S-2

The Logophoric Hierarchy as Seen from the Point-of-View Projections

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1   The Logophoric Hierarchy

(1)   Source   the one who is the intentional agent of the communication
       Self   the one whose mental state or attitude the proposition describes
       Pivot   the one with respect to whose (time-space) location the content of the proposition is evaluated

2   Framework

2.1   POV Projections

The present analysis is couched in the analytical framework of Nishigauchi (2014a), with some significant amendments. The POV projections (Speas, 2004, Cinque, 1999) which play crucial roles in the analysis of POV-related phenomena in Japanese are:

(2)   I.   The Sentient class:

1. **Speech Act Phrase (SpAP)**: indicates the content of utterance.

2. **Evaluative (Mood) Phrase (EvalP)**: indicates the speaker's or a sentence protagonist's evaluation of the reported event or state (as good, bad, lucky, surprising, etc.)

3. **Evidential (Mood) Phrase (EvidP)**: indicates the nature of the speaker's evidence for the truth of propositions.

4. **Epistemological Phrase (EpisP)**: indicates the speaker's or a sentence protagonist's sensation or emotion.

   II.   The Axis class:

1. **Benefactive Phrase (BenefP)**: indicates the orientation of an action considered to be benefactive (indicates who takes the action as favor).

2. **Deixis Phrase (DeixP)**: indicates the location or orientation of the event or action.

2.2   'Agreement' with POV-sensitive elements

The POV-sensitive element, here represented as π, enters the relation of Agreement with the POV-head in whose domain it finds itself.

(3) $[_{POVP} \cdots \ \pi \ \cdots \ POV]$

Zibun is one such POV-sensitive element. While *zibun* can be in Agreement with any POV head, other POV-sensitive elements are selective, in such a way that *baka* 'that fool' Agrees with Speech Act (SpA), *hukakai* 'mysterious' Agrees with Evidential (Evid), etc.

   Following Speas (2004), we posit the presence of an argument serving as the 'POV-holder' in the Spec position of POVP.

(4) $$[_{POVP} \; \alpha \; [_{POV'} \ldots \pi \ldots] \; POV]$$

Thus, the construal of the POV-sensitive element, including the binding of *zibun*, in the local domain of POVP is obtained transitively from the two cases of Agreement involving the POV-head, one with the POV-sensitive element like *zibun*, the other with the 'POV-holder' in SpecPOVP.

If α in SpecPOVP is *pro*, it opens up the gate to control from an argument in a higher clause, accounting for what has been considered to be long distance (LD) binding of *zibun*.

2.3 Resolving control

(5) $$\ldots \; DP \; \ldots \; [_{POVP} \; pro \; [\ldots \; \pi \; \ldots] \; POV \;] \; V$$
(Control, Construal, Agree)

(6) A Sentient *pro* looks for a Sentient Focus.
An Axis *pro* looks for an Empathy Focus.

We define the Sentient Focus and the Empathy Focus as the following.

(7) **Sentient Focus** is one argument in the sentence whose referent can be understood as being necessarily aware of the semantic content of (i.e. the event or state described in) POVP containing *pro*. The holder of a *de se* belief Chierchia (1989), Huang and Liu (2001), etc.

Empathy Focus is one argument in the sentence whose referent can be understood as an individual who the speaker empathizes with.

(8) $$\ldots \; SF \; \ldots \; EF \; \ldots [_{SentPOVP} \; pro \; [_{AxisPOVP} \; pro \; \ldots AxisPOV \;] \; SentPOV \;]$$
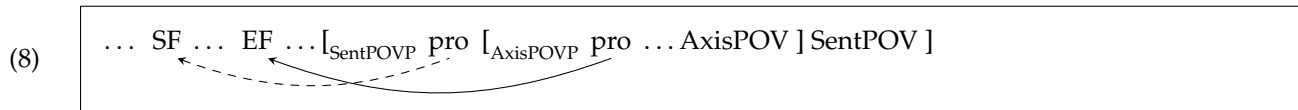
2.4 Correspondence with the Logophoric Hierarchy

(9)

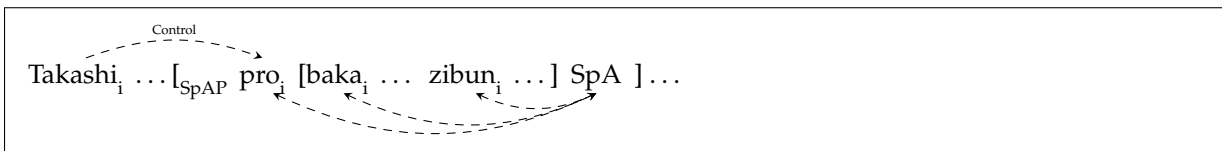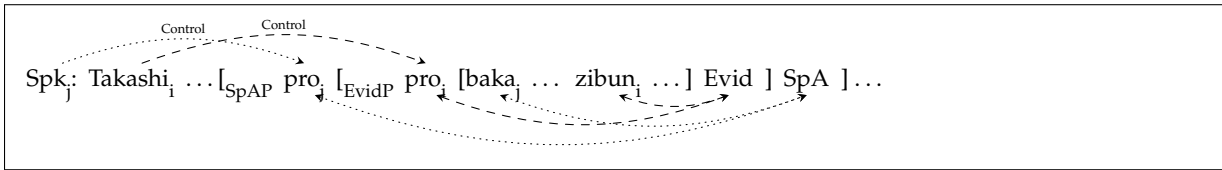| Sells's (1987) Discourse Roles	Controller of *pro* in Spec of __
Source	Speech Act (SpA)
Self	Evaluative, Evidential
Pivot	Benefactive, Deixis

2.5 Source-oriented POV-sensitive items

(10) Takasi$_i$-wa [baka-no Yosiko-ga zibun$_i$-o oikake-mawasi-te iru koto]-o hanasi-ta. (Sells, 1987, (45))
Takasi-Acc fool-Gen Yosiko-Nom self-Acc chase-around be that-Acc spoke

'Takashi[Source] said that that fool of Yoshiko was chasing self around.'

POV-Sensitive Item	POV-Holder	Role
baka	Takasi	Source

$$\text{Takashi}_i \; \ldots [_{SpAP} \; pro_i \; [baka_i \; \ldots \; zibun_i \; \ldots] \; SpA \;] \ldots$$
(Control)

POV-Sensitive Item	POV-Holder	Role
baka	Spk	Source

Control   Control

Spk$_j$: Takashi$_i$ …[$_{SpAP}$ pro$_j$ [$_{EvidP}$ pro$_i$ [baka$_j$ … zibun$_i$ …] Evid] SpA]…

(11) a. [Baka-no Yosiko-ga   zibun$_i$-o oikake-mawasi-te iru koto]-ga Mitiko$_i$-o   zetuboo-e
     fool-Gen Yosiko-Nom self-Acc chase-around   be that-Acc Mitiko-Acc desperation-to

     oiyat-ta.
     drive-Past

     'That that fool of Yoshiko was chasing self around drove Michiko[Self] to desperation.' (Sells, 1987, (47))

POV-Sensitive Item	POV-Holder	Role
baka	Spk	Source

Control

[Spk]: [$_{SpAP}$ pro$_j$ [$_{EvidP}$ pro$_i$ [Baka … zibun$_i$ … Evid] SpA] Mitiko$_i$ …
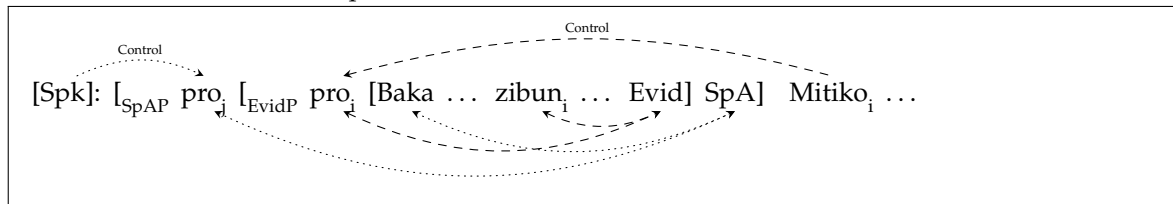
    b. Baka-no Yosiko-ga   zibun$_i$-o tazune-te ki-ta   toki, Takasi-wa hon-o   yon-de i-ta.
      fool-Gen Yosiko-Nom self-Acc visit   come-Past when, Takasi-Top book-Acc read   be-Past

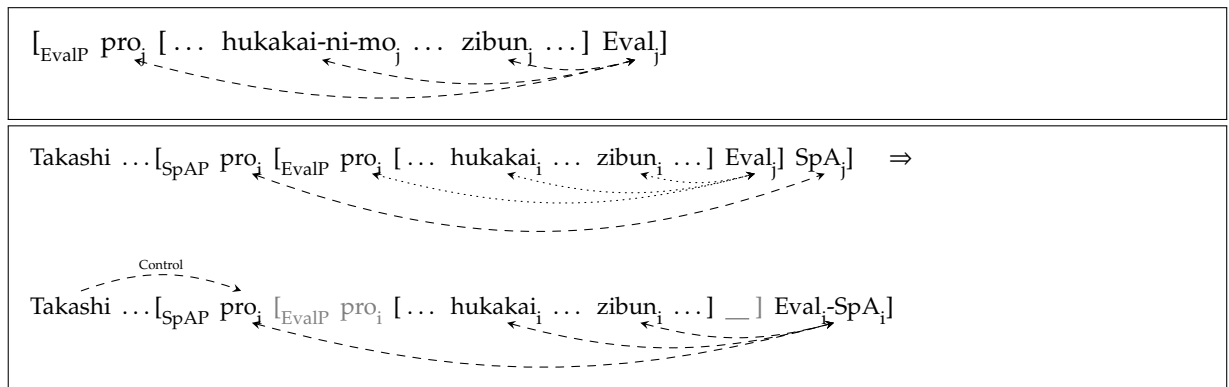   'When that fool of Yoshiko came visiting self, Takashi[Pivot] was reading a book.'

POV-Sensitive Item	POV-Holder	Role
baka	Spk	Source

Control

[Spk]: [$_{SpAP}$ pro$_j$ [$_{DeixP}$ pro$_i$ [Baka … zibun$_i$ … ki$_{Deix}$] SpA] Takasi$_i$ …
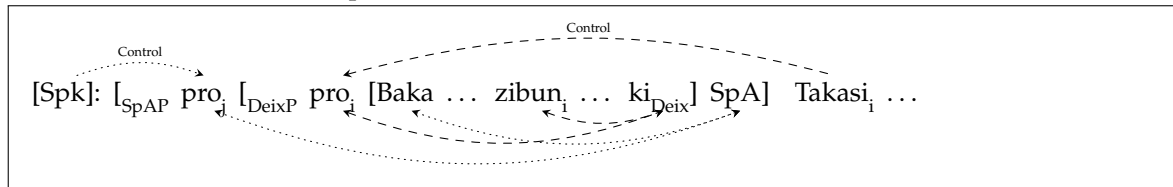
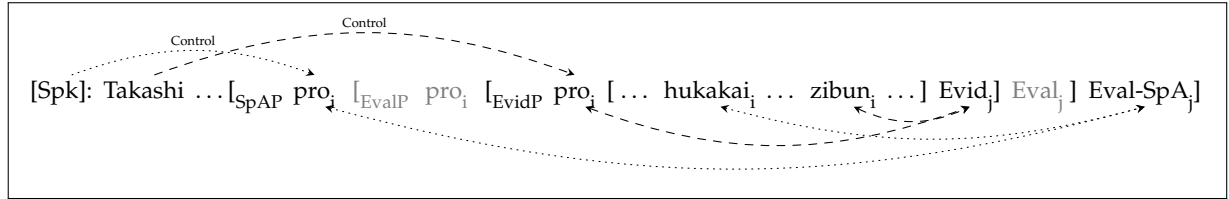## 2.6 Self-oriented POV-sensitive items

(12) a. Takasi$_i$-wa [Yosiko-ga   hukakai-ni-mo zibun$_i$-o oikake-mawasi-te iru koto]-o   hanasi-ta.
     Takasi-Acc Yosiko-Nom mysteriously   self-Acc chase-around   be that-Acc spoke

     'Takashi said that mysteriously Yoshiko was chasing self around.' (Sells, 1987, (49))

POV-Sensitive Item	POV-Holder	Role
hukakai	Takasi	Source

[$_{EvalP}$ pro$_i$ [… hukakai-ni-mo$_j$ … zibun$_i$ …] Eval$_j$]

Takashi …[$_{SpAP}$ pro$_j$ [$_{EvalP}$ pro$_i$ [… hukakai$_i$ … zibun$_i$ …] Eval$_j$] SpA$_j$]   ⇒

Control

Takashi …[$_{SpAP}$ pro$_i$ [$_{EvalP}$ pro$_i$ [… hukakai$_i$ … zibun$_i$ …] __] Eval$_i$-SpA$_i$]
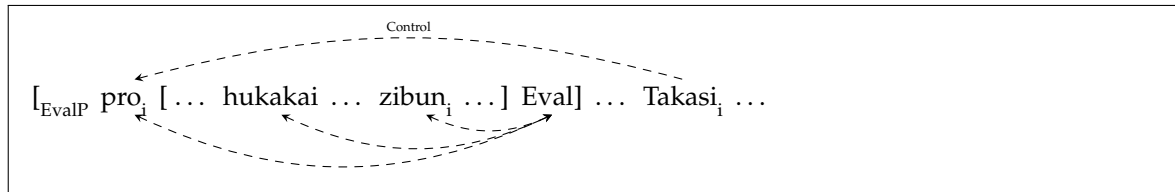
Because of this head-movement, the Agreement domain of SpA gets broadened so that *hukakai*, as well as *zibun*, is now in the Agreement domain of SpA.

POV-Sensitive Item	POV-Holder	Role
hukakai	Spk	Source

[Spk]: Takashi ... [$_{SpAP}$ pro$_i$ [$_{EvalP}$ pro$_i$ [$_{EvidP}$ pro$_i$ [... hukakai$_i$ ... zibun$_i$ ...] Evid$_j$] Eval$_j$] Eval-SpA$_j$]
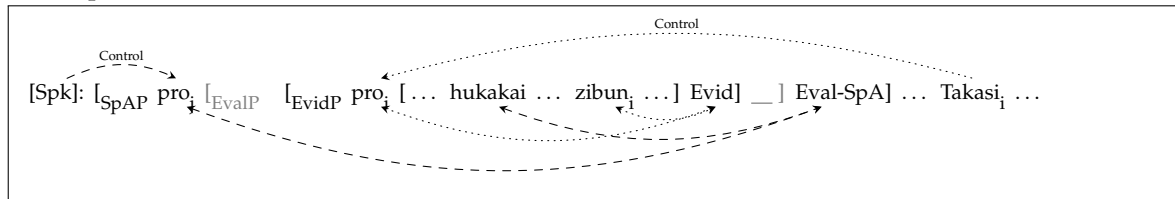
b. [Yosiko-ga   hukakai-ni-mo zibun$_i$-o oikake-mawasi-te iru koto]-ga Takasi$_i$-o   iradatase-te-iru.
    Yosiko-Nom mysteriously   self-Acc chase-around   be   that-Acc Takasi-Acc irritating-is

'That mysteriously Yoshiko was chasing self around is irritating Takashi.' (Sells, 1987, (51))

POV-Sensitive Item	POV-Holder	Role
hukakai	Takashi	Self

[$_{EvalP}$ pro$_i$ [... hukakai ... zibun$_i$ ...] Eval] ... Takasi$_i$ ...

POV-Holder	Role
Spk	Source

[Spk]: [$_{SpAP}$ pro$_i$ [$_{EvalP}$ [$_{EvidP}$ pro$_i$ [... hukakai ... zibun$_i$ ...] Evid] __] Eval-SpA] ... Takasi$_i$ ...

c. Yosiko-ga   hukakai-ni-mo zibun$_i$-o tazune-te ki-ta   toki, Takasi$_i$-wa gussuri nemut-te
    Yosiko-Nom mysteriously   self-Acc visit   come-Past when, Takasi-Top fast   asleep

    i-ta.
    be-Past

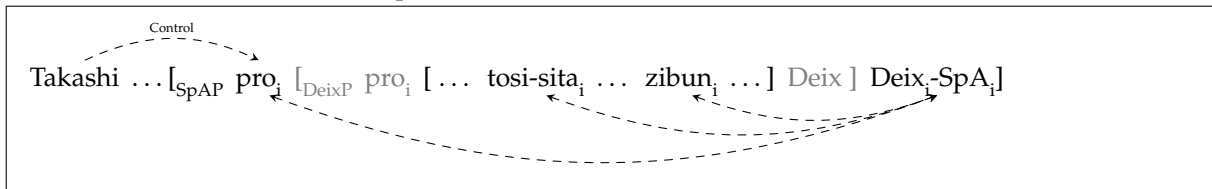'When Yoshiko mysteriously came visiting self, Takashi was fast asleep.'

POV-Sensitive Item	POV-Holder	Role
hukakai	Spk	Source

[Spk]: [$_{EvalP}$ pro$_i$ [$_{DeixP}$ pro$_i$ [... hukakai ... zibun$_i$ ... ki$_{Deix}$] Eval] Takasi$_i$ ...
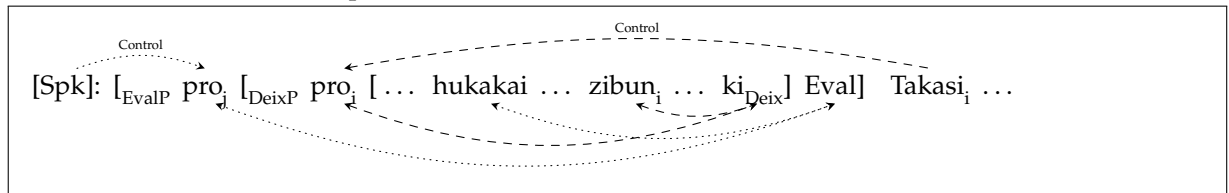
2.7 Pivot-oriented POV-sensitive items
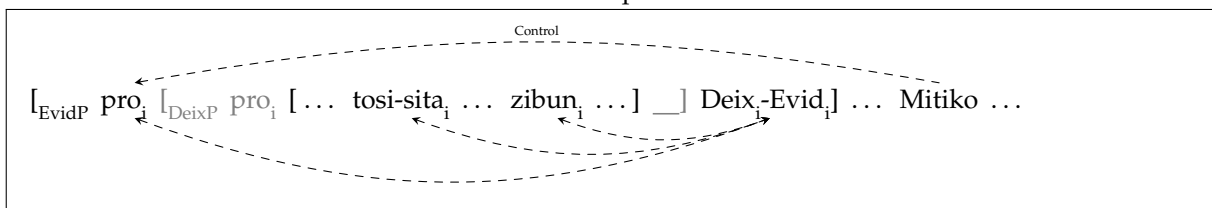
(13) a. Takasi$_i$-wa [tosi-sita-no Yosiko-ga   zibun$_i$-o nikun-de iru koto]-o   hanasi-ta.
        Takasi-Acc junior   Yosiko-Nom self-Acc hate   be   that-Acc spoke

    'Takashi said that Yoshiko, who is younger, hated self.' (Sells, 1987, (45) adapted)

POV-Sensitive Item	POV-Holder	Role
tosi-sita	Takasi, *Spk	Source

Control

Takashi ... [$_{SpAP}$ pro$_i$ [$_{DeixP}$ pro$_i$ [... tosi-sita$_i$ ... zibun$_i$ ...] Deix] Deix$_i$-SpA$_i$]
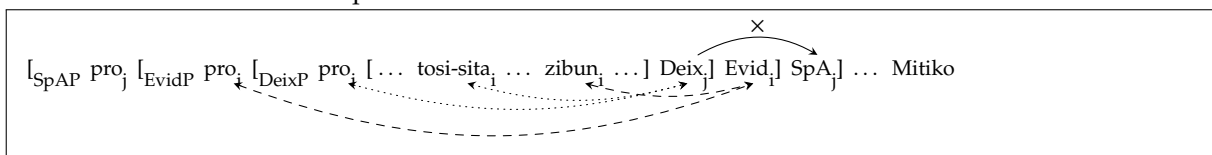
b. [Tosi-sita-no Yosiko-ga   zibun$_i$-o nikun-de iru koto]-ga Mitiko$_i$-o   zetuboo-e   oiyat-ta.
   junior   Yosiko-Nom self-Acc hate   be that-Acc Mitiko-Acc desperation-to drive-Past

'That Yoshiko, who is younger, hated self drove Michiko to desperation.' (Sells, 1987, (47) adapted)

POV-Sensitive Item	POV-Holder	Role	POV-Holder	Role
tosi-sita	Takasi	Self	*Spk	Source or Self

Control

[$_{EvidP}$ pro$_i$ [$_{DeixP}$ pro$_i$ [... tosi-sita$_i$ ... zibun$_i$ ...] __] Deix$_i$-Evid$_i$] ... Mitiko ...

POV-Sensitive Item	POV-Holder	Role
tosi-sita	*Spk	Source

×

[$_{SpAP}$ pro$_j$ [$_{EvidP}$ pro$_i$ [$_{DeixP}$ pro$_i$ [... tosi-sita$_i$ ... zibun$_i$ ...] Deix$_i$] Evid$_i$] SpA$_j$] ... Mitiko

I take Minimality in a broad sense, in such a way that an intervening category y blocks a syntactic operation relating two elements x and z, where x, y, z are of the same kind (phrasal or lexical), and x c-commands y and y c-commands z. (Rizzi, 1990)

c. Tosi-sita-no Yosiko-ga   zibun$_i$-o kenasi-te iru aida, Takasi-wa gussuri nemut-te i-ta.
   junior   Yosiko-Nom self-Acc criticize be while, Takasi-Top fast   asleep   be-Past

'While Yoshiko, who is younger, was criticizing self, Takashi was fast asleep.'

POV-Sensitive Item	POV-Holder	Role	POV-Holder	Role
tosi-sita	Takasi	Pivot	*Spk	Source or Self

Control

[$_{DeixP}$ pro$_i$ [... tosi-sita ... zibun$_i$ ...] Deix] ... Takasi$_i$[EF] ...
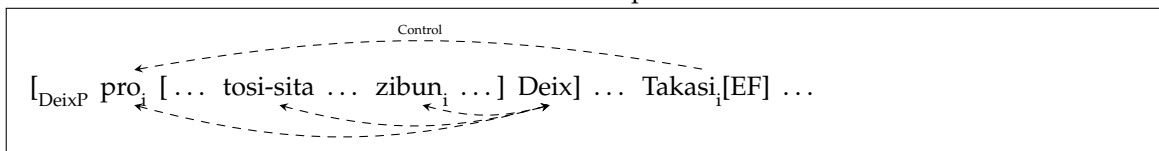
(14) *Yosiko-ga   zibun$_i$-o kenasi-te iru aida, Takasi$_i$-wa gussuri nemut-te i-ta.
     Yosiko-Nom self-Acc criticize be while, Takasi-Top fast   asleep   be-Past

'While Yoshiko was criticizing self, Takashi was fast asleep.'

The construal of *zibun* with Takashi is in violation of the Awareness Condition (Nishigauchi, 2014a).

(15) Tosi-sita-no Yosiko-ga   zibun$_i$-o yobi-ni ki-ta   toki,   Takasi$_i$-wa gussuri nemut-te i-ta.
     junior-Gen Yosiko-Nom self-Acc call   come-Past when, Takasi-Top fast   asleep   be-Past

'When Yoshiko, who was younger, came to call to self, Takashi was fast asleep.'
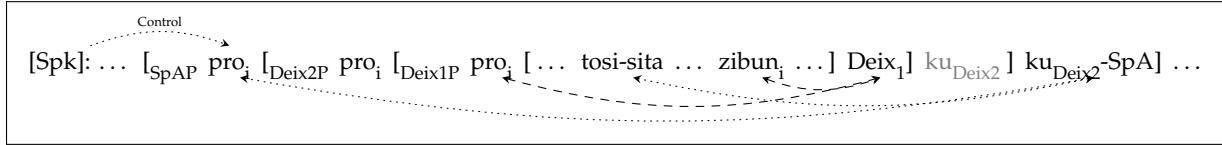
3 Taxonomy of POV-sensitive expressions

3.1 Source-oriented expressions

1. Epithets (Sells, 1987): *baka*
2. Honorific suffixes (田窪, 2010): *Tanaka-kun, Tanaka-san*, etc.

(16) [Tanaka-kun-ga   hukakai-ni-mo zibun$_i$-o oikake-mawasi-te iru koto]-ga Mitiko$_i$-o
     Tanaka-Hon-Nom mysteriously self-Acc chase-around   be that-Acc Mitiko-Acc
       komar-ase-te-iru.
       annoying-is

'That mysteriously Tanaka was chasing self around is annoying Michiko.'

In (16), Tanaka may be a junior to the speaker [Source], while he may be Michiko's mentor, so from her POV he is 'Tanaka-sensei'.

3.2 Self-oriented expressions

- Subjective predicates (Bylinina, McCready and Sudo, 2014)
    1. Vague predicates: tall, short, wide, etc.
    2. Predicates of personal tastes: interesting, boring, tasty, etc.

(17) Yuusyuu-na gakusei-ga   zibun-o in'yoo-sita koto-ga   Suzuki-kyoozyu-o {yuumei-ni /
     excellent   student-Nom self-Acc quote-did that-Nom Prof. Suzuki-Acc   famous
       zyoo-kigen-ni} si-ta.
       happy   make-Past

'That an excellent student quoted self made Prof. Suzuki {famous / happy}.'

With *yuumei* 'famous', *yuusyuu* 'excellent' represents (only) the speaker's evaluation, while with *zyoo-kigen* 'happy' it can be either the speaker's or Suzuki's evaluation.

3.3 Pivot-oriented expressions

Bylinina, McCready and Sudo (2014):

1. Relative locative expressions: to the left, behind, etc.
2. Relative socio-cultural expressions: foreigner, fellow, etc.
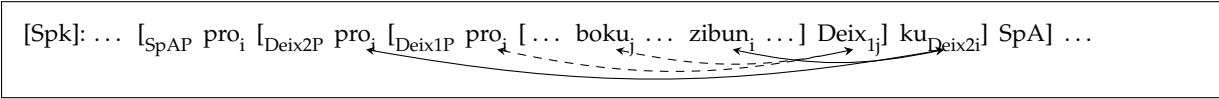3. Indexicals: I, you, this guy, etc.

(18) {Dooryoo-tati-ga   / *Yosiko-ga} zibun-o kenasite-iru aida, Takasi-wa   gussuri nemut-te ita.
     colleague-Pl-Nom   Yosiko-Nom self-Acc criticize   while, Takasi-Nom fast   asleep   be-Past

'While {(his) colleagues were / Yosiko was } criticizing self, Takashi was fast asleep.'

Construal of *zibun* with Takashi is contingent on the interpretation that *dooryoo* 'colleague' is his fellows.
  The indexical causes the blocking effect, but only in the Pivot-oriented environment (西垣内, 2014b):
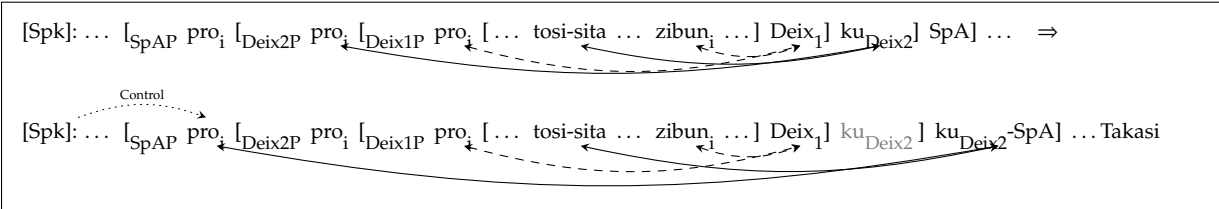
(19) {Boku-ga / koitu☞-ga} zibun-o kenasi-ta koto-ga Takasi-o gakkari   sase-ta.
     I-Nom   this guy-Nom self-Acc criticize-Past that-Nom Takasi-Top discouraged make-Past

'That {I / this guy} criticized self discouraged Takashi.'

(20) *{Boku-ga / koitu☞-ga}   zibun-o yobi-ni ki-ta   toki, Takasi-wa gussuri nemut-te ita.
     I-Nom   this guy-Nom self-Acc call   come-Past when Takasi-Top fast   asleep be-Past

'When {I / this guy} came to call to self, Takashi was fast asleep.'

$[\text{Spk}]: \ldots [_{\text{SpAP}} \text{pro}_i [_{\text{Deix2P}} \text{pro}_i [_{\text{Deix1P}} \text{pro}_i [\ldots \text{boku}_j \ldots \text{zibun}_i \ldots] \text{Deix}_{1j}] \text{ku}_{\text{Deix2i}}] \text{SpA}] \ldots$

(21)   POV-heads of the Axis class have to bear the identical index. (西垣内, 2014b)

(15)   Tosi-sita-no Yosiko-ga   zibun$_i$-o yobi-ni ki-ta   toki, Takasi$_i$-wa gussuri nemut-te i-ta.
       junior-Gen Yosiko-Nom self-Acc call   come-Past when, Takasi-Top fast   asleep be-Past

'When Yoshiko, who was younger, came to call to self, Takashi was fast asleep.'

$[\text{Spk}]: \ldots [_{\text{SpAP}} \text{pro}_i [_{\text{Deix2P}} \text{pro}_i [_{\text{Deix1P}} \text{pro}_i [\ldots \text{tosi-sita} \ldots \text{zibun}_i \ldots] \text{Deix}_1] \text{ku}_{\text{Deix2}}] \text{SpA}] \ldots \Rightarrow$

Control

$[\text{Spk}]: \ldots [_{\text{SpAP}} \text{pro}_i [_{\text{Deix2P}} \text{pro}_i [_{\text{Deix1P}} \text{pro}_i [\ldots \text{tosi-sita} \ldots \text{zibun}_i \ldots] \text{Deix}_1] \text{ku}_{\text{Deix2}}] \text{ku}_{\text{Deix2}}\text{-SpA}] \ldots \text{Takasi}$

- The indexical is inherently anchored to the speaker, while relative POV items (such as *junior*) can be anchored to the speaker only by virtue of Deix merging with SpA or Eval.

- In (20) the index of Deix1 gets fixed as soon as it enters Agreement with the indexical.

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