

A Merge-Based Approach to Anaphora in English and Japanese
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1. General Introduction

・照応形の振る舞い

- (1) a. John_i nominated himself_i.
b. John_i believes [_{TP} himself_i to be qualified].
c. *John_i believes [_{CP} that [_{TP} himself_i is qualified.]]
d. *John_i believes [_{TP} Mary to have nominated himself_i.]
e. *John_i believes [_{CP} that [_{TP} Mary nominated himself_i.]]

(Saito (2024:163))

- (2) a. *John_i nominated him_i.
b. *John_i believes [_{TP} him_i to be qualified].
c. John_i believes [_{CP} that [_{TP} he_i is qualified.]]
d. John_i believes [_{TP} Mary to have nominated him_i.]
e. John_i believes [_{CP} that [_{TP} Mary nominated him_i.]]

(Saito (2024:164))

- (3) a. John-_{wa} zibun-o suisen-sita.
John-_{TOP} self-_{ACC} nominated.
b. *John-_{wa} kare-o suisen-sita.
John-_{TOP} him-_{ACC} nominated.

(4) Binding Condition (BC)

A: An anaphor is bound in its governing category.
B: A pronominal is free in its governing category.

(Chomsky (1981:188))

- (5) β is the governing category for α iff β is the minimal category containing α and a governor of α , where β =NP or S

(Chomsky (1981: 188))

・Condition A の例外

- (6) Tom_i believes that there is a picture of himself_i hanging in the post office.

(Jackendoff (1972:133))

- (7) John_i-ga [Bill_j-ga Mike_k-ni zibun_{i/j}/*k-no koto-o hanasi-ta to] omotteiru.
John-_{NOM} Bill-_{NOM} Mike-_{DAT} self-_{GEN} thing-_{ACC} told C thought
(Katada (1991:287))

・本発表で使用する用語¹

- (8) a. *plain anaphor* ...Condition A に従う anaphor
b. *long-distance anaphor (LDA)* ...Condition A に従わない anaphor

・LDA の示す特性

・Sloppy and Strict Readings

- (9) John_i thought that there were some pictures of himself_i inside, and Bill did too.
a. Bill thought that there were some pictures of himself inside too.
b. Bill thought that there were some pictures of John inside too.

(Lebeaux (1984:346))

- (10) John_i hit himself_i, and Bill did too.
a. Bill hit himself too.
b. #Bill hit John too.

(Lebeaux (1984:346))

- (11) John thought that he was sick, and Bill did too.
a. Bill thought that Bill was sick.
b. Bill thought that John was sick.

(Lebeaux (1984:346))

・Free Variation with Pronouns

- (12) John_i thought that there were some pictures of himself/him_i inside.

(Lebeaux (1984:346))

- (13) John_i-ga [Bill_j-ga Mike_k-ni kare_{i/j}/*k-no koto-o hanasi-ta to] omotteiru.
John-_{NOM} Bill-_{NOM} Mike-_{DAT} self-_{GEN} thing-_{ACC} told C thought

→Anaphor/Pronoun は厳密に相補分布を示さない。

¹ BC-A に従わない anaphor は exempt anaphor とも呼ばれているが、これは BC-A の適用から免除されるという文脈で用いられており、BC を原理として仮定しない本発表では LDA の語を用いる。

- *Logophoricity*

- (14) a. John_i knew that there was a picture of himself_i in the post office.
b. ✓/? Mary heard from John_i that there was a picture of himself_i in the post office.
c. * Mary said about/of John_i that there was a picture of himself_i in the post office.
(Kuno (1987:126))

研究の方針

- (15) Minimalism takes GB to be a good effective theory of FL but denies that it is the fundamental theory of FL. A useful practical consequence of this is to take the principles of GB to be targets for derivation by the more fundamental principles that minimalist theories will discover. (Hornstein (2024:46))
- (16) a. BT は照応現象という一つの現象に対する説明理論なので、この理論そのものを被説明項とする原理的な理論が必要。
b. MP の分析においては最小の原理からスタートするべきであり、道具を追加するためにまずは原理を検証する必要がある。²

前提となる疑問

- (17) MPにおいて語の依存関係はどのようなメカニズムで付与されるのか。

Extended Merge Hypothesis and Fundamental Principle of Grammar

- (18) *The Fundamental Principle of Grammar*
 α and β can be grammatically related (G-related) only if α and β have merged.
(Hornstein (2024:8))

本発表の理論的前提

- (20) 統語的な同一指示関係は全て IM によって保証される。

² これが本研究において Form-Copy 分析(cf. Chomsky (2021))を用いない理由である。

目的

- (21) EMH & FPG の枠組みに基づき、日英語の照応形を分析する。
- a. Condition A/B により説明されていた局所性の違いは MP でどのように説明されるのか。
 - b. LDA はどのように位置づけられるのか。
 - c. LDA の特性はどのように導出されるのか。

主張

- (22) a. 同一指示関係は移動により実現され、その経路により局所性が説明され異なる音声化がなされる。
- b. Logophoricity は Logophoric Operator が派生に導入されることで実現される。
- c. 要素が A' 移動において LogP 指定部を経由し派生した場合、LDA として音声化される。
- d. LDA の特性は EMH & FPG 及び音声化の違いと移動経路の違いにより説明される。

構成

2. Deriving Anaphora under EMH & FPG
3. Logophoric Operator
4. Proposal and Analysis
5. Concluding Remarks

2. Deriving Anaphora Under EMH & FPG

2.1 Basic Derivation of Anaphora

2.1.1 English

- *Anaphor*

- (23) a. John_i washed himself_i.
b. John_i expected himself_i to win.
c.* John_i expects Mary to wash himself_i.
d.* John_i expects himself_i will win.
e.* John_i's mother washed himself_i.

(Hornstein (2024:118), with modifications)

- (24) a. [TP John [T+past [vP John v [wash John]]]]
→wash の内項より派生スタート、OK
b. [TP John [T+pres [vP John v [expect [John to [John win]]]]]]
→win の外項より派生スタート、OK
c.* [TP John [T+pres [vP John v [expect [Mary to [Mary v [wash John]]]]]]
→wash の内項よりスタートするも、Mary に阻まれ NG (Minimality 違反)
d.* [TP John [T+pres [vP John v [expect [John [will [John [win]]]]]]
→Case-Position からの移動になっているため NG (Tensed S Condition 違反)
e.* [[John's mother] T+past [[John's mother] v [wash John]]]
→複合 DP への移動のため NG (NTC³違反)
(Hornstein (2024:119), with slight modifications)

(25) plain anaphor は A 移動によって派生される。

・ *Pronominal*

- (26) a. Only John thinks he is smart.
b. No, I think I'm smart, you think you are, Mary thinks she is and they think they are.
c. No, Mary also thinks he is smart.
(Hornstein (2024:142-143))

(27) Pronominal は A'移動によって派生される⁴。

- (28) a. Only [TP **John** [vP **John** [thought [CP **John** [**John** is [**John** smart]]]]]
b. Only [TP John [vP John [thought [HE is [HE smart]]]]

- (28a) copy: φ 素性が不活性,意味解釈を受けない
(28b) 語彙項目: φ 素性が活性,意味解釈を受ける

*本発表では copy Pronoun を he, 語彙項目 Pronoun を HE と表記する。

(29) Anaphor と Pronominal の相補分布はそれぞれの移動の種類(A/A')によって導かれる。

³ No-tampering condition (改変禁止条件): X と Y の併合において {X,Y} という集合が形成されるが、過程においてこのうち片方のみに操作を禁じる条件 (cf. Chomsky (2013))

⁴ Hornstein (2024)は A'-A 移動を認める。

2.1.2 *Japanese*

・ *Anaphor*

- (30) a. John-wa zibun-o semeta
b. [TOP John-wa [TP John [vP John [vP John-o semeta]]]]

・ *Pronominal*

- (31) a. John-wa [Taro-ga kare-o suisensita to] omotteiru
b. [TOP John-wa [TP John [vP John [CP John[C [vP Taro-ga [vP John-o suisensita] to] omotteiru]]]]

2.2 *Long-distance Anaphor*

(32) LDA は A'移動によって派生される。 (cf. Hornstein (2024))

(33) John_i thought that there were some pictures of himself_i inside.
(Lebeaux (1984:346))

(34) [TP **John** [[vP **John** [thought [CP **John** that [there were some pictures of **John** inside.]]]]]

(35) Takashi-ga [Kenji-ga zibun_i-o suisensita to] omotta
Takashi-NOM Kenji-NOM self-ACC recommended C thought
(Motomura (2002:14))

(36) [TP **Takashi**-ga [vP **Takashi** [CP **Takashi** [Kenji-ga **Takashi**-o suisensita] to] omotta]]]

(37) LDA は bound pronoun である。 (cf. Sportiche (1986))

(38) The pure anaphor *zibun* is involved in A-movement while the logophor *zibun* is involved in A'-movement.
(Abe (2014:177))

→Anaphor と Pronominal が厳密に相補分布しないのは A'移動が Anaphor として音声化される場合と Pronominal として音声化する場合があるため。

2.3 *Puzzling Cases*2.3.1 *Sloppy and Strict Readings*(39) John_i thought that there were some pictures of himself_i inside, and Bill did too.

- a. Bill thought that there were some pictures of himself inside too.
- b. Bill thought that there were some pictures of John inside too.

(Lebeaux (1984:346))

(40) a. VP-ellipsis は vP 主要部の Deletion 素性<D-F>が駆動する PF 削除により駆動される。

- b. PF 削除する場合、先行詞と削除箇所の PF 構造が同一である必要がある。
(cf. 島 (2015))

(41) sloppy...plain anaphor

John_i hit himself_i, and Bill did too.

- a. [_{S1} **John** [T+past [**John** v [hit **John**]]]], and [_{S2} **Bill** [T+past [**Bill** did [v <D-F> [hit **Bill**]]]]] too
- b. [_{S1} John [T+past [John v [hit himself]]]], and [_{S2} Bill [T+past [Bill did [v <D-F> [hit himself]]]]] too
- c. [_{S1} John [hit himself]], and [_{S2} Bill did [v <D-F> [~~hit himself~~]] too.]

(42) *strict...plain anaphor

- a. [_{S1} **John** [T+past [**John** v [hit **John**]]]], and [_{S2} Bill did [v <D-F> [v hit HIM(=John)]]] too
- b. [_{S1} John [T+past [John v [hit himself]]]], and [_{S2} Bill did [v <D-F> [v hit HIM(=John)]]] too
- c. *[_{S1} John [hit himself]], and [_{S2} Bill [~~hit HIM~~]]

(43) sloppy...pronominal

John thought that he was sick, and Bill did too.

- a. [_{S1} **John** [T+past [**John** [thought [_{CP} **John** [that **John** was sick]]], and [_{S2} **Bill** [T+past did [**Bill** [<D-F> thought [_{CP} **Bill** [that **Bill** was sick] too.]
- b. [_{S1} John [thought that he was sick]], and [_{S2} Bill did [<D-F> ~~thought that he was sick~~ too.]

(44) strict...pronominal

- a. [_{S1} **John** [T+past [**John** [thought [_{CP} **John** [that **John** was sick]]], and [_{S2} Bill did [<D-F> thought that HE (=John) was sick] too.]
- b. [_{S1} John [thought that he was sick]], and [_{S2} Bill did [<D-F> ~~thought that HE was sick~~ too.]

(45) sloppy...LDA

John_i thought that there were some pictures of himself_i inside, and Bill did too.

- a. [_{S1} **John** [T+past [**John** [thought [_{CP} **John** [that there were some pictures of **John** inside]]], and [_{S2} **Bill** did [T+past [**Bill** [<D-F> thought [_{CP} **Bill** [that there were some pictures of **Bill** inside] too.]
- b. [_{S1} John [thought that there were some pictures of himself inside]], and [_{S2} Bill did [v <D-F> [~~thought that there were some pictures of himself inside~~] too.]

(46) strict/sloppy 読みは A/A'移動の音型化の違いと PF 削除により導出される。

(47) strict...LDA

- a. [_{S1} John [T+past [**John** [thought [_{CP} **John** [that there were some pictures of **John** inside]]], and [_{S2} Bill did [v <D-F> thought that there were some pictures of John inside]].
- b. [_{S1} John [thought that there were some pictures of himself inside]], and [_{S2} Bill [v <D-F> thought that there were some pictures of **John** inside] too.]

→省略箇所に生起する **John** がどのように PF での同一性を満たすために **himself** として音声化するのかが自明ではない。

2.3.2 *Free Variation with Pronouns*(48) John_i thought that there were some pictures of himself/him_i inside.

(Lebeaux (1984:346))

(49) John_i-ga [Bill_j-ga Mike_k-ni kare_{i/*j/*k}-no koto-o hanasi-ta to] omotteiru.

John-NOM Bill-NOM Mike-DAT self-GEN thing-ACC told C thought

→(37), (38)の主張と、EMH&FPG に立脚して考えると、これらは自由に交代可能である。

- (50) a. John_i knew that there was a picture of himself_i in the post office.
 b. ✓/? Mary heard from John_i that there was a picture of himself_i in the post office.
 c. * Mary said about/of John_i that there was a picture of himself_i in the post office.
 (Kuno (1987:126))

- (51) a. John_i knew that there was a picture of him_i in the post office.
 b. Mary heard from John_i that there was a picture of him_i in the post office.
 c. Mary said about/of John_i that there was a picture of him_i in the post office.

→単なる A/A'移動の音型化のバリエーションなのか？

2.4 Puzzle to Solve

問題意識

- (52) A'移動により派生する要素はどのように LDA/Pronoun として音声化するのかを明らかにすることで、(47)や(50)の文法性を併合のみを用いて説明することができる。

3. Logophoric Operator

3.1 Logophoricity

- (53) Logophoricity
 ある anaphor/pronoun が特定の話し手や認識者の内面的な視点を表す性質。
- (54) Kuno (1987)
 LDA は思考・感情・意識などを示す名詞句を先行詞として選択する。
 a. logophoricity を示すものは、話し手や経験者（または聞き手）である。
 b. 話し手と聞き手以外の人は logophoricity を示すことができない。
 (cf. Kuno (1987:126))
- (55) a. John_i knew that there was a picture of himself_i in the post office.
 b. ✓/? Mary heard from John_i that there was a picture of himself_i in the post office.
 c. * Mary said about/of John_i that there was a picture of himself_i in the post office.
 (Kuno (1987:126))
- (56) LDA が現れる環境は logophoric 読みが強制される。
 (cf. Kuno (1987), Chierchia (1989))

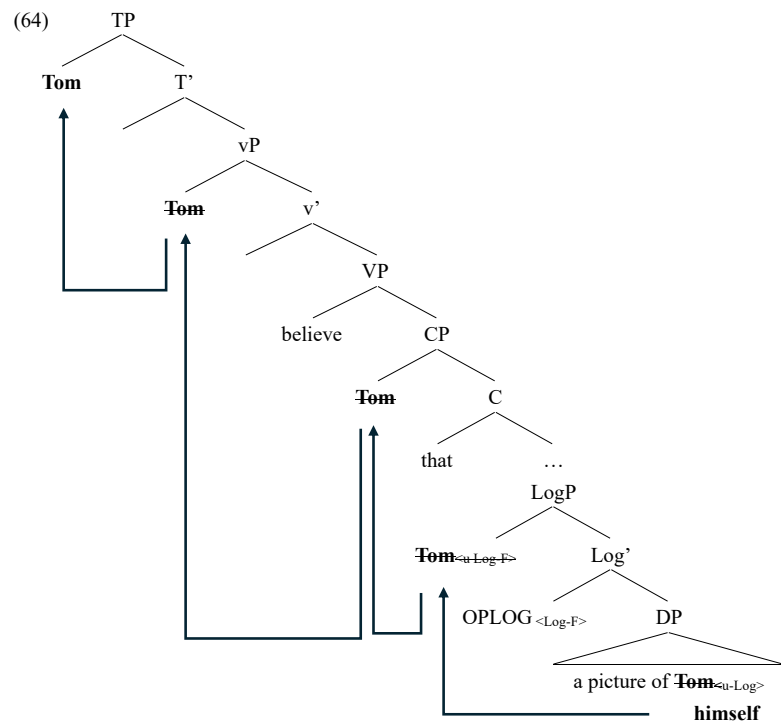
3.2 Logophoric Operator

- (57) Charnavel (2020), Charnavel & Bryant (2022)
 a. logophoric operator (OPLOG)によって pro_{log} が統語構造上に導入される
 b. LDA は、意識主体の視点 (logophoricity を持つ logophoric operator pro_{log} に束縛される。
 c. [OPLOG] = λα.λx. α from x's first-personal perspective
 d. 意識主体の視点領域 (logophoric domain) は、最小の spellout domain (i.e., CP, vP, DP) に対応する。
 e. [_{LogP} pro_{log} [_{Log'} OPLOG [_{CP} vP DP...LDA]]] (Charnavel (2020:217))
- (58) Tom_i believes that there is [_{DP} pro_{log-i} a picture of himself_i] hanging in the post office.
 (Charnavel and Bryant (2022: 594))

4. Proposal and Analysis

4.1 Proposal

- (59) A'移動において LogP 指定部を経由し派生した場合、LDA として音型化される。
- (60) 理論的な仮定
 a. EMH&FPG の原理に基づき、LogP 指定部には IM によって要素が移動する。
 b. OPLOG は Logophoric Feature <Log-F> をもつ。
 c. LogP 指定部には unvalued Logophoric Feature <u Log-F> を持つ要素が素性を照合するため IM する。
 d. [_{LogP} ____ [_{Log'} OPLOG [_{Log-F}] [CP, vP, DP]]]
 e. LogP 指定部の要素は音声化されない。
- (61) a. This is a picture of myself. (Ross (1970:223))
 b. This [is [This [_{DP} a [_{LogP} I [_{Log'} OPLOG [picture of I]]]]]
- (62) a. soko-ni zibun kuru-n?
 b. soko-ni [_{LogP} **anata** [_{Log'} OPLOG [**ANATA** kuru] n]]?
 *元位置の代名詞は語彙項目としての代名詞
- (63) a. Tom_i believes that there is a picture of himself_i inside.
 b. **Tom** [_{TP} **Tom** [_{vP} **Tom** [believes [_{CP} **Tom** [_C that there is [_{LogP} **Tom** <uLog-F> [_{Log'} OPLOG <Log->] [_{DP} a picture of **Tom** <uLog-F>] inside.]]]]]]]]]



4.2 Analysis

4.2.1 Strict/Sloppy Readings

(65) Strict/sloppy readings with ellipsis in English

John_i thought that there were some pictures of himself_i inside, and Bill did too.

- a. Bill thought that there were some pictures of himself inside too.
b. Bill thought that there were some pictures of John inside too.

(Lebeaux (1984:346))

OPLOG <Log-F> [DP some pictures of **John** <uLog-F> inside]], and [s₂ Bill did [v <D-F> thought [C_p that there were [LogP **John** <uLog-F>] [Log' OPLOG <Log-F> [DP some pictures of **John** <uLog-F>]]] inside]].

- b. [s₁ John_i [thought that there were some pictures of **himself**_i inside]], and [s₂ Bill did [v <D-F> ~~thought that there were some pictures of himself_i inside~~ too.]

(67) Strict/sloppy readings with ellipsis in Japanese

John-wa Mike ga zibun-o semeta to omotteiru, Bill-mo sou da.

- a. Bill thought that Mike blamed Bill too.
b. Bill thought that

4.2.2 Free Variation with Pronouns

- (68) a. John [TP **John** [vP **John** [thought [CP **John** [that there were [LogP **John** <uLog-F>] [Log' OPLOG <Log-F> [DP some pictures of **John** <uLog-F>] inside]]]]]]
→LDA
b. John [TP **John** [vP **John** [thought [CP **John** [that there were some pictures of **John** inside]]]]
→Pronominal

4.2.3 Supporting Argument

• Logophoric Pronoun

- (69) Adé rò wípé òun fě. Olá (Yoruba)
Ade think that LOG marry Ola
Ade thinks that he married Ola.

(Bassi et al. (2025:4))

- a. 非局所的な同一指示関係なので A' 移動と分析可能
b. Logophoricity を持っているので LogP を経由していると仮定

(66) a. [s₁ John [TP **John** [vP **John** [thought [CP **John** [that there were [LogP **John** <uLog-F>] [Log'

(70) Strict/sloppy readings with ellipsis in Yoruba

Adé n rēti wipé òun máa tayo. Nínú idije aso náà.
 Ade PROG hope that LOG FUT win inside contest clothes DET
Ati Olá pelu.
 And Ola also.

‘Ade hopes that he will win the costume contest and Ola does, too’

- a. Ade hopes that he(=Ade) will win the costume contest, and Ola also hopes that she (=Ola) will win the costume contest. (sloppy)
 b. Ade hopes that he(=Ade) will win the costume contest, and Ola also hopes that he (=Ade) will win the costume contest. (strict)

(Bassi et al. (2025:12))

(71) Variation with Pronouns

- a. *Olú_i gbàgbó pé ilé rẹ̀_i ti wó.*
 Olu believes that house he ASP fall
 Olu believes that his(non-logophoric) house has collapsed.
 b. *Olú_i gbàgbó pé ilé òun_i ti wó.*
 Olu believes that house LOG ASP fall
 Olu believes that his(logophoric) house has collapsed.

(cf. Safir (2005), Adésolá (2004))

→LDA と同様の特性を示す

5. Concluding Remarks

5.1 Conclusion

- (72) a. 同一指示関係は移動により実現され、その経路により局所性が説明され異なる音声化がなされる。
 b. Logophoricity は Logophoric Operator が派生に導入されることで実現される。
 c. 要素が A' 移動において LogP 指定部を経由し派生した場合、LDA として音声化される。
 d. LDA の特性は EMH & FPG 及び音声化の違いと移動経路の違いにより説明される。

ただし...

- a. 英語においては、動詞句の項に直接収まっていない位置からの移動。
 b. 日本語においては、位置の制限はなし。

この音声化の違いは格の情報が重要ではないか？ (cf. Hornstein (2024))

5.2 Remarks

・LDA は意味的束縛ではないのか

(73) 統語的束縛では epithet が生起できない (cf. Hornstein (2024))

(74) *Every kid_i thinks Mary likes the kid/the cutie_i (Hornstein (2024:146))

- (75) a. Tom_i believes that there is a picture of himself_i hanging in the post office.
 b.* Tom_i believes that there is a picture of [the idiot]_i hanging in the post office.
 (Charnavel (2022:568))

→LDA が生起できる環境では epithet が生起できない

- (76) EMH&FPG では依存関係は IM か意味的束縛として規定されている。
 意味的束縛ではないのであれば IM によって媒介されていると考えるしかない。

→語彙項目-self 形の排除

(77) Bill [thought [that there were some [LogP **John** [Log' OPLOG [DP pictures of **John** (***himself**) inside]]]] too.

→なぜこの派生が認められないのか。

- (78) a. Only Bill thought [that there were some pictures of John (*himself) inside.]
 b. No, Mary thought [that there were some pictures of John (*himself) inside.]
 →(76)を支持

5.2 Remaining Issues

5.2.1. Logophoric Blocking Effect

- (79) a. Zhangsan_i juede [Lisi_j dui [ziji_{ij} mei xinxin].
 Zhangsan think Lisi to ANA no confidence
 Zhangsan thought that Lisi had no confidence in
 (Huang (1984:107))

- b. Zhangsan_i juede [wo/ni_j dui ziji_{ij} mei xinxin].
 Zhangsan think I you to ANA no confidence
 Zhangsan thought that I/you had no confidence in myself/
 (Huang (1984:108))

- (80) a. Taro_i-wa [watashi-ga zibun_i-o keibetusi-teiru to] sinziteiru.
 b. Taro_i-wa [anata-ga zibun_i-o keibetusi-teiru to] sinziteiru.

- (81) a. *Taro_i-ga [watashi-ga zibun_i-o keibetusi-teiru to] sinziteiru.
 b. ??Taro_i-ga [anata-ga zibun_i-o keibetusi-teiru to] sinziteiru.
 →一人称/二人称代名詞は LogP とどのように関係するのか要検証

5.2.2 *Split Antecedent*(82) a. John_i told Mary_k that there were some pictures of themselves_{S_{i+k}} inside.b.* John_i told Mary_k about themselves_{S_{i+k}}.

(Lebeaux 1984:346)

→EMH&FPG を単純に採用するのならば、1 つの NP が 2 つに分かれてそれぞれ異なる θ 位置に移動するメカニズムは自明ではない。

5.2.3 等位節

・ 解決が難しい例

(83) a. John_i boasted that the queen had invited Lucy and himself_i for a drink.b.* John_i boasted that the queen had invited himself_i for a drink.

(Reinhart and Reuland (1993:670))

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