

Some Split Antecedents are not Split*

Hironobu Kasai

University of California, Irvine/University of Tokyo

hkasai@uci.edu

Abstract

Takano (1999) argues that "oblique movement" (movement of an element to another element that does not dominate that element) plays a crucial role in making a constituent in the cleft construction which has multiple foci in Japanese. This paper argues that oblique movement makes a constituent at LF, based on the 'split antecedents' phenomena in Japanese. Antecedents of anaphors can be split on the surface in Japanese unlike English. I propose that oblique movement combines discontinuous antecedents on the surface into a single constituent at LF in Japanese. In this paper, I reduce the difference with respect to split antecedents between Japanese and English to the presence/absence of oblique movement.

Keywords: split antecedents, oblique movement, subject orientation, anaphora, LF-movement

1. Introduction

In English, anaphors do not allow 'split antecedents,' unlike pronouns, as shown in (1a). Split antecedents refer to structurally split binders in the sentence.

- (1) a. *John₁ asked Mary₂ about themselves_{1,2}.
b. John₁ told Mary₂ they_{1,2} should leave.

In (1a), the anaphor *themselves* cannot refer to John and Mary. In contrast, *they* can refer to John and Mary in (1b). However, Japanese allows antecedents of anaphors to be split, which is illustrated in (2).^{1,2}

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¹ In this paper, I will use the following notation:

Nom = nominative, Dat = dative, Pl = plural, Gen = genitive, Acc = accusative, NM = nominalizer, Top = topic, Cl = classifier, Comp = complementizer, Prt = particle, Q = question marker, Neg = negation, Past = past morpheme.

² Katada (1990) makes this observation with respect to the following example.

- (2) a. John-ga₁ Mary-ni₂ zibun-tati /karera-zisin -ni-tuite_{1,2} hanasita.
 John -Nom Mary-Dat self-PI/ they-self - Dat-about told
 'John₁ told Mary₂ about them_{1,2}.'
- b. John-ga₁ Mary-to₂ zibun-tati/karera-zisin -ni-tuite_{1,2} gironsita.
 John -Nom Mary-with self-PI/ they-self - Dat-about discussed
 'John₁ discussed them_{1,2} with Mary₂.'

As (2) shows, Japanese reflexives such as *zibun-tati* 'self-PI' and *karera-zisin* 'they-self' refer to John and Mary.³

In this paper, I will inquire why the difference between (1a) and (2) arises. I would like to propose the following. First, the condition that anaphors do not allow split antecedents applies at LF.⁴ Second, Japanese has an option of combining split antecedents into one single constituent by movement, which is independently motivated by phenomena other than binding.

This paper is organized as follows. In section 2, I will investigate some properties of *zibun-tati* 'self-PI' and *karera-zisin* 'they-self'. In section 3, I will propose that split antecedents are combined at LF by movement, which is called 'oblique movement' in Takano (1999). In section 4, I will discuss locality of oblique movement. In section 5, I will conclude the paper.

2. Some properties of *zibun-tati* and *karera-zisin*

2.1. Locality and subject orientation

In this section, I will investigate some properties of *zibun-tati* and *karera-zisin*. First, *zibun-tati* 'self-PI' behaves as an anaphor, not as a pronoun, as shown in the following sentences:

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- (i) Taroo-ga₁ Ziroo-ni₂ zibun-tati/zibun-tati-zisin/karera-zisin_{1,2}-no keikaku-o hanasita.
 Taroo-Nom Ziroo-Dat self-PI/self-PI-self/they-self/-Gen plan-Acc told
 'Taro₁ told Ziro₂ about their_{1,2} plan.'

(Katada 1990: 72)

³ According to my informant, anaphors allow split antecedents in Korean, too. The relevant examples are as follows:

- (i) a. John-i Mary-eykey caki-tul/kutul-casin-ey-tayhay yeykihayessta.
 John-Nom Mary-Dat self-PI/they-self-Dat-about talked.
 b. John-i Mary-eykey caki-tul/kutul-casin-ey-tayhan yeyki-lul hayessta.
 John-Nom Mary-Dat self-PI/ they-self-Dat-about talk-ACC did.
 'John₁ talked to Mary₂ about them_{1,2}.'

⁴ See Higginbotham (1983) and Lasnik and Uriagereka (1988) for the relevant condition in detail.

- (3) a. [John to Mary]₁-ga zibun-tati/karera-zisin-o₁ hihansita.
 John and Mary-Nom self-Pl/they-self-Acc criticized
 '[John and Mary]₁ criticized themselves₁.'
- b. *[John to Mary]-ga₁ karera-o₁ hihansita.
 John and Mary-Nom them-Acc criticized
 '[John and Mary]₁ criticized them₁.'

Example (3b) induces the Binding Condition B effects. If *zibun-tati* 'self-Pl' were a pronoun, (3a) would be ungrammatical on a par with (3b). Thus, *zibun-tati* 'self-Pl' is an anaphor in a simplex sentence.

Second, *zibun-tati* 'self-Pl' exhibits long distance binding like *zibun* 'self'. In contrast, *zibun-zisin* 'self-self' and *karera-zisin* 'they-self' do not allow long distance binding. This is illustrated as follows.

- (4) a. Bill-ga₁ [John-ga zibun-o₁ nikundeiru to] itta.
 Bill-Nom John-Nom self-Acc hate Comp said
 'Bill₁ said that John hated him₁.'
- b. [Bill to Tom]-ga₁ [John-ga zibun-tati-o₁ nikundeiru to] itta.
 [Bill and Mary]-Nom John-Nom self-Pl-Acc hate Comp said
 '[Bill and Tom]₁ said that John hated them₁.'
- c. *Bill-ga₁ [John-ga zibun-zisin/karera-zisin-o₁ nikundeiru to] itta.
 Bill-Nom John-Nom self-self/they-self-Acc hate Comp said
 'Bill₁ said that John hated him₁.'

Third, *zibun-tati* 'self-Pl' exhibits subject orientation like *zibun* 'self' and *zibun-zisin* 'self-self', as shown in the following sentences. Sentences (5a) and (5b) are ungrammatical because the anaphors refer to the non-subjects. In contrast, *karera-zisin* does not exhibit subject orientation. As (5c) shows, *karera-zisin* 'they-self' refers to *Mary*, which is a non-subject.

- (5) a. *John-ga Tom-ni₁ zibun/zibun-zisin-ni-tuite₁ hanasita.
 John-Nom Tom-Dat self/self-self-Dat-about told
 'John told Tom₁ about himself₁.'
- b. *John-ga [Tom to Mary-ni]₁ zibun-tati-ni-tuite₁ hanasita.
 John-Nom Tom and Mary-Dat self-Pl-Dat-about told
 'John told [Tom and Mary]₁ about themselves₁.'

- c. John-ga Tom to Mary-ni₁ karera-zisin-ni-tuite₁ hanasita.
 John-Nom Tom and Mary-Dat they-self-Dat-about told
 'John told [Tom and Mary]₁ about themselves₁.'

Interestingly, however, *zibun-tati* 'self-Pl' refers to non-subject NPs as its antecedent in the case of split antecedents, as given in (2a), which is repeated as (6). I will give an explanation for (6) later.

- (6) John-ga₁ Mary-ni₂ zibun-tati-ni-tuite_{1,2} hanasita.
 John -Nom Mary-Dat self-Pl- Dat-about told
 'John₁ told Mary₂ about them_{1,2}.'

2.2. *Zibun-tati* and logophoricity

Abe (1995) proposes that there are two kinds of *zibun* 'self'.⁵ In other words, *zibun* behaves ambiguously in its binding features. As a logophoric pronoun it does not obey the Binding Condition A. It is subject to the awareness requirement, which is proposed by Kuno (1973: 322).⁶ Let us consider the following example:

- (7) John-wa₁ [zibun-o₁ kiratteiru] onna-to kekkonsite-simaimasita yo.
 John-Top self-Acc hate woman-with marrying-ended-up
 'John₁ ended up marrying a woman who hated him₁.'

(Abe 1995: 595, originally cited from Kuno 1972: 184)

The awareness requirement is that the referent of the antecedent of *zibun* must be aware of an action or state that the constituent clause represents. In (7), for example, John must be aware that the woman hated him. This implication disappears if *zibun* is replaced by the pronominal *kare*. In (8), John does not have to be aware that the woman hates him.⁷

⁵ See also Huang and Liu (2001) for similar analyses of Chinese reflexives.

⁶ Kuno's (1973) awareness condition is as follows:

(i) *Zibun* in a constituent clause (A) [= a subordinate clause] is coreferential with a noun phrase (B) of the matrix sentence only if A represents an action or state that the referent of B is aware of at the time it takes place or has come to be aware of at some later time.

(Kuno 1973:322)

⁷ If the following sentence follows (7), contradiction will arise.

(i) John-wa₁ pro₁ kiraw-are-teiru koto-o siranakatta node.
 John-Top be-hated fact-Acc know-Neg-Past because
 'Because John did not know that he was hated.'

In contrast, (8) is compatible with (i).

(8) John-wa₁ [kare-o₁ kiratteiru] onna-to kekkonsite-simaimasita yo.
 John-Top he-Acc hate woman-with marrying-ended-up
 'John₁ ended up marrying a woman who hated him₁.

(ibid.)

The awareness requirement does not apply when *zibun* appears in a simplex sentence in cases like (9). As a pure anaphor, it is subject to the Binding Condition A.

(9) Miyuki-wa₁ zibun-no₁ titioya-o aisiteiru.
 Miyuki-top self-Gen father-Acc love
 'Miyuki₁ loves her₁ father.'

(Abe 1995: 598)

Abe provides the following context. Suppose that Miyuki loves her husband and further that he is in fact her father, but she does not know this fact. In this context, (9) can be interpreted in such a way that the referent of *zibun*, namely, Miyuki, does not have access to the reference of 'self's father' as her husband.

Abe's point is that the anaphoric *zibun* never allows long distance-binding on a par with English reflexives. *Zibun*, which violates the Binding Condition A, is not an anaphor but a logophoric pronoun. The awareness requirement is operative only in those sentences where the anaphoric *zibun* does not satisfy the Binding Condition A.

In section 2.1, I have noted that *zibun-tati* 'self Pl' allows long distance binding. If Abe's analysis goes the right direction, it is possible that *zibun-tati*, which violates the Binding Condition A, can be a logophoric pronoun in the same way as *zibun*. Let us consider this possibility.

- (10) a. [John to Mary-wa]₁ [zibun-tati-o₁ kiratteiru] onna-to issyo-ni sundeiru.
 John and Mary-Top self-Pl-Acc hate woman-with together living
 '[John and Mary]₁ are living with a woman who hates them₁.
 b. [John to Mary-wa]₁ [karera-o₁ kiratteiru] onna-to issyo-ni sundeiru.
 John and Mary-Top they-Acc hate woman-with together living
 '[John and Mary]₁ are living with a woman who hates them₁.

In (10a), John and Mary must be aware that the woman hates them but such implication disappears in (10b).

Let us turn to cases of split antecedents.

- (11) a. John-ga₁ Mary-ni₂ [Tom-ga [zibun-tati-o_{1,2} kiratteiru] onna-to issyo-ni
 John-Nom Mary-Dat Tom-Nom self-Pl-Acc hate woman-with together
 sundeiru] to itta.
 living Comp said
 'John₁ told Mary₂ that Tom was living with a woman who hated them_{1,2}.
- b. John-ga₁ Mary-ni₂ [Tom-ga [karera-o_{1,2} kiratteiru] onna-to issyo-ni
 John-Nom Mary-Dat Tom-Nom they-Acc hate woman-with together
 sundeiru] to itta.
 living Comp said
 'John₁ told Mary₂ that Tom was living with a woman who hated them_{1,2}.

The situation is the same as (10). The awareness requirement is operative in (11a), but not in (11b).⁸ Thus, the long-distance-bound *zibun-tati* is a logophoric pronoun.

Finally, I will consider cases where *zibun-tati* is locally bound in cases like (12).

- (12) John-ga₁ Mary-ni₂ zibun-tati-no_{1,2}-syusseï-no-himitu-o hanasita.
 John-Nom Mary-Dat self-Pl-Gen-birth-secret-Acc told
 'John₁ told Mary₂ secrets about their_{1,2} birth.'

Sentence (12) does not imply that John and Mary must be aware of John's having told Mary secrets about their birth. If *zibun-tati* were a logophoric pronoun, the awareness requirement would be operative in (12). However, it is not the case in (12).⁹ The fact that *zibun-tati* allows split antecedents cannot be attributed to its being a pronoun. This shows that the locally bound *zibun-tati* is an anaphor, not a logophoric pronoun.

3. A proposal

In this section, I propose (13).

⁸ If (i) follows (11a), contradiction will arise.

(i) [John-to-Mary-wa]₁ sono-onna-ni kirawareteiru koto-o sira-naka-tta.
 John-and-Mary-Top the woman-by be-hated fact-Acc know-Neg-Past
 'John and Mary did not know that they were hated by the woman.'

In contrast, (11b) is compatible with (i).

⁹ Even if (i) follows (12), contradiction will not arise.

(i) [John-to-Mary-wa]₁ sono-hanasi-ga zibun-tati-no-koto₁ da to sira-naka-tta.
 John-and-Mary-Top that-story-Nom self-Pl-Gen-matter be Comp know-Neg-Past
 '[John and Mary]₁ did not know that that story was about them₁.'

(13) a. The condition that an anaphor requires a single constituent NP as its antecedent applies at LF.¹⁰

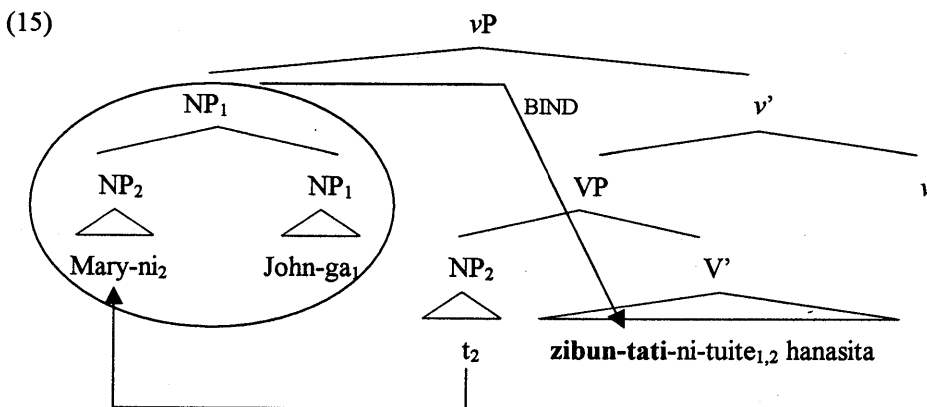
b. In Japanese, split antecedents can form a single constituent by movement at LF.

Given (13), (14) has the structure given in (15) at LF.

(14) John-ga₁ Mary-ni₂ zibun-tati-ni-tuite_{1,2} hanasita.

John -Nom Mary-Dat self-Pl- Dat-about told

‘John told Mary about them.’



In (14), *John-ga* ‘John-Nom’ and *Mary-ni* ‘Mary-Dat’ are base-generated as discontinuous elements at overt syntax but *Mary-ni* undergoes movement and adjoins to *John-ga*, making one constituent at LF, as shown in (15). The movement, which adjoins *Mary-ni* to *John-ga*, is different from standard XP movement. Under the standard assumption, XP moves to a position whose sister dominates XP’s original position. In contrast, the movement in (15) is movement of an element to another element that does not dominate it. Following Takano (1999), I will call this movement ‘oblique movement’. The plural anaphor *zibun-tati* is bound by the amalgamated NP, which is made by oblique movement, and thus the condition given in (13a) is satisfied. Antecedents of anaphors can be split on the surface in Japanese but split antecedents of anaphors become one constituent by movement at LF.

The present analysis gives a natural explanation to the fact that *zibun-tati* takes not only the subject but also the non-subject as its antecedent in the case of split antecedents. Sentence (14) seems to violate the property of subject orientation of *zibun-tati*. Under the present analysis, however, the binder of *zibun-tati* is the complex NP. Given the assumption that the head of the complex NP is *NP₁*, subject orientation of *zibun-tati* is satisfied.

¹⁰ In this paper, I have no deeper explanation for this condition.

The assumption that discontinuous elements are combined into one constituent by movement in Japanese is not implausible: Support for this argument is available in the phenomena discussed below. Let us turn to the following contrast.

- (16) a. *John-wa [_{NP}[_{IP} sono hon-o naze katta] hito]-o sagasiteiru no
 John-Top that book-Acc why bought person-Acc looking-for Q
 ‘Q John is looking for [the person [that bought book why]]’
 b. ??John-wa [_{NP}[_{IP} nani-o naze katta] hito]-o sagasiteiru no
 John-Top what-Acc why bought person-Acc looking-for Q
 ‘Q John is looking for [the person [that bought what why]]’

(Saito 1994: 204)

In (16a), *wh*-adjunct *naze* ‘why’ is within the Complex NP island and LF movement of *naze* results in the violation of the ECP. If we replace *sono hon-o* by the *wh*-argument *nani-o*, the sentence becomes more acceptable. Saito (1994) claims that *naze* adjoins to *nani-o*, which makes a complex NP and the complex NP moves out of the island together without violating the ECP at LF. Sohn (1994) shows that making a complex NP takes place at overt syntax, based on the following data.

- (17) a. *Naze₁ John-wa [[Mary-ga *t*₁ sono hito-o uttaeta toiu] uwasa-o kiita no
 why John-Top Mary-Nom the man-Acc sued that rumor-Acc heard Q
 ‘Why did John hear [the rumor [that Mary sued the man *t*]]?’
 b. (??) sono hito-o₁ naze₂ John-wa [[Mary-ga *t*₂ *t*₁ uttaeta toiu] uwasa-o kiita no
 the man-Acc why John-Top Mary-Nom sued that rumor-Acc heard Q

(Sohn 1994: 317)

In (17a), *naze* undergoes extraction out of the island, which violates the ECP. On the other hand, if *naze* is extracted with the argument *sono-hon-o* ‘the man-Acc’, the sentence becomes more acceptable. Sohn argues that in (17b) *naze* adjoins to *sono-hon-o*, which makes a complex NP at overt syntax. The complex NP moves out of the island without violating the ECP.¹¹

¹¹ Sohn’s saving effects exhibit two restrictions. First, two phrases combined by movement should be clausemates at D-structure.

(i) *Dare-o₁ naze₂ kimi-wa [Mary-ga *t*₂ [John-ga *t*₁ sukida to] omoteiru to iu uwasa]-o kiita no?
 who-Acc why you-Top MaryNom John-Nom like Comp think Comp rumor-Acc heard Q
 ‘Q You heard [the rumor that Mary thought [John liked whom] why]?’

(Sohn 1994: 318)

Second, two phrases combined by movement should be adjacent at S-structure.

Takano (1999) claims that oblique movement takes place in the cleft construction which involves multiple foci in Japanese.¹² Japanese allows multiple foci in the cleft construction, unlike English.

- (18) Mary-ni ageta no-wa John-ga hon-o da.
 Mary-Dat gave NM-Top John-Nom book-Acc is
 'It is John, books that gave to Mary.'

Example (18) is an example of the cleft construction in Japanese, where the element between the topic marker *wa* and the copular *da* is focused. In (18), the two elements, *John* and *hon-o* 'book-Acc' appear in the focused position. However, it is commonly assumed that subjects and objects do not make a constituent. Given that elements which appear in the focus position form a constituent, some explanation for (18) is needed. Takano calls a constituent such as *John-ga hon-o* in (18) a "surprising constituent."

Following Hoji (1987), Takano assumes that this kind of cleft construction in Japanese involves overt movement of the focused element. Under Hoji's analysis, (19a) has the representation given in (19b).

- (19) a. John-ga hon-o ageta no wa Mary-ni da.
 John-Nom book-Acc gave NM Top Mary-Dat is
 'It is to Mary that John gave a book.'
 b. [_{Mary_i-ni} John-ga *t*₁ hon-o ageta no] wa Mary-ni da.

Mary-ni, which is identical to the focused element, undergoes movement within the bracketed clause. *Mary-ni* within the bracketed clause is deleted at PF under identity. Under this analysis, (18) should have the structure given in (20).

- (20) [_{John-ga hon-o}]_i Mary-ni *t*₁ ageta no] wa John-ga hon-o da.

Given that only constituents can undergo movement and that focused elements form a

(ii) *Dare-o₁ Mary-wa naze₂ [kanozyo-no titioya-ga [John-ga *t*₂ *t*₁ butta to iu uwasa]-o
 who-Acc Mary-Top why she-Gen father-Nom John-Nom hit Comp rumor-Acc
 kiita to] omotteiru no?
 heard Comp think Q
 'Q Mary thinks that her father heard [the rumor that John hit who why].'

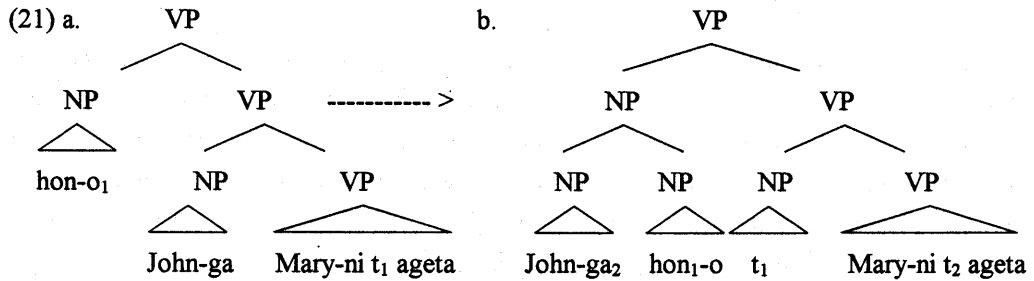
(Sohn 1994: 319)

In (ii), *dare-o* 'who-Acc' and *naze* 'why' are separated by the matrix subject *Mary-wa*. See (24) in Section 4.

¹² See also Koizumi (1995) and Takahashi (2000) for an alternative approach.

constituent, it must be the case that the deleted elements within the clause, *John-ga* and *hon-o*, form a constituent. However, subjects and objects generally do not make a constituent.

In order to resolve this problem, following from Saito (1994) and Sohn (1994), Takano proposes that *John-ga* and *hon-o* can form a constituent by movement. Under his analysis, first, *hon-o* undergoes movement to the clause initial position, as shown in (21a) and then *John-ga* adjoins to *hon-o*, as shown in (21b).



Takano claims that English does not have this oblique movement and hence does not allow multiple foci in the cleft construction, given in (22).

(22) *It is [John the book] that gave to Mary.

Adopting Takano's parametric view, I assume that Japanese has oblique movement while English does not. Then, the relevant differences between English and Japanese, not only with multiple foci but also with split antecedents, are reducible to the presence/absence of oblique movement.

4. Locality of oblique movement

As shown in (23), two antecedents which are not in the same clause cannot be an antecedent of *zibun-tati*. In (23), one of the antecedents is in the matrix clause and the other antecedent is in the embedded clause.

(23) *? Bill-ga₁ Tom-ni [John-ga₂ zibun-tati-o_{1,2} hihansita to] itta.
 Bill-Nom Tom-Dat John-Nom self-Pl-Acc criticized Comp said
 'Bill₁ said to Tom that John₂ criticized them_{1,2}.'

In section 2, I have argued that there are two kinds of *zibun-tati*. One is an anaphor and the other is a logophoric pronoun. If *zibun-tati* in (23) is an anaphor, (23) violates the Binding Condition A because *Bill-ga* is not in the local domain of *zibun-tati*. If *Bill-ga* underwent

movement, adjoining to *John-ga* and *Bill-ga* and *John-ga* could make a single constituent. However, this movement is a lowering operation, which is generally prohibited. Next, suppose that *zibun-tati* is a logophoric pronoun. In this case, (23) violates the Binding Condition B because *John-ga* is in the local domain of *zibun-tati*. However, if in order to save the violation of the Binding Condition B, *John-ga* could undergo movement across the clause boundary and adjoins to *Bill-ga*, (23) would be grammatical on the logophoric interpretation of *zibun-tati*. Why is this movement blocked? Before considering this question, let us see what Saito (1994) proposes in order to explain the following contrast.

- (24) a. *Mary-ga [John-ga naze nani-o katta to] omotteiru no
 Mary-Nom John-Nom why what-Acc bought Comp think Q
 ‘Q Mary thinks [that John bought what why]’
- b. Mary-ga [dare-ga naze nani-o katta to] omotteiru no
 Mary-Nom who-Nom why what-Acc bought Comp think Q
 ‘Q Mary thinks [that who bought what why]’
- c. *Dare-ga [John-ga naze nani-o katta to] omotteiru no
 who-Nom John-Nom why what-Acc bought Comp think Q
 ‘Q who thinks [that John bought what why]’

(Saito 1994: 216-217)

In (24a), *naze* ‘why’ precedes *nani-o* ‘what-Acc’. Sentence (24a) has been analyzed in terms of the ECP violation, in Saito (1982) and Watanabe (1992), among others.¹³ Thus, movement of *naze* violates the ECP somehow. In (24b), the higher *wh*-phrase *dare-ga* ‘who-Nom’ improves the grammaticality of the sentence. Saito (1994) claims that *naze* ‘why’ adjoins to the higher *wh*-phrase *dare-ga* ‘who-Nom’ and the entire argument *wh*-phrase undergoes *wh*-movement, instead of *wh*-movement of *naze*. (24b) does not incur the violation of the ECP. As (24c) shows, however, if the higher *wh*-phrase and *naze* are not clausemates, the sentence does not improve. Following Chomsky and Lasnik (1993), Saito (1994) assumes (25) and gives the following explanation for (24c).¹⁴

- (25) Adjunction to what is in X-position counts as X-movement, where X ranges over {A, A', head}.

According to (25), adjunction to an element in A-position is A-movement. In (24c), *dare-ga* ‘who-Nom’ is in A-position and adjunction to *naze* ‘why’ is A-movement. Movement of

¹³ In this paper, I do not discuss their analyses in detail. See the references for details.

¹⁴ I thank Shoichi Takahashi (personal communication) for bringing (25) to my attention.

naze is A-movement across CP in (24c). However, A-movement across CP is impossible, as shown in (26).

(26) *John seems that it was told that Mary is a genius.

I turn to (23), repeated as (27). I will show that the ungrammaticality of (23)/(27) is explained in the same way as (24c).

(27) *?Bill-ga₁ Tom-ni [John-ga₂ zibun-tati-o_{1,2} hihansita to] itta.
 Bill-Nom Tom-Dat John-Nom self-PI-Acc criticized Comp said
 ‘Bill₁ said to Tom that John₂ criticized them_{1,2}.’

According to (25), adjunction to an element in A-position is A-movement. In (27), *Bill-ga* is in A-position and hence adjunction to *Bill-ga* is A-movement. Therefore, movement of *John-ga* is A-movement across CP, which is prohibited.

As (28) shows, if the antecedents of *zibun-tati* are both in the matrix clause, the sentence is grammatical.

(28) Bill-ga₁ Tom-ni₂ [John-ga zibun-tati-o_{1,2} hihansita to] itta.
 Bill-Nom Tom-Dat John-Nom self-PI-Acc criticized Comp said
 ‘Bill₁ said to Tom₂ that John criticized them_{1,2}.’

Zibun-tati has no antecedent in the local domain and hence it is interpreted as a logophoric pronoun under the present analysis. Since pronouns allow split antecedents, for (28) oblique movement need not apply to combine *Bill-ga* and *Tom-ni*. There is nothing wrong with (28).

Interestingly, on the interpretation where one of the antecedents of *zibun-tati* is *Tom-ni* ‘Tom-Dat’ instead of the matrix subject, (27) becomes worse, as illustrated in (29).

(29) **Bill-ga Tom-ni₁ [John-ga₂ zibun-tati-o_{1,2} hihansita to] itta.
 Bill-Nom Tom-Dat John-Nom self-PI-Acc criticized Comp said
 ‘Bill said to Tom₁ that John₂ criticized them_{1,2}.’

Under the present analysis, *John-ga* undergoes movement and adjoins *Tom-ni*. This movement is A-movement across CP like (27), which is impossible. Furthermore, (28) need not satisfy the subject orientation requirement of *zibun-tati* because the head of the amalgamated NP is dative NP, *Tom-ni*.

5. Concluding remarks

In this paper, I have addressed the question of why some anaphors allow split antecedents in Japanese while this is not the case in English. I have argued that Japanese has oblique movement for combining split antecedents of anaphors into a single constituent at LF, while English does not. The presence/absence of oblique movement explains other parametric variation. English does not allow multiple foci in the cleft construction while Japanese does. My proposal is that the two parametric variations concerning split antecedents and multiple foci are both attributable to the presence/absence of oblique movement.

Before closing the paper, I will mention a remaining problem: what kind of movement is oblique movement? Takano (1999) claims that overt oblique movement, which is involved in multiple foci construction, is an instance of scrambling. One possibility is that LF oblique movement is an instance of scrambling like overt oblique movement. However, generally, it is assumed that scrambling does not exist at LF in Japanese. If scrambling existed at LF, the rigidity effect at overt syntax with respect to scope and binding would not be predicted.

- (30) a. dareka-ga dono gakusei-ni-mo denwasita.
someone-Nom every student-Dat-Prt called
'Someone called every student.'
- b. dono gakusei-ni-mo₁ dareka-ga *t*₁ denwasita.
every student-Dat-Prt someone-Nom called
'Someone called every student.'

For, example, in (30a), the universal quantifier does not take wide scope over the existential quantifier but in (30b) the wide scope of the scrambled universal quantifier is possible. If scrambling took place at LF, (30a) would have the reading where the universal quantifier takes wide scope over the existential quantifier on a par with (30b). However, this is not the case. Therefore, it is hard to claim that scrambling takes place at LF as it is. In this paper, I speculate that LF scrambling is allowed only as oblique movement, which does not affect scope interpretation and binding relation. I leave this issue open for future research.

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