)	o	matsu'
				wait
c.	to care for (a person)	'(hito)	o	suku'
				like
d.	to look at (a person)	'(hito)	o	miru'
				look:at
e.	to listen to (the radio)	'(rajio)	o	kiku'
		radio		hear

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It is obligatory as a coreferential prepositional object of a cognitive adjective:

33a. John$_i$ is suspicious of ***him**$_i$/**himself**$_i$.

b. John$_i$ is fond of ***him**$_i$/**himself**$_i$.

c. John$_i$ is in love with ***him**$_i$/**himself**$_i$.

d. John$_i$ is doubtful of ***him**$_i$/**himself**$_i$.

On the other hand, either a c-reflexive or an ordinary pronoun is possible for a coreferential locative NP with a transitive verb:

34a. John$_i$ pushed the plate away from **him**$_i$/**himself**$_i$.

b. John$_i$ sat his friend near **him**$_i$/**himself**$_i$.

c. John$_i$ pulled the rope toward **him**$_i$/**himself**$_i$.

d. John$_i$ pulled the blanket over **him**$_i$/**himself**$_i$.

(Kuno 1987 (9.21), p.66)

e. John$_i$ spilled the gasoline all over **him**$_i$/**himself**$_i$.

(Kuno 1987 (9.24), p.67)

f. John$_i$ hid the book behind **him**$_i$/**himself**$_i$.

(Kuno 1987 (9.17), p.66)

With some speakers of English, a c-reflexive is not possible in the following prepositional phrases:

35a. John$_i$ put the problem behind **him**$_i$/***himself**i.

b. John$_i$ has an air of aloofness about **him**$_i$/***himself**$_i$.

(Kuno 1987 (9.14, p.65)

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c. John$_i$ has no gumption in **him$_i$/*himself$_i$**.

(Kuno 1987 (9.16), p.65)

Lastly, a c-reflexive is obligatory for a coreferential locative NP with an intransitive verb:

36a. The chair$_i$ fell on ***it$_i$/itself$_i$**.

b. The ivy is growing all over ***it$_i$/itself$_i$**.

c. The wire coiled around ***it$_i$/itself$_i$**.

Those objects for which a c-reflexive is obligatory, as in the examples in (29) through (33), are objects of extroverted activities under normal circumstances. For example, transitive actions, as in (29), are directed typically toward external objects. So are ditransitive activities, as in (30) and (31), and quasi-transitive activities, as in (32), and cognitive activities expressed by adjectives in English, as in (33). As a consequence, a coreferential object is a marked object. Reference to a marked object requires a marked form of reference.

The extrovertedness of a (physical or mental) activity is just one factor which determines the markedness status of an object referent with respect to the subject referent. However, this being the major and consistent factor about markedness of an object referent, languages tend to grammaticalize the markedness correspondence of

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form and reference for this NP on the basis of this particular factor, as we just saw above in English.[6]

The prepositional object of a locative phrase, as in (34), is not in a transitive relationship with the subject referent. Extrovertedness of the transitive activity of the predicate as the basis for the markedness differentiation of reference is not, therefore, applicable to a non-argument locative NP. For this reason, there is no strong markedness opposition between the coreferential and noncoreferential interpretations of the locative NP. Accordingly, both coreferential and noncoreferential interpetations are possible for an ordinary pronoun and the compound form not obligatory for coreference in the locative case.

Two other different types of locative phrases are in the examples in (35) and (36). Some speakers who comfortably accept either an ordinary or compound pronoun in the locative phrases in (34) find the compound pronoun unacceptable in (35). In (34), there is no apriori semantic reason in the sentence for the locative NP to be the same or different from the subject NP. In contrast to this, the prepositional object NPs in the figurative locative phrases of (35) necessarily have reflexive reference for the semantic reasons of the sentences. For

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6. Cf. Hopper and Thompson (1980) for a discussion of the role of transitivity in the grammar of language.

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example, one cannot 'have an air of aloofness about somebody else' nor 'have gumption in somebody else'. Since there is no nonreflexive referential option here, the reflexive reference is the unmarked reference and there is no markedness contrast or role for a compound form to play for a referential reversal. To those who reject the reflexive form in (35), the use of the compound form in such a situation is not an option but unacceptable.

Now in (36) on the other hand, the reflexive form is obligatory. Note that the predicates in these sentences are intransitive. At least in the same sense as the locative phrases in (34) and (35), there is no transitivity between the subject NP and the locative NP in (36). Consider that in (34), where there is nothing in the sentence which semantically restricts the reference of the locative NP in one way or the other, and there is not a strong preference between the two referential possibilites with the subject, the reflexive form is optionally possible for the weakly marked coreferential option. In (35), where the semantics of the sentence makes only a coreferential prepositional object NP possible, the reflexive form is not an option but unacceptable (at least with some speakers). In (29) through (33), where the semantics of the sentence itself allows either a coreferential or noncoreferential object

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but the coreferential object is distinctly marked by the extrovertedness of the transitive action of the predicate, then the reflexive form is a must for such a coreferential (direct or prepositional) object. Now in (36), the semantics of the sentence does not dictate the locative NP to be coreferential or noncoreferential with the subject of the intransitive action of 'falling' or 'crawling' or 'coiling'. Things may fall on top of themselves or on other things, or crawl over themselves or over other things, or coil around themselves or other things. But pragmatically speaking, in this world things more often fall on other things than on themselves, crawl over other things than over themselves, and coil around things other than themselves. By this pragmatic likelihood or normalcy standard, the coreferential locatives in these sentences are clearly marked and must be in the emphatic compound form.

To conclude the discussion in this section, an obligatory, optional, or non-use of an English c-reflexive is relevant to the factors summarized as below:

First, whether both coreferential and noncoreferential [+object] NPs are possible for the sentence.

Second, if both are conceivably possible, then whether there is a difference in probability of the two possibilities on some semantic/pragmatic basis (or bases).

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Third, if both are conceivably possible and if a coreferential object NP is markedly lower in probability, [+marked], then English grammaticalizes the use of a c-reflexive form for such a [+marked] coreferential object and the use of an ordinary pronoun for a [-marked] noncoreferential objects (as in (29) through (33) and (36)).

Forth, if both are conceivably possible and if there is not marked difference in their probability, then English does not grammaticalize the use of a c-reflexive form for such a [$_{+}$marked] coreferential object, and there is no referential complementarity between the c-reflexive and ordinary pronoun in such a case. An ordinary pronoun may be used either for a coreferential or noncoreferential object (as in (34)).

Fifth, if both are not possible and if the only possible object is the coreferential one, then English grammaticalizes (with some speakers) or prefers (with other speakers) the use of an ordinary pronoun for such a coreferential object, and the interpretation of the ordinary pronoun is necessarily coreferential (as in (35)).

There are cases in which both coreferential and noncoreferential objects are conceivable, and a noncoreferential object is higher in probability on some

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basis but a coreferential object is higher in probability on some other basis. Examples are

37a. He_i shaved $\begin{Bmatrix} him_j \\ himself_i \\ \emptyset_i \end{Bmatrix}$.

b. I got up quickly and dressed $\begin{Bmatrix} her_j \\ myself_i \\ \emptyset_i \end{Bmatrix}$

The objects in these sentences are marked on the basis of shave and dress as transitive verbs, but they are unmarked on the pragmatic basis of introvertedness of grooming activities. In such a case, the overt expression of the objects are in the marked c-reflexive form according to the semantic basis of the verbs, but they are often in the unmarked zero form by the pragmatic basis of the grooming activities (Haiman 1982).

The principle underlying the rules of the use and interpretation of c-reflexives in English is the iconic principle between form and meanings which, in our markedness terms, assign a referential form of a given markedness value to a referential meaning of a corresponding markedness value. The markedness of a referent is a collective value which hinges on what is basically the pragmatic judgement of what is expected or normal, etc. based on any number of relevant semantic, pragmatic or discourse contextual factors.

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3.7. Summary

In this chapter I have focused on giving a functional explanation for the operating principle of English c-reflexives.

First, we took note of the morphological, semantic and interpretive parallel between English c-reflexives and Japanese pronouns combined with emphatic -jishin. What is common between them is the role of emphasis in the referential interpretation of a NP with respect to another NP with which it may be be coreferential or noncoreferential.

The conditions on the use and interpretation of English c-reflexives derive from two sources, the pronominal source as the head and the emphatic source as the adjunct, reanalyzed as a reflexive morpheme if reflexivity is involved in the case.

The source of the distributional restriction on the c-reflexive is the pronominal head which has the case property [+object] (Section 2.5.1, Chapter II). This restriction is not shared by the emphatic compound of NP-jishin in Japanese, in which the head NP does not have such a case property.

As for the interpretive condition, it was hypothesized first that a pronoun has in principle the potential to refer to any clause-internal as well as clause-external

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NP. Based on the principle of markedness correspondence between form and reference, it was argued that the emphatic adjunct places a referential focus on the marked of the potential referents of the [+object] pronoun, as represented by $NP_{(j>i)}$-$self_i$.

The functional account of the English c-reflexives presented in this chapter has several advantages over a formal approach to the subject in question.

First, it is able to incorporate into the account the morphological, phonological, semantic, syntactic and interpretive aspects of the c-reflexives through one conherent notion of markedness correspondence of form and reference.

Second, it is able to give a principled explanation for the conditions on obligatory, optional and non-use of the c-reflexives for an intended reference.

Third, it can not only incorporate into the account the so-called nonreflexive uses of the same compound pronominal form in English but also the explanation can be extended crosslinguistically to give a unified explanation for the morphological and interpretive typology of reflexives.

In the next chapter, I will discuss conditions on the interpretation of the Japanese h-reflexive, jibun. Then, in the final chapter, I will summarize a comparison between Japanese and English nouns, pronouns and

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reflexives in terms of the pronominality of referential expressions.

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CHAPTER IV. JIBUN: THE HEAD REFLEXIVE IN JAPANESE

4.0. Introduction

As mentioned briefly in CHAPTER II on pronominality, jibun has three uses, a "nominal" use, a "pronominal" use and a "reflexive" use. In the next three sections, I will describe first the word's nominal, pronominal and reflexive uses, and then I will discuss how these aspects of the word may be related in terms of its pronominality as a referential form. This approach to reflexive jibun will provide a coherent explanation for the morphological, semantic, syntactic, and functional characteristics of jibun as a head reflexive in Japanese in contrast to a compound reflexive as in English.

4.1. Nominal Jibun

As a noun, jibun means 'self' and related concepts, depending on the context, such as 'self-identity', 'sense of self', 'self recognition', 'subjecthood', 'the "I"', 'ego', and so forth. Morpho-semantically related to jibun are words like jiko, jishin, mizukara, and ono(re), all of which are also used as reflexives (as illustrated in Section 2.1, CHAPTER II). The semantic ranges of these words, including jibun, overlap for the most part and there is much synonymy in the way they are used, as can be

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seen in the examples given below. Differences among them are mostly stylistic and idiomatic.

1a. Geijutsu wa **jiga/onore/mizukara/jiko/jishin/jibun** no
art TOP ego self self self self self of

hyoogen ni-hoka-naranai.
expression is nothing but

'Art is nothing but an expression of one's own **self.**'

b. Ningen wa ganrai **jiko/jibun-chuushin** desu
human:beings TOP by:nature self self center is

kara...
since

'Since human beings are by nature **self-centered...**'

c. Watashi wa nandemo **jiga/jiko/jibun-ryuu** ni yatte
I TOP anything self self self style in do

shimaimasu.
finish

'I do everything in a **self-styled** way.'

d. Hito wa gaikoku ni iku to **jibun** (to
person TOP foreign country to go when self COMP

yuu mono) o miushinau koto ga aru.
call thing OBJ lose sight COMP SUB is

'When people go to a foreign country, it happens sometimes that (they) lose their own **selves/self-identity.**'

e. Ano hito wa totemo **jibun** (to yuu mono) ga
that person TOP very self COMP call thing SUB

shikkarishite-iru.
firm is

'He has a very well established **self-identity.**'

Hirakouji (1973) gives the following two sentences as examples of generic use of jibun.

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f. Ano-hito-wa **jibun**-toyuumono-ga ari-sugite
that-man-theme self-generic-subj exist-excessive

fukoo-ni natta.
unhappy-adv has-become

'That man has become unhappy because of his too great **subjecthood.**'

(Hirakouji's (7c), p.19)

g. Ano-hito-ni-wa **jibun**-toyuumono-ga nai.
that-man-dat-theme self-generic-subj nonexistent

'That man doesn't have anything that you may call **his own.**'

(Hirakouji's (7e), p.19)

The notion of "self", the "I," or "ego" that the nominal jibun denotes has certain semantic implications. The semantic definition of the nominal "self" is given as follows (Webster 1965):

"the integrated unity of subjective experience specifically including those characteristics and attributes of the experiencing organism of which it is reflexively aware."

By the very definition of the word as a mental notion, it entails some semantic properties such as [+animate], [+alive] and [+conscious], for the obvious reason that the sense of self does not apply to inanimate, dead, or unconscious objects which do not have senses. Furthermore, it is also not difficult to relate the notion of "self" to more abstract implications such as [+subjectivity] and [+viewpoint]. I will return to discuss these implications as conditions on the use of jibun as a referential expression later in Section 4.3.2.

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For now let us go to the next section for the use of the word as a "pronoun."

4.2. Pronominal Jibun

Sometimes jibun is used like a pronoun. This use of the word has never been discussed in Japanese linguistic literature. If it was mentioned at all on rare occasions, it was done so in passing in a footnote to put it aside as a "1st person pronoun," as such, of little linguistic interest and to ignore it in the discussion on reflexive jibun.[1] In this handling of the subject, "pronominal" jibun and "reflexive" jibun are assumed to have distinct referential functions and little in common beyond their obvious etymological connections.

I must cast doubt to this view, and contend instead that they share the fundamental referential function. The principle that governs the reference of reflexive jibun is fundamentally the same as the principle that governs pronominal jibun. The much debated, controversial issues concerning the Japanese reflexive jibun (vis-a-vis English reflexives) can be understood when we consider them in a more comprehensive frame of reference including pronominal

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1. For example, Kuroda (1965) notes: Zibun [= jibun] is to be taken as one form of the 1st person noun in a particular sytle or social dialect (p.155). For example it is well known that zibun was used as the first person noun in the Japanese armed forces (p.163).

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jibun. To discuss this further, let us first take a closer look at what may be called pronominal jibun.

What is usually meant by jibun as a 1st person pronoun is the use of the word by a male in reference to himself both in speaking and writing. Only a very small portion of Japanese speaking men use it as the primary form of reference to themselves.

What has never even been mentioned is the use of jibun by both genders in an emphatic context referring to the 1st, 2nd or 3rd persons. But, for our discussion of jibun as a referential expression, we must start with this seemingly rather insignificant use of the word

4.2.1. Pronominal Jibun In Conversation

Let me first give some examples of those emphatic uses of jibun in both male and female speech.

2. Speaker$_i$: Kekkyoku wa **jibun$_i$** ga warui n da
after all TOP self$_i$ SUB bad COMP is

kara, kono sai shikata ga nai (wa).
since this time way SUB NEG SP

(Note: The sentence final particle wa is in parentheses because it is used by female speakers only.)

'After all, I [= **self$_i$**] am to blame, so there is nothing that can be done now.'

3. Speaker$_i$: Hoka no mono wa betsu to shite, kore
other GEN things TOP aside COMP put this

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wa **jibun** no idea na no yo.
TOP self COMP idea is COMP SP

'Other things aside, this is my own [= **self**$_i$'s] idea.'

4. Speaker$_i$: Sooyuu koto wa **jibun**$_i$ demo yoku wakatteru
such thing TOP self even well know

n desu.
COMP be

'I [= **self**$_i$] am well aware of it myself.'

Such uses of jibun for the speaker himself/herself are somewhat emphatic compared to using some other lexical 1st person pronoun such as watashi (unstressed), in the sense that jibun implies 'my own', 'no other one but me', 'of all the people' and so forth if used by speakers who would normally use other 1st person pronouns. And these utterances are typically made in a conversational context as are all of the examples above.

How are these occurrences of jibun understood to refer to the speaker? Given just these lines as utterances of the speaker, there is no other possible referent available in the context except the speaker himself/herself. Jibun is then referentially associated with the 1st person.

In the following examples, jibun refers to the 2nd person also with some sense of emphasis. (Note: The numerical subscripts, 1, 2, and 3, in the following examples and elsewhere in this thesis indicate 1st, 2nd and 3rd person referents respectively.)

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5. Speaker A: Kyoo wa tomodachi ni kuruma o kashite
today TOP friend to car OBJ lend

iru.
is

'(I) let my friend have (my) car today.'

Speaker B: Sorede **jibun**$_2$ wa doo suru no?
then self$_2$ TOP how do COMP

'What do you yourself [= **self**$_2$] do then (without a car)?'

6. Speaker A: Dareka ocha o irete-kure-nai ka
someone tea OBJ make give NEG INT

na.
WONDER

'(I) wonder if someone will make tea (for me)?'

Speaker B: **Jibun**$_2$ ga ire- nasai yo.
self$_2$ SUB make IMP SP

'You [= **self**$_2$] do it yourself.'

7. Speaker A: Dooshite konna koto ni natta no ka
why such thing to become COMP INT

shira.
WONDER

'(I) wonder how it ended up like this.'

Speaker B: **Jibun**$_2$ ga fuchuui datta kara desu
self$_2$ SUB careless was because is

yo.
SP

'It's only because you [= **self**$_2$] were careless.'

8. Speaker A: Kore wa watashi no sakuhin desu.
this TOP I GEN work is

'This is my work.'

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Speaker B: Maa, hontooni minna **jibun**$_2$ ga shita no?
my truly all self SUB did COMP

'My, did you [= **self**$_2$] really do it all yourself?'

In these examples, jibun refers to the 2nd person with a sense of emphasis on the referent like 'but what do you yourself do without a car' in (5), 'why can't you get up and fix tea for yourself' in (6), 'it's no one else's but your own fault' in (7), or 'do you mean to say that you actually did it all by yourself' in (8).

How are these cases of jibun interpreted to refer to the 2nd person? In (5), the speaker A talks about having his/her car lent to some third person for the day. The speaker B askes what then jibun is going to do. Obviously from the context of B's question, jibun is not B himself/herself. Then, given the second person A and an indefinite 3rd person referent who has A's car and the context of the conversation, the referent of jibun is pragmatically understood as the 2nd person. In (6), the speaker A wonders if anyone would mind fixing tea for him/her. Speaker B suggests (in the form of a mild order) that jibun himself/herself should do so. This imperative response excludes the speaker B from being the referent, leaving the 2nd person only as the possible referent. In (7), the speaker A wonders how something ended up the way it did. The speaker B comments that it is jibun's own

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fault. From the context of the conversation, the referent is more appropriately the 2nd person A than the 1st person B. Similarly in (8), the speaker A shows something which he/she has made. The speaker B marvels asking if it was really all done by jibun. From the context again, B himself/herself could not be the referent, but it must be the 2nd person, who created the piece of work. In (5) through (8), jibun is referentially associated with the 2nd person when the 1st person is not available as a possible referent for some pragmatic reasons in the context.

If some third person is the topic, taking "topic" in the broad sense of the concern of the speech act, jibun can refer to that third person, as in the following examples.

9. Speaker A: Kore wa **shujin**$_i$ no sakuhin desu.
this TOP husband GEN work is

'This is my **husband**$_i$'s work.'

Speaker B: Maa, kore o minna go- **jibun**$_i$ ga
my this OBJ all HON self SUB

nasatta n desu ka?
did COMP is INT

'My, did he [= **self**$_3$] do it all himself?'

10. Speaker A: Ano **hito**$_i$ wa itsumo watashi ni tanomu
that person TOP always me to ask

no yo
COMP SP

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'**He**$_i$ always asks me (to do things).'

Speaker B: **Jibun**$_i$ ga sureba ii-noni ne.
self $_i$ SUB did would be good SP

'He [= **self**$_i$] should do it himself.'

11. Speaker A: (The mother of an infant talking to a 2nd person who is anxious to help the infant clothe himself.)

Kamaw-anaide kudasai. **Jibun** ga yarimasu
bother NEG REQUEST self SUB do

kara.
because

'Please don't bother (to help). He/she [= **self**$_3$] can do it himself/herself.'

Although the examples above were given in conversational contexts, they do not have to be in dialogs. The same use of jibun referring to a 3rd person can be found, of course, within an utterance of one speaker. For example:

12. Speaker A: **Shujin**$_i$ wa hito o yonde nomu no
husband TOP people OBJ invite drink COMP

ga sukina n desu. Soredeite **jibun**$_i$ wa
ga like COMP is yet self $_i$ TOP

amari noma- nai n desu yo.
so drink not COMP is SP

'**My husband**$_i$ likes to invite people and drink with them at home. And yet, he$_i$ himself [= **self**$_3$] doesn't drink so much.'

13. Speaker A: **Anata**$_i$ wa ryoori-o-suru no ga suki
you $_i$ TOP cook COMP OBJ like

desu nee. Sore nanoni **jibun**$_i$ wa
are EXCLAMATION that despite self $_i$ TOP

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amari tabe-nai no ne.
not so eat NEG COMP SP

'**You** really like to cook. And yet, you [= **self**$_2$] don't eat much.'

14. Speaker A: **Yamada**$_i$-san wa kodomo-tachi ni sorezore
Yamada$_i$ TOP child PL for each

atarashii kuruma o katte-yatta no yo.
new car OBJ buy gave COMP SP

Dakedo **jibun** wa aikawarazu furui kuruma
yet self TOP still old car

ni notte-iru wa.
on get is SP

'**Mrs. Yamada**$_i$ bought a new car for each of her children. Yet she$_i$ [= **self**$_3$] still drives (her) old car.'

As the above examples in (8) through (13) show, if a 3rd person is in some sense the conversational concern, he/she may then be identified as jibun's referent. (9) is a copy of (8) except that watashi no sakuhin 'my work' in (8) is replaced by shujin no sakuhin '(my) husband's work' in (9), introducing a 3rd person into the context. The speaker B's response is exactly the same as in (8), but in the context of (9), jibun refers to the 3rd person who made the piece of work. In (11), a nonlinguistic context is assumed in which the attention of the people engaged in the conversation are directed toward a 3rd person, an infant learning to dress himself/herself. Both the 1st and 2nd persons being out of the focus of the attention of the conversation, the referent is the 3rd person infant,

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though he/she is not linguistically represented in the context of the conversation. In (12) through (14), the referent of jibun is the 3rd person topic of the same speaker's speech.

What are we to make of the reference of jibun as exemplified in these examples? In the first group of examples, (2) through (4), the referent is the 1st person in the absence of any particular referent in the explicit linguistic context. In the second group of examples, (5) through (8), it was the 2nd person in the context which obviated the 1st person as the referent for some pragmatic reasons. In the third group of examples, (9) through (14), the referent was the 3rd person in the context in which the 3rd person was in some sense the concern of the conversation. The process of identifying the referents of these jibuns is by the pragmatic "1st person first, the 2nd person second, and the 3rd person third" principle, which means that in the absence of a specified referent either explicit or implicit in the context and other things being equal, the speaker himself is the most likely referent of jibun, the hearer is the second most likely referent, and the 3rd person the third most likely

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referent.[2] Such a 3rd person that may be referred to by jibun is in some pragmatic sense the focus of the conversational concern.

Let us next see instances of pronominal jibun in writing.

4.2.2. Pronominal Jibun In A 1st Person Narrative

2. Another kind of linguistic instance which attests to this "me first" pragmatic principle in the referential aspect of language use is the interpretation of a zero form reference. In a Japanese conversation, for example, an initial exchange of greetings is typically like the following:

   i. A: O- genki desu ka?
      HONORIFIC fine am/are/is INTERROGATIVE
      'Fine?'

      B: Genki desu.
      fine am/are/is
      'Fine.'

   Without mentioning the referent in the first inquiry, it is understood to be a question about the 2nd person. In this context of an inquiry, the possibility of the 1st person being the topic referent is excluded because of the obvious pragmatic reason that the speaker=1st person himself would not ask a question of this sort about himself.
   If the inquiry were meant to concern some third person, then this referent would have to be explicitly mentioned unless it was clear from context, such as

   ii. Go-shujin wa o- genki desu ka?
      husband TOP HONORIFIC fine is INT
      'How is your husband?'

   Also, concerning the priority of the 1st person in the speech act, Cooper and Ross (1975) gives the "Me First" principle as a general semantic condition on the conjunct ordering: First conjuncts refer to those factors which describe the prototypical speaker. See also Friedman (1976) for the priority of 1st person reference in sign language.

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As a practice, the 1st person pronominal jibun is used in narratives by male writers for male 1st persons. The choice of jibun over other lexical 1st person pronouns available in the language is a question of individual taste for some intended literary or sylistic or other implicational effects. A stylistic impression of jibun as a 1st person pronoun is that it is rather rigid, self-focused, or serious. It is perhaps for this stylistic reason that jibun is never used for a female 1st person in a narrative.

(15) and (16) below illustrate the 1st person pronominal jibun in narratives. Both passages are the initial passages of the novels from which they are taken.

15. Kore wa 21-nen mae no hahashi dearu. Shikashi
this TOP year ago GEN story is but

jibun ni wa wasure-rare-nai hanashi dearu.
self to TOP forget can NEG story is

Jibun ga Nonomura o hajimete tazuneta no wa
self SUB (name) OBJ first visited COMP TOP

25 no toki datta. ...
GEN when was

'This goes 21 years back. But, to me [= **self**$_1$] this is something that is unforgettable. It was when (I) was 25 years of age that I [= **self**$_1$] visited Nomomura for the first time. ...'

(Mushakooji 1955, p.125)

16. Kono 7-gatsu 31-nichi wa saku-nen umarete 56-nich-
this month day TOP last year born day

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me ni shinda saisho no ko no 1-shuuki ni
th on died first GEN child GEN anniversary as

atatte-ita. **Jibun** wa haka- mairi no tame Abiko
fall was self TOP grave visit GEN sake (place)

kara hisashiburide jookyooshita. ...
from after a long absence came up

'The 31st of July was the first anniversary of the first child, who died last year on the 56th day after (his) birth. I [= $\textbf{self}_1$] came out to Tokyo from Abiko after a long time for a visit to (his) grave.'
(Shiga 1969, p.312)

Since, unlike other lexical 1st person pronouns, jibun has both "pronominal" and "reflexive" uses, the question might be how a given use of jibun is recognized as pronominal or reflexive, or whether there are cases where it is ambiguous between the pronominal and reflexive uses.

To discuss this, let us first take the example in (15). The first use of jibun in this narrative appears in the dative case in the second sentence: 'But, to self this is something unforgettable'. There is no other human referent in the preceding context. The next use of jibun appears as the subject of the third sentence: 'It was when (I) was 25 years of age that I [= jibun] visited Nonomura for the first time'. This sentence contains another human NP, Nonomura, but it cannot have the same referent as jibun for obvious pragmatic reasons in the context of one referent (jibun) visiting another referent (Nonomura) for the first time at age 25. In the absence of any associable referent in the context, these instances of

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jibun, which is in itself free of grammatical person, are associated with the primary referent in the speech act in general, that is, the speaker=1st person himself. Similarly, in (16), the first sentence provides introductory information that a newborn baby died a year ago. Then comes the first use of jibun as the subject of the next simple sentence, with no possible antecedent NP in the context: 'I [= jibun] came out to Tokyo from Abiko ...'. Consequently, the reader associates this use of jibun with the speaker=1st person himself as a first approximation. At this point, these narratives are assumed or recognized by the reader as "first person narratives," in which the chosen form of reference to the speaker himself is jibun. Once this is recognized, then jibun will be regarded as a 1st person pronoun consistently through the narratives.

Recall the spoken examples (2) through (4) given earlier, in which jibun was identified with the speaker himself/herself. The process of referential identification of jibun used in a fictional first person narrative mirrors the process of identifying jibun as the 1st person in conversational speech. In either conversation or fictional narratives, these instances of jibun were all in an "antecedentless" context. By antecedentless I mean an absence of an identifiable antecedent in the explicit linguistic context. The

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referent of such an instance of jibun must then be sought outside of the realm of linguistic signal. When jibun is used in an antecedentless context, it is associated with the speaker/narrator himself by the pragmatic principle of the primacy of the 1st person in the speech act.[3] This the first step of the interpretive process of jibun in a speech act, including both conversations and 1st person narratives. Conversations and 1st person narratives have in common that they have a 1st person speaker.

The difference between jibun in speech and in writing is that in speech few people use it as the regular form of reference to themselves. Yet it is possible for both males and females to use it to refer to themselves with some sense of emphasis. This emphatic use is not limited to the 1st person, but it applies to the 2nd and 3rd persons also. In writing, it is not as rare to find jibun used as a regular 1st person pronoun for males (that is, used consistently for the 1st person reference in emphatic or nonemphatic context).

---

3. In connection with the primacy of the 1st person=speaker, note Banfield's (1982) Priority of SPEAKER: If there is an I, I is coreferential with the SELF. In the absence of an I, a third person pronoun may be interpreted as SELF (p.93). Also, Kuno's (1976) Speech-Act Participant Empathy Hierarchy: It is easiest for the speaker to empathize with himself; it is next easiest for him to express his empathy with the hearer; it is most difficult for him to empathize with the third party, at the exclusion of the hearer or himself: Speaker $\geq$ Hearer $\geq$ Third Person.

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Now how do readers tell the 1st person pronominal jibun from reflexive jibun in 1st person narratives as exemplified above? That will be our next question.

4.2.3. Pronominal or Reflexive Jibun

Given the "1st person first" principle for the referential identification of jibun, there could be cases in a 1st person narrative (or in a real conversational speech) where the interpretation of jibun is ambiguous between the "pronominal" one and the "reflexive" one. (At this point, I am assuming the conventional formal description of reflexive jibun such as that it refers to the subject of the sentence.)

The examples in (17) through (19) below present such instances of jibun. (The reference of jibun to the 1st person is indicated by the subscript 1.)

17. **Otoko no ko**$_i$ wa myoona me de **jibun**$_1$ o mita.
male GEN child TOP queer eye with self OBJ saw

Kaoiro no warui, atama no hachi no hiraita,
complexion GEN poor head GEN bowl GEN open

myoona ko da to omotta. Jibun$_1$ wa iyana
strange child is QUO thought self TOP unpleasant

ki ga shita.
feeling SUB had

'The **boy**$_i$ looked at me [= **self**$_1$] with (his) queer eyes. (I) noticed that (he) was a pale complexioned, flat headed, strange kid. I [= self$_1$] felt displeased.'

(Shiga 1969, p.362)

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18. **Otsuru-san**$_i$ wa **jibun**$_1$ no kao o mite warai nagara
(name)$_i$ TOP self$_1$ GEN face OBJ see laugh as

mitsu-gumi o mae e susumete, ichi-ban ue no
three set OBJ forward to push most top one

ni ippai tsuida.
in full poured

'Looking at my [= **self**$_1$'s] face and laughing, **Otsuru**$_i$ put the three-set (of bowls) forward, and filled the top bowl full.'

(Shiga 1969, p.378)

19. Hajimete **C-ko**$_i$ ga kita no wa 24-ka datta.
first (name)$_i$ SUB came COMP TOP day was

Mae ni 24-kka ni kuru to yuu hagaki o
before on day on come QUO say postcard OBJ

yokoshite, sono hi gogo 3-ji han goro
sent that day afternoon o'clock half about

C-ko$_i$ wa **jibun**$_1$ no uchi ni kita no datta. Sono
(name)$_i$ TOP self$_1$ BEN home to came COMP was that

hi gogo **jibun**$_1$ no tokoro ni **Takao**$_k$ to
day afternoon self$_1$ GEN place to (name)$_k$ and

Nagasawa$_1$ ga kite ita. Jibun$_1$ wa futari ni ima-ni
(name)$_1$ SUB came was self$_1$ TOP two to anytime

onna no hito ga kuru kamo-shire-nai to itta.
woman GEN person SUB come may QUO said

'It was the 24th that **C-ko**$_i$ came for the first time. Having sent a postcard beforehand saying that (she) would come on the 24th, **C-ko**$_i$ came to my [= **self**$_1$'s] house around 3:30 p.m. that day. That day in the afternoon, **Takao**$_k$ and **Nagasawa**$_1$ were visiting my [= **self**$_1$'s] place. Self$_1$ told the two that a woman might come any time soon,'

(Mushakooji 1970, p.6)

In these examples, jibun's referential interpretation is potentially ambiguous between the 1st person pronominal interpretation and the reflexive interpretation referring

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to the subject NP of the sentence in which it is found. In these examples, all instances of jibun are recognized as referring to the 1st person=speaker(/narrator), who is not the subject of the respective sentence. The judgement is a pragmatic one based on the context of the narrative. In (17) and (18), for example, the contextual factor is first of all the story line. In (17), the setting is that the "speaker" and the "queer-eyed little boy" are in a train compartment seating face to face. In (18), "Otsuru-san" is serving "sake" to the "speaker" who is a guest at her house at the time. In (19), the phrase uchi e kita 'came to (one's) house' gives a pragmatic clue that the subject, C-ko$_i$, did not "come home to her house" because customarily in Japanese, the verb kita 'come' is not used for one's "coming home to one's own house; instead, the verb must be kaette-kita 'return-came' in such a case.

In conversational speech, a male speaker who regularly uses jibun for reference to himself may say something like the following:

20. (A store clerk speaking to a customer)
Nanika shitsumon ga arimashita-ra, **jibun**$_1$ ni
anything question SUB is COND self to

kiite kudasai.
ask REQUEST

(a conversation in a shop, 1988)

'If (you) have any question, please ask me [= **self**$_1$].'

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In this case, the context that a store clerk is offering to help a customer suggests that the referent of this jibun is the 1st person=speaker himself, not the 2nd person=customer.

On the other hand, in the following examples, jibun refers to the 3rd person subject of the sentence instead of the 1st person speaker. The judgement is also based on the pragmatics in the context of the narrative.

21. ...**haha** wa mune o akete chichikubi o fukum-
mother TOP bosom OBJ open nipple OBJ suck

ase obi no aida kara usu- yogoreta kinu
CAUSE sash GEN between from slight smudge silk

no hankechi o dashite **jibun** no nodo no
GEN handkerchief OBJ take:out self GEN neck GEN

tokoro e hasande tarashi, hiraita mune o
place on pinch hang open busom OBJ

kakushita.
covered

(Shiga 1969, p.362)

'...**the mother**$_i$ bared (her) bosom and suckled (the baby), then took a smudged silk handkerchief out from between (her) obi-sash and hung it from her [= **self**$_1$'s] neck to cover (her) bare bosom.'

22. Soshite **Otsuru**$_i$-san wa mukoo ni ashioto demo
and (name)$_i$ TOP there at footsteps even

kikoeru to sugu, "Sayoonara" to waratte
heard then soon Good-bye QUO smile

jibun$_i$ no heya e haitte shimau.
self$_i$ GEN room in enter PERFECT

(Shiga 1969, p.380)

'And as soon as she hears anything like anybody's footsteps, **Otsuru**$_i$-san says "So long," with a smile and goes back to her$_i$ [= **self**$_i$'s] room.'

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23. Jibun$_1$-tachi ga meshi o hakobu yooni natte kara
self 1 PL SUB meal OBJ bring so become since

wa **shi$_i$** wa **jibun$_i$** no tochi o kinjo no
TOP mentor TOP self i GEN land OBJ neighborhood GEN

ichi-ban mazushii mono ni ataete-shimaw- are-
most poor people to give PERFECT HONORIFIC

ta.
PAST

(Mushakooji 1955, p.29)

'Since we [= self$_1$] have come to bring meals (to his place), the **preceptor$_i$** gave his [= **self$_i$**'s] own land to the poorest in the neighborhood.'

The sentence in (21) is about a woman who suckles her baby with her bare bosom covered by a handkerchief. Pragmatically, it is unambiguous that jibun in this case means the woman, not the 1st person speaker, who is sitting opposite to her seat. In (22), the fact that the 1st person speaker is visiting the subject referent$_i$ at her family's house makes it clear that she goes into her$_i$ room, not the speaker's, who is a visitor at the house. In (23), the preceptor can only give away land if he is the proprietor of the land.

Now, in the following examples, it is not clear whether jibun's referent is the 1st person speaker or the subject$_i$ of its sentence.

24. Jibun$_1$ wa itsumo no yooni 8-ji ni
self 1 TOP usual GEN as o'clock at

shukkinshita. Suruto, Yamada-kun$_i$ ga moo
went to work then Yamada Mr. i SUB already

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jibun$_{1,i}$ no seki ni ita.
self ^{1,i} GEN seat at was

'As usual, I [= self$_1$] went to work at 8. Then, Mr. Yamada$_i$ was already at my/his [= **self**$_{1,i}$'s] seat.'

25. Suruto **chich**$_i$ ga **jibun** no shitashiku shite iru
then father SUB self GEN closely do is

fujin-ka no isha ga aru kara soko e
gynecology GEN doctor SUB is since there to

ireta- ra yokaroo to itta sooda.
hospitalize COND good QUO said I HEARD
(Shiga 1969, p.320)

'Then (I) heard that **Father**$_i$ said that (she) should go to the hospital of the doctor who I/he$_i$ [= **self**$_{1,i}$] know(s) well.'

In (24), the first jibun (in the first sentence) is to be taken as the 1st person pronominal jibun. Given just this much of the context, the second jibun (in bold face in the second sentence) could be taken to be either a 1st person pronoun (like the one in the first sentence) or a reflexive which refers to the 3rd person subject of the same sentence. Similarly in (25), the context does not make it unambiguously clear whether it is the 1st person speaker or the 3rd person subject of the sentence, the speaker's father, who knows the doctor well. Given this passage only, most readers in fact would incline to take this jibun to refer to the 3rd person subject rather than the 1st person speaker. In this particular instance, the reader can only suspect that this jibun may be the 1st person speaker himself based on the reader's knowledge

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that this author tends to use jishin for reflexive reference in his 1st person narratives, as in

26. **Sobo**$_i$ mo **jishin**$_i$ no ii- dashita koto o
grandmother also self GEN say started thing OBJ

torikeshita ni-chigai-nai.
cancelled must

(Shiga 1968, p.245)

'**Grandmother**$_i$ must have cancelled what she$_i$ [= **self**$_i$] proposed.'

Since the differentiation between pronominal and reflexive uses of jibun is pragmatic, we could just say that these two uses are homophonous but categorically distinct lexical items of the same nominal source. Except for the initial step of the recognition of jibun as a [+1st person] pronoun, the process of referential identification of that jibun from then on is just the same as any other lexical [+1st person] pronoun, although occasionally it might get confusing. If it cannot be a pronominal jibun for some contextual reason(s), then it must be a reflexive jibun. And, reflexive jibun has its own rules to operate by. This categorical separation of pronominal and reflexive jibun may simplify the matter, and it has been the assumed position in the discussions of reflexive jibun in the past, which has entirely dismissed pronominal jibun from consideration.

But this position says nothing about the obvious commonality between the two functions of jibun. The

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question is whether these uses of jibun whose referents can only be identified in the frame of the speech act should be considered as pronominal jibun like any other ordinary 1st or 2nd person pronoun, or whether they should be considered in connection with reflexive jibun at all. We will return to discuss further these "pronominal" uses of jibun later.

To summarize this section, I have shown that in writing (and much less commonly in speech also) jibun could be used like a regular 1st person pronoun. The first step of recognizing it to be so takes place when it is found in a context where there is no particular likely referent around. Then, by the pragmatic "1st person first" principle, such a jibun is associated with the speaker himself as the referent. If there is a 2nd or 3rd person who is in some sense the topic or the focus of the attention of the discourse, then jibun may be associated with that person overriding the primacy of the 1st person.

Let us for now proceed to see examples of what have been treated as "reflexives" and what has been said about them in both formal and functional approaches to the question.

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4.3. Reflexive Jibun

4.3.1. Syntactic Approach

4.3.1.1. Subject-Antecedent Condition

In the syntactic approach to the subject of reflexives in Japanese, it is generally held that reflexive jibun is subject to the subject-antecedent condition (cf. Inoue, 1976; Kuno 1972, 1973, 1978; Kuroda 1979; McCawley 1976; Oyakawa 1973, 1974; Shibatani, 1973, 1977, 1978). For example, it is said that in a simple sentence like (27) and (28) below, jibun refers to the subject NP but not the dative NP.

27. **Taroo**$_i$ wa Jiroo$_j$ ni **jibun**$_{i,*j}$ no koto o
Taroo^i TOP Jiroo^j DAT self ^{i,*j} GEN thing OBJ

hanashita.
told

'**Taroo**$_i$ told Jiroo$_j$ about himself$_{i,*j}$ [= **self**$_{i,*j}$].'

28. **Satoo**$_i$ wa Tanaka$_j$ ni **jibun**$_i$ no shashin o miseta.
Satoo^i TOP Tanaka^j DAT self ^{i} GEN picture OBJ showed

'**Satoo**$_i$ showed Tanaka$_j$ a picture of himself$_{i,*j}$ [= **self**$_{i,*j}$].'

(N. McCawley 1976, (1) p.52))

Although this condition generally holds as a preference in interpretation, counterexamples to this syntactic condition abound, as shown in (29) through (32). In all of them, a non-subject NP is the antecedent or a possible antecedent of jibun.

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29. **Ryooshin**$_i$ wa **kodomo**$_j$ ni **jibun**$_j$ no heya o ataeta.
parents $_i$ TOP child $_j$ DAT self $_j$ GEN room OBJ gave

'The parents$_i$ gave the **child**$_j$ his$_j$ own [= **self**$_j$'s] room.'

30. Chichioya$_i$ wa **musuko**$_j$ ni **jibun**$_j$ no kuruma o
father $_i$ TOP son $_j$ DAT self $_j$ GEN car OBJ

kai-ateta.
buy gave

(Lit.) 'The father$_i$ bought **self**$_j$'s car for (his) son$_j$.'
'The father$_i$ bought (his) son$_j$ a car for him$_j$ [= **self**$_j$].'

31. **Taroo**$_i$ wa **Jiroo**$_j$ o **jibun**$_{i,j}$ no uchi ni
Taroo$_i$ TOP Jiroo$_j$ OBJ self $_{i,j}$ GEN house to

{kaeshita /nokoshita}.[4]
{sent-back left}

'**Taroo**$_i$ {sent / left} **Jiroo**$_j$ {back to / at} his$_{i,j}$ [= **self**$_{i,j}$'s] home.'

32. Korekarawa **kodomo**$_i$ o **jibun**$_{i,k}$ no heya de nekasi-
from now child $_i$ OBJ self $_{i,k}$'s room at lay

nasai.
imperative

'From now on, put the **child**$_i$ to sleep in his$_i$/your$_k$ [= **self**$_{i,k}$'s] own room.'

(Kitagawa 1981, (4), p.62)

The simple sentences (29) and (30) are structurally identical to (27) and (28) which were given as support for the subject-antecedent condition.

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4. This example is based on Kitagawa's (2a) and (3a) (1981, p.62). See Kitagawa for more examples of this sort.

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That the dative NPs in (27) and (28) appear to be unacceptable but the dative NPs in (29) and (30) are acceptable as the antecedent of jibun even though these sentences have the same structure shows that the conditioning factor on the referential possibility of jibun here is obviously not the subject-antecedent condition, but suggests instead that it is something semantic/functional in the sentences, and that the subject-antecedent may in fact merely be a frequent syntactic correlate of some other principal condition rather than itself a "condition".

In support of the subject-antecedent condition, Kuno (1972, 1978) points out that in the following pair of active and direct passive sentences, jibun refers only to the subject NP in both the active and passive sentences.[5]

33. **Taroo**$_i$ wa Hanako$_j$ o **jibun**$_{i,*j}$ no uchi de
Taroo^i TOP Hanako^j OBJ self ^{i,*j} GEN home at

koroshita.
killed

'**Taroo**$_i$ killed Hanako$_j$ in his$_i$/*her$_j$ own [= **self**$_{i*j}^{i}$'s] house.'
(Kuno 1978, (3a) p.203)

---

5. See I. Howard and A. Niekawa-Howard (1976) for direct and indirect passive constructions in Japanese. Roughly, a direct passive is a passive sentence of the sort found in English; an indirect passive is also known as an extra-NP passive or adversative passive. The subject NP of an indirect passive sentence does not have its counterpart as an argument NP in the corresponding active sentences.

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34. **Hanako**$_j$ wa Taroo$_i$ ni **jibun**$_{*i,j}$ no uchi de koros-
Hanako^j TOP Taroo^i by self ^{*i,j} GEN home at kill

areta.
was

'**Hanako**$_j$ was killed by Taroo$_i$ in *his$_i$, her$_j$ own [= **self**$_{*i,j}$'s] house.'

(Kuno 1978, (3b) p.203)

However, in the following direct passive sentence, the non-subject Taroo is a possible referent of jibun, contrary to the generalization above.

35. Hanako-san$_i$ wa **Taroo**-san$_j$ ni **jibun**$_{?i,j}$ no ie ni
Hanako $_i$ TOP Taroo $_j$ by self $^{?i,j}$ GEN house to
take

tsurete ik-are- ta.
take go PASS PAST

'Hanako$_i$ was taken to her$_{?i}$/his$_j$ [= **self**$_{?i,j}$'s] house by Taroo$_j$.'

Since a non-subject antecedent is possible in the above passive sentence, the referential identification of jibun in this sentence type also appears to involve some other considerations as well as the subject-antecedent condition.

The non-subject antecedents of jibun as in the "indirect passive" sentences in (36) through (38) below, which apparently are counterexamples to the subject-antecedent condition, have been explained by positing a complex sentence structure which consists of a main clause with the passive morpheme as the predicate and an active

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clause which is embedded in the main clause. The "passivization" rule then applies cyclically, so that the subject-antecedent condition is maintained in each clause (cf. Howard and Howard 1976; Kuno 1973, 1978).[6]

36. **Taroo**$_i$ wa **Hanako**$_j$ ni **jibun**$_{i,j}$ no kazoku no hanashi
Taroo^i TOP Hanako^j by self ^{i,j} GEN family GEN story

bakari s- arete (unzarishita).
only talk PASS fed up

'**Taroo**$_i$ was fed up (as) **Hanako**$_j$ talked only about his$_i$/her$_j$ [= **self**$_{i,j}$'s] family.'

(Example from Kuno 1978, (23), p.227)

37. Jiroo$_i$ wa **Taroo**$_j$ ni **jibun**$_{?i,j}$ no himitsu o
Jiroo^i TOP Taroo^j by self $^{?i,j}$ GEN secret OBJ

uchiake- rare-ta.
tell PASS PAST

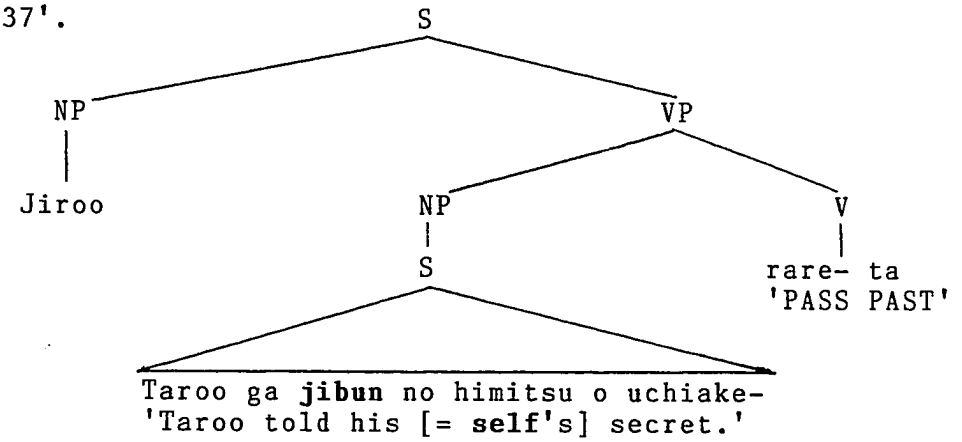
'Jiroo$_i$ was told his$_{*i,j}$ [= **self**$_{*i,j}$'s] secret by **Taroo**$_j$.'

38. Hanako$_i$ wa **Taroo**$_j$ ni **jibun**$_{i,j}$ no kaita e o
Hanako^i TOP Taroo^j by self ^{i,j} GEN drew painting OBJ

---

6. The underlying phrase structure of (37), for example, looks like the following.

37'.



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uritsuke- rare-ta.
sell PASS PAST

'Hanako$_i$ was forced by **Taroo**$_j$ to buy a painting done by her$_i$/him$_j$ [= **self**$_{i,j}$].'

4.3.1.2. Clause-Unbounded Condition

Jibun's reference can extend beyond its own clause (cf. Kuno 1972, Kuroda 1976 among others). Examples of clause-unboundedness of the reference of jibun are given below.

39. **Taroo**$_i$ wa **jibun**$_i$ ga iku koto ni-shita.
Taroo^i TOP self ^{i} SUB go COMP decided

'**Taroo**$_i$ decided that he$_i$ [= **self**$_i$] would go.'

40. **Taroo**$_i$ wa **Jiroo**$_j$ ga **jibun**$_{i,j}$ ni toohyooshita
Taroo^i TOP Jiroo^j SUB self ^{i,j} DAT voted

to omotte-iru.
that think is

'**Taroo**$_i$ thinks that **Jiroo**$_j$ voted for him$_i$/himself$_j$ [= **self**$_{i,j}$].'

41. **Taroo**$_i$ wa **Jiroo**$_j$ o **jibun**$_{i,j}$ no uchi de mat-
Taroo^i TOP Jiroo^j OBJ self ^{i,j} GEN house at wait

ase- ta.
CAUSE PAST

'**Taroo**$_i$ had **Jiroo**$_j$ wait at his$_{i,j}$ own [= **self**$_{i,j}$'s] house.

42. **Taroo**$_i$ wa **Jiroo**$_j$ ni kyooshi to-shite no
Taroo^i TOP Jiroo^j DAT teacher as GEN

jibun$_{i,j}$ o hyookas- ase- ta.
self ^{i,j} OBJ evaluate CAUSE PAST

'**Taroo**$_i$ had **Jiroo**$_j$ evaluate him$_i$/himself$_j$ [= **self**$_{i,j}$] as a teacher.'

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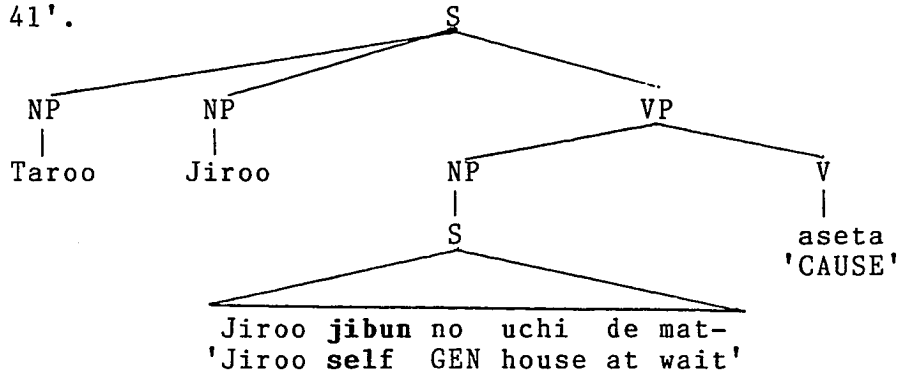
In (39), jibun is the subject NP in the embedded clause and is coreferential with the subject NP of the main clause. In (40), the dative jibun in the embedded clause may co-refer with the subject either of its own clause, Jiroo, or of the higher clause, Taroo. (41) and (42) have a complex predicate of a verb stem + causative verb, -(s)ase-. In these sentences, jibun in the embedded clause may co-refer either with the main clause subject Taroo, or with the main clause object Jiroo in (41) or with main clause dative NP in (42).

The ambiguity of the reference of jibun in these and similar sentences has been explained traditionally by positing an underlying "equi-subject" in the complement clause and by a cyclic application of the interpretive rule of jibun[7]. The subject-antecedent condition is thus maintained in each clause.

---

7. The underlying pharase structure of (41), for example, looks something like the following.

41'.



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4.3.1.3. C-command Condition

Alternatively, analyses of jibun based on the c-command condition have no problem with the referential possibilities of jibun in all the above examples from (27) through (42), since by the definition of c-command they allow the subject NP or the dative or object NP in these sentences to be jibun's antecedent (cf. Hasegawa 1981, Reinhart 1983).[8]

However, sentences of the type of (43) below from Kuno (1972) and (44) from N. McCawley (1976) below are apparent problems for both the subject-antecedent and the c-command condition. These sentences as they are do not satisfy the subject-antecedent or c-command condition since jibun is in the complement clause and refers to the main clause object.

43. [Mary ga **jibun**$_i$ o hinansita koto] ga **John**$_i$ o
Mary SUB self$_i$ OBJ accused that SUB John$_i$ OBJ

utinomesita.
floored

'[That Mary accused him$_i$ [= **self**$_i$] floored **John**$_i$.'
(Kuno 1972, (113a), p.189)

44. [**Jibun**$_i$ ga gan de nakatta koto] ga
self$_i$ SUB cancer be negative-past fact SUB

---

8. A simplified definition of c-command is as follows (cf. Reinhart 1983, p.23):

A c-commands B iff the first branching node dominating A dominates B, and A does not dominate B, nor B, A.

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Hiroshi$_i$ o yorokob-ase- ta.
Hiroshi^i OBJ please CAUSE PAST

'[That he$_i$ [= **self**$_i$] did not have cancer] pleased **Hiroshi**$_i$.'

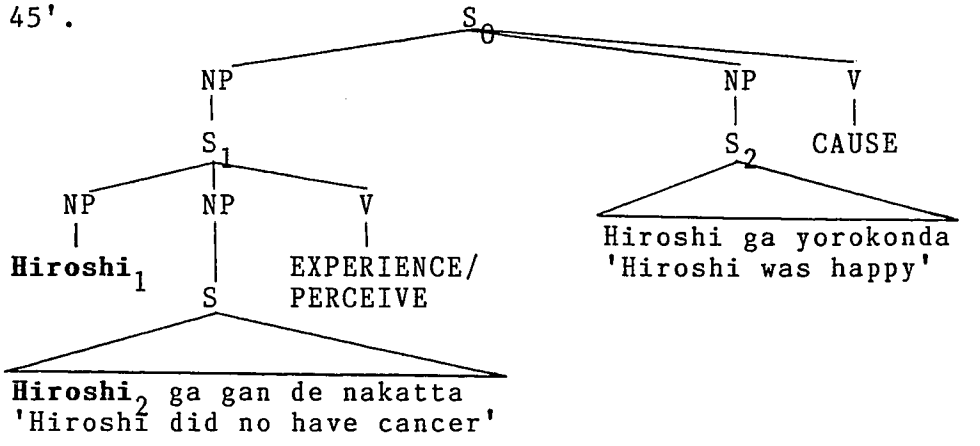
(McCawley 1976, (109), p.77)

To handle those sentences, which have emotive-causative verbs (e.g., uchinomeshita 'disapointed', yorokabaseta 'pleased'), in compliance with the subject-antecedent condition, N. McCawley (1976) postulates an underlying structure which sets the complement clause in an abstract higher clause with an abstract EXPERIENCE/PERCEIVE verb and an experiencer-subject NP.[9] The experiencer-subject NP in the abstract higher clause serves as the subject-antecedent NP of the subject jibun in the embedded clause. The abstract higher clause with the abstract EXPERIENCE/PERCEIVE verb is then deleted. The subject-

---

9. The underlying phrase structure (45), for example, looks like the following (cf. MaCawley 1976, (258), p.113). (I have added the numerical subscripts, Hiroshi$_1$ and Hiroshi$_2$, for expository purposes.)

45'.



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antecedent condition is thus maintained at an abstract level. A major restructuring of the sentence would also be necessary in order to uphold the c-command condition in this sentence.

As another type of problem to any c-command-based analysis, Kitagawa (1981) provides the following two sentences, where the antecedent, Taroo, is in the adverbial clause of the sentence.

45. **Taroo**$_i$ ga kaetta toki wa **jibun**$_i$ no uti wa
Taroo$_i$ SUB returned when TOP self$_i$ GEN house TOP

moo yakete ita.
already burn was

'When **Taro**$_i$ returned, his$_i$ own [= **self**$_i$'s] house had already burned down.'

(Kitagawa 1981, p.67)

46. **Taroo**$_i$ ga hako no huta o akete miru to
Taroo$_i$ SUB box GEN cover OBJ open see when

mae-ni **jibun**$_i$ ga nakusita medaru ga soko-ni
previously self$_i$ SUB lost medal SUB there

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hikatte ita.[10]
was

'When **Taro**$_i$ opened the cover of the box, (lo and behold) the medal which he$_i$ [= **self**$_i$] lost some time ago was shining there brightly.'

(Kitagawa 1981, p.67)

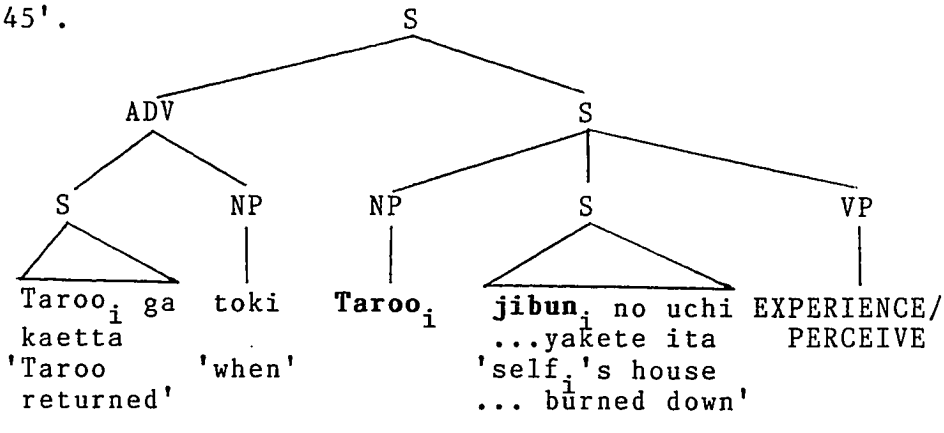
As yet another type of problem, Kitagawa (1981) points out further that Hasegawa's prediction of the obligatory use of jibun based on her "predication relation" is counterfactual in some cases. A summary of Hasegawa's (1981) c-command-based analysis is quoted below:

a. In the P marker, if an NP c-commands an XP, the NP is

---

10. What the sentences in (45) and (46) have in common is that the semantic connection between the subordinate clause and the main clause is what is known as "sequential" happenings (cf. Inoue 1983). These sentences imply that their second clause is what the subject of their first clause experienced/perceived upon completion of the event of the first clause, such as in "upon returning home" in (45) or "upon opening the box (lo and behold)" in (46). For this reason, it is conceivable to hypothesize for the second clause an abstract higher EXPERIENCER-clause of the sort postulated for (44), and thus maintain the subject-antecedent condition. The phrase structure of the suggested solution would look something like the following for (45).

45'.



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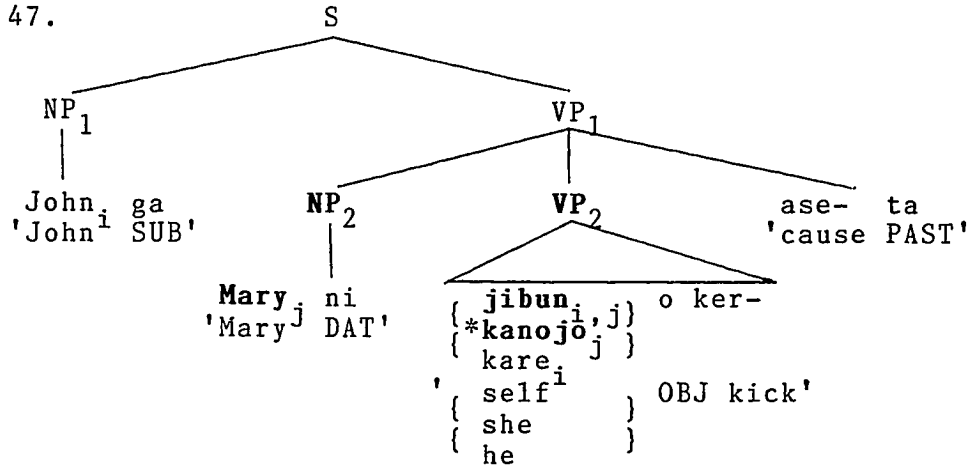
a "controller" and the XP is a "controllee," where V, P, A, or N. (Hasegawa's (55), p.28)

b. A controller and a controllee are in the predication relation, if the controller c-commands the controllee and there is no controller intervening. (Hasegawa's (59), p.29)

c. The existence of <u>jibun</u> is obligatory when the antecedent is the controller that is in the predication relation to the controllee where <u>jibun</u> takes place. (p.32)

Hasegawa provides the example in (47) below as support for the prediction in (c) (Hasegawa's (61), p.31). NP_2 and VP_2 (in bold face) are in a predication relation.

47.



'John$_i$ forced **Mary**$_j$ to kick { **self**$_{i,j}$ / *her$_j$ / him$_i$ }.

For the object NP in VP_2 to be coreferential with <u>Mary</u>, it must be in the reflexive form. A counterexample that

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Kitagawa provides is in (48), in which the use of jibun is not obligatory, contrary to Hasegawa's prediction.[11]

48. Ken_i wa **Naomi**$_j$ o $\{$**jibun**$_{i,j}$ / **kanojo**$_{j,k}$ / self$_{j,k}$ / her$\}$ no uchi e tsure-
Ken TOP Naomi OBJ GEN house to bring

modoshita.
back

'Ken_i brought **Naomi**$_j$ back to $\{$**self**$_{i,j}$'s / **her**$_{j,k}$$\}$ house.'

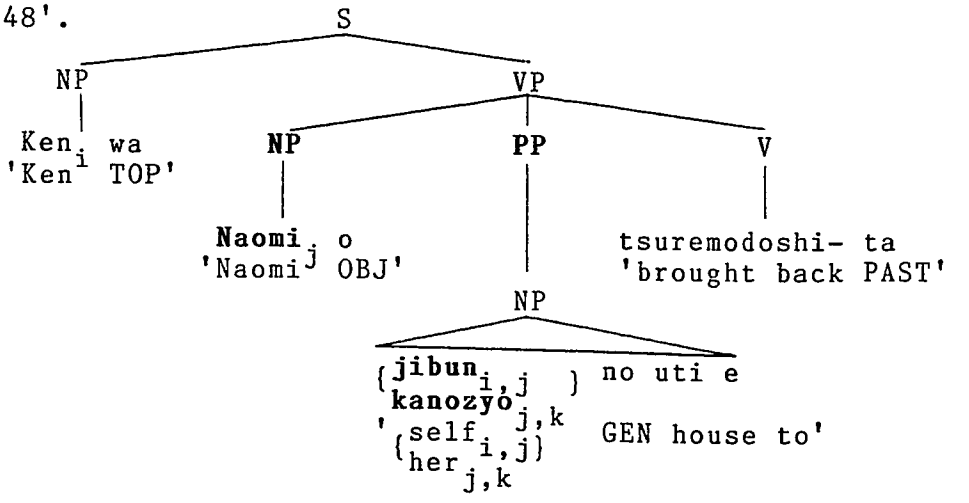
(Kitagawa's (11), p.66)

The following sentence from Kitagawa (1981) is yet another type of counterexample to both the subject-antecedent and c-command condition. As he points out, the antecedent Yamada in the following sentence is the topic of the sentence in a discourse functional sense, but not an argument NP of the verb of the sentence.

---

11. The phrase structure of (48) is as follows, in which the NP and PP in bold face are in a predication relation.

48'.



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49. **Yamada**$_i$ to-ieba, senshuu jitsu-no otooto$_j$ ga
Yamada$_i$ speaking-of last-week real brother$_j$ NOM

jibun$_{i,?j}$ no iinazuke-to kakeoti si-te shimat-ta
self$_{i,?j}$'s fiance-with elope do-ing end-up-PAST

soo-da.[12]
they-say

'Speaking of **Yamada**$_i$, they say that (his) real (blood-related) brother$_j$ eloped with his$_{i,?j}$ [= **self**$_{i,?j}$'s] fiancé.'

(Kitagawa 1981, (1), pp. 61-62)

In this chapter thus far I have shown that neither the subject-antecedent condition nor the c-command condition accounts for the wide spectrum of referential possibilities of a reflexive jibun. At this point, one might suspect that the referential identification of jibun may be subject to factors which may not be sufficiently definable in syntactic terms. And since jibun's reference can extend beyond its own clause and sentence (as we will see in the next section), those factors must be of a nature that can extend beyond the syntactic limits of a sentence. With this in mind, let us consider the fuctional approach to the explanation of jibun next.

---

12. This sentence is an account of an incident that happened to Yamada, Yamada being the experiencer. Therefore, we may at least have semantic grounds for hypothesizing an abstract higher clause of EXPERIENCE for this sentence as was suggested for sentences (45) and (46) in footnote 10.

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4.3.2. Functional Approach

I will start this section by discussing the semantic and discourse functional factors which are found to be relevant to the use of reflexive jibun.

4.3.2.1. [+animate] Condition

First of all, jibun has the semantic property [+animate], which limits its antecedent to animate NPs.

50. **Doa** wa {***jibun** / sore-jishin} no omomi de hazureta
door TOP {self / it EMPH} GEN weight by came off

'The **door** broke down because of its own [= ***self**'s] weight.'

51. **Rekishi** wa ***jibun** o kurikaesu.
history TOP self OBJ repeat

'History repeats itself.'

4.3.2.2. [+alive], [+aware] Conditions

Kuno (1978) points out that, in the pair of sentences in (52) below, (a) is acceptable because jibun's antecedent, Taroo, was [+alive] at the time, and was aware of his own behavior expressed by the sentence. But, (b) is unacceptable, in Kuno's judgement, because Taroo was [-alive] at the time, and could not have been aware of the situation expressed by the sentence.

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52a. **Taroo**$_i$ wa **jibun**$_i$ ga shinu mae ni watashi ni
Taroo$_i$ TOP self$_i$ SUB die before at I to

sono koto o uchiaketa.
that thing OBJ cofided

'**Taroo**$_i$ confided that to me before **self**$_i$ (= he$_i$) died.'$_i$
(The example from Kuno 1978, (4a), p.203)

b. *__Taroo__$_i$ wa **jibun**$_i$ ga shinda toki, issen mo
Taroo$_i$ TOP self$_i$ SUB died when one penny even

motte-inakatta.[13]
have did not

'*__Taroo__$_i$ did not even have a penny when **self**$_i$ (= he$_i$) died.'$_i$
(The example from Kuno 1978, (4b), p.203)

Similarly, in the following pair of sentences, (a) is acceptable because the indication is that the relationship 'Prof. Kawata' had with his 'disciples' existed while he was alive and it was in his knowledge, while, in (b), he was dead and could not have been aware of the 'bereaved family' he left behind.

53a. **Kawata-kyooju**$_i$ wa **jibun**$_i$ no **deshi-tachi** no te
Kawata Prof.$_i$ TOP self$_i$ GEN disciples GEN hand

de atatakaku hoomur-are- ta.
with courteously bury PASS PAST

---

13. I would put a "?" mark instead of a * for the interpretation of jibun$_i$ in this sentence to mean that this interpretation is difficult in this particular sentence in isolation, but that it feels as though, in some context, sentences like this would sound acceptable. See the discussion to come later in Section 4.3.2.4, Topicality.

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'**Prof. Kawata**$_i$ was courteously buried by his$_i$ [= **self**$_i$'s] **disciples.**'
(The example from Kuno 1978, (10a), p.221)

b. ***Kawata-kyooju**$_i$ wa **jibun**$_i$ no **izoku-tachi** no
Kawata Prof.$_i$ TOP self$_i$ GEN bereaved family GEN

te de atatakaku hoomur-are- ta.
hand with courteously buried PASS PAST

'**Prof. Kawata**$_i$ was courteously buried by his$_i$ [= **self**$_i$'s] **bereaved family members.**'
(The example from Kuno 1978, (10b), p.221)

The [+aware] condition, however, is not without counterexamples. The following sentence is one such example given by Kuno (1978) himself.

54. **Taroo**$_i$ wa Hanako$_j$ ga **jibun**$_i$ o aishite-iru
Taroo$_i$ TOP Hanako$_j$ SUB self$_i$ OBJ love is

koto o **shiranakatta.**
fact OBJ did not know

'**Taroo**$_i$ **did not know** that Hanako$_j$ loved him$_i$ [= **self**$_i$]$_i$.'
(Kuno 1978, (7b), p.204)

This sentence says that Taroo was 'not aware' of the semantic content of the constituent clause, and yet jibun refers to him. Kuno's suggestion for an explanation of this sentence is the hypothesis that this kind of sentence assumes underlyingly a corresponding positive sentence:

54. **Taroo**$_i$ wa Hanako$_j$ ga **jibun**$_i$ o aishite-iru koto
Taroo$_i$ TOP Hanako$_j$ SUB self$_i$ OBJ love is fact

o **shitte-ita.**
OBJ know was

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'**Taroo**$_i$ **knew** that Hanako$_j$ loved **self**$_i$ (= him$_i$).'

(Kuno 1978, (7a), p.204)

If the underlying positive sentence is referentially acceptable, then its negative counter part is also acceptable.

In his Direct Discourse Analysis,[14] Kuno (1972, 1978) generalizes about these [+alive] and [+aware] conditions that if jibun is in a constituent clause, its antecedent in the matrix clause must be aware of the event/state represented by the constituent clause concurrently with the time of the event/state or must have come to be aware of it recollectively at some later point (Kuno 1972). The paired sentences in (56) below are from Kuno (1972) to illustrate that the anticedent's awareness of the event in the consitituent clause is a critical condition on the acceptability of the sentences.

---

14. Kuno (1972)'s Direct Discourse Analysis hypothesizes that verbs of saying, knowing and feeling have in their deep structure the complement clause that is the direct-discourse representation of what the matrix subject said, knew, felt and so forth. In this analysis, a sentence:

    i. John expected that he would win.
    (Kuno 1977, (101a), p.659)

    has the underlyiing structure:

    ii. [John expected, ["I will win."]]
    (Kuno 1977, (101b), p.659)

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56a. **John**$_i$ wa, Mary ga **jibun**$_i$ ni ai ni kuru hi wa,
John$_i$ TOP Mary SUB self $_i$ DAT meet to come days TOP

sowasowa site-iru **yo.**
excited is I SAY

'**John**$_i$ is excited on the days when Mary comes to see him$_i$ [= **self**$_i$].'

(The example from Kuno 1972, (93a), p.182)

b. *__John__$_i$ wa, Mary ga **jibun**$_i$ o miru toki wa,
John$_i$ TOP Mary SUB self $_i$ OBJ see when TOP

itu mo kaoiro ga warui **soo da.**
always complexion SUB bad I HEAR

'*I hear that **John**$_i$ looks pale whenever Mary sees him$_i$ [= **self**$_i$].'

(The example from Kuno 1972, (93b), p.182)

(a) is grammatical because the reading is that John is aware that Mary is coming to see him, but (b) is ungrammatical because the indication is that John is not aware of Mary's watching him at the time.

But, Kuroda (1973a, b) has a different explanation for it based on styles of speech, which leads us to the next point of speech styles as another factor which needs to be considered in regard to the use of jibun.

4.3.2.3. Speech Styles

While [+aware] on the part of the antecedent of jibun counts as an explanation for acceptability of some sentences, Kuroda (1973a, b) points out that in some

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sentences such as the following the antecedent's awareness is irrelevant to the grammaticality of the sentences.

57a. **John**$_i$ wa juu-nen mae ni Mary ga **jibun**$_i$ o
John$_i$ TOP 10 years ago at Mary ga self$_i$ OBJ

tazunete-**kita** ie de ima wa koohuku-ni kurasite-
visit came house at now TOP happily live

imasu.
is

'**John**$_i$ now lives happily in the house where Mary **came** to visit him$_i$ [= **self**$_i$] ten years ago.'

(The example from Kuroda 1973a, (12), p.141)

b. ***John**$_i$ wa juu-nen mae ni **Mary** ga **jibun**$_i$ o
John$_i$ TOP 10 years ago at Mary ga self$_i$ OBJ

tazunete-**itta** ie de ima wa koohuku-ni kurasite-
visit came house at now TOP happily live

imasu.
is

'***John**$_i$ now lives happily in the house where **Mary went** to visit him$_i$ [= **self**$_i$] ten years ago.'

(The example from Kuroda 1973a, (13), p.141)

Kuroda notes that whether John was then or is now aware of Mary's visit to his house is irrelevant to the acceptability of either of the sentences above. Neither of the sentences themselves indicate anything about whether John was aware of Mary's visit to his house at the time of the event or came to learn of it later. The difference between the two sentences is that, in the acceptable (a), the description is given with the object jibun as the empathy focus, as indicated by the object-

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centered auxiliary verb kita 'came', whereas in the unacceptable (b), the description is not given with the object jibun as the empathy focus but with the subject Mary as empathy focus, as indicated by the subject-

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centered auxiliary verb itta 'went'.[15] Kuroda (1973a, b) notes that a sentence like (a) is possible only if it is in the non-reportive speech style.

---

15. The auxiliary use of both kuru (the present form of kita) and iku (the present form of itta) derive from kuru 'come' and iku 'go' as verbs. These verbs in Japanese have lexically designated empathy focus NPs (cf. Ooe 1975; Kuno 1978; Kuno and Kaburaki 1977 among others). Iku 'go' is a subject-centered verb, which denotes the motion of moving from where the subject referent is away to some other location. Kuru 'come' is the opposite. It is a dative/goal-centered verb, which denotes the motion of moving from a place toward where the dative/goal NP is. So, unlike the English sentences (i) and (ii) below, which are both acceptable, the Japanese counterpart in (ii) is not acceptable because of the conflict between the 1st person subject NP as an empathy focus by the supremacy of the 1st person in the speech act and the empathy condition of the dative/goal-centered verb kimasu 'come' which requires a dative NP, not a subject NP, to be in empathy focus.

i. Ashita (**watashi** ga) sochira ni **ikimasu.**
tomorrow I SUB there at go
I will **go** there tomorrow.
(Ooe 1975, 23a, p.18)

ii. *Ashita (**watashi** ga) sochira ni **kimasu.**
tomorrow I SUB there at come
I will **come** there tomorrow.
(Ooe 1975, 23a, p.18)

Also, in the paired sentences in English and Japanese below, (iv) is unacceptable in both languages because of the empathy conflict between the 3rd person subject NP and the 1st person dative NP with the subject-centered verb iku 'go'.

iii. Ashita Taroo wa **watashi** ni ai ni **kuru**
tomorrow Taroo TOP me DAT see to come
Taroo will **come** to see **me** tomorrow.

iv. *Ashita Taroo wa **watashi** ni ai ni **iku.**
tomorrow Taroo TOP me DAT see to go
*Taroo will **go** to see **me** tomorrow.

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A sentence is reportive if it assumes the presence of a narrator (1st person speaker), from whose point of view the sentence is told; otherwise, it is non-reportive (Kuroda 1973b). The non-reportive speech style corresponds to Banfield's (1982) represented speech. The non-reportive speech style allows this sentence to be presented from John's own point of view, instead of some other speaker's standpoint. The following pair of sentences from Kuroda (1973b) illustrate this point.

57a. John$_i$ wa **Bill$_j$** ga **jibun$_{*i,j}$** o hometa toki Mary
John^i TOP Bill^j SUB self ^{*i,j} OBJ praise when Mary

no soba ni ita **yo.**
GEN side by was I SAY

'**(I tell you that)** John was beside Mary when **Bill** praised *him$_i$/himself [= **self$_{*i,j}$**].'

(The example from Kuroda 1973b, (35), p.385)

b. **John$_i$** wa **Bill$_j$** ga **jibun$_{i,j}$** o hometa toki Mary
John^i TOP Bill^j SUB self ^{i,j} OBJ praise when Mary

no soba ni ita.
GEN side by was

'**John$_i$** was beside Mary when **Bill$_j$** praised him$_i$/himself$_j$ [= **self$_{i,j}$**].'

(The example from Kuroda 1973b, (33), p.385)

The event that is described is exactly the same in both sentences. In both sentences, John was unaware of Bill's praising him at the time and the sentences do not indicate whether or not John became aware of it later. However, (a) is ungrammatical and (b) is grammatical for the

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intended reference of jibun to the subject John of the higher clause. The difference, Kuroda claims, is in the speech styles of these sentences. Sentence (a) is in the reportive style, as indicated by the presence of the sentence final particle yo, the functional translation of which is 'I am telling you', which suggests the presence of a 1st person=speaker of this sentence. The primary empathy focus of a sentence is the 1st person=speaker, and that makes it difficult to take the sentence as a description from John's point of view at the same time. It is for this reason that it is difficult to take John as the antecedent of jibun. In contrast to this, sentence (b), which does not have yo, can be read as a non-reportive sentence, which does not assume a 1st person=speaker, as in (a). In this non-reportive speech style, John can be the empathy focus of the sentence and so be the antecedent of jibun even though he may not satisfy the [+aware] condition on the antecedent of jibun, contrary to Kuno's [+aware] condition.

Kuroda's claim about the speech styles and empathizability with jibun explains an aspect of jibun as a linguistic expression of empathy. However, again, sentences like (59) and (60) below suggest the limits of this explanation.

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59. **Yamada-san**$_i$ wa seizen yoku hito no sewa o
Yamada$_i$ TOP while alive well others GEN care OBJ

shita noni, **jibun**$_i$ ga shinda toki ni wa
took although self$_i$ SUB died when at TOP

hito-tsuki-kan dare ni mo kizuk- arenakatta
one month period who by even notice PASS

soo da.
I HEAR

'(I heard that) although (he$_i$) took good care of others while (he$_i$) was alive, when he$_i$ [= **self**$_i$] died, Yamada$_i$('s death) was not noticed by anyone for a month.'

60. **Taroo**$_i$ wa **chichioya**$_j$ ga **jibun**$_i$ ni isan o
Taroo$_i$ TOP father$_j$ SUB self$_i$ DAT inheritance OBJ

nokoshita toki wa moo shinde-shimatte- ita
left when TOP already die COMPLETION was

soo da yo.
I HEAR I SAY

'(**I tell you that I heard that**) when (his) father$_j$ left him$_i$ [= **self**$_i$] an inheritance, **Taroo**$_i$ had already been dead.'

Both sentences are explicitly reportive with a 1st person as the speaker of the sentences, as indicated by the presence of soo da 'I HEAR' and yo 'I SAY'. (59) says that 'Mr. Yamada was not found for a month' after 'he died', and (60) says that 'Taroo had been dead' when 'his father (not knowing of his death) left him an inheritance'. In neither of the sentences could the subject referent have known about the situation that took place after his death. In order for these sentences to be wellformed according to Kuno's awareness condition in the

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reportive and nonreportive speech styles, the antecedent Taroo must have been aware of the event either then or later, which is obviously an impossible reading of either of the sentences. Kuroda's empathy and nonreportive speech style condition does not account for these sentences, which are reportive because of the explicit indication of the presense of the speaker by soo da and yo. These sentences are acceptable even though they do not satisfy any of the [+aware (at the time], [+aware (recollectively)], and [+nonreportive] conditions. The acceptability of jibun in sentences like (59) and (60) may vary according to the individual speaker of the language depending on how empathetic the individual can feel about the referent in the context. And that is not surprising considering the question of empathy as a pragmatic matter.

Let us then see if there is an aspect of jibun to which a pragmatic notion such as topicality of the referent is relevant.

4.3.2.4. Topicality

Topicality of a NP in a sentence or discourse is a difficult idea to define. But for our discussion here let us take it in the broad sense of something that a sentence or discourse is about. Most frequently, the topic takes

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the form of the subject in a sentence,[16] but the pragmatic sense of topic may be presented in many other linguistic forms, or it may not even be present in a linguistic form. For example, in one of our earlier examples, (49) by Kitagawa repeated below, it is presented in the phrase of 'speaking of ...'.

49. **Yamada**$_i$ to-ieba, senshuu jitsu-no otooto$_j$ ga
Yamada$_i$ speaking-of last-week real brother$_j$ NOM

jibun$_{i,?j}$ no iinazuke-to kakeoti si-te shimat-ta
self$_{i,?j}$'s fiance-with elope do-ing end-up-PAST

soo-da.[17]
they-say

'Speaking of **Yamada**$_i$, they say that (his) real (blood-related) brother eloped with his$_{i,?j}$ [= **self**$_{i,?j}$'s] fiancé.'

(Kitagawa 1981, (1), pp. 61-62)

With this sentence, Kitagawa pointed out that topicality of a referent affects the acceptability judgement of it as the referent of jibun. Another example from Kitagawa (1981) illustrates the same point.

61. **Taroo**$_i$-ga Hanako$_j$-o **jibun**$_{i,*j}$ no tomodati no
$_i$ SUM $_j$ OBJ self$_{i,*j}$'s friend 's

---

16. See Timberlake (1976) for a discussion of topicality in connection with a subject in Russian.

17. This sentence is an account of an incident that happened to Yamada, Yamada being the experiencer. Therefore, we may at least have semantic grounds for hypothesizing an abstract higher clause of EXPERIENCE for this sentence in the same fashion as suggested for sentences (44), (45) and (46) in footnotes 9 and 10.

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mae-de jiman shi-ta.
front-at praise do-past

'**Taro**$_i$ praised Hanako$_j$ in front of his$_i$ [= **self**$_{i,*j}$'s] friends.'

(Kitagawa 1981, (15), p.68)

In isolation, jibun in (61) will be taken to refer to the subject referent in accordance with the subject-antecedent condition mentioned earlier. However, when the object referent is the discourse topic, it can be the referent of jibun in the identical sentence, as illustrated in (62) below.

62a. Doosite **Hanako**$_j$-wa tere-te i-ru no?
why $_j$ TOP embarrass-ing be-pres COMP

'Why is **Hanako** embarrassed?'

b. Taroo$_i$-ga **Hanako**$_j$-o jibun$_{i,j}$ no tomodati no
$_i$ SUB $_j$ OBJ self $_{i,j}$'s friend 's

mae-de jiman si-ta kara da yo.
front-at praise do-PAST because be I-say

'It's because Taro$_i$ praised **Hanako**$_j$ in front of his$_i$/her$_j$ [= **self**$_{i,j}$'s] friends.'

(Kitagawa 1981, (17), p.68)

Similarly, consider the sentences below. (63a) is difficult to accept in isolation whether in the reportive speech style with soo da 'I HEARD' or in the nonreportive style without soo da. This sentence does not satisfy the [+alive] or [+aware] condition on the antecedent of jibun. But, when it is put in a context in which the antecedent

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of jibun is a contrastive topic, it becomes much more acceptable. (63b) shows the contrastive context in one sentence (which is then the same as (59) before), and (63c) in two separate sentences.

63a. **Yamada-san**$_i$ wa **jibun**$_{?i}$ ga shinda toki
Yamada $_i$ TOP self $_{?i}$ SUB died when

hito-tsuki-kan dare ni mo kizuk-arenakatta
one month period who by even notice PASS

(soo da).
I HEAR

'(I heard that) when he$_i$ [= **self**$_{*i}$] died, Yamada$_i$('s death) was not noticed by anyone for a month.'

b. **Yamada-san**$_i$ wa seizen yoku hito no sewa o
Yamada $_i$ TOP while alive well others GEN care OBJ

shita noni, **jibun**$_i$ ga shinda toki ni wa
took although self $_i$ SUB died when at TOP

hito-tsuki-kan dare ni mo kizuk- arenakatta
one month period who by even notice PASS

(soo da). (= (59))
I HEARD

'Although (he$_i$) took good care of others while (he$_i$) was alive, when he$_i$ [= **self**$_i$] died, Yamada$_i$('s death) was not noticed by anyone for a month.'

c. **Yamada-san**$_i$ wa seizen yoku hito no sewa o
Yamada $_i$ TOP while alive well others GEN care OBJ

shite ita. Sore nanoni, **jibun**$_i$ ga shinda toki ni
took was that inspite self $_i$ SUB died when at

wa hito-tsuki-kan dare ni mo kizuk- are
CONT one month period who by even notice PASS

nak-atta (soo da).
NEG PAST I HEARD

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'Mr. Yamade$_i$ took good care of others while (he$_i$) was alive. In spite of that, when he$_i$ [= **self**$_i$] died, Yamada$_i$('s death) was not noticed by anyone for a month.'

In (63b), the contrastive context is provided in the same sentence as jibun in the form of a subordinate clause connected by the conjunctive noni 'although'; in (63c), the same contrastive context is provided in the form of an independent separate sentence. Both (62a, b) and (63a, b, c) show that conditions in the discourse context such as topicality and contrast also affect the acceptability of jibun in addition to all the elements that have been mentioned before to be relevant to the acceptability of it.

In this connection, recall those examples that were given earlier in (12) through (14) (Section 4.2) as examples of "pronominal" jibun referring to sentence-external 3rd persons. These referents were also topical in the sense that they were the concern of the conversation. With this in mind, let us next see some more examples of jibun whose referents are found outside of their own sentences.

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4.4. Jibun as the Speaker

In Section 4.2, I gave examples of jibun which are conventionally known as the "1st person pronominal jibun," separate from reflexive jibun. This use of jibun is limited to male speakers and writers for male referents. I also gave examples of 1st, 2nd or 3rd person pronoun-like uses of jibun, which are mostly found in conversation by both male and female speakers for referents of both genders.

In this section, I will take instances of jibun which are conventionally regarded as "reflexive jibun" but whose referents are not found in their own sentences in 3rd person narratives. I will call these instances of jibun inter-sentential uses of jibun or in short inter-sentential jibun. The purpose of my discussion in this section is to point out that the conventional idea of differentiating pronominal jibun and reflexive jibun is misconceived. There is no such distinction in the function of jibun. In all instances that will be discussed in this section, jibun refers to the speaker, 1st, 2nd or 3rd person, who is the primary empathy focus in our speech act, both conversational and narrative.

Let me first show some examples of inter-sentential uses of jibun 3rd person narratives. (64) through (66)

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below provide typical cases of such jibun (in bold face) and the discourse contexts in which they are found. (The elements which will be relevant to the discussions to follow are shown in bold face.)

64a. **Miwa Shunsuke**$_i$ wa itsumo no yooni **omotta.**
Miwa Shunsuke$_i$ TOP always of like thought

'**Shunsuke Miwa**$_i$ **thought** as usual.'

b. Kaseifu no Michiyo ga kuru yooni natte
home-helper GEN Michiyo SUB come so-that became

kara **kono** ie wa yogore hajimeta, **to.**
since this house TOP dirty began QUO

(Lit.) '**This** house has begun to look dirty since the housekeeper, Michiyo, started to come.'

c. Soshite saikin tokuni yogorete-iru, **to.**
and lately specially dirty is QUO

(Lit.) '(This house) is particularly dirty lately.'

d. Ie no naka o hottarakashi-ni-shite,
house GEN inside OBJ neglect

daidokoro e komori, asa kara cha o nomi
kitchen in stay morning from tea OBJ drink

nagara hanashitari warattari bakari shite-**iru.**
as talk laugh only do is

'(She) **neglects** house work and **stays** in the kitchen, and all (she) **does** is talk and laugh, sipping tea from morning on.'

e. Oosetsuma datte **sakuya** no mama **da.**
guest room also last night GEN as is

'The guest room **has** also **been** left as (it was) **last night.**'

f. Seiketsu-zukina tsuma no Tokiko ga, Michiyo
clean like wife APPOS Tokiko SUB Michiyo

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o torishimaru no o, **kyoo** mo wasurete-**iru.**
OBJ manage COMP OBJ today also forget is

'(My) wife Tokiko, who likes to have things clean, **is** forgetting to instruct Michiyo **today** again.'

g. **Jibun**$_i$ no ie no daidokoro ga konna fuu deatte
self$_i$ GEN house GEN kitchen SUB this way is

wa **naranai.** .....
TOP must not

'The kitchen of my$_i$ [= **self**$_i$'s] house **must not be** this way. .....'$_i$

h. Shikashi, shibui kao o shite **Shunsuke** ga
but sour face OBJ look Shunsuke SUB

daidokoro e sugata o **arawashita** toki ni wa,
kitchen to appearance OBJ showed when at TOP

kare no koe dake wa **yasashikatta.**
he GEN voice only TOP gentle

'But, when **Shunsuke**$_i$ **showed up** in the kitchen looking sour, at least **his**$_i$ voice **was** gentle.'

i. "Oi, Tokiko, kono mae no ryokoo ni iku hanashi
Look Tokiko this before GEN trip to go talk

doo na-n-dai. Issho-ni ik-anai ka."
how is together go NEG INT

'Look, Tokiko, what about that trip we talked about going on, the other day? Won't you come along?'

j. Tokiko wa, **Shunsuke** kara me o **sorashita.**
Tokiko TOP Shunsuke from eye OBJ look away

'Tokiko looked away from **Shunsuke.**'

(Kojima 1972, p.5)

65a. "Soo kamo-shire-nai" to **Shunsuke**$_i$ wa donaritsukeru
so may QUO Shunsuke^i TOP shout

yooni itta.
manner said
`"That may be right," **Shunsuke**$_i$ said, shouting.'

b. Dooshite motto, Tokiko$_j$ to George o hootte oite
why more Tokiko^j and George OBJ leave let

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motto tsuzuke- sasete yar-ana-katta no da-
more continue CAUSE let NEG PAST COMP be

roo.
I CONJECTURE

'Why did (I) not leave Tokiko$_j$ and George alone and let (them) continue (their affair)?'

c. Doose ichi-do yari-kaketa mono na-ra,
anyhow one time do start thing is CONDITIONAL

tsuzuke- tatte onnaji koto **dewa-nai** ka.
continue even if same thing is NEG INT

'Since it's something (they) had started already, it **wouldn't make** a difference if (they) continued.'

d. Motto tsuzukete ita ra doo deatta-
more continue was CONDITIONAL how was

roo.
I CONJECTURE

'**(I wonder)** what it would be like if (they) had continued?'

e. Sono toki kanojo$_j$ wa jibun$_j$ demo kuchibashitta
that time she $_j$ TOP self $_j$ also blurt

yooni tooku-tooku **jibun**$_i$ kara hanarete itte
as far far self $_i$ from part go

shimatta de-**aroo.**
COMPLETION be I CONJECTURE

'(If they did) then (I suppose) she$_j$ would have gone far, far away from me$_i$ [= **self**$_i$], as she$_j$ herself [= self$_j$] blurted out so.'

(Kojima 1972, P.42)

66a. **Shisai**$_i$ wa jibun ga **koko** de atarashii ikkoo ni
priest$_i$ TOP self SUB here at new group to

hikiwatas-areru koto o shitta.
hand over PASS that OBJ knew

'The **priest**$_i$ realized that he$_i$ [= self$_i$] was going to be handed over to the new group **here.**

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b. Dangoo ga sumu to Oomura kara **jibun**$_i$ o
consultation SUB finish then (place) from self OBJ

gosooshite-kita renchuu wa bashu o
send came people TOP head of horse OBJ

megurashite mada hi no kagayaite-iru kita no
turn around still sun GEN shine is north GEN

gaidoo ni satte-itta.
road to leave went

'When the discussion was over, the band of samurai who had brought him$_i$ [= **self**$_i$] over from Oomura turned their horses around and went away toward the north road where the sun was still shining bright.'
(Endoo 1969, p.326)

In (64), the inter-sentential jibun is found in (g), coreferring with Shunsukue$_i$ in (a). The first sentence (a) indicates that Shunsuke is thinking to himself. The sentences from (b) through (g) represent the content of the referent's thinking in the non-reportive (represented) speech style. That these sentences are direct representations of Shunsuke's thoughts is indicated by five signs: the quotative to after a comma in (b) and (c), the predicates in the present tense in (c) through (f), the use of the time deictic kyoo 'today' in (f), the space deictic kono 'this' in (b), and jibun in (g). I will discuss each of these in turn.

The quotative to in Japanese is used for both direct and indirect quotations, unlike English that, which is used only for an indirect quotation. For example in (67),

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(a) has a direct quotation and (b) has an indirect quotation, but both of them have to.

67a. Taroo wa "Kinoo wa uchi ni ita" **to** itta.
Taroo TOP yesterday TOP home at was that said

'Taroo$_i$ said, "(I) was home yesterday".'

b. Taroo wa kinoo wa uchi ni ita **to** itta.
Taroo TOP yesterday TOP home at was that said

'Taroo$_i$ said that (he) was home yesterday.'

Given a lack of distinctions in tense marking and of verb agreement with the grammatical person, and the possible omission of the subject NP, and also the possible omission of direct quotation marks, "...", which may sometimes be substituted for simply by commas, direcct and indirect quotations are not always distinguishable in Japanese, particularly in speaking. But, in the cases of (64b, c), the presence of a comma before the quotative to clearly indicates that these are what Banfield (1982) calls "parentheticals", a device for marking off a represented speech.

The direct representation of thoughts/perception/etc. without the usual frame of a direct quotation is discussed in Banfield (1982) as "represented speech and thought" with or without an "introductory" or "parenthetical" clause. Some examples of introductory or parenthetical clauses for represented speech are cited below (with my underling).

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68. Her wet lips tittered: - He's killed looking back.
(Joyce, Ulysses, p.257; Banfield's (35a), p.42)

69. People do not know how dangerous lovesongs can be, the auric egg of Russell warned occultly.
(Joyce, Ulysses, p.191; Banfield's (35b), p.42)

70. Cooks rats in your soup, he appetisingly added, the Chinese does.
(Joyce, Ulysses, p.628; Banfield's (35c), p.42)

The underlined portion in (68) is the sentence which introduces the following sentence, which is the direct representation of the thought of the subject in the introductory clause. The underlined portions in (69) and (70) are parenthetical clauses, which indicate that the portions that are not underlined are the direct representations of the thoughts of the subjects of the parenthetical clauses.

These underlined portions are in the narrative mode of speech, which is presented from the narrator's point of view. Banfield notes that in the sentences of pure narration deixis in general as well as the 2nd person and the present tense are banished. The reference point of time and space in the sentences in the narrative mode and that in the sentences of the represented speech mode are different. In the narrative sentences, the reference point of time and space is the time and space of the

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narration. The reference point of time and space in the represented speech is set at the concurrent time of the thought or speech which is expressed in the represented speech. It is apparent that the initial sentence (a) in (64) is an introduction to the represented speech in (b) through (g) which follow.

A second sign that the sentences from (b) through (g) are represented speech of Shunsuke's thought is the present tense of the predicates in (c) through (g): yogorete-iru 'is dirty' in (c), shite-iru 'is doing' in (d), da 'is' in (e), wasurete-iru 'is forgetting' in (f), and naranai 'must not' in (g). The present tense of these predicates refers to the time concurrent with the time of Shunsuke's thinking. They do not refer to the narrative time, with reference to which Shunsuke's thoughts would be in the past tense since this story is narrated in the past tense. When the sentences are in the narrative mode, the predicates are in the past tense, like omotta 'thought' in (a), arawashita 'showed up' and yasashikatta 'was gentle' in (h), and sorashita 'looked away' in (j).

A third sign is the use of the time deictic kyoo 'today' in (f). This use of 'today' is in keeping with the time of Shunsuke's thinking, referring to the day of his thinking. It is different from the narrative time, with reference to which the day of his thinking would have

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to be "that day." Another time deictic sakuya 'last night' is in (e), suggesting together with the predicate da 'is' in the present tense that this sentence is represented speech. In the narrative time, this would be "the night before."

A forth sign is the use of the space deictic kono 'this' with the ie 'house' in (b). The space deictic 'this' in 'this house' has Shunsuke as its reference point as he had those thoughts going in his mind in that house, hence 'this house'. The sentence (b) continues to (c), which shares 'this house' as its elliptical subject. From the narrative point of view, Shunsuke's house will most likely be "his" house.

A fifth and the last sign is the use of jibun in (g). If this sentence were not a sentence of represented speech but were a narrative sentence, then Shunsuke would be referred to by a third person pronoun kare as in (h) or his name as in (j).

Similarly in (65), the inter-sentential jibun is found in (e), coreferring with Shunsuke$_i$ in (a). In this example, the first sentence (a) is the introductory sentence to the following represented speech of Shunsuke's thought in (b) through (e). A sign for this is the verbal ending, -roo, in (b), (d) and (e). The function of the -(r)oo form of a verb is to present the sentence as the

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conjecture of the speaker as he speaks or thinks. It may functionally be translated as 'I conjecture/wonder'. In this regard, it is a subjective expression or Banfield's (1982) "expressive element". These predicates in the -roo form in (b), (d) and (e) are not predicated of the narrator of the narrative, but of Shunsuke, the subject referent of the introductory sentence (a). Another sign is the present tense of the predicate in (c), dewa-nai 'is not', which is the present moment of Shunsuke's thinking. Then, in (e), jibun (in bold) refers to the subject Shunsuke in (a), as the speaker of the quoted speech expressed in the sequence of sentences (b) through (e).

Let us take the third example of inter-sentential jibun, in (66). The context of (66) is somewhat different from the earlier (64) and (65). In this example, the inter-sentential jibun is found in (b) coreferring with shisai 'priest' in (a). The sentence (a) is a case of a combination of a narrative mode and a represented mode of speech in a sentense. The subject referent i is referred to by shisai 'priest', indicating that this sentence is in the narrative mode since. In a represented speech, the referent i would not refer to himself as 'the priest'. Then, the deictic expression koko 'here' in the same sentence indicates that the narrative point of view assimilates the priest's perception of the situation since

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'here' refers to the place where the priest was at the time, which, from the purely narrator's narrative point of view, would be "there." The assimilation of the priest's perception in the narration is observable again in the next sentence (b). This sentence describes what happened next in the story. But the description is presented through the priest's perception of the situation. This is indicated by the use of jibun to corefer with the subject 'priest' of the preceding sentence not with the subject renchuu 'the band (of samurai)' of its own sentence. This overlap of the narrative point of view and the priest's point of view is not without reason as the literary theme of this novel is this pioneering Western priest's inner struggle about his religous faith and humanism as he experienced his ordeal in feudal Japan where Christianism was banned. In a sense, this whole novel is presented from the priest's point of view.

These examples in (64) through (66) show that inter-sentential uses of jibun are found typically in sentences representing the thoughts/perception of its antecedent. In this regard, those inter-sentential jibuns are functionally no different from inter-clausal jibun, as in (40) given earlier, repeated below for ease of reference.

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40. [$_S$**Taroo**$_i$ wa [$_S$**Jiroo**$_j$ ga **jibun**$_{i,j}$ ni toohyooshita] to omotte-iru.]

'**Taroo**$_i$ thinks [that **Jiroo**$_j$ voted for him$_i$/himself$_j$ [= **self**$_{i,j}$].]'

Thoughts, feelings, perceptions or actual speeches of a person may be presented in the form of a direct quotation, indirect quotation, or represented speech. When jibun appears in these forms (which I will call all together as "quoted speech" for brevity of reference hereafter), it refers to the person whose speech, including both uttered speech and inner thoughts and feelings, is represented.

At this point, recall those uses of jibun which were given earlier as examples of pronominal jibun in (2) through (4) in Sections 4.2.1 (Pronominal Jibun in Conversation) and in (15) and (16) in 4.2.2 (Pronominal Jibun in a 1st Person Narrative). I repeat just one of those examples below (with the word-for-word gloss omitted):

2. Speaker$_i$: Kekkyoku wa **jibun**$_i$ ga warui n da kara, shikata ga nai (wā).

'After all, I [= **self**$_i$] am to blame, so there is nothing that can be done.'

The similarity between the 1st person pronominal use of jibun in conversation and in a 1st person narrative and

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those inter-clausal and inter-sentential uses of jibun in a 3rd person narrative discussed in this section is obvious.

The difference between a conversational speech and a narrative is that in an actual conversation, the conversational situation itself is never narrated by anyone. A simple illustration of this is in (71), where (a) represents a conversational speech, in which "John" and "Mary" as the speakers of the speech do not have linguistic representations; (b) is an example of a false representation of the conversational situation; (c) shows the same conversational speech reproduced in the form of direct quotations in a 3rd person narrative; and (d) shows the same conversational speech reproduced in the form of indirect quotations in a 1st person narrative.

71a. John: Where are you going?
Mary: I'm not going anywhere.

b. *I_i ask you_j, : Where are you_j going?
*I_j then answer you_i: I_j'm not going anywhere.

c. John asked Mary, "Where are you going?" She answered him, "I'm not going anywere."

d. I asked you where you were going, and then you answered me that you were not going anywhere.

Similarly, examples in (72) illustrate the correspondence between a conversational speech and more than one way of representing it in a narrative. (72a) repeats the same

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example in (2) given earlier as an instance of a 1st person pronominal jibun in Section 4.2.1 (Jibun in Conversation). In this form of representing a conversational speech, Speaker A_i does not have a linguistic representation. (b) is a false representation of the conversational situation in (a). (c) has the same conversational speech represented in the form of a direct quotation in a 3rd person narrative. (d) represents it in the form of an indirect quotation in a 3rd person narrative. (e) represents it in the form of an indirect quotation in a 1st person narrative. (f) represents it in the form of a represented speech in a 3rd person narrative.

72a. Speaker A_i: Kekkyoku wa **jibun**$_i$ ga warui n da kara, shikata ga nai (wa).

'After all, I [= **self**$_i$] am to blame, so there is nothing that can be done.'
(= (2) in 4.2.1.)

b. *Watashi ga yuu: Kekkyoku wa **jibun** ga warui n da kara shikata ga nai (wa).

*I_i say : After all, I [= **Self**$_i$] am to blame, so there is nothing that can be done.

c. A_i wa "Kekkyoku wa **jibun**$_i$ ga warui n da kara, shikata ga nai (wa)" to itta.

A_i said, "After all, I [= **self**$_i$] is to blame, so there is nothing that can be done."

d. A_i wa kekkyoku wa **jibun**$_i$ ga warui n da kara shikata ga nai to itta.

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A_i said that he_i/she_i [= **self**$_i$] was to blame after all, so there was nothing that could be done.

e. **Jibun**$_i$ wa kekkyoku wa **jibun**$_i$ ga warui n da kara shikata ga nai to itta.

I_i [= **self**$_i$] said that I_i [= **self**$_i$] was to blame after
all, so that there was nothing that could be done.

f. A_i wa itta, kekkyoku wa **jibun**$_i$ ga warui n da kara, shikata ga nai.

After all, I_i [= **self**$_i$] am to blame, so there is nothing that can be done, A_i said.

Those instances of inter-clausal or inter-sentential jibun, which are found in a quoted speech (i.e., a direct quotation, indirect quotation, or represented speech) and refer to the subject referent of the consciousness or communication verb which embeds the quoted speech, are in fact no different from those jibun which are found in conversation, like (72a), referring to the speaker himself/herself, which has been treated in the literature as a 1st person pronoun, separate from reflexive jibun. It is self-evident that all these instances of jibun, "pronominal" or "reflexive," are operating under the same referential principle of referring to the "speaker" as the primary empathy focus in his "speech."

But such a generalization of the referential function of jibun is possible only when the domain for linguistic investigation is extended beyond the frame of a single sentence to the discourse frame of a series of sentences

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and further to the frame of an actual speech act to include a conversational speech. The point is that when the primary function of jibun is recognized as an expression of empathy, then the orientation of the discussions about jibun will have to be turned around so that what has been regarded as exceptional instances and rather peripheral issues and consistently ignored in the massive discussions of jibun as the Japanese reflexive before will instead be regarded as straightforward linguistic manifestations of the word's principal function. And they will find their proper place in the linguistic data on which arguments of the control issues of the word should be based.

I will summarize the discussion in this section by saying that in all speech acts, which include conversations and 1st and 3rd person narratives, the first potential referent of the referential expression jibun is the actual speaker=1st person.

That the 1st person is the underlying referent of jibun in all speech act including a 3rd person narrative is illustrated by the example provided below. This paragraph was taken from a 3rd person narrative. In the middle of this novel is just one occurrence of jibun in this entire novel which refers to the author of the novel himself quite abruptly.

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73. Nojima no isshoo wasureru koto no deki-
(name) GEN through life forget COMP GEN can

naka-tta no wa Sugiko no kono hi no taido
NEG PAST COMP TOP (name) GEN this day GEN attitude

to me datta. Sugiko wa dare ni mo ki
and eye was (name) TOP who by even attention

ga tsuk- are- nai tokoro ni tatte, ki ga
SUB notice PASS NEG place at stand attention SUB

tsuk- are- nai yoo ni hito-tsu no mono o
notice PASS NEG manner in one COUNTER GEN thing OBJ

mitsumete-ita.
stare was

Sore wa Oomiya o mitsumete-iru no datta.
it TOP (name) OBJ stare is COMP was

Nojima wa Sugiko no kokoro ga sukkari wakatta
(name) TOP (name) GEN mind OBJ clearly understood

yoo ni omotta.
manner in thought

Koko de **jibun**$_1$ wa sukoshi fude o hasshoru.
here at self TOP a little pen OBJ omit

Nojima wa Sugiko ga Oomiya o koishite-iru koto
(name) TOP (name) SUB (name) OBJ love is COMP

o shunkanteki ni chokkanshita. Kisha wa
OBJ instantaneously in felt train TOP

ugoki-dashite minna banzai o itte ...
move start all cheers OBJ cry
(Mushokooji 1955, Yuujoo, p.113)

'What Nojima could never forget was Sugiko's attitude and eyes that day. Sugiko was standing in a place unnoticeable by others, and watching one thing in an unnoticeable way.

She was watching Oomiya. Nojima felt that he clearly understood what was on her mind.

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At this point I_i [= **self**$_i$] will let (my) pen skip (some words). Nojima instantaneously realized that Sugiko was in love with Oomiya. The train started and everyone shouted banzai and ...'

This is a case of jibun that we discussed earlier (in 4.2.1 and 4.2.2) as antecedentless jibun, which is then identified with the 1st person=speaker, who is behind all sorts of speech acts as the primary referent of jibun.

We have seen the primacy of the 1st person=speaker as jibun's referent in other examples taken from 1st person narratives, where the reference of jibun to the 1st person=speaker prevailed over a 3rd person subject of the sentence (section 4.3). To repeat just two of them here for ease of reference (without the word-for-word gloss):

17. **Otoko** no ko wa myoo na me de **jibun**$_1$ o mita.

'The **boy** looked at me [= **self**$_1$] with (his) queer eyes.'

19. ...**C-ko** wa **jibun**$_1$ no uchi ni kita no datta.

'...**C-ko** came to my [= **self**$_1$'s] place.'

The priority of the 3rd person=speaker as jibun's referent prevails also among the possible 3rd person referents in a 3rd person narrative, as we saw in an inner speech in (65e):

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65e. Sono toki **kanojo**$_j$ wa .... **jibun**$_i$ kara hanarete itte shimatta dearoo.^{j}

'And then **she**$_j$ would have gone ... away from m_{ei} [= **self**$_i$].'$_j$

The priority of the speaker=3rd person in a 3rd person narrative as illustrated in this example is functionally exactly the same as the primacy of the speaker=1st person in the actual speech act. The jibun in the above example has a 3rd person antecedent NP some sentences back, but that 3rd person antecedent stands in a 1st person=speaker relationship with the jibun in his own quoted speech.

In a context where there is no 1st, 2nd or 3rd person=speaker involved, the identification of jibun's referent is a combined effect of all the semantic and functional conditions, such as aliveness, awareness, subjecthood, topicality, contrast and the speech style, which were found to affect the transferability of the speaker's empathizability to the intended referent.

4.5. Summary

In this chapter, we examined nominal and referential jibun.

First, in Section 4.1 (Nominal Jibun) it was noted that Japanese has a group of words which have the nominal meaning of "self." Jibun is one of the words in this group. All of these words also have a reflexive use,

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although most of them except jibun are not commonly used as a referential expression in current Japanese.

In the next section 4.2 (Pronominal Jibun), we saw examples of jibun which are conventionally regarded as a 1st person pronoun and have not been considered in connection with what are regarded reflexive jibun.

The question naturally arises what is pronominal or reflexive jibun, and what is a reflexive context and what is not a reflexive context. Conventionally, what have been discussed as reflexives are limited to those instances of jibun which have their antecedent NPs within their own clauses or sentences, mostly as one of major argument NPs, such as a subject, object or dative NP, or a genitive NP. Those instances of jibun whose antecedent NPs are not major NPs in a sentence or outside of their sentences have not been seriously considered. And those instances of jibun which do not have an apparent NP to be identified as the referent in or out of the sentence and are then understood to refer to the 1st person=speaker were put in a separate category of a 1st person pronoun. The question was never addressed how they may be related or, if they are different, where the distinction should be drawn.

In Section 4.3.1 (Reflexive Jibun, Syntactic Approach), we took examples of jibun whose explicit

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referents can be found within the same sentence, and reviewed syntactic conditions, such as the subject-antecedent condition and c-command condition, that past studies of jibun which took a syntactic approach claimed to be the conditions on the referential interpretation of reflexive jibun. It was shown that counterexamples to these conditions on sentence-internal antecedent of jibun abound, not to mention sentence-external antecedents.

Then in Section 4.3.2 (Reflexive Jibun, Functional Approach), we turned to review what have been pointed out as conditions on the reference of jibun in past functional studies of the question. Conditions, which have been identified variously as aliveness, awareness, point of view, subjectivity, empathy, topicality, contrast as well as the speech style, were noted as relevant to the acceptability of a NP as jibun's intended referent. Although an NP which satisfies all these semantic properties would make a typical antecedent of jibun, they are not absolute conditions as we saw in several examples. The acceptability of an intended referent of jibun is a combined effect of these semantic and functional conditions which affect empathizability with the referent.

Then in Section 4.4 (Jibun as the Speaker), we examined those instances of jibun which have sentence-external antecedent NPs in a narrative. Those antecedent

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NPs were found to be the speaker=3rd person of the quoted speech (a direct quotation, indirect quotation or represented speech) in which those jibuns were found. That is, they are narrated representations of the speaker=1st person and his/her uttered or inner thoughts and feelings in the actual speech act. Functionally, these inter-sentential uses of jibun and the 1st person pronominal jibun in a conversation as well as in a 1st person narrative are exactly the same. They both refer to the speaker of the speech. The difference is only that the speaker is a 1st person in an actual conversation and a 1st person narrative, but is a 3rd person in a 3rd person narrative, which has traditionally been almost the exclusive source of data for linguistic investigation.

When we recognize referential jibun to be an expression for the one in whose speech it occurs (the logophoric reference), then a number of things about the head-reflexive jibun in comparison to English compound-reflexives fall in place.

First, the semantic and functional properties of referential jibun can be understood to have conceptual relevance with the meaning "self" of nominal jibun. Animateness, aliveness, consciousness, awareness, subjectivity, point of view, and empathy are easily inferrable from the very notion of nominal jibun.

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According to the concept of pronominality that was discussed in CHAPTER II (Pronominality), referential jibun is a functional derivative of nominal jibun with implicational properties of nominal jibun as residual nominal properties and conditions binding the referential function of referential jibun.

Second, the notion empathy(/subjectivity/point of view) certainly is not like a notion within the boundary of a clause or sentence. It certainly is a notion which can be susceptible to elements in the discourse domain and even the situation in which the speech act takes place.

Another point that becomes self explanatatory is the 1st person pronoun-like use of jibun. In all speech acts, conversational or narratives, there is the 1st person=speaker(/writer), who is the primary empathy focus of all his linguistic (and nonlinguistic) acts and the primary referent of the referential jibun. In the speech styles where there is a 1st person speaker, like a conversation and a 1st person narrative, the priority of the 1st person as the referent of jibun persists through his speech and overrides other 2nd and 3rd persons as referents of jibun unless some contextual or pragmatic reasons make the 1st person speaker an implausible referent for that instance of jibun. Viewed this way, the fundamental interpretive principle of referential jibun,

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whether pronominal or reflexive, is the same except for the fact that only a very small number of male speakers use jibun as a regular form of 1st person reference. In a 3rd person narrative mode of speech, where there is not a 1st person speaker, the referent of jibun is identified subject to the various functional conditions mentioned earlier which affect the empathizability with the referent (cf. Kuno 1987).

In contrast to jibun as an empathetic referential expression is the non-empathetic compound form which can be used for an intended coreference as jibun as in the cases below.

74. Taroo$_i$ wa {**jibun$_i$** / **kare-jishin$_i$**} ni toohyooshita.
Taroo TOP {self / him self} DAT voted

(Lit.) 'Taroo$_i$ voted for **self$_i$**/**himself$_i$**.'

75. Taroo$_i$ wa sore o {**jibun$_i$** / **kare-jishin$_i$**} no poketto ni
Taroo TOP it OBJ {self / him self} GEN pocket in

ireta.
put

(Lit.) 'Taroo$_i$ put it in **self$_i$**'s/**his$_i$** **own** pocket.'

These compound forms are not in common use as jibun. The referential mechanism of the compound form is the same as that of the English compound-reflexives explained in CHAPTER II.

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CHAPTER V. CONCLUSION

In CHAPTER I, we started out posing a question about our understanding of the supposedly cross-linguistic subcategory labels of referential expressions such as "nouns", "pronouns" and specifically "reflexives". What kind of categories are they? Are they semantic, morphological, syntactic, interpretive or functional categories? Are they a little of all of them? If they are, how?

A hypothesis underlying the proposed concept of pronominality was that these category notions are collective, gradational notions rather than unidimensional, distinctive notions. Taking the morphological, semantic, referential, syntactic and interpretive characteristics of nouns as nominal properties and their absences as pronominal characteristics, relative pronoun-likeness (the reverse of which is noun-likeness) or pronominality (the reverse of which is nominality) of a referential expression in these different grammatical aspects can be measured.

Another hypothesis concerning the concept of pronominality was that there is a certain amount of correlation among the relative pronoun-likeness in the

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different grammatical aspects of a referential expression. An expression which is high in one grammatical aspect of pronominality could be low in another grammatical aspect of pronominality, but the assumption was that a referential expression which is high in pronomimality in one aspect is more likely to be high in other grammatical aspects also. In particular, in CHAPTERS III and IV, we focused on the relevance of the morphological and syntactic aspects to the interpretive aspect of pronominality of what are known as reflexives in Japanese and English.

Specifically, in CHAPTER II, nominal characteristics were defined as follows. Morphologically, a nominal tends to be a form that stays constant in different cases, numbers and persons, and take affixes to indicate such variations. Semantically, a nominal characteristically tends to be semantically specific and possibly to have accompanying implicational properties, such as connotations, formal or informal stylistics, etc. Regarding referential properties such as grammatical person and number, a nominal tends not to have them lexicalized. Syntactically, a nominal has the capacity to occur in all cases and to co-occur with modifers. Regarding the referential range, a nominal has a long distance of reference, particularly beyond the syntactic

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boundary of a clause or a sentence. Pronominal characteristics are the opposite of nominal characteristics. Morphologically, pronominal characteristics are the tendency to have the case- and number-specific forms, that is, different forms in different cases and grammatical numbers, and not to be affixable. Semantically, a pronominal characteristic is not to have specific semantic properties but to be broad in meaning or have no semantic properties. Referentially, a pronominal characteristic is to have lexicalized grammatical number and person. Syntactically, a pronominal characteristic is to be limited in the capacity to occur in all cases and take modifiers. Interpretively, a pronominal tends to have a short range of reference. In general, as a referential expression's function is closer to referencing (a pronominal function) than to naming (a nominal function), it will also tend to have less than nominal capacity in other grammatical aspects.

When these bases for the assessment of pronominality are applied to the comparison among the subcategories of referential expressions in Japanese and English, we find a substantive differences in the degrees of pronominality of Japanese and English referential expressions. Generally, the difference among the subcategories in Japanese is much smaller than the difference among the corresponding

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subcategories in English. Both pronouns and h-reflexives in Japanese are much less pronominal than English pronouns and c-reflexives are. In the lexical semantic and referential aspects, pronouns and reflexives in both Japanese and English have the pronominal characteristics of having limited semantic properties (such as gender and/or animacy distinction) and lexicalized referential properties (such as grammatical number and/or person). But most of the Japanese pronouns also have some implicational properties, which are nominal rather than pronominal characteristics. English pronouns do not have such implicational properties. Japanese h-reflexives do not have lexicalized grammatical person. In their morphological and syntactic aspects, Japanese pronouns and h-reflexives are as nominal as nouns; they are constant in form in different cases and numbers, are affixable, occur in all cases, and take modifiers. By contrast, English pronouns and c-reflexives are distinctly pronominal compared to nouns. Unlike nouns, English pronouns and c-reflexives come in a paradigmatic set of case- and number-specific forms. Syntactically, they do not take modifiers. The c-reflexives occur only in a (direct, indirect or prepositional) object case. Interpretively, as with nouns and pronouns in Japanese and English, the referential range of the Japanese h-reflexive is not

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limited to a clause or sentence. English c-reflexives have their referential range limited to a clause. These points of contrast are summarized in the charts (76) and (77) below.

76. Pronominality of Japanese Pronouns and Jibun

Nom'l/Pron'l Characteristics	Pronominality		
	Nom.	Int.	Pro.
+Semantic Properties		p,j	
+Implicational Prop's		p,j	
+Morphological Constancy	p,j		
+Affixable	p,j		
-Lexical Gram. Person	j		p
-Lexical Gram. Number			p,j
+Occurrence in All Cases	p,j		
+Co-occurrence with Modif.	p,j		
Range of Reference (+sentence external)	p,j		

Notes: p = pronouns
j = jibun

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77. Pronominality of English Pronouns and C-Reflexives

Nom'l/Pron'l Characteristics	Pronominality		
	Nom.	Int.	Pro.
+Semantic Properties		p,c	
+Implicational Prop's			p,c
+Morphological Constancy			p,c
+Affixable			p,c
-Lexical Gram. Person			p,c
-Lexical Gram. Number			p,c
+Occurrence in All Cases	p		c
+Co-occurrence with Modif.			p,c
Range of Reference (+sentence external)	p		c

Notes: p = pronouons
c = c-reflexives

When we take the Japanese h-reflexive jibun and English c-reflexives, the contrast in pronominality is the most noticeable. In simple numerical terms, of the nine distinctive nominal/pronominal characteristics, jibun is nominal on six counts, intermediately pronominal on two counts, and pronominal on one count, while English c-reflexives are pronominal on eight of the nine counts except the one count concerning semantic properties, with respect to which they are intermediately pronominal.

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Referential jibun is not a subcategory of Japanese ordinary pronouns in the sense that English c-reflexives are. But it is a functional derivative of nominal jibun with its nominal meaning reduced to nothing but the implicational [+empathy] (and other conceptually relevant implications such as [+subjective], [+point of view] and [+alive], etc.). With [+empathy] as the functional condition on its use, jibun refers to the speaker of the speech act in which it occurs as its primary referent by the pragmatic empathy hierarchy of "1st person first." If for some contextual reasons the speaker is not an appropriate referent, then jibun's referent is the one to whom the speaker's empathy is transferred. The identification of such a non-speaker referent of jibun is subject to discourse, semantic and syntactic factors, such as topicality, subjecthood, aliveness, awareness, etc., which together were found to affect empathizability with the referent. The notion "reflexive reference" expressed by jibun is the empathetic identification with and reference to the referent. It is an expression which indicates the represented (or direct) speech style. In contrast to this is the emphatic compound referential expression, NP-jishin, which makes a non-empathetic, emphatic reference to the referent, like English c-reflexives.

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In contrast to the h-reflexive jibun, English c-reflexives are a subcategory of ordinary pronouns. They are morphological derivatives of the ordinary English object case pronouns, in the form of a [+object] pronoun + emphatic morpheme (self). Consequently, c-reflexives are a syntactic and interpretive subcategory of ordinary pronouns, occurring in [+object] cases only out of all distributional possibilities of ordinary pronouns, and referring to the marked subcategory of the potential referents of ordinary [+object] pronouns. The mechanism of their reference is the effect of emphasis carried by the emphatic -self. The basis of referential markedness in this case is the pragmatic likelihood of an action of a referent directed to itself (or the image of it) as a direct, indirect or prepositional object, a reflexive reference in the English sense. A typical case is the relationship of the subject and direct object of a transitive action, in which a coreferential object is pragmatically unlikely, hence interpretively unpreferred and marked, and a noncoreferential object is pragmatically likely, hence interpretively preferred and unmarked. Since what dictates the use of the c-reflexives is not the reflexive action itself but the pragmatic likelihood of it, a coreferential object is not always the marked and a noncoreferential object the unmarked. In some cases, a

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coreferential object is pragmatically likely and unmarked, and a noncoreferential object pragmatically unlikely and marked, such as in the exemples in (36) in CHAPTER III (e.g., whether one can have an air of aloofness about oneself or other). The obligatory, optional or unacceptable use of a c-reflexive under the same syntactic and referential conditions hinges precisely upon the consideration of whether a coreferential situation is pragmatically likely or unlikely, as exemplified in CHAPTER III (examples in (30) through (37)). As a subcategory of ordinary pronouns with more limitations in the morphological paradigm, syntactic distribution and referential possibilities, English c-reflexives are higher in pronominality than ordinary pronouns.

In this view of reflexives in Japanese and English, the Japanese counterpart of the English c-reflexives is the emphatic compound pronouns of the form of a pronoun-jishin rather than the h-reflexive jibun. Both compound pronouns have a morphological, functional and interpretive commonality. Their reflexive reference can be explained by the same interpretive principle. Their differences are differences between the properties of the Japanese and English head pronouns which constitute a part of the compound form, as explained in CHAPTER III.

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I have compared the referential expresssions in Japanese and English with respect to pronominality of those expressions, specifically, how a grammatical aspect of an expression may correlae with other grammatical aspects of the expression. Taking what are conventionally put under the same category label of reflexives in Japanese and English, I have shown that they are composites of different grammatical aspects and properties. They have different morphological structures, semantic and implicational properties, syntactic capacities, referential functions and interpretive mechanisms. Their referential similarity in some cases in a clause represents a rather superficial and small overlap of the fundamentally different referential functions of two types of referential expressions, which have different ontological grounds. This study is an attempt to develop a grammaticl concept which will by design enable us to incorporate the multitudinous aspects of referential expressions into the explanation of linguistic devices for making a reference.

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