

## 7.

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*A peculiar restriction on the long-distance “anaphor” zibun in Japanese*

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It has been observed that the Japanese “anaphor” *zibun* ‘self’, as opposed to other anaphors like *kare-zisin* ‘him-self’ and *zibun-zisin* ‘self-self’, allows a long distance antecedent with relative freedom as in (1).

- (1) a. Masao<sub>i</sub>-wa [Mai-ga zibun<sub>i</sub>/\*kare-zisin<sub>i</sub>/\*zibun-zisin<sub>i</sub>-o yobidasi-ta-to]  
 Masao<sub>i</sub>-TOP [Mai-NOM self<sub>i</sub>/ \*him-self<sub>i</sub>/\*self-self<sub>i</sub>-ACC page-PERF-COMP]  
 omot-ta.  
 think-PERF  
 ‘Masao<sub>i</sub> thought that Mai had paged him<sub>i</sub>.’
- b. Sano<sub>i</sub>-san-wa [kazoku-ga [zibun<sub>i</sub>/\*kare-zisin<sub>i</sub>/\*zibun-zisin<sub>i</sub>-ga  
 Sano<sub>i</sub>-TOP [family-NOM [self<sub>i</sub>/\*him-self<sub>i</sub>/\*self-self<sub>i</sub>-NOM  
 mada dokoka-de iki-te-iru-to] sinzi-te-iru-to] omot-ta.  
 still somewhere-at live-PRT-PROG-COMP] believe-PRT-PROG] think-PERF  
 ‘Mr. Sano<sub>i</sub> thought that his family believed that he<sub>i</sub> was still alive somewhere.’

However, when *zibun* is in the subject position of a finite clause, there appears to be a peculiar restriction on its long-distance use. Namely, the verb of the clause containing *zibun* cannot be a copula as shown in (2). As can be seen in (2b), this restriction is valid even if the copula is phonologically null.

- (2) a. \*Tomomi<sub>i</sub>-wa [otoko-tati-ga [zibun<sub>i</sub>-ga bizin-da-to]  
 Tomomi<sub>i</sub>-TOP [man-PL-NOM [self<sub>i</sub>-NOM beauty-be-COMP]  
 omot-te-iru-to] sinzi-te-iru.  
 think-PRT-PROG-COMP] believe-PRT-PROG  
 ‘Tomomii believes that the men think that she<sub>i</sub> is beautiful.’
- b. \*Tomomi<sub>i</sub>-wa [otoko-tati-ga [zibun<sub>i</sub>-ga kawaii- $\emptyset_{be}$ -to]  
 Tomomi<sub>i</sub>-TOP [man-PL-NOM [self<sub>i</sub>-NOM pretty- $\emptyset_{be}$ -COMP]  
 omot-te-iru-to] sinzi-te-iru.  
 think-PRT-PROG-COMP] believe-PRT-PROG  
 ‘Tomomi<sub>i</sub> believes that the men think that she<sub>i</sub> is pretty.’

As shown in (3), the restriction does not hold for local *zibun*.

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- (3) a. Tomomi<sub>i</sub> -wa [zibun<sub>i</sub>-ga bizin-da-to] omot-te-iru.  
 Tomomi<sub>i</sub> -TOP [self<sub>i</sub>-NOM beauty-be-COMP] think-PRT-PROG  
 ‘Tomomi<sub>i</sub> thinks that she<sub>i</sub> is beautiful.’
- b. Tomomi<sub>i</sub> -wa [zibun<sub>i</sub>-ga kawaii-Ø<sub>be</sub>-to] omot-te-iru.  
 Tomomi<sub>i</sub> -TOP [self<sub>i</sub>-NOM pretty-Ø<sub>be</sub>-COMP] think-PRT-PROG  
 ‘Tomomi<sub>i</sub> thinks that she<sub>i</sub> is pretty.’

Even more curiously, in the ECM counterparts of (2) *zibun* has no problem taking a long-distance antecedent as shown in (4).

- (4) a. Tomomi<sub>i</sub>-wa [otoko-tati-ga [zibun<sub>i</sub>-o bizin-da-to]  
 Tomomi<sub>i</sub>-TOP [man-pl-NOM [self<sub>i</sub>-ACC beauty-be-COMP]  
 omot-te-iru-to] sinzi-te-iru.  
 think-PRT-PROG-COMP] believe-PRT-PROG  
 ‘Tomomi<sub>i</sub> believes that the men think her<sub>i</sub> to be beautiful.’
- b. Tomomi<sub>i</sub>-wa [otoko-tati-ga [zibun<sub>i</sub>-o kawaii-Ø<sub>be</sub>-to]  
 Tomomi<sub>i</sub>-TOP [man-PL-NOM [self<sub>i</sub>-ACC pretty-Ø<sub>be</sub>-COMP]  
 omot-te-iru-to] sinzi-te-iru.  
 think-PRT-PROG-COMP] believe-PRT-PROG  
 ‘Tomomi<sub>i</sub> believes that the men think her<sub>i</sub> to be pretty.’

The above data cannot be taken to indicate that ECM makes subject *zibun* local to the antecedent somehow, say by raising-to-object, because, as illustrated in (5), local anaphor *kanozyo-zisin* ‘her-self’ and *zibun-zisin* ‘self-self’ are still impossible in this construction.

- (5) a. \*Tomomi<sub>i</sub>-wa [otoko-tati-ga [kanozyo-zisin<sub>i</sub>/zibun-zisin<sub>i</sub>-o bizin-da-to]  
 Tomomi<sub>i</sub>-TOP [man-PL-NOM [her-self<sub>i</sub>/self-self<sub>i</sub>-ACC beauty-be-COMP]  
 omot-te-iru-to] sinzi-te-iru.  
 think-PRT-PROG-COMP] believe-PRT-PROG  
 ‘Tomomi<sub>i</sub> believes that the men think her<sub>i</sub> to be beautiful.’
- b. \*Tomomi<sub>i</sub>-wa [otoko-tati-ga [kanozyo-zisin<sub>i</sub>/zibun-zisin<sub>i</sub>-o kawaii-Ø<sub>be</sub>-to]  
 Tomomi<sub>i</sub>-TOP [man-PL-NOM [her-self<sub>i</sub>/self-self<sub>i</sub>-ACC pretty-Ø<sub>be</sub>-COMP]  
 omot-te-iru-to] sinzi-te-iru.  
 think-PRT-PROG-COMP] believe-PRT-PROG  
 ‘Tomomi<sub>i</sub> believes that the men think her<sub>i</sub> to be pretty.’

The exact nature of the restriction is unclear, but it is probably safe to say that for *zibun*, at least in its long-distance use, there are quite different licensing conditions involved than for other anaphors.