

Anaphoric dependencies in Vietnamese

A syntactic approach

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Anaphoric Dependencies in Vietnamese – A Syntactic Approach

Anaforische Afhankelijkheden in het Vietnamees – een syntactische
benadering

(met een samenvatting in het Nederlands)

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You can either leave something for people or leave something in people.

Anne Lamott

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List of Abbreviations

1sg	First person pronoun
2sg	Second person pronoun
3sg	Third person pronoun
add	Addressee
acc	Accusative case
CL	Classifier
COMP	Complementizer
CommP	Commanding particle
DEM	Demonstrative
exc	Exclusive
EXCL	Exclamation
EA	External argument
FUT	Future
HONOR	Honorific particle
inc	Inclusive
kin	Kinship term
MOD	Modal verb
N	Noun
NEG	Negation
NOM	Nominative case
NP	Noun phrase
PASS	passive
PL/pl	Plural
PST	Past

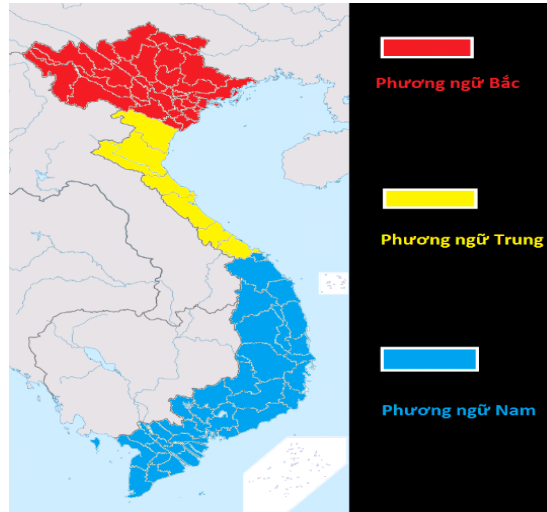
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PRT	Particle
POSS	Possessive
PERF	Perfect
PROG	Progressive
PP	Prepositional phrase
PF	Phonetic form
Pron	Pronominal
Q	Question particle
REFL	Reflexive
REL	Relative pronoun
SBJV	Subjunctive
sino	Sino – Vietnamese
sp	Speaker
Spec	Specifier
stat	Status term
T/Tns	Tense
TP	Tense phrase
TOP	Topic
VP	Verb phrase
V	Verb
vP	Little verb phrase

Data collection

The data in this dissertation are based on grammaticality judgments and corpora searches. For corpora searches I used online sources such as: baophapluat.vn, dantri.com.vn, vnexpress.net, vietnamnet.vn, hanhtrinhtamlinh.com, danhngonvn.com and short stories. Moreover, I used grammaticality judgments from about 15 native speakers, including myself, mostly linguistic researchers. Additionally, I carried out field work in my home country. The data were obtained by doing direct interviews with native speakers as well as indirect interviews via phone. These oral interviews are recorded and curated. I also designed an online questionnaire that included about forty comprehensive questions to receive more information about the patterns being investigated. Participants were mainly students from different areas of the country – broadly speaking Middle, South and North, as shown on the map:

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Phương ngữ Bắc – Northern dialect

Phương ngữ Trung – Center/Middle dialect

Phương ngữ Nam – Southern dialect

I only used the questionnaire on very specific points, where I expected that regional differences played a role. These data sources I used in cases my consultants' judgments did not present a clear picture. The process of data collection in Vietnamese showed that although there is slight variability in the reflexive patterns provided by the speakers from different parts of Vietnam, there is, above of all, unity in most configurations that I bring up in the dissertation.

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Chapter 1

Introduction

“Because I could not stop for Death-
He kindly stopped for me-
The carriage held but just Ourselves –
And Immortality.”

Emily Dickinson – 1863

This is a short verse cited from a poem titled “Because I could not stop for Death” written by Emily Dickinson. The excerpt describes a situation in which the speaker gets on the carriage held by a personified Death heading towards the afterlife. As noticed in the text, the first person pronouns *I* and *me* represent the speaker/author, the third person pronoun *he* refers to Death in the previous sentence, and the anaphor *ourselves* is linked to both the speaker *I* plus *Death*. The difference between these nominal expressions is that the pronominals *I*, *me* and *he* may have independence reference, whereas the reflexive element *ourselves* needs to resort to other expressions for its interpretation.

Keep looking at the same phenomenon but now turn our attention to another language that is Vietnamese, as given in the following text:

Context: The old man named Hac was telling his neighbor, who is a male teacher, about his son’s leaving. The following text presents what he said to the teacher.

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“Trước khi đi, nó còn cho tôi ba đồng bạc,
Before go, 3sg even give 1sg three dong silver,
ông giáo ạ!

stat.male teacher.add HONOR

‘Before leaving, he even gave me three humble dongs, dear Teacher!’

...

Nó đưa tôi ba đồng mà bảo: “Con biếu
3sg hand 1sg three dong that say: “child.kin.sp give
thầy ba đồng để thỉnh thoảng thầy ăn
father.kin.add three dong so that sometimes father.kin.add eat
quà;...”

snack

‘He handed me three humble dongs saying: “I gave you three dongs so that sometimes you would have a snack.’

(From the story “Lão Hạc” – The Old Hạc written by Nam Cao, 1943)

This excerpt is picked out from a short story titled *Lão Hạc* ‘The old Hạc’ written by the Vietnamese writer Nam Cao. As we can see in the text, Vietnamese not only uses a system of personal pronouns in constituting the dialogue such as *nó* ‘he/she’ referring to the third participant and *tôi* ‘I’ the speaker/author, but also status terms such as *ông giáo* ‘male teacher’. So, unlike English, Vietnamese regularly presents a wider range of expressions for discourse participants, using kinship terms such as *con* ‘child’ and *thầy* ‘father’ (Northern dialect), for what in English would be pronouns. These nominal expressions are linked to their corresponding referents in the previous discourse,

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The contrast in grammaticality of (1a) and (1b) in English shows that here the anaphor *himself* can only have an antecedent within its own clause, whereas a relation with the matrix subject *John* is ruled out. Unlike English *himself*, the anaphor *mình* in Vietnamese can be referentially dependent on the matrix subject *Nam* but not on the local subject *Lan* as in (2a). However, the anaphor *mình* can take the local subject *Lan* as its antecedent in (2b) when combined with the element *tự* ‘self’. This is different from English in that reflexives such as *himself/herself* are standardly subject to locality conditions without a necessary recourse to other means of expression. Note furthermore that neither English *himself* nor Vietnamese *mình* allows discourse binding as in (3):

- (3) a. *John_i left. The queen had not invited himself_i.
b. John_i bỏ đi. Nữ hoàng đã không mời mình*_i.
John leave. Queen PST NEG invite body

But, importantly, one aspect of Vietnamese *mình* that fundamentally differs from reflexives like English *himself* is that *mình* allows a speaker interpretation, but only in the absence of the reflexive marker *tự*. An illustration is given in (4):

- (4) a. Lan_i trừng phạt mình*_{i/sp}.
Lan punish body
‘Lan punished *herself/me.’

- b. Lan_i tự trừng phạt mình_{i/*sp}.
 Lan self punish body
 ‘Lan punished herself/*me.’

This is a quite remarkable feature of the ‘reflexivity system’ of Vietnamese, a feature that I will discuss at length in my dissertation.

The question is why there is such variation among languages. To obtain an answer requires an in-depth study of languages that have so far not been studied in detail, and that show a pattern that *prima facie* seems to differ from well-studied languages. Vietnamese is such a language, and unlike many other languages, Vietnamese reflexivity has not been well discussed in the literature (both descriptively and theoretically) up to now. Although in recent years a considerable amount of interesting work on anaphoric dependencies in Vietnamese has been conducted (Trinh and Truckenbrodt 2018, Bui 2019 and others), many important issues have yet to be resolved. Therefore, the aim of this dissertation is to provide a detailed analysis of anaphoric dependencies in Vietnamese, with right from the start, a focus on theoretical puzzles and phenomena that contribute to our general understanding of the language. This dissertation more specifically addresses the inventory of anaphoric expressions, the expression of reflexivity, the syntactic representation of non-local anaphoric dependencies and the restrictions these dependencies are subject to.

Many languages have anaphors that are underspecified for phi-features, which has an impact on their distribution and interpretation. For example, Dutch *zich* and Norwegian *seg* lack number and gender

features in their featural composition, while Russian *sebjā*, like Mandarin *ziji* also lacks a person feature. Similarly, Vietnamese *mình* is underspecified for person, number and gender. Therefore, a binding perspective based on feature sharing between the anaphor and its antecedent is taken into consideration. Elaborating Reuland (2001, 2011), Hiraiwa (2001) and especially Giblin (2016), I propose that anaphoric dependencies in Vietnamese are governed by the operation of Multiple Agree, but my analysis will be adjusted to the particular morphosyntactic properties of the language.

Research questions to be addressed in the dissertation are the following:

- How is binding of the anaphor *mình* licensed?
- What is the grammatical function and interpretation of the element *tự*? How can the presence of *tự* influence the binding possibilities of *mình*?
- Which strategies of reflexivization can be identified in Vietnamese? In terms of this issue, is Vietnamese a lexicon language or a syntactic language in the sense of Reinhart and Siloni (2005)?
- How can we understand the binding possibilities of other nominal expressions in Vietnamese such as personal pronouns, kinship terms, status terms and proper names? Do proper names in Vietnamese violate Condition C as claimed in some of the linguistic literature? What role does honorificity play in establishing binding of pronominals in Vietnamese?

- What are the properties of non-local binding in Vietnamese? What is the nature of blocking effects in Vietnamese? Could there be different factors leading to a superficially similar result? Can we subsume Vietnamese blocking effects under the same category as blocking effects in other languages?

Note that there is a difference in the way *mình* is analyzed in the traditional Vietnamese literature and in this thesis. The linguistic literature of Vietnamese distinguishes between *mình* as a 1st person pronominal and *mình* as a reflexive. In this thesis I will propose a unified analysis of *mình*.

1.1. The structure of the dissertation

Beyond the introduction, the dissertation is structured into five chapters:

Chapter 2 starts with a detailed overview of the inventory of anaphoric expressions in Vietnamese. It then presents the theoretical ingredients to account for the interpretive dependencies between nominal expressions. In this chapter I also review the concept of reflexivity as a property of the predicates and the subsequent revision of the binding principles (Reinhart and Reuland 1993), the syntactic encoding of anaphoric dependencies, the role of the C-I (Conceptual-Intentional) interface and how the conditions on binding are derived from elementary properties of the grammatical system from a minimalist perspective (Reuland 2011). Finally, I explain how the

inability of our grammatical system to handle identical variables in a local domain leads to the use of strategies for expressing reflexivity such as bundling, protecting, separation and enforcing.

In Chapter 3, I explore how the element *tu* is interpreted and what role it plays in the licensing of reflexivity, followed by a discussion of the properties of the anaphor *mình*. Subsequently, I discuss the binding patterns of pronouns, kinship/status terms, proper names, and the reflexivization strategies that are operative in Vietnamese.

In Chapter 4, I introduce the operation of Multiple Agree, which extends the conception of Agree in Chomsky (1995), and illustrate how it works for Mandarin, based on Giblin (2016). Subsequently, I outline how an analysis along the same lines would account for non-local anaphora in Vietnamese and in what respects their patterns differ from Mandarin, expanding the discussion in Chapters 2 and 3. I also introduce the performative hypothesis proposed by Ross (1970), which helps explain why the anaphor *mình* may obtain a speaker interpretation. This chapter also presents a detailed analysis of the reflexivizing effect of the element *tu* and the way it interacts with the properties of the anaphor *mình*, pronominals and common nouns used as kinship terms and status terms.

Chapter 5 is dedicated to exploring a restriction on non-local binding in Vietnamese - the blocking effect - including a systematic

comparison with its Mandarin Chinese counterpart. I present an account for this phenomenon taking Giblin (2016)'s approach to the blocking effect in Mandarin as a starting point. A crucial difference between Mandarin and Vietnamese is that binding of Mandarin *ziji* is governed by a [+participant] feature, while binding of Vietnamese *mình* is governed by the [+author] feature. Together with the performative frame this yields what one may call an *Author effect*. Chapter 5 is concluded with a discussion of the blocking effect as it arises with other nominal expressions such as kinship and status terms.

Finally, Chapter 6 briefly summarizes the results of the thesis and clearly positions the system of Vietnamese in the world of anaphora.

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Chapter 2

Anaphoric dependencies in Vietnamese: Descriptive and theoretical preliminaries

This chapter presents the theoretical ingredients in accounting for the interpretive dependencies between nominal expressions in Vietnamese. Unlike English and many other Indo-European languages, Vietnamese has a rich repertoire of anaphoric expressions that not solely includes a system of personal pronouns, but also common nouns used as kinship terms and status terms and proper names, which serve as various tools to express reference to discourse participants. Their interpretive dependencies are constrained by the conditions on reflexivity, the binding conditions and discourse principles where binding does not apply or where the anaphoric element is exempt from the binding conditions. In this chapter I also review the concept of reflexivity as a property of the predicates proposed by Reinhart and Reuland (1993), the revised binding conditions, the syntactic encoding of anaphoric dependencies, the C-I (Conceptual-Intentional) interface and how they are derived from elementary properties of the grammatical system from a minimalist perspective. Finally, I will present the limitation of the computational system of human language (C_{HL}) in handling identical variables in a local domain (IDI), that leads to the use of strategies for expressing reflexivity such as bundling, protecting, separation and enforcing. In what follows, I go over every point just mentioned.

2.1. Reference to discourse participants in Vietnamese

Every utterance originates from a speaker – possibly imagined – from which it derives a position in some real or imagined time and space. Although there may be utterances that are not addressed to anyone, one may assume that as a rule, an utterance also has one or more addressees. Thus, speakers and addressees together form the discourse participants, to which one may add some of the individuals that the utterance is talking about. Generally speaking, languages have various ways of referring to discourse participants. For instance, while English primarily employs the pronominal system but uses kinship terms in limited contexts, Vietnamese uses personal pronouns interchangeably with common noun expressions used as kinship terms, status terms or some other common nouns and proper names. Let's look at the contrast between English and Vietnamese in the examples below:

English

- (1) a. You are a nice person.
 b. Grandfather went to work this morning.
 c. Mom will take care of you.

Vietnamese

- (2) a. Màỵ là người tốt.
 2sg be person good
 'You are a nice person.'
 b. Em là người tử tế.
 kin.younger.add be person kind
 'You are a kind person.'

- c. Bạn là ai?
 friend.add be who?
 ‘Who are you?’
- d. Tôi biết thị trưởng là người tốt.
 1sg know stat.mayor.add be person nice
 ‘I know you are a nice person.’
- e. Nam biết Hằng là người tốt.
 sp know add be person nice
 ‘I know you are a nice person.’
- f. Anh Nam không có ở nhà.
 kin.elder brother Nam NEG have at house
 ‘(Brother) Nam was not at home.’

As illustrated in (1) English uses the 2nd person pronoun to address the hearer in (1a); and in (1b) and (1c) kinship terms are also allowed to refer to the discourse participants, though not common. On the other hand, Vietnamese uses a variety of expressions including not only the dedicated 2nd person pronoun *mày* as in (2a) but also kinship terms such as *em* ‘younger sister/brother’ in (2b), other common nouns such as *bạn* ‘friend’ in (2c), status terms such as *thị trưởng* ‘mayor’ in (2d), proper names such as *Nam* – as the speaker and *Hằng* – as the addressee in (2e) and combinations including a kinship term and a name such as *anh Nam* ‘older brother Nam’ in (2f).

According to Ngoc Them Tran (2009) (see also Toan Thang Ly 2002), like many other languages, the system of discourse participants in Vietnamese also represents some cultural factors such as the habit of

appreciating relationships, favouring specificity and socialization, respecting the hierarchy, encouraging solidarity between people. Hence, proper names, common nouns like kinship terms and status terms are used more frequently than basic personal pronouns.

The differences between English and Vietnamese are more substantial than the examples in (1) and (2) appear to give.

While personal pronouns in English are distinguished from one another in terms of Case, Gender, Person and Number, pronominals in Vietnamese formally exhibit no Case and Gender, but they are sensitive to Person and Number, and additionally they reflect the dimension of honorificity. Following Kim Than Nguyen (1963), Thompson (1965), Xuan Ninh Dai (1978), Thien Giap Nguyen (1994), Phu Phong Nguyen (1996), Bien Le (1999), the system of personal pronouns in Vietnamese is presented in table 2.1 on the basis of a two-way distinction reflected in the vertical axis and the horizontal axis. The horizontal axis reflects the participant status in the discourse, where the first person stands for the speaker, the second person is the addressee, and the third person is neither speaker nor addressee. The vertical axis represents the different degrees of honorificity; for instance, the first person pronoun *tôi* and the third person pronoun *họ* express the neutral form of reference, whereas the first person pronoun *ta* is used by high-ranking people, and signifies the superiority of the speaker towards the hearer. Next, the familiar level contains the element *mình* (*mình* is, in fact, an anaphor, although it apparently also allows pronominal reference. Later on, I will show in detail how this

property can be reconciled with its anaphor status) as this element can be used to refer to the speaker, the addressee and a third person that is neither speaker nor addressee in a familiar context such as a conversation between husband and wife or between close friends or peers. Finally, the highly informal level expresses a very free attitude between the participants in addressing each other since they are peers or in a close relationship that allows them to break the formalities of speech; otherwise using words and phrases at this level would be evaluated as rude. At the informal level, we have the first person form *tao* as the speaker, the second person form *mày* as the addressee and the third person form *nó* as the non-participant. There is no dedicated form for the first person at the familiar level; there are no second person forms at the neutral, superior and familiar levels and no third person forms at the superior and familiar levels. To fill in these gaps, Vietnamese uses other forms of reference including *mình*, proper names, kinship terms or status terms, which, to some extent, occur in the same way like basic pronouns.¹

Table 2.1 gives an overview of the options in Vietnamese for the singular. Note, the absence of canonical pronouns in some of the cells (indicated by strike-through):

¹ Since the number of other common nouns used as address terms is unremarkable, we only mention them limitedly.

Table 2.1: Discourse participants paradigm in Vietnamese

Register	1st	2nd	3 rd	Reflexive
Neutral	<i>tôi</i>	pronoun /kin/name	<i>họ</i>	<i>minh</i>
Superior	<i>ta</i>	pronoun /kin/status	pronoun /kin/status	
Familiar	mình/kin/name	mình/kin/name	mình/kin/name	
Informal	<i>tao</i>	<i>mày</i>	<i>nó</i>	

In the following sections I will explain this paradigm in more detail. I will start with a discussion of the intricacy of honorificity (2.1.1), after which I will discuss how personal pronouns (with special attention to *minh*) (2.1.2), kinship and status terms (2.1.3), and names (2.1.4) play a role in anaphoric dependencies.

2.1.1. Honorification and the hierarchy of honorifics in Vietnamese

Honorification reflects relationships between individuals involving social status, respect or deference (Agha 1994), which is linguistically encoded by a class of honorific items. These honorifics are used to mark deference or show politeness among participants or between participants and referents (Brown and Levison 1987). Different languages may use different ways to represent the speaker's honorific attitude towards the other participants. For instance, Indo-European languages except English employ a two-way pronominal contrast or

verbal conjugation to distinguish honorifics from non-honorifics. German, as an example, uses an intimate form known as *du* and a polite form *Sie* in addressing the hearer based on the speaker-hearer relationship and so does Dutch with *jij-u*, and French with *tu-vous*. Some other languages utilize a system of suppletives and inflection to express honorification such as Korean, Japanese, Javanese and Hindi (Errington 1988, Wolfowitz 1991, Siegel 2000). Additionally, some even go further in distinguishing different levels of politeness and deference (Irvine 1998).

Like many other languages, Vietnamese has its own way to express honorification. The use of honorific forms in Vietnamese is determined by some crucial factors including age and social status. The higher the age or the social status of interlocutors is, the more deference is paid to those individuals, which gives rise to a hierarchy in the system of honorification, which, as we will see in chapter 3, plays an important role in the expression of anaphoric dependencies. Let us start first with pronouns.

As indicated in Table 2.1, the pronominal system in Vietnamese can be stratified into three levels of deference and politeness. For instance, in 1st person, the superior pronoun *ta*, as used by the king in the past or by the god or goddesses in fairy tales, is ranked highest in the hierarchy. Occupying the neutral position are the first-person pronoun *tôi* and the third person pronoun *họ*. The elements lowest on the honorificity scale include the first-person pronoun *tao*, the second person pronoun *mày* and the third person pronoun *nó*. The use of these expressions is impolite and disrespectful, except when used among

peers in situations where respect needs not be expressed, as we noted. Apart from those non-honorific marked pronominals, *mình* is also marked as non-honorific, except that it reflects intimacy when used to refer to the speaker or the addressee. The hierarchy of pronouns in terms of honorification is summarized in Table 2.2.

Table 2.2: Honorification hierarchy of pronouns

Honorification hierarchy		
High	Neutral	Low/Non-honorifics
<i>ta</i>	<i>tôi, họ</i>	<i>tao, mày, nó, mình</i>

In comparison with pronouns, the honorificity hierarchy of kinship terms and status terms is more explicit in that the position of these expressions in the hierarchy is based on age in the relation with the speaker and social status of the participant they can be used to refer to. For instance, in the relation with the speaker, *ông* ‘grandfather’, *bà* ‘grandmother’, *bác/chú/cậu/đượng* ‘uncle’, *cô/dì/thím* ‘aunt’, *anh* ‘elder brother’, *chị* ‘elder sister’, *cha* ‘father’, *mẹ* ‘mother’ are older generations, thus they are highly honorific-marked; otherwise, *em* ‘younger brother/ sister’, *con* ‘son/daughter’, *cháu* ‘grandchild’ are younger, thus they are ranked low or non-honorific-marked on the honorificity scale. As for status terms, such as *thầy* ‘male teacher’, *cô* ‘female teacher’, *sếp* ‘boss’, *su* ‘monk’, *ni* ‘nun’ and etc, they are always ranked high in terms of honorificity. Expressions that are low on this scale or unmarked for honorification at all are used for the rest, which are other common nouns or non-status terms. See Table 2.3.

Table 2.3: Honorification hierarchy of kinship terms and status terms

Honorification hierarchy			
Kinship terms		(Non-) Status terms	
High	Low/Non-honorifics	High/Status terms	Low/Non-status terms
<i>ông</i> ‘grandfather’	<i>em</i> ‘younger brother/ sister’	<i>thầy</i> ‘male teacher’	<i>thằng</i> ‘male’
<i>bà</i> ‘grandmother’	<i>con</i> ‘son/daughter’	<i>cô</i> ‘female teacher’	<i>con/cái</i> ‘female’
<i>bác/chú/cậu/dượng</i> ‘uncle’	<i>cháu</i> ‘grandchild’	<i>sếp</i> ‘boss’	<i>bạn</i> ‘friend’
<i>cô/dì/thím</i> ‘aunt’		<i>su</i> ‘monk’	...
<i>anh</i> ‘elder brother’		<i>ni</i> ‘nun’	
<i>chị</i> ‘elder sister’			
<i>cha</i> ‘father’			
<i>mẹ</i> ‘mother’			

Unlike pronouns, kinship terms and status terms, proper names do not show any overt reflex of honorification themselves; thus, bare names belong to the non-honorific type. Nevertheless, proper names may represent honorification by combining with high-honorific marked kinship terms or status terms. By contrast, combining low-honorific marked kinship terms or status terms or non-honorifics of both types with names yields non-honorific forms. This is shown in Table 2.4.

Table 2.4: Honorific representation in proper names

Honorific representation	
High honorific form	Low honorific form or non-honorifics
High-ranked kinship term/status term + name	Low-ranked kinship term/status term/Null + name
e.g. + anh Nam ‘elder brother Nam’ + thầy Minh ‘male teacher Minh’	e.g. + em Mai ,younger Mai’ + thằng Nam ,male Nam’ + Mai, Hùng, Minh,...

The issue of honorification will be discussed in more detail in Chapter 3, section 3.4.

2.1.2. Singular personal pronouns in Vietnamese

The system of singular canonical pronouns in Vietnamese can be summarized as in Table 2.5:

Table 2.5: Singular personal pronouns (including *minh*) in Vietnamese

Register	1st	2nd	3rd	Reflexive/Anaphor
Neutral	tôi	X	họ	mình
Superior	ta	X	X	
Familiar	mình	mình	mình	
Informal	tao	mày	nó	

The first-person pronoun

Among the forms for first-person, *tôi* and *mình* stem from nouns meaning ‘servant’ and ‘body’ respectively. The element *tôi* refers to the speaker in a neutral form of address, which contrasts with the other 1st person forms *ta* and *tao* in terms of register. Compare the following examples:

- (3) a. Tôi đi chợ bây giờ.
1sg go market now
‘I’m going to the market now.’
- b. Tao đi chợ bây giờ.
1sg go market now
‘I’m going to the market now.’
- c. #Ta đi chợ bây giờ.
1sg go market now
‘I’m going to the market now.’

As shown above, (3a) and (3b) are felicitous while (3c) is not. The neutral pronoun *tôi* is used by the speaker in a conversation between participants in a formal context. By contrast, the use of *tao* implies an informal situation between peers or very close friends, thus no formality is required. However, while *tôi* and *tao* appear normal in these examples, the superior form *ta* intuitively sounds weird and abnormal in the given context. This is because, as we noted, the superior *ta* is primarily used by the king or some figures from ancient times with superpower; thus it cannot appear in the description of an

informal action such as going to the market, as in (3c). Thus, in the next examples, I will leave out the superior form *ta*. The same effect on the interpretation of *tôi* and *tao* holds for the sentences in (4) in which they occupy the object position.

- (4) a. Hùng có mời tôi đến nhà chơi.
 Hung PST invite 1sg come house play
 ‘Hung did invite me to come to his house.’
- b. Hùng có mời tao đến nhà chơi.
 Hung PST invite 1sg come house play
 ‘Hung did invite me to come to his house.’

The element *mình*

Consider next the use of *mình*. Traditionally, *mình* is analyzed as the first person, the second person or the plural first-person pronoun. And indeed, in many of its uses, *mình*'s behaviour looks like that of a surprisingly ambiguous pronoun. This is illustrated in (5), (6) and (7):

- (5) a. Mình muốn mua quyển sách đó.
 body.sp want buy CL book DEM
 ‘I want to buy that book.’
- b. Mình ghét nó.
 body hate 3sg
 ‘I hate him/her.’

The speaker mình is talking to his friend...

- (6) a. *Mình mong tôi lắm phải không?*
 body.add look forward to 1sg so right Q
 ‘Did you look forward to seeing me so much, right?’

A wife was asking her husband...

(Taken from the Vietnamese Dictionary by the Institute of Vietnamese Linguistics)

- b. *Mình ăn cắp rồi còn đổ lỗi cho người khác.*
 body.add steal already also blame for person another
 ‘You stole it but still blamed on others.’

- (7) a. *Mình đi thôi!*
 body.sp.pl go CommP
 ‘Let’s go!’

- b. *Mình không chú ý đến nó là được.*
 body NEG notice to 3sg be alright
 ‘That we don’t take a notice of him/her is alright.’

As shown in (5), *mình* can be used by the speaker referring to himself in a response to his friend at a familiar level. In another case, *mình* can refer to the addressee as the husband in a conversation between the husband and the wife in (6a) or as a friend in a very special and limited context in (6b). *Mình* can also be used by a group of people to refer to themselves inclusively as in (7).

However, apart from referring to the speaker or the hearer, *mình* can also obtain its interpretation from another NP as its antecedent, which is shown in the following examples:

- (8) a. $Nó_i$ nghĩ $mình_{i/sp}$ an toàn rồi.
 3sg think body safe already
 ‘He thought he/I was safe already.’
- b. Mai_i không thích người khác nói về $mình_{i/sp}$.
 Mai NEG like people another talk about body
 ‘Mai does not like other people to talk about her/me.’
- c. [$Chúng nó$] $_i$ nghĩ Nam_j đánh con của $mình_{i/j/sp}$.
 PL 3sg think Nam beat child POSS body
 ‘They thought Nam had beaten their/his/my child’
- d. $Đứa bé_i$ đặt một quyển sách sau lưng $mình_{i/sp}$.
 CL child put one CL book behind back body
 ‘The child put the book behind his/my back.’

In (8a) *mình* receives its value from the 3rd person pronoun *nó* as the matrix subject and similarly, *mình* obtains its value from the matrix subject NP *Mai* in (8b) or *chúng nó* as in (8c). On the other hand, *mình* in (8c), as a possessor, can also take the local subject *Nam* as its possible antecedent. Similarly, *mình* in a locative PP as in (8d) can be bound by the local subject *đứa bé* ‘the child’. The striking property observed in (8a), (8b), (8c) and (8d) is that *mình* can optionally be interpreted as the speaker (marked as *sp*) as it is valued by the 1st person pronoun *tôi*. The goal of this dissertation is to provide a unified analysis of the use of *mình* as an anaphor and what appears to be its use as a pronominal.

The second person and the third person pronoun

Let us now turn to the other personal pronouns in Table 2.1. The 2nd person pronoun *mày* is an informal form of address that is used between peers or close friends. This is also reflected in the choice of the informal 1st person pronoun *tao* in (9):

- (9) a. Tao bảo mày đi đi, có nghe không hả?
 1sg say 2sg go CommP, Q hear NEG Q?
 ‘I said you go away, did you hear it?’
- b. *Mình không muốn nói chuyện với mày.
 body.sp NEG want talk story with 2sg
 ‘I do not want to talk to you.’

As shown in (9a), the association of *tao* and *mày* is felicitous as *they* are both used by peers or by the elders towards younger people in an informal context with a negative attitude. By contrast, the pair of *mình* and *mày* in (9b) is ungrammatical. This is due to the fact that *mày* and *mình* in this sentence are in honorificity mismatch.²

Common nouns used as kinship terms and status terms, proper names or the anaphor *mình* of the 2nd person fill in the gap at the neutral, superior and familiar levels. See (10):

² Because of this I will only discuss sentences where *mày* and *mình* are present when necessary. In some other cases, I will replace this person pronoun with the common noun *bạn* to avoid honorificity mismatches.

- (10) a. Tôi bảo anh đi đi,
 1sg say kin.elder brother.add go CommP,
 có nghe không hả?
 Q hear NEG Q?
 ‘I said you go away did you hear it?’
- b. Tôi bảo mình đi đi, có nghe không hả?
 1sg say body.add go CommP, Q hear NEG Q?
 ‘I said you go away did you hear it?’
- c. Tôi bảo Hằng đi đi, có nghe không hả?
 1sg say add go CommP, Q hear NEG Q?
 ‘I said you go away did you hear it?’
- d. Tổng thống nên đi ạ.
 stat.president.add MOD go HONOR
 ‘You should go, please.’

In (10a) the kinship term *anh* ‘older brother’ is used to address the hearer when communication takes place at the neutral level. On the other hand, at a familiar level, the speaker can address his wife/her husband by the anaphor *mình* as in (10b) or call the female hearer by her name *Hằng* as in (10c). Lastly, in (10d), the status term *tổng thống* ‘president’ is used to address the hearer at the superior level with high respect, which is also indicated by the presence of the honorific particle *ạ* at the end of the sentence.

Next, the 3rd person pronoun *nó* represents an informal form of reference. It is used to refer to a male or female individual with no

degree of respect. This form of reference implies he/she is junior to the speaker or of the same age as the speaker. See (11):

- (11) a. Tao sẽ gọi cho nó vào chiều nay.
 1sg FUT call for 3sg into afternoon DEM
 ‘I will call him/her this afternoon.’
- b. Màynên gọi cho nó vào chiều nay.
 2sg MOD call for 3sg into afternoon DEM
 ‘You should call him/her this afternoon.’
- c. Tôi ghét nó.
 1sg hate 3sg
 ‘I hate him/her.’

A person is talking to her friend referring to herself as mình...

- d. Mình ghét nó.
 body.sp hate 3sg
 ‘I hate him/her.’

A husband is talking to his wife addressing her as mình...

- e. Mình ghét nó ư?
 body.add hate 3sg Q?
 ‘Do you hate him/her?’

A group of people are talking to each other referring to themselves as mình...

- f. Mình không chú ý đến nó là được.
 body.sp.pl NEG notice to 3sg be alright
 ‘That we ignore her/him is alright.’

In (11a) and (11b), the singular 3rd pronoun *nó* is used quite neutrally in an informal context to refer to a peer or a junior. In contrast, *nó* reflects a negative attitude when used with the neutral form of the 1st person as *tôi* in (11c) and with the familiar register *mình* in (11d, e, f). On the other hand, when referring to a non-participant at the superior and familiar level, Vietnamese would use kinship terms and status terms, which is illustrated in (12):

- (12) a. Ông đi làm rồi.
 kin.grandfather go work already
 ‘He went to work already.’
- b. Giám đốc không có mặt ở công ty.
 stat.manager NEG have face at company
 ‘The manager is not present at the company.’
- c. Em ấy đang học.
 kin.younger DEM PROG study
 ‘He/she is studying.’

In (12a) and (12b) the kinship term *ông* ‘grandfather’ and the status term *giám đốc* ‘manager’ respectively are used to address people at the superior level with high respect. On the other hand, Vietnamese use a kinship term to refer to someone at the familiar level who is junior to them such as *em* ‘younger sister/brother’ in (12c).

Differently from *nó*, the use of the 3rd person pronoun *họ* is neutral. This is illustrated in (13):

A speaker is telling his hearer about an unfamiliar guest he has just met...

- (13) a. Khách đi rồi. Họ để lại một mảnh giấy.
 Guest go already. 3sg leave one CL paper
 ‘The guest is gone. He/she left a note.’
- b. Khách đi rồi. *Nó để lại một mảnh giấy.
 Guest go already. 3sg leave one CL paper
 ‘The guest is gone. He/she left a note.’

In (13a), the 3rd person pronoun *họ* referring to the guest is felicitous as it points to someone neutral to the speaker. However, replacing *họ* with *nó* as in (13b) is infelicitous as the 3rd person pronoun *nó* always represents an informal form of reference, which is not appropriate here.

2.1.3. Plural pronouns and plurality marking

Every language has its distinct ways of encoding plurality in the pronominal system. For instance, in English, the plural pronouns appear in morphologically simplex forms such as *we* and *they*; Vietnamese has simplex plural pronouns but additionally, it has complex plural pronouns containing a plural marker such as *chúng*, *bọn* or *tụi*. Examples of monomorphemic plural pronouns are *ta* ‘we’, *bay* ‘you guys’, *chúng* ‘they’, *họ* ‘they’, and *mình* is also used for ‘we’; complex plural pronouns are formed by prefixing a plural marker such as *chúng*, *bọn* or *tụi* to a singular personal pronoun. These pronominals differ from one another based on their register including neutral, superior, familiar and informal. It is important to disambiguate the homonymous pairs: the plural 3rd person pronoun

chúng and plurality marker *chúng*, the singular first-person pronoun *ta* and the plural first-person pronoun *ta*. To clarify: the plural 3rd person pronoun *chúng* is an informal form of reference, whereas the plural marker *chúng* is a morpheme that combines with a common noun or a singular personal pronoun to yield plurality. Concerning the homonymous pair of *ta*, according to Phu Phong Nguyen (1996), *ta* is described as a first person plural pronoun and is used by the king as being representative of his people, thus deriving the superior 1st person pronoun *ta*. This is reminiscent of the use of the majestic plural *we* by kings in the European tradition. The superior *ta* appears less common in conversation nowadays, whereas the plural first-person pronoun *ta* appears more frequently.

Regarding the plural first-person pronouns in Vietnamese, as in many other languages, there are two types: inclusive *we* and exclusive *we*; also, there is a third option namely *chúng mình* which generally allows both inclusive and exclusive interpretations. There are no plural inclusive first-person pronouns at the superior and informal levels. The possibilities are indicated in table 2.6:

Table 2.6: Plural pronouns in Vietnamese

Register	First person		Second person	Third person
	Inclusive	Exclusive		
Neutral	ta chúng ta	chúng tôi bọn tôi tụi tôi	kin/status/name	họ bọn họ
Superior	None		kin/status	kin/status
Familiar	mình chúng mình bọn mình tụi mình	chúng mình bọn mình tụi mình	kin/name	kin/name
Informal	None	chúng tao bọn tao tụi tao	bay chúng mày bọn mày tụi mày	chúng chúng nó bọn nó tụi nó

Let us take the following examples:

- (14) a. Ta học thôi!
1pl study CommP
'Let's study!'
- b. Mình học thôi!
body.sp.pl study CommP
'Let's study!'

- (15) Bay câm mồm đi!
 2pl shut up mouth CommP
 ‘Shut up!’

The use of the plural 1st person pronouns *ta* and *mình* in (14a) and (14b) and the plural 2nd person pronoun *bay* in (15) are felicitous. The difference between them lies in the register. Specifically, *ta* is formally used between people irrespective of their age and social status in a neutral setting; by contrast, *mình* is used among peers or close friends in an informal context; *bay* is used in an informal way to address a group of people who are junior to the speaker or opponents of the speaker.

Now consider the simplex form of the plural third-person pronouns when they occur in different contexts illustrated in (16) and (17):

A spokesman is introducing the winners of the Nobel prize 2020 in a neutral context...

- (16) Họ đã giành được giải Nobel hóa học.
 3pl PST achieve obtain prize Nobel chemistry
 ‘They have achieved the Nobel prize in Chemistry.’

A spokesman is talking about the winners of the Nobel prize 2020 and they are in disgrace...

- (17) Chúng đã giành được giải Nobel hóa học.
 3pl PST achieve obtain prize Nobel chemistry
 ‘They have achieved the Nobel prize in Chemistry.’

As we saw, the choice of the neutral pronoun *họ* in (16) is appropriate when referring to the winners of the Nobel prize in a neutral context. By contrast, the informal form *chúng* is chosen in (17) to refer to the disliked winners. Illustrations of the plural pronouns formed with plural markers *chúng*, *bọn* or *tụi* are given in the examples below.

Imagine the host of a show is talking to the audiences...

- (18) a. Chúng tôi xin giới thiệu một chương trình mới.
PL 1sg.exc HONOR introduce one programme new
'We would like to introduce a new programme.'
- b. Chúng mình xin giới thiệu
PL body.sp.exc HONOR introduce
một chương trình mới.
one programme new
'We would like to introduce a new programme.'
- c.*Chúng tao xin giới thiệu một chương trình mới.
PL 1sg.exc HONOR introduce one programme new
'We would like to introduce a new programme.'
- d.*Chúng ta xin giới thiệu một chương trình mới.
PL 1sg.inc HONOR introduce one programme new
'We would like to introduce a new programme.'

In a formal context, *chúng tôi* in (18a) and *chúng mình* in (18b) are felicitous, whereas *chúng tao* in (18c) and *chúng ta* (18d) are not. The reason for the infelicity of (18c) and (18d) is that *chúng tao* in (18c) only fits in an informal context; *chúng ta* in (18d) always has an

inclusive reading, thus it cannot be used to refer to the presenters only. Meanwhile, *chúng tôi* is appropriate in the given context since it is neutral and *chúng mình* would be used in a context where the presenters want to create an intimate atmosphere in order to draw the audiences' attention to their programme. Among these pronominals, *chúng mình* can be used inclusively like *chúng ta*, illustrated in (19):

- (19) a. Chúng mình uống nước thôi!
 PL body.sp.inc drink water CommP
 'Let's have a drink!'
- b. Chúng ta uống nước thôi!
 PL 1sg.inc drink water CommP
 'Let's have a drink!'

Next, the plural marker *bọn* can combine with the first singular pronouns yielding forms of address that are only appropriate in informal contexts, except *bọn tôi* which is neutral. For illustration, consider the following examples:

- (20) a. Bọn tôi không biết chuyện này.
 PL 1sg NEG know story DEM
 'We did not know this story.'
- b. Bọn tao không biết chuyện này.
 PL 1sg NEG know story DEM
 'We did not know this story.'

As shown in (20), *bọn tôi* and *bọn tao* are felicitous in a normal conversation. *Bọn mình* is compatible both with inclusive and exclusive interpretations. See (21a) and (21b):

- (21) a. Bọn mình không biết chuyện này đâu.
PL body.sp.exc/inc NEG know story DEM PRT
'We did not know this story.'
- b. Bọn mình đừng cãi nhau nữa.
PL body.sp.inc NEG argue each other more
'Let's not argue any longer.'

The same holds for the combination between the plural marker *tụi* and all the first person pronouns, of which *tụi tôi* is neutral and *tụi tao* self-refers in an informal way. See (22):

- (22) a. Tụi tôi nghèo lắm.
PL 1sg poor much
'We are very poor.'
- b. Tụi tao nghèo lắm.
PL 1sg poor much
'We are very poor.'

Like *chúng mình* and *bọn mình*, the complex pronoun *tụi mình* is compatible with both exclusive and inclusive interpretations. This is illustrated in (23):

- (23) a. Tụi mình nghèo lắm.
 PL body.sp.exc/inc poor much
 ‘We are very poor.’
- b. Tụi mình đi thôi!
 PL body.sp.exc go CommP
 ‘Let’s go!’

Furthermore, the plural markers *chúng/bọn/tụi* can combine with the singular second-person pronoun *mày* and the singular third pronoun *nó* when being used in an informal context to address juniors or peers. See (24) and (25):

- (24) Chúng/Bọn/Tụi mày nên làm việc đi.
 PL 2sg MOD do job CommP
 ‘You all should do your job.’
- (25) Chúng/Bọn/Tụi nó không nói gì.
 PL 3sg NEG say what
 ‘They didn’t say anything.’

Having a more general and neutral nuance than the pronoun *bọn nó*, the complex pronoun *bọn họ* can be used to refer to the passengers in the following sentences:

- (26) a. Hành khách đang xếp hàng. Bọn họ không nói gì.
 Passenger PROG arrange line. PL 3sg NEG say what
 ‘The passengers were lining up. They didn’t say anything.’

- b. Hành khách đang xếp hàng. *Bọn nó không nói gì.
Passenger PROG arrange line. PL 3sg NEG say what
'The passengers were lining up. They didn't say anything.'

In (26), when pointing to the passengers at an airport or a train station, a spokesman, for instance, would use the neutral form *bọn họ* to refer to those people. However, substituting *bọn nó* for *bọn họ* in the same context is infelicitous as *bọn nó* is only appropriate when the passengers are junior to the spokesman. Additionally, the speaker and the passengers must know each other very well. This is how *bọn nó* and *bọn họ* are distinguished from each other.

Moreover, structurally, the plural markers can combine with nouns producing noun phrases. For instance, besides the listed pronominals in Table 2.2, the plural marker *chúng* can combine with kinship terms and additionally, with just a limited number of Sino-Vietnamese elements yielding new forms of address. See (27):

- (27) a. chúng em
PL kin.younger.sp
'we'
b. chúng bạn
PL friend
'friends'
c. chúng cháu
PL kin.grandchildren.sp
'we grandchildren'

- d. chúng con
 PL kin.child.sp
 ‘we children’
- e. chúng sinh
 PL sino.living person
 ‘living people’
- f. chúng đệ tử
 PL sino.students
 ‘we students’
- h. *chúng học trò
 PL student
 ‘we students’

As shown in (27a, b, c, d), *chúng* can combine with kinship terms to self-address or refer to others. The examples (27e) and (27f) show the possibility of *chúng* to combine with a very limited number of Sino-Vietnamese elements, glossed as *sino*. For instance, *chúng sinh* and *chúng đệ tử* are well-formed in (27e) and (27f) respectively, whereas *chúng học trò* in (27g) is not. The occurrence of these NPs is very rare since they only occur in religious environments.

Being more productive than *chúng*, the plural marker *tụi* exhibits the possibility of combining with a wider range of nouns deriving noun phrases that are used to self-refer with humility or refer to other people with no respect. For example:

- (28) a. tụi anh
 PL kin.elder brother.sp
 ‘we elder brothers’
- b. tụi lớp nhất
 PL class one
 ‘the first-class students’
- c. tụi nhỏ
 PL little
 ‘the little children’
- d. tụi này
 PL DEM.sp
 ‘we here’
- e. tụi con trai
 PL boy
 ‘the boys’

Similarly to *tụi* but unlike *chúng*, the plural marker *bọn* can combine with a variety of nouns as well, yielding new NPs. See (29):

- (29) a. bọn cháu
 PL kin.grandchildren.sp
 ‘we’
- b. bọn giặc
 PL enemy
 ‘the enemies’

- c. bọn trẻ con
 PL children
 ‘the children’
- d. bọn em
 PL kin.younger.sp /add
 ‘we/you’
- e. bọn học trò
 PL student
 ‘the students’

2.1.4. Common nouns – Kinship terms and status terms

In the previous section, we already encountered the use of kinship terms, status terms and proper names in positions where languages like English would use personal pronouns. In the present section, I will discuss this usage in more detail. In the earlier literature of Vietnamese, basic personal pronouns are distinguished from common nouns (see Kim Than Nguyen 1963, Tai Can Nguyen 1975, Thien Giap Nguyen 1994). Common noun expressions that are used to refer to discourse participants are divided into two subcategories, namely kinship terms and status terms. Both are taken to occur more frequently than personal pronouns. The reason for this preference is that the feature structure of personal pronouns is not rich enough to express all the nuances required, as there are only three privative features in the internal structure of these pronominals (Bejar and Rezac 2009, Starke 2013): 1st – speaker, 2nd – participant, 3rd – person; whereas the system of reference to

discourse participants in Vietnamese reflects some cultural factors. Specifically, everyone should behave in accordance with their roles and age in their families as well as in the society (Quang Ban Diep 2008). Therefore, kinship terms and status terms are appropriate expressions to address other people and to self-refer, and practically, their use is more prevalent than personal pronouns. Unlike the aforementioned authors and the current one, Tran (2009) following the idea of Noguchi (1997), categorizes these common nouns into a class of pronouns that are lexically derived, namely Noun-pronouns, in distinguishing from Determiner-pronouns or basic personal pronouns. In addition, according to Tran, similar to determiner pronouns, noun-pronouns respect the binding condition B, which is aligned with what I am going to discuss in Chapter 3 section 3.3. For now, I will first introduce kinship terms and status terms and how they are used in speech.

Kinship terms in Vietnamese consist of a class of lexical items denoting the role of family members in a nuclear family and an extended family such as *cha/ba* ‘father’, *mẹ* ‘mother’, *con trai* ‘son’, *con gái* ‘daughter’, *cô/dì/thím* ‘aunt’, *bác/chú/cậu/dượng* ‘uncle’, *ông nội/ngoại* ‘grandfather’, *bà nội/ngoại* ‘grandmother’, *em gái* ‘younger sister’, *chị* ‘older sister’, *em trai* ‘younger brother’, *anh* ‘older brother’, *con* ‘child’, *cháu* ‘grandchild’. They are also distinguished from each other by gender such as *em trai* ‘younger brother’ vs *em gái* ‘younger sister’, *cha* ‘father’ vs *mẹ* ‘mother’, *ông* ‘grandfather’ vs *bà* ‘grandmother’. These kinship terms are used to refer to the speaker/addressor, the hearer/the addressee, or the 3rd person as a non-

participant (Tai Can Nguyen 1975, Thanh Pham 1985, Tu Van Nguyen 1996, Bien Le 1999, Pham 2002 and many others). Consider the following example:

- (30) Father: Ba dặn nê, con nhớ.
 kin.father.sp say PRT, kin.child.add remember
 nhắc mẹ tắt đèn nhé?
 remind kin.mother turn off light Q?
 ‘I say now, remember to remind your Mom of turning
 off the light?’
- Son: Dạ, con nhớ rồi *ba*.
 Yes, kin.child.sp remember already kin.father.add
 ‘Yes, I do, Dad.’

The conversation in (30) shows a switch of roles between the father and his son. At first, the father refers to himself as the speaker by using the kinship term *ba* ‘father’ and address his son as the hearer using the kinship term *con* ‘child’. During this exchange, the mother is absent and thus referred to by the kinship term *mẹ* ‘mother’ of the 3rd person. In response to the father’s reminder, the son refers to himself as the speaker using the kinship term *con* ‘child’ and calling his father-the hearer *ba* ‘father’. Such examples illustrate that kinship terms in Vietnamese can be used as indexicals, like personal pronouns, with an interpretation that varies according to the context, who is uttering, where and when the utterance is produced. It should be noted that this use, though *prima facie* striking, is not fundamentally different from what one sees in other languages. For

instance, in English, one sees this in the way mothers talk to their children like: “Mom must leave now”. But in another Germanic language such as Frisian, it is quite widespread in the general domain (De Jong and Swarte 2014). A discussion of this phenomenon from a cross-linguistic perspective would carry me beyond the scope of the present work, but its existence shows that Vietnamese should not be considered as more exotic than it actually is.

Kinship terms can also be used for self-referring and other-addressing among people who are not related to one another in terms of blood relationships based on age and gender of the participants. For instance, a young girl will address a male passenger sitting next to her on the train as *ông* ‘grandfather’ if he is as old as her grandfather, or *chú* ‘uncle’ if he is younger than her father or *bác* ‘uncle’ if he is older than her father. This manner of reference is to display the respect and honour that the younger generation should show toward the older generation. This is illustrated in the example (31) below:

(31) *Two people, one little girl and an old man, is sitting on the train...*

- A: Chú gì ơi, cái mũ của chú
 kin.uncle.add what EXCL, CL hat POSS kin.uncle.add
 rớt xuống sàn.
 drop down floor
 ‘Uncle, your hat has dropped to the floor already.’
- B: Chú cảm ơn cháu nhé!
 kin.uncle.sp thank kin.grandchild.add PRT!
 ‘Thank you!’

On the other hand, when it comes to a conversation with high-ranking people in a formal context, the speaker should prefix the name of those celebrities with two kinship terms such as *ông* ‘grandfather’ equivalent to *Mr* or *bà* ‘grandmother’ equivalent to *Mrs* to show his respect to them. This is shown in (32):

(32) A: Tôi tin ông Trump có thể làm cho
 1sg believe kin.grandfather Trump MOD make for
 nước Mỹ tốt trở lại.
 country America good again
 ‘I believe Mr Trump can make America good again.’

B: Tôi không nghĩ thế. Tôi thích bà Clinton hơn.
 1sg NEG think DEM. 1sg like kin.grandmother Clinton more
 ‘I don’t think so. I prefer Mrs Clinton.’

Similarly to kinship terms, a limited number of status terms can serve as addressor or addressee. Yet, they need a particular context to make the reference explicit to the interlocutors. As we have previously mentioned, it is obligatory to know one’s role in order to address self and others correctly. Apart from kinship terms, Vietnamese people also use status terms to determine the participants’ roles, which may tell them much about the participants’ personal backgrounds, the level of education and social positions since Vietnamese put an emphasis on the social hierarchy. Status terms in Vietnamese are a set of lexical items such as *bác sĩ* ‘doctor’, *thầy*

‘male teacher’, *cô* ‘female teacher’, *giáo sư* ‘professor’, etc. See (33) for an illustration:

(33) *A male teacher is talking to his student...*

Teacher:

Thầy gửi em bài tập qua email nhé?
stat.male teacher.sp send kin.younger.add homework via email Q?
‘Shall I send the homework to you via email?’

Student:

Vâng, thưa thầy.
Yes, HONOR stat.male teacher.add
‘Yes, Sir.’

In (33), the male teacher refers to himself using the status term *thầy* ‘male teacher’ and addressed by his student as *thầy* of the 2nd person. Furthermore, Vietnamese do not have status terms for people at the lower position in the society, thus the teacher addresses his student with kinship terms.

Moreover, as has been observed, kinship terms and status terms can be positioned in the same way as pronominals. See (34) and (35):

(34) Em/thầy/nó đã đi gửi thư rồi.
kin/stat/3sg PERF go send letter already
‘He is gone to send the letter.’

- (35) Hùng sẽ gọi cho em/thầy/nó sau đó.
 Hung FUT call for kin/stat/3sg after DEM
 ‘Hung will call for him later.’

The examples (34) and (35) show that the kinship term *em* ‘younger brother/sister’, the status term *thầy* ‘male teacher’, and the 3rd person pronoun *nó*, respectively, can appear in the same argument positions. The crucial difference between these expressions is that the kinship term and the status term are unspecified in terms of person features and must depend on the context for their indexical clarification, whereas the pronoun is not ambiguous in this aspect.

All these properties of kinship terms and status terms distinguish Vietnamese from other languages, typically English.

2.1.5. Proper noun/names

Although less frequently than kinship terms, proper names may be used to address oneself and the others (Le and Phan 1983, Lasnik 1986, Narahara 1995, Le 1999, Pham 2002, Cao 2007, Tran 2009, Ngo and Unsworth 2011, Trinh and Truckenbrodt 2018 and many others). Standardly, a full name in Vietnamese consists of three parts: the last name, the middle name and the first name. The last name or family name occupies the initial position, which is subsequently followed by the middle name *thị* indicating female or *văn* indicating male, and finally, the first name is positioned at the ending. This is shown in (36):

(36) Last name < Middle name < First name

A concrete example is given in (37):

(37)	a.	Đoàn	Thị	Quý Ngọc
		Last name	Middle female name	First name
	b.	Nguyễn	Văn	Trỗi
		Last name	Middle male name	First name

In the system of reference to discourse participants in Vietnamese, similarly to kinship terms and status terms, proper names can also be used to refer to the addressor or the addressee. However, in Vietnamese, addressing someone by name only is allowed between peers or among a group of people in which the addressee is junior to the addressor. Otherwise, in addressing the elder, a kinship term should be added before the name; otherwise, the lack of this item would show a negative attitude of the speaker towards the hearer. For example:

(38)	anh	Huy
	elder brother	Huy
	*∅	Huy
	mẹ	Thảo
	mother	Thao
	*∅	Thao

ba	Trình
father	Trinh
*∅	Trinh

With high-ranking people, Vietnamese would insert a status term before the name.

(39)	Bác sĩ	Nam
	Doctor	Nam
	*∅	Nam
	Tổng thống	Putin
	President	Putin
	*∅	Putin
	Giáo sư	Kant
	Professor	Kant
	*∅	Kant

Similarly to common nouns, the use of proper names is much dependent on the context, since the form of proper names cannot tell which person it stands for. This is illustrated in the examples below:

(40)	Hà	đi	đi,	Nam	sẽ	trông	nhà.
	add	go	CommP, sp	FUT	take care of	house	
	‘You may leave, I will take care of the house.’						

- (41) *Khánh Ly* xin chào mọi người.
 sp HONOR greet every people.add
 ‘I’m sending my greetings to everyone.’
- (42) Ngọc không biết ngày mai liệu có gặp
 sp NEG know tomorrow if Q meet
 giáo sư Eric và giáo sư Martin.
 stat.professor Eric and stat.professor Martin
 ‘I don’t know whether I will see Prof. Eric and Prof. Martin
 tomorrow.’

For the readers’ convenience, I put the proper names in italics. As we saw in (40), (41) and (42), the first name is usually used to refer to oneself and address others. Particularly, in (40), according to the context, *Nam* is the speaker who is calling the hearer by her name *Hà*, and similarly, in (41), the famous Vietnamese singer addresses herself also by her name *Khánh Ly* when saluting the audiences. The context is slightly different in (42) when *Ngọc*, as the speaker, is talking to her hearer about her decision of meeting her teachers and she chooses to utter their names preceded by a status term such as *Prof. Eric* and *Prof. Martin*.

In a nutshell, there are three ways the speaker can self-refer or address the addressee and the others in Vietnamese: pronouns, kinship terms or status terms and proper names (Pham 2011, Trinh and Truckenbrodt 2018). This is demonstrated in the following examples:

- (43) a. Nam nói với Mai: “Tao sẽ đi.”
 Nam said to Mai: “1sg FUT leave.”

- b. Nam nói với Mai: “Mày phải đi.”
 Nam said to Mai: “2sg MOD leave.”
- c. Nam nói với Mai: “Nam sẽ đi.”
 Nam said to Mai: “sp FUT leave.”
- d. Nam nói với Mai: “Mai phải đi.”
 Nam said to Mai: “add MOD leave.”
- e. Nam nói với Mai: “Anh sẽ đi.”
 Nam said to Mai: “kin.elder brother.sp FUT leave.”
- f. Nam nói với Mai: “Cô phải đi.”
 Nam said to Mai: “stat.Ms.add MOD leave.”

These examples show that the proper names *Nam* and *Mai*, the kinship term *anh* and or status term *cô* in (43c, d, e, f) can be used to refer to the speaker and the addressee like pronouns in (43a,b). The issue is whether or not these expressions have the same syntactic behaviour, for instance with respect to anaphoric dependencies.

In the preceding part, we have focused on the various means Vietnamese uses to refer to discourse participants, which include a pronominal system, kinship terms, status terms and proper names. What these expressions share is that they can directly acquire their values by relating to individuals in the domain of discourse. Natural languages also have a different means for expressions to be valued, namely indirectly by relating to another expression in the sentence and deriving their value from that expression. This procedure is binding. The next section will be devoted to an introduction of anaphoric dependencies, exploring how binding is distinguished from

coreference. In chapter 3, we will more specifically focus on binding patterns in Vietnamese.

2.2. Anaphoric Dependencies

For a proper understanding of anaphoric dependencies, it is important to understand the difference between what Reinhart (1983) called ‘binding’ and ‘coreference’. Much of what I will discuss in chapter 3 will be dependent on this distinction.

2.2.1. Coreference versus Binding

Consider the following example:

(44) After the 45th president of the US lost the election, the man was still determined not to give up.

Here the expression *the 45th president of the US* and *the man can* and most probably are intended to – refer to the same individual, Donald Trump. If so, these expressions are coreferential. Note that coreference is not grammatically encoded. Admittedly, less plausibly, *the man* could also refer to some other individual from the preceding context who is somehow involved with the issue. So, two expressions are coreferential iff they refer to the same element in the domain of discourse.

In (45) the two NPs are both referential expressions. Example (45) illustrates coreference between a referential expression *Mary* and the pronominal *she* in the subsequent sentence.

(45) Mary_i has a cat. She_i bought it from a stranger.

Under the intended reading, the two NPs *Mary* and *she* pick up the same individual from the discourse. Note, however, that in the case of (45), *she* could in principle refer to some other individual. That is, here too, coreference is not grammatically encoded. Coreference is restricted to elements that can be used to refer to individuals in the discourse domain. Quantificational expressions such as *everyone*, *no one*, *every girl*, *no girl*, etc. do not refer to discourse individuals. This is reflected in the contrast between (45) and (46):

(46) *No girl_i has a cat. She_i is afraid it runs away.

Here *she* cannot have the same value as *no girl*. It is not the case that a pronominal like *she* can never depend on a quantificational expression. In (47), it does:

(47) No girl_i has a cat that she_i bought from a stranger.

The difference is that (47) satisfies a structural condition, namely c-command. C-command can be defined as in (48):

- (48) a. α c-commands β iff α is a sister to γ , such that γ contains β .
 b. α [γ ... β ...]

In (49), I present a further minimal contrast:

- (49) a. After Mary_i bought a cat, she_i took good care of it.
 b. *After every girl_i bought a cat, she_i took good care of it.

The same contrast occurs in Vietnamese. As is standard, coreference only obtains if two NPs are referential and pick out the same value from the discourse. C-command is not involved. By contrast, a binding dependency can only be established based on c-command relation between the antecedent and the element to be bound. See (50) and (51):

- (50) a. Nam bắt nạt [đứa con gái]_i. Liệu nó_i sẽ trả thù?
 Nam bully CL girl. Whether 3sg FUT revenge?
 ‘Nam bullied the girl. Will she revenge?’
 b. Nam bắt nạt [đứa con gái]_i. Liệu [em ấy]_i
 Nam bully CL girl. Whether kin.younger DEM
 sẽ trả thù?
 FUT revenge?
 ‘Nam bullied the girl. Will she revenge?’
 c. Nam bắt nạt [mỗi đứa con gái]_i. Liệu nó_{*i} sẽ trả thù?
 Nam bully each CL girl. Whether 3sg FUT revenge?
 ‘Nam bullied every girl. Will she revenge?’

d. Nam bắt nạt [mỗi đứa con gái]_i.
 Nam bully each CL girl.
 Liệu [em ấy]_{*i} sẽ trả thù?
 Whether kin.younger DEM FUT revenge?
 ‘Nam bullied every girl. Will she revenge?’

(51) a. [Mỗi đứa con gái]_i đều nói rằng Nam bắt nạt nó_i.
 each CL girl all say COMP Nam bully 3sg
 ‘Every girl said that Nam bullied her’

b. [Mỗi đứa con gái]_i đều nói rằng Nam bắt nạt
 each CL girl all say COMP Nam bully
 [em ấy]_i.
 kin.younger DEM
 ‘Every girl said that Nam bullied her’

The examples in (50a) and (50b) illustrate coreference: the 3rd person pronoun *nó* and the kinship term *em* are assigned the same value as *đứa con gái* ‘the girl’.³

³ Note that sometimes a coreferential interpretation is less straightforward to obtain. In (ia), for instance, the proper name *Mai* does not easily refer back to the same individual as that of the NP *đứa con gái* ‘the girl’ in the previous sentence. However (ib) shows that this effect disappears if *Mai* has been introduced earlier. Further investigation of this effect would lead me beyond the scope of this dissertation.

(i) a. Nam bắt nạt [đứa con gái]_i. Liệu Mai_{*i} sẽ trả thù?
 Nam bully CL girl. Whether Mai FUT revenge?

There is no coreference between the quantified NP *mọi đứa con gái* ‘every girl’ and the pronominal *nó* in (50c) or the kinship term *em* in (50d) as *mỗi đứa con gái* does not denote an individual. The quantified NP does not c-command *nó* or the kinship term *em*, hence binding is ruled out as well. However, when the quantified NP *mỗi đứa con gái* ‘every girl’ occupies a position where it c-commands the pronominal *nó* as in (51a), a binding relation is available. Interestingly, in Vietnamese, also kinship terms, such as *em* ‘younger sister’ can be bound, as in (51b). I will discuss in detail the definition of binding and how binding is established in sections 2.2.2 and later in section 2.3.4, I will come back to the difference between binding and coreference, and in section 2.3.5, I will introduce some important diagnostics.

2.2.2. Definition of Binding

Chomsky (1981) presented a typology of nominal expressions with respect to their binding properties, distinguishing anaphors, pronominals and R(eferential)-expressions. All languages have expressions that may depend on other expressions for their interpretation, such as pronominals. A pronominal may but need not

‘Nam bullied the girl. Will Mai revenge?’

- b. Mai_i giận. Nam đã bắt nạt đứa con gái_i. Giờ Mai muốn trả thù.
 Mai angry. Nam PST bully CL girl. Now Mai want revenge
 ‘Mai was angry. Nam had been bullying the girl. Mai now wanted to revenge!’

be bound. Most languages studied so far also have anaphors, elements that are referentially defective and must depend on another expression for their interpretation. That is, they must be bound. R(referential)-expressions cannot be bound.

Chomsky presents the definition of binding in (52) based on the definition of c-command in (48) and the operation of coindexing:

(52) A binds B iff A and B are coindexed and A c-commands B.

Coindexing is a syntactic annotation of an interpretive dependency. While it seems quite straightforward intuitively, it turns out to be problematic under closer scrutiny, as we will see in section 2.3.4. But let's stay with it for now. With the definition in (52), let's examine the sentences in (53):

(53) [_{TP} John_i [_{VP} pinched *him_i/himself_i]

Here the anaphor *himself* is coindexed with the subject *John*. *John* is the sister of the VP, which contains *himself*, thus *John* c-commands *himself*. Consequently, a binding relation is established between the subject *John* and *himself*. Consider next the case where *himself* is replaced by the pronominal *him*. Applying the definition of binding in (52), it follows that *him* is bound by *John*. The result is ill-formed, though. This reflects the fact that not all binding relations are licit. The binding properties of anaphors, pronominals and R-expressions are governed by structural conditions. These conditions are approximated

by the binding conditions formulated by Chomsky (1981), henceforth the Canonical Binding Theory (CBT). A simplified version, which suffices for our purposes, is given in (54):

(54) **Canonical Binding Theory**

A: An anaphor is bound in its local domain.

B: A pronominal is free in its local domain.

C: An R-expression is free.

The local domain referred to is roughly the domain of the nearest subject. So, condition A expresses that an anaphor must be bound in the smallest clause containing it. If an NP is the subject of a non-finite complement clause and receives Case from the matrix verb, it is the matrix clause that counts as its local domain. Condition B entails that pronominals cannot be bound in positions where an anaphor would be bound. Hence, bound anaphors and bound pronominals are expected to be in complementary distribution. This is illustrated in the examples below:

(55) Jim_i kicked himself_i.

(56) Mary_i said that the queen hated *herself_i/her_i.

(57) *Peter_i admires him_i.

(58) *He_i admires Peter_i.

(59) Jim_i expected [himself_i/him*_i to succeed].

Example (55) is well-formed as the anaphor *himself* is bound by the subject *Jim*. The dependency is local, thus satisfies condition A. By

contrast, binding of *herself* by *Mary* in (56) violates condition A, since *Mary* is too far away. Substituting *her* for *herself* is grammatical as the dependency obeys condition B. Next, the pronominal *him* should not be bound locally, as expressed by condition B. This accounts for the ungrammaticality of example (57). (58) is also ill-formed since the R-expression *Peter* is bound by the subject *he*, which violates the condition C. In (59) the subject of the complement clause receives Case from the matrix verb *expect*; hence *himself* being bound by *Jim* is fine, but *him* is not.

However, the CBT faces both theoretical and empirical problems. Theoretically, the use of indices is problematic for reasons I will discuss in section 2.3.4. Empirically, the CBT is ill-equipped to account for the diversity of anaphoric systems across languages. To give a simple example, as already noted in Chomsky (1981) even English does not always maintain complementarity between anaphors and pronominals. See (60):

(60) Max_i put the book behind him_i/himself_i.

Perhaps more fundamentally, many languages, including Germanic and Romance languages, allow 1st and 2nd person pronouns to be locally bound in general, see (61):

(61) a. Dutch

Ik was me/jij wast je/wij wassen ons/jullie wassen je.

I wash me/you wash you/we wash us/you wash you.

b. French

Je me lave/tu te laves/nous nous lavons/vous vous lavez.

I wash me/you wash you/we wash us/you wash you.

The question is then why these do not violate condition B. There is a more general issue with condition B. In some languages, including Old-English, Frisian, Afrikaans, but also Tegi Khanty (for more examples see e.g. Schadler 2014), also 3rd person pronominals can be locally bound, again, in violation of condition B. See the following examples:

Frisian (Germanic)

- (62) Bill_i wasket him_{i/j}.
 Bill wash himself
 ‘Bill washes himself/someone else.’

(Everaert, 1986)

Tegi Khanty (Uralic)

- (63) Ut̩titeχ_o_i łuveł_{i/k} išək-s-əł̩e.
 teacher he.acc praise-pst-sg.3sg
 ‘The teacher praised him(self).’

(Nikolaeva 1995, 1999a; Volkova, 2014)

The problem with the CBT is broader, and also involves condition A. Many languages have anaphors that do not obey binding

condition A, and allow an antecedent in a higher domain. Some well-known examples are given in (64-66):

Icelandic

- (64) Jón_i segir [að María elski sig_i].
John say that Mary love.SBJV self
'John says that Mary loves himself.'
(Thráinsson, 2017)

Mandarin Chinese

- (65) Zhangsan_i renwei Lisi_j hen ziji_{i/j}.
Zhangsan think Lisi hate self
'Zhangsan thinks that Lisi hates him.'
(Tang 1985, 1989)

Japanese

- (66) John_i-wa [Bill_j-ga zibun_{i/j}-o hagemasi-ta-to] it-ta.
John-TOP Bill-NOM SE-ACC encourage-PST-COMP say-PST
'John said that Bill encouraged him/himself.'
(Hara, 2002)

Also Vietnamese *mình* allows non-local binding as we already saw.

Vietnamese

- (67) Hoa_i nghĩ Nam_j lừa mình_{i/*j}.
Hoa think Nam cheat body
'Hoa thought that Nam cheated her.'

Even English *himself* can have a non-local antecedent under conditions to be discussed in section 2.3, see (68):

(68) Max_i boasted that the queen invited Lucie and himself_i for a drink.

In fact, under proper discourse condition *himself* can occur without an antecedent in the same sentence at all, as illustrated in (69):

(69) a. John_i was going to get even with Mary. That picture of himself_i in the paper would really annoy her, as would the other stunts he had planned.

b. *Mary was quite taken aback by the publicity John_i was receiving. That picture of himself_i in the paper had really annoyed her, and there was not much she could do about it.

(Pollard and Sag, 1992)

In (69a), *John* serves as a discourse antecedent for *himself* as *John's* point of view is being expressed. By contrast, in (69b), the perspective holder is Mary, rather than John, hence the use of *himself* leads to the ungrammaticality. Given the role of point-of-view in the conditions on the interpretation of *himself* in these cases it is identified as a *logophor*. Since *himself* does not always allow a non-local interpretation, the conditions under which it does had to be determined. Another challenge for the CBT comes from the fact that many languages have an anaphoric system that is more complex than what we find in English. While English just has a contrast between anaphors and pronominals,

other languages have a richer system. Dutch has two anaphors, namely a simplex anaphor *zich* and a complex anaphor *zichzelf*, with a different distribution. A similar contrast is observed in the Scandinavian languages. But in fact contrasts between anaphors are pervasive crosslinguistically, from Uralic and Nakh–Dagestanian languages (for instance, Volkova 2014, 2017; Rudnev 2017)) to Malayic languages (Kartono 2013, 2021; Schadler 2014), Japanese (Hara 2002), and Mandarin (from Battistella 1987 to, more recently, Reuland, Wong and Everaert 2020, and Wong 2021).

There is a further issue with condition B. As noted in Evans (1980), given proper discourse settings B (and C) can apparently be violated even in standard English. This is further discussed in Reinhart (1983) and Grodzinsky and Reinhart (1993), who show that reference assignment is not itself subject to the binding conditions. See also Heim (1998) and Thornton and Wexler (1999). Such an apparent violation is illustrated in (70):

(70) You know what Mary, Sue and John have in common? Mary admires John, Sue admires him, and) John admires him too.

(Heim, 1998:13)

The question is, then, if condition B can be obviated in cases like (70), why do we observe condition B (and C) effects at all. Grodzinsky and Reinhart (1993) propose that the choice between binding and coreference is governed by an economy principle. This principle is given in (71):

(71) Rule I: Intrasentential Coreference

NP A cannot corefer with NP B if replacing A with C, C a variable A-bound by B, yields an indistinguishable interpretation.

Informally, Rule I represents a preference for binding over coreference: If the effects of binding and coreference are semantically indistinguishable, then the binding route is chosen. If that route results in a violation of a grammatical principle, that rejection is final, and does not allow a fallback on the coreference option. In (70) the property shared by *Mary*, *Sue*, and *John* is that of 'john-admiration', not that of 'self-admiration'. This is why replacing *him* by *himself* would not yield the same interpretation, and *him* is licit.⁴ In standard contexts, however, *John_i admires him_i* will not be 'rescued' by Rule I, and be rejected as a condition B violation.

One way to test for coreference and binding is provided by contrasting interpretations under VP-ellipsis. Simply put, under VP-ellipsis a VP projection in the second conjunct of coordination is deleted (or not pronounced) under a form of identity with a VP-projection in the first conjunct. As an illustration, consider the following example:

⁴ Reinhart (2006) presents a further discussion of Rule I, resolving some problems the formulation in (71) leaves open. Reuland (2011a) subsumes Rule I under a more general economy principle. However, the differences will not concern us here.

- (72) Bill pinches himself and Jim does too.
= Bill pinches himself and John does [pinch himself] too.
(i) = Bill SELF-pinches him and Jim SELF-pinches him too.
(ii) ≠ Bill pinches him & him=Bill and Jim pinches him &
him=Bill.

The reading in (72i) is a so-called *sloppy* reading: the interpretation of the object is *not free*; it has to be bound by the local subject. A reading where it picks out the same value as its counterpart on the first clause value – a *strict* reading is not available in (72ii). Contrary to anaphors, pronominals allow both types of reading:

- (73) Bill pinches his sister and Jim does too.
= Bill pinches his sister and Jim does [pinch his sister] too.

The example (73) is ambiguous between two possible interpretations: (a) Bill pinches Bill's sister and Jim pinches Jim's sister, where the silent pronoun in the second conjunct is bound by the local subject Jim); (b) Bill pinches Bill's sister and Jim pinches Bill's sister where the silent pronoun picks out the same value as its counterpart in the first conjunct, that is, *corefers* with the latter. The difference between variable binding and coreference will be discussed in detail in section 2.3.5.

All these considerations necessitated a fundamental reassessment of the CBT, and led to a modular approach to binding. That is, complex binding patterns result from the interaction of factors from different components of the language system.

This brings us to the next section in which we will introduce the notion of Reflexivity and the Binding theory by Reinhart and Reuland (1993), which not only accommodates an argument-based but also a predicate-based perspective.

2.3. The Representation of Reflexivity

Starting from a different angle than the CBT, Reinhart and Reuland (1993) introduce a binding theory in which they consider not only relations between arguments but also properties of predicates. It is generally referred to as the Reflexivity theory of binding. I will summarize it just briefly, laying out their main definitions and conditions together with some illustrations of how it works.

2.3.1. Reinhart and Reuland (1993)'s Reflexivity theory

In Reinhart and Reuland (1993), binding is not directly about the relative distribution of anaphors and pronominals but about well-formedness conditions on the licensing and interpretation of reflexive predicates. They formulate the following two conditions on such predicates (74a), and their definitions are summarized in (74b).

(74) a. **Binding conditions**

A: A reflexive-marked syntactic predicate is reflexive.

B: A reflexive semantic predicate is reflexive-marked.

b. **Definitions**

- (i) The syntactic predicate formed of (a head) P is P, all its syntactic arguments, and an external argument of P (subject).
- (ii) The syntactic arguments of P are the projections assigned θ -role or Case by P.
- (iii) The semantic predicate formed of P is P and all its arguments at the relevant semantic level.
- (iv) A predicate is reflexive iff two of its arguments are coindexed.
- (v) A predicate (formed of P) is reflexive-marked iff either P is lexically reflexive or one of P's arguments is a SELF anaphor.

In order to get an impression of how the approach works and differs from the CBT, consider the contrast in (75):

- (75) a. *Max_i boasted that the queen invited himself_i for a drink.
b. Max_i boasted that the queen invited Lucie and himself_i for a drink.

(75a) is correctly ruled out by the CBT, since the envisaged antecedent *Max* is outside the domain of the nearest subject *the queen*. Also, according to the Reflexivity approach, *himself* is a SELF-anaphor; it is an argument of the syntactic predicate formed of *invite*. Hence it reflexive-marks this predicate. By condition A, then, this predicate must be reflexive. However, it cannot be reflexive due to the

feature mismatch between its subject *the queen* and *himself*. Hence the sentence is ill-formed. (75b), however is problematic for the CBT, since *Max* is even farther away and yet the sentence is well-formed. The well-formedness is due to the fact that the object argument of the syntactic predicate of *invite* is not just *himself*, but *Lucie and himself*. Since *himself* is not by itself a (syntactic) argument of *invite* the latter is not reflexive-marked, hence condition A does not apply. There is no need for the predicate to get a reflexive interpretation; hence another choice of antecedent – here *Max* – is fine.

Using a different framework, but deriving similar results, Pollard and Sag (1992) argue that anaphors like *himself* in such positions are exempt from the local binding requirement; that is, they are *exempt anaphors* in their terminology. Reinhart and Reuland argue that such exempt anaphors are logophoric. *Logophors* are used to refer to individuals whose points of view, thoughts or feelings are being reported. In terms of structural relations, they may, but need not be c-commanded by their antecedents (Thráinsson 1991). This brings us back to an example mentioned earlier as (69) and repeated here:

(76) a. John_i was going to get even with Mary. That picture of himself_i in the paper would really annoy her, as would the other stunts he had planned.

b. *Mary was quite taken aback by the publicity John_i was receiving. That picture of himself_i in the paper had really annoyed her, and there was not much she could do about it.

(Pollard and Sag, 1992)

The noun *picture* here does not form a syntactic predicate (it lacks a subject, see the definition in (74a)). Hence neither *picture*, nor *annoy* forms a reflexive-marked syntactic predicate. Hence, condition A does not come into play, and *himself* is free to receive a discourse-based interpretation. As discussed, in (76a), *John* serves as a discourse antecedent for *himself* as *John's* point of view is being expressed, but this is not the case in (76b), which is therefore ill-formed.

The alternative to being reflexive-marked by a SELF-anaphor is being lexically reflexive, as defined in (74d). Verbs like *wash* have a lexical entry that is lexically reflexive-marked. Consequently, (77a) is reflexive-marked. Its interpretation is indeed reflexive. On the other hand, in (77b), *John* and *him* are co-arguments, yet the predicate *admire* is not lexically reflexive nor one of its arguments is a SELF anaphor, the predicate is not reflexive-marked, thus condition B is not satisfied resulting in the ungrammaticality. Unlike (77b), *John* and *him* in (77c) are not co-arguments as *him* is a complement of the preposition *behind*, reflexive-marking is not required, hence the sentence is grammatical.

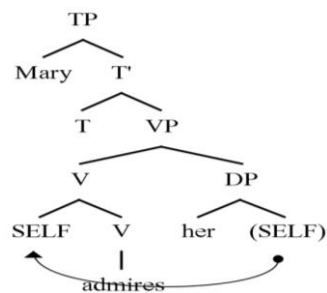
- (77) a. John washed.
 b. *John_i admired him_i.
 c. John_i put a book behind him_i.

While the conditions on reflexive-marking by a SELF-anaphor were essentially stipulated in Reinhart and Reuland (1993), Reinhart and Reuland (1991) suggested that reflexive-marking by a SELF-

anaphor involves covert movement of the SELF-element onto the predicate. This is illustrated in (78):

(78) a. Mary admires herself.

b.



Informally, SELF denotes a minimal reflexive relation. Once attached to V, the interpretation of SELF intersects with that of V yielding a reflexivized interpretation of V. In effect, the value of the pronoun *her* is restricted to be the same as the value of the subject DP *Mary* (see Reuland and Winter 2009 for a formal analysis). Since SELF-movement instantiates head-movement, which is local, the locality of anaphors like *himself* follows. The contrast between (75a) and (75b) then follows from the fact that in (75b) the SELF-element is contained in a syntactic island, namely *Lucie and himself*, which generally blocks movement (in this case the 'Coordinate Structure Constraint, Ross 1967). Hence the predicate cannot be reflexivized, and a discourse-based interpretation of *himself* is available. The movement analysis has been further elaborated in Reuland (2011a), to which I refer.

Also the notion of lexical reflexive marking has been further developed in subsequent research and has been shown to belong to a

more general class of operations on argument structure, see Reinhart (2002), Reinhart and Siloni (2005), Reuland (2011a), and Reinhart (2016). As has been shown by Reinhart and Siloni (2005) lexical reflexive marking is restricted to a subset of agent-theme verbs. *Admire* is a so-called subject-experiencer verb, hence does not qualify for being lexically reflexive. Indeed, it is not. Consequently, (77b) is not lexically reflexive. *Him* is not a SELF-anaphor either. Hence (77b) is not reflexive-marked, and violates condition B, if *John* and *him* are coindexed. Contrary to (77b), in (77c), if the pronominal *him* within the PP and the subject *John* are coindexed, no reflexive marking is needed since they are not co-arguments. Thus (77c) is well-formed as condition B does not apply.

As we will see in detail in Chapter 3 (section 3.3), Reinhart and Reuland's approach also applies to Vietnamese. For instance, in cases like (79), the object pronominal *nó* cannot be bound by the subject *Nam* (binding indicated by italics).

- (79) **Nam* đánh *nó*.
 Nam hit 3sg
 ‘*Nam* hits *him*.’

Here the pronominal *nó* and the subject *Nam* are co-arguments. However, neither is the predicate *đánh* ‘hit’ lexically reflexive, nor is one of its arguments a SELF-anaphor. Hence, condition B is violated, resulting in ill-formedness (unless certain discourse conditions as discussed above apply).

Interestingly, condition A is met in a different manner in Vietnamese. To see this, consider (80a) and (80b):

- (80) a. * Nam_i chỉ trích mình_i/nó_i.
 Nam criticize body/3sg
 ‘Nam criticizes himself.’
- b. Nam_i tự chỉ trích mình_i/nó_i.
 Nam self criticize body/3sg
 Nam criticizes himself.’

In (80a) we see that a simple coindexing between *Nam* and the pronominal *nó* or the anaphor *mình* is ruled out. However, if the element *tự* is inserted, binding is licit, as in (80b). It appears, then, that the predicate *chỉ trích* ‘criticize’ is reflexive-marked by the element *tự* ‘self’. The issue of the reflexive marker *tự* will be discussed in more detail in Chapter 3. As expected, when *mình* or *nó* is in a locative PP, it can be bound by the subject without the element *tự*, see (81), like in English:

- (81) Nam_i đặt quyển sách phía sau mình_{i/sp}/nó_{i/j}.
 Nam put CL book behind body/3sg
 ‘Nam put the book behind him/me/someone else.’

In (81), the pronominal *nó* or the anaphor *mình* and the subject *Nam* are not coarguments, as *nó* or *mình* is a complement of the preposition

phía sau ‘behind’. No licensing is required, thus *nó/mình* can be bound by *Nam*.

2.3.2. The chain condition

While cases like (77b) are correctly ruled out as violations of condition B, there are environments showing that a different factor must be involved as well. Consider for instance the structure in (82):

(82) *Mary_i* expected [*herself_i*/**her_i* to be on time].

Mary and *her* are not semantic coarguments, hence, condition B does not apply. Yet *Mary* is not a licit binder of *her*, and *herself* is needed instead. Reinhart and Reuland argue that this is the effect of an independent condition on *chain formation*, which rules out binding of pronominals in certain environments. The same condition is also needed to account for the Dutch pattern in (83) below.

(83)	a.	Willem _i	wast	zich _i .
		Willem	washes	SE
	b.	*Willem _i	wast	hem _i .
		Willem	washes	him

The contrast in grammaticality between (83a) and (83b) has nothing to do with condition B as the verb *wassen* ‘wash’ has a lexically reflexive entry, hence condition B is met. However, contrary to (83a), (83b) is

still ill-formed even if the pronoun *hem* occupies the same position as *zich* in (83a).

Reinhart and Reuland argue that such cases follow from an independent condition on A-chains, formulated in (84), where an A-chain is any sequence of coindexation that is headed by an A-position such that each coindexed link, except for the head, is c-commanded by another link, and there is no barrier between any two of the links (see Reinhart and Reuland 1993).

(84) **General condition on A-chains**

A maximal A-chain $(\alpha_1, \dots, \alpha_n)$ contains exactly one link $-\alpha_1-$ that is both +R and Case-marked.

The property +R is defined as in (85):

- (85) A NP is +R iff it carries a full specification for phi-features and structural Case.

To see how chain condition works, let's revisit the previous example. The coindexation in (83a) forms an A-chain; it has *Willem* as its head, being the only link that is both +R and Case-marked; its tail is the SE anaphor *zich*, which is a -R (since it is phi-feature deficient); hence the chain condition is respected. By contrast, the chain in (83b) contains two +R expressions, namely the head *Willem* and the pronominal *hem* as its tail, which is fully specified for phi-features. Consequently, the chain condition is violated.

The same holds for the English example in (82) in which the tail – the SELF-anaphor *herself* – is an -R expression, thus obeying the chain

condition. On the other hand, replacing *herself* with the pronominal *her* renders the sentence ungrammatical as it contains two +R expressions, *Mary* and *her*, leading to a violation of the chain condition.

In subsequent works, chain formation has been implemented in a rather different way as in Reuland (2001, 2011a), Reuland and Zubkov (2020), see the discussion in section 2.4.1. But the overall role of chain formation and the conditions on it in our understanding of anaphoric dependencies have remained unaffected.

The approach sketched opens the door to covering a wider range of anaphoric systems, which are more complicated than the two-way system realized in English. This brings us to the following subsection.

2.3.3. The Typology of Anaphors

To recall, nominal expressions in the CBT are divided up as anaphors, pronominals and R-expressions based on two features: [+/- anaphoric] and [+/-pronominal]. However, as we already saw, the class of anaphors contains subtypes, including complex anaphors such as *himself* (English), *zichzelf* (Dutch), *seg selv* (Norwegian) and simplex anaphors such as *zich* (Dutch), or *seg* (Norwegian), Faltz 1977, Pica 1985). While the former require a local antecedent, the latter allow a long-distance antecedent, and can only be locally bound when either their binder is not a coargument or when it is, the predicate is lexically reflexive. On the basis of this Reinhart and Reuland (1993) proposed

the typology of anaphoric expressions shown below (see also Anagnostopoulou and Everaert 1999):

(86) **A typology of anaphoric expressions**

	SELF	SE	PRONOMINAL
Reflexivizing function:	+	-	-
R(eferential independence):	-	-	+

Consequently, Reinhart and Reuland distinguish two types of anaphors: SELF-anaphors and SE anaphors, which differ in grammatical functions and binding domains. Grammatically, SELF-anaphors can reflexivize a predicate, and if so they are locally bound (like Dutch *zichzelf* and English *himself*). By contrast, SE-anaphors are phi-feature deficient; they are under-specified for phi-features such as gender, number and person. They cannot reflexivize a predicate and may be non-locally bound. SE-anaphors and SELF-anaphors are not referentially independent. Contrary to SELF-anaphors, and like SE anaphors, pronominals cannot reflexivize a predicate. But unlike SE anaphors, they can be referentially independent. Structurally, SE anaphors and pronominals can both appear in the determiner position. Reinhart and Reuland diagnosed as to whether maximal nominal projections are DPs or NPs represented in the structure as in (87), using the NP label:

- (87) a. [NP Pron/SE [N' e]] b. [NP Pron/SE [N' self]]

For the sake of concreteness, consider the following example. In Dutch, the SE anaphor cannot be bound by the local subject, unless the predicate is lexically reflexive, while the SELF-anaphor can, irrespective of this factor, as illustrated in (88):

- (88) a. Max₁ wast zich₁/*hem₁.
 Max washes SE
 b. Willem₁ bewondert zichzelf₁ /*zich₁ /*hem₁.
 Willem₁ admires himself₁ /*SE₁ /*him₁

(Reinhart and Reuland, 1993)

The verb *wassen* 'wash' has a lexically reflexive entry, hence (88a) with a SE-anaphor is fine. The pronoun is ruled out by the chain condition. Subject-experiencer verbs like *bewonderen* 'admire' in (88b) lack a lexically reflexive entry, hence a SELF-anaphor is required (the pronoun violates both condition B and the chain condition). The condition on chain formation given in (84) allows us to capture the contrast between Dutch and Frisian. As we saw in (62), repeated here, Frisian allows locally bound 3rd person pronominals:

- (62) Frisian (Germanic)
 Bill_i wasket him_i
 Bill wash himself
 'Bill washes himself.'

(Everaert, 1986)

As discussed in Reuland and Reinhart (1995), based on Hoekstra (1994), pronominals like *him* in Frisian are not marked for structural case, hence do not qualify as +R in the sense of (84). Consequently, in (62) the chain condition is not violated. Since the verb has a lexically reflexive entry, condition B is respected as well, and the sentence is fine.

Note that in order to capture the fact that, as noted earlier (see 61), all Romance and Germanic languages, except English, allow local binding of 1st and 2nd person pronominals, these would have to qualify as –R. See section 2.3.4 for more discussion.

In Vietnamese, the anaphor *mình* exhibits properties of a SE-anaphor. It is mono-morphemic and just like pronominals, it does not reflexive-mark the predicate. See (89):

- (89) a. Nam_i $\text{la m\`a}ng$ $\text{m\`i}nh_{*i/sp}$.
 Nam scold body
 ‘Nam scolded *himself/me.’
- b. Nam_i $t\grave{u}$ $\text{la m\`a}ng$ $\text{m\`i}nh_i$.
 Nam self scold body
 ‘Nam scolded himself.’

Given that *la m\`a}ng* ‘scold’ is not lexically reflexive, the sentence in (89a) is ruled out. Rather, *m\`i}nh* in this case can only be interpreted as referring to the speaker, which I will come back later in Chapter 4 section 4.6.1. By contrast, in (89b) the element *t\grave{u}* licenses a reflexive interpretation, thus the sentence is well-formed. As illustrated in (90a)

mình can have a non-local antecedent, as we see, in (90b), the presence of *tự* forces local binding of *mình*.

- (90) a. Hùng_i nghĩ Nam_j đã bảo vệ mình_{i/*j}.
 Hung think Nam PST protect body
 ‘Hung thought Nam had protected him.’
- b. Hùng_i nghĩ Nam_j đã tự bảo vệ mình_{*i/j}.
 Hung think Nam PST self protect body
 ‘Hung thought Nam had protected himself.’

In its original form the theory does not explain why *mình* can be locally bound under the presence of the element *tự*. In Chapter 3, I will further discuss the properties of *tự* and show how it contributes to a reflexive interpretation.

Generally speaking, the binding theory proposed by Reinhart and Reuland (1993) has bridged some of the empirical gaps left by the CBT. However, as we will see, a significant amount of work still needs to be fulfilled. In the next section, I will discuss an important theoretical issue.

2.3.4. Towards a minimalist perspective on binding

Like the CBT, Reinhart and Reuland (1993) employs indices as a means to encode anaphoric dependencies. As already noted, however, the status of syntactic indices is problematic. Consider, for instance, a sentence like *The morning star is the evening star*. Both *the morning star* and *the evening star* refer to the same object namely the planet

Venus. However, if they were to be coindexed, the sentence would violate the condition C. To avoid this, they must carry different indices. So, bearing distinct indices is compatible with having the same value. As Reinhart (1983) noted, it is also quite unclear how the coindexing between non-c-commanding elements such as *Mary* and *her* in (91) is to be interpreted (see Reuland 2011b for a more extensive overview of the problems with syntactic indices).

(91) The man_i that Mary_j mentioned protected her_j.

In any case, coindexing clearly does not express referential identity. This is illustrated in the following examples:

- (92) a. The athlete_i was encouraged that he_i could win the gold medal.
b. Every athlete_i was encouraged that he_i could win the gold medal.

In (92a) the two expressions *the athlete* and *he* refer to the same individual in discourse. By contrast, in (92b), the quantificational expression *every athlete* and *he* are not identical as the former does not point to any specific individual and the latter represents only one of the possible referents, yet the sentence is well-formed. Hence, they have a dual status and do not represent a unified notion. Moreover, although in the theory, indices are taken to be syntactic elements, there is no language in which indices are morphologically realized. In view of such problems, Chomsky (1995) concludes that syntactic indices

violate the inclusiveness condition. They have no theoretical status and must be dispensed with (Chomsky 1995, 2001, Reuland 2011a, b). Since coindexing is a key notion in the definition of binding in (52), the question is how to define binding without recourse to indices.

Reinhart (2006) proposed a definition of the linguistic notion of binding, Argument binding or A-binding in terms of the logical notion of binding, which is independently needed:

(93) **A-binding**

- a. α A-binds β iff α is the sister of a λ predicate whose operator binds β .
- b. α (λx (P (x...x)))

In (93b) the λ -operator binds two occurrences of the variable x . α is the sister of the λ -operator, thus the two variables x get A-bound by α . To see how this works, consider (94):

(94) Every boy said Mary kissed him.

- a. Every boy [_{TP} t=x [_{VP} said [Mary kissed x]]]
- b. Every boy [_{TP} λx [_{TP} x [_{VP} said [Mary kissed x]]]]

The derivation of the binding dependency in (94) proceeds as follows. Raise the quantified NP *every boy* higher up in the structure leaving behind a trace t , which is subsequently realized as x in (94a). After that, insert a λ -operator adjoining it to the minimal clause containing

the subject and the pronominal. Assuming that the pronominal *him* and the trace left by raising *every boy* in (94b) are both rendered as the same variable x , *him* ends up being A-bound by the quantified NP *every boy*.

This representation of binding relations is general, and straightforwardly carries over to Vietnamese, as in (95).

- (95) [Mỗi đứa trẻ]_i nói rằng Mai đã mắng nó_i.
 each CL child say COMP Mai PST scold 3sg
 ‘Every child said that Mai scolded him.’
- a. Every child [_{TP} t= x [_{VP} said [Mai scolded x]]]
 - b. Every child [_{TP} λx [_{TP} x [_{VP} said [Mai scolded x]]]]]

As already noted in section 2.2.1, in Vietnamese kinship terms can also be bound, that is, in current terms, they can be interpreted as bound variables. This is illustrated in the next example:

- (96) [Mỗi đứa trẻ]_i nói rằng Mai đã mắng
 each CL child say COMP Mai PST scold
 [em ấy]_i.
 kin.younger DEM
 ‘Every child said that Mai scolded him.’
- a. Every child [_{TP} t= x [_{VP} said [Mai scolded x]]]
 - b. Every child [_{TP} λx [_{TP} x [_{VP} said [Mai scolded x]]]]]

In Chapter 3, I will present a systematic overview of the types of potentially dependent expressions that can and cannot yield bound variables. Note that, as one would expect, without a context *nó* in (95) and the kinship term *em ấy* in (96) need not be bound and can also be interpreted as referring to an individual in the discourse domain.

2.3.5. Sloppy versus strict identity

As already discussed in section 2.2.2, a good way to test for coreference and binding is provided by contrasting interpretations under VP-ellipsis, as in (97) and (98):

- (97) Bill pinches himself and Jim does too.
 (i) = Bill pinches Bill and Jim does [pinch Jim] too.
 (ii) ≠ Bill pinches Bill and Jim does [pinch Bill] too.

In (97i) we have a sloppy reading, whereas in (97ii) we have strict reading. Pronominals in principle allow both readings, as we saw, see (98). Reinhart's definition of binding introduced in the previous section now allows us to represent the difference in a more formal way, as in (98a) versus (98b), where (98a) represents the bound variable (sloppy) reading and (98b) the coreferential (strict) reading.

- (98) Bill pinches his sister and Jim does too.
 = Bill pinches his sister and Jim does [pinch his sister] too.
 a. Bill (λx (x pinches x's sister)) and Jim (λx (x pinches x's sister))

- b. Bill (λx (x pinches a's sister & a = Bill)) and Jim (λx (x pinches a's sister & a = Bill))

The ambiguity between these two interpretations has been extensively discussed in the literature (see for instance Ross 1967, Keenan 1971, Sag 1976, Reinhart 1983, 2006 and Kornneef 2008 for a processing perspective).⁵ For instance, under the sloppy reading in (98a), the elided constituent is identified with the expression λx (x pinches x's sister); under the strict reading in (98b) it is identified with the expression λx (x pinches a's sister), where 'a' = his and may be valued as *Bill*.

When we apply this test to Vietnamese, the results are given in (99):

(99)a. Nam_i tự làm tổn thương mình_i và Mai cũng vậy.

Nam self make hurt body and Mai also so

'Nam hurts himself and so does Mai.'

= Nam hurts Nam and Mai hurts Mai.

≠ Nam hurts Nam and Mai hurts Nam.

b. Nam_i thích con chó của nó_i và Mai cũng vậy.

Nam like CL dog POSS 3sg and Mai also so

'Nam likes his dog and Mai does too.'

= Nam likes Nam's dog and Mai does [like Mai's dog] too.

= Nam likes Nam's dog and Mai likes Nam's dog.

⁵ This is a highly simplified discussion of ellipsis (see more recent works by Hardt 1993, Fiengo and May 1994, Johnson 2004, Merchant 2008, 2013, Sailor 2014 and others), but for the present purposes this suffices.

- c. Nam_i thích con chó của [em ấy]_i và Mai cũng vậy.
 Nam like CL dog POSS kin.younger DEM and Mai also so
 ‘Nam likes his dog and Mai does too.’
 = Nam likes Nam’s dog and Mai does like Mai’s dog too.
 = Nam likes Nam’s dog and Mai likes Nam’s dog too.

These examples show that the anaphor *mình* distinguishes itself from the pronominal element *nó* and the kinship term *em ấy*. The latter allow both a strict and a sloppy reading, while *mình* associated with the element *tu* only allows a sloppy reading, on a par with English *himself* (for most speakers).

There is an interesting restriction on the availability of sloppy readings. In (100a) as we can see, there is a discrepancy in terms of gender and age between the subject *anh Nam* ‘brother Nam’ of the first conjunct and the subject *Mai* of the second conjunct, namely *Mai* is a female and younger than *Nam*, thus only a strict identity interpretation is available ⁶. By contrast, (100b) may produce both sloppy and strict readings.

⁶ The same result happens to cases where only gender feature matters, as given in (i):

- (i). [Anh Nam]_i thích con chó của [anh ấy]_i
 kin.elder brother Nam like CL dog POSS kin.elder brother DEM
 và [chị Mai]_j cũng vậy.
 and kin.elder sister Mai also so
 ‘Nam likes his dog and Mai does too.’

(100) a. [Anh Nam]_i thích con chó của
 kin.elder brother Nam like CL dog POSS
 [anh áy]_i và Mai cũng vậy.
 kin.elder brother DEM and Mai also so

‘Nam likes his dog and Mai does too.’

≠ Elder brother Nam likes elder brother Nam’s dog and Mai likes Mai’s dog too.

= Elder brother Nam likes elder brother Nam’s dog and Mai likes elder brother Nam’s dog too.

b. [Anh Nam]_i thích con chó của
 kin.elder brother Nam like CL dog POSS
 [anh áy]_i và [anh Hùng]_j cũng vậy.

kin.elder brother DEM and kin.elder brother Hung also so
 ‘Brother Nam likes his dog and brother Hung does too.’

= Brother Nam likes brother Nam’s dog and brother Hung likes Nam’s dog too.

≠ Elder brother Nam likes elder brother Nam’s dog and elder sister Mai likes elder sister Mai’s dog too.

= Elder brother Nam likes elder brother Nam’s dog and elder sister Mai likes elder brother Nam’s dog too.

In (i), the subject *anh Nam* of the first conjunct and the subject *chị Mai* in the second conjunct does not share a common gender feature, thus the sloppy reading is not available, but the strict one.

= Brother Nam likes brother Nam's dog and brother Hung
likes brother Hung's dog.

Interestingly, in Vietnamese, although being essentially common nouns, also status terms can produce both sloppy and strict identity interpretations, like pronouns. Specifically, the status term *thầy* 'male teacher' in (101a) yields both sloppy and strict readings. By contrast, the sentence in (101b) only yields a strict identity reading.

- (101) a. [Thầy Kiên]_i ghét hàng xóm của
stat.male teacher Kien hate neighbor POSS
[thầy ấy]_i và [thầy Nam]_j cũng vậy.
stat.male teacher DEM and stat.male teacher Nam also so
'Kien hates his neighbors and Nam does too.'
= Teacher Kien hates teacher Kien's neighbors and teacher
Nam also hates teacher Kien's neighbors.
= Teacher Kien hates teacher Kien's neighbors and teacher
Nam hates teacher Nam's neighbors.
- b. [Thầy Kiên]_i ghét hàng xóm của
stat.male teacher Kien hate neighbor POSS
[thầy ấy]_i và Nam cũng vậy.
stat.male teacher DEM and Nam also so
'Kien hates his neighbors and Nam does too.'
= Teacher Kien hates teacher Kien's neighbors and Nam
also hates teacher Kien's neighbors.

≠ Teacher Kien hates teacher Kien's neighbors and Nam hates Nam's neighbors.

Since the use of status terms is very limited, from now on we only discuss the comparison between pronouns and kinship terms. A detailed analysis for the restriction on the availability of sloppy identity interpretations of kinship terms and status terms in Vietnamese will be provided in Chapter 3, section 3.4.

In (102a) and (102b) we have repeated arguments, namely the proper name *Nam* and the kinship term plus name *anh Nam*. In these cases we only have a strict reading.

(102) a. Nam_i thích con chó của Nam_i và Mai cũng vậy.

Nam like CL dog POSS Nam and Mai also so

'Nam likes Nam's dog and Mai does too.'

= Nam likes Nam's dog and Mai does [like Nam's dog].

≠ Nam likes Nam's dog and Mai does [like Mai's dog].

b. [Anh Nam_i] thích con chó của

kin.elder brother Nam like CL dog POSS

[anh Nam_i] và Mai cũng vậy.

kin.elder brother Nam and Mai also so

'Brother Nam likes brother Nam's dog and Mai does too.'

= Brother Nam likes brother Nam's dog and Mai does [like brother Nam's dog].

≠ Brother Nam likes brother Nam's dog and Mai does [like sister Mai's dog].

The absence of sloppy readings indicates that, although superficially similar, the phenomenon of repeated arguments - *Nam* as in (102a) and *anh Nam* as in (102b) - in Vietnamese is different from what we find in San Lucas Quiavini Zapotec and Thai, as discussed by Lee (2003). According to Lee, repetition of arguments in these languages results from movement. The lower expression is spelled out as a copy of the higher expression; the copy is interpreted as a variable bound by the moved expression. The result is a pattern in which pronouns bind identical pronouns, and R-expressions bind R-expressions, which yields obligatory sloppy readings in these languages. Examples like (102) show that this does not hold for Vietnamese, which only yields strict readings in this construction. The issue will be discussed in more detail in Chapter 3.

VP-ellipsis is not the only means to diagnose for binding versus coreference. This pair of interpretations can also be distinguished by the focus particle *only*. Let's have a look at (103):

(103) Only Jim picked up his child.

a. Only Jim (λx (x picked up a's child))

(a = any male individual, potentially including *Jim*)

b. Only Jim (λx (x picked up x's child))

As the logical syntax representations in (103a) and (103b) show, there are two possible interpretations. In (103a), *Jim* is the only one who picked up some person's child, whereas the other people did not do

the same thing for that person. By contrast, in (103b), *Jim* is the only one who picked up his own child, whereas the other people did not pick up their own child. Here (103a) represents a strict reading, while (103b) represents a sloppy reading. Consider the only-clauses in Vietnamese in (104):

- (104) a. *Mỗi* [anh Nam]_i đi đón con của
 only kin.elder brother Nam go pick child POSS
 [anh áy]_i.
 kin.elder brother DEM
 ‘Only brother Nam went pick up his child.’
 = Only brother Nam picked up his own child.
 = Only brother Nam picked up someone else’s child.
- b. *Mỗi* Nam_i đi đón con của nó_i.
 only Nam go pick child POSS 3sg
 ‘Only Nam went pick up his child.’
 = Only Nam picked up his own child.
 = Only Nam picked up someone else’s child.
- c. *Mỗi* Nam_i đi đón con của mình_{i/sp}.
 only Nam go pick child POSS body
 ‘Only Nam went pick up his child/my child.’
 = Only Nam picked up his own child.
 = Only Nam picked up my child.

The sentences in (104a-c) have both strict and sloppy readings. The crucial difference between these examples is the pairing of

antecedents and dependent elements. In (104a) the kinship term plus name *anh Nam* is paired with the kinship term *anh*, in (104b) we have the name *Nam* with the pronominal *nó*, and (104c) the name *Nam* with the anaphor *mình*. These sentences all allow both strict and a sloppy interpretations. However, with the anaphor *mình* in (104c) we have a different situation. It allows the sloppy interpretation where *Nam* picked up *Nam*'s child, but instead of the standard strict interpretation, the non-sloppy version that *Nam* picked up the speaker's child is possible. This reflects the fact that *mình* potentially has a speaker interpretation, as we saw earlier, marked as 'sp'.

Next, sloppy and strict readings have also been observed in cleft structures. See (105):

- (105) It was Jim who shot his wife.
- a. It was Jim (λx (x shot a's wife) (a = any male individual)
 - b. It was Jim ($((\lambda x$ (x shot x's wife)

The sentence in (105) has two logical syntax representations. The structure (105a) brings out a strict reading, whereas (105b) represents a sloppy reading. The former means that no one else but *Jim* is the person who shot someone's wife. By contrast, the latter means that no one else but *Jim* is the person who shot his own wife. The same structure with the same interpretation can be found in Vietnamese, as illustrated in (106):

- (106) a. Chính là Nam_i kẻ đã bắn vợ của nó_i.
 right be Nam person PST shoot wife POSS 3sg
 ‘It was Nam who shot his wife.’
- b. Chính là [anh Nam]_i kẻ đã bắn
 right be kin.elder brother Nam person PST shoot
 vợ của [anh ấy]_i.
 wife POSS kin.elder brother DEM
 ‘It was Nam who shot his wife.’
- c. Chính là Nam_i kẻ đã bắn vợ của mình_{i/sp}.
 right be Nam person PST shoot wife POSS body
 ‘It was Nam who shot his wife/my wife.’

The sentences in (106a,b,c) can be interpreted in two ways: either *Nam* is the only one who shot someone’s wife or *Nam* is the only one who shot his own wife. Again, (106c) with *mình* is different. Its readings are either that *Nam* is the only one who shot his wife or that *Nam* is the only one who shot the speaker's wife. However, there is no ambiguity when the proper name, such as *Nam* or a kinship term plus proper name is repeated as in (107):

- (107) a. Chính là Nam_i kẻ đã bắn vợ của Nam_i.
 right be Nam person PST shoot wife POSS Nam
 ‘It was Nam who shot his wife.’

- b. Chính là [anh Nam]_i kẻ đã bắn vợ
 right be kin.elder brother Nam person PST shoot wife
 của [anh Nam]_i.
 POSS kin.elder brother Nam
 ‘It was Nam who shot his wife.’

Sentences like (107a) and (107b) can only have strict readings. This indicates that repeated proper names or expressions of the type kinship term plus proper name in this special case cannot be bound in Vietnamese. This will be important for the discussion to what extent Vietnamese allows violations of condition B and C. I will take this issue up in Chapter 3, sections 3.3 and 3.5.

At this stage, let me add a preliminary remark on terminology. As discussed in sections 2.2.1/2.2.2 and subsequently in sections 2.3.4 /2.3.5, if two referential expressions have the same value, this can reflect a binding relation, but it can potentially also reflect coreference. The choice is subject to economy (in the form of Rule I). In section 2.3.5, I introduced the necessary diagnostics to tease them apart. In exploring anaphoric dependencies in Vietnamese we will be going into partly uncharted territory. In certain cases, we will have to initially describe a dependency without prejudging whether it involves binding or coreference. In such cases I will initially use the term *being covalued/covaluation* and come back where necessary, and decide their precise status using the diagnostics we have.

2.4. Establishing anaphoric dependencies in the Computational System

The abandonment of syntactic indices led to the question of how to represent anaphoric dependencies in the syntax, or as Chomsky (1995) refers to it, the *Computational system of Human Language*, abbreviated as C_{HL} . It should be noted that syntax only plays a role in dependencies that are subject to locality conditions. Variable binding as such is not, witness cases where the binder is separated from a pronominal by a number of island boundaries, as in (108):

(108) [Every actress]_i wondered [_{island} what the boss would do [_{island} after she_i reported him for harassment]].

The 3rd person pronominal *she* in the complement clause is bound by the non-local subject *every girl* and separated by two island boundaries but the sentence is still well-formed. But crucially, binding of anaphors, both simplex and complex is subject to locality. And C_{HL} has only a very simple inventory of operations namely Move (Internal Merge) and Check/Agree. What both have in common is the copy-of relation. So, what syntax can express is that two parts of a sentence stand to each other in the *x is a copy of y* relation. And in fact this is enough to represent in syntax the relevant aspects of anaphoric dependencies.

2.4.1. Chains and checking

In Chomsky (1995)'s implementation dependencies could be represented by checking grammatical features in a 'checking configuration'. In line with this idea, Reuland (2001) showed that chain formation as envisaged in Reinhart and Reuland could be implemented without recourse to indices by a sequence of checking operations in a way that strictly obeys the inclusiveness condition. The implementation of Reuland can be illustrated on the basis of (109), representing a simple transitive sentence with a DP as a subject, and a pronoun of SE-anaphor as an object:

(109) [_{R1} DP...T] [_{R2} T...V] [_{R3} V...pronoun/SE]

There are three relevant syntactic dependencies in (109). R1 represents the subject-verb dependency between DP and T, R2 shows Verb-Tense dependency between T and V and R3 is the dependency between Verb and its object. These dependencies can be integrated into one composite dependency (DP, pronoun/SE), resulting in a syntactic chain at C_{HL}, where the SE-anaphor is licit and the pronoun would violate the chain condition. Crucially, binding by chain formation in this system is limited to SE-anaphors. For complex anaphors like *himself* it is assumed, that binding proceeds by covert SELF movement, along the lines of Reinhart and Reuland (1991).

In subsequent work the notion of checking was replaced by the notion of Agree, and the details of the implementation changed accordingly. Since my own analysis will be based on a certain subtype

of Agree, I will not go into details of the analysis in Reuland (2001) but move on to the Agree-based analysis first proposed in Reuland (2005) and elaborated in Reuland (2011a) and subsequent work. What is preserved is the division of labor between the components of the language system. As is shown one may distinguish between three major components, namely syntax, semantics/logical syntax and discourse. These are accessed subjects to an economy hierarchy *syntax* < *semantics* < *discourse*, where syntactic operations take precedence over operations in semantics/logical syntax, and accessing discourse is most costly, see Reuland (2011a) for more discussion of economy and Koornneef and Reuland (2016) for a processing perspective.

2.4.2. Binding by Agree

Chomsky (2001, 2004, 2008) developed a general mechanism for syntactic dependencies elaborating the notion of Agree. The system is based on probe-goal relations. A probe is a head on a verbal or nominal spine, which is unvalued for a morphosyntactic feature. It seeks to find an element – a goal – in its c-command domain, which can provide it with a value for this feature. Typically, probes are realized on phase heads such as C, T and little *v**. Reuland (2005) provides an implementation of binding of SE-anaphors in terms of this Agree-based system, as modified along the lines of Pesetsky and Torrego (2004). Agree involves valuation and feature sharing. It leads to the formation of feature chains such that at least one instance is valued and one is interpretable. Structural nominative case is unvalued T. The SE-anaphor is deficient for number. Hence binding must

piggy-back on a number chain. His implementation can be illustrated with the following example:

- (110) a. $Henk_i$ voelde [$zich_i$ wegglijden].
 Henk felt [SE slide away]
 b. [Tns [EA [v^* [V SE]]]]

The challenge is that it is the antecedent – the external argument *Henk* -, which should provide the number value. Therefore, the external argument must be available as the goal. Consequently, at some level it should be in the c-command-domain of *zich*. The crucial assumption is, then, that the relevant point in the derivation SE moves to a position to the left of the external argument in Spec- v^* P. The operation proceeds in the following manner. Tense (Tns) is unvalued and serves as a probe. Tns probes its search domain and finds the external argument with an uninterpretable and unvalued T feature. Tns agrees with it establishing a link. Subsequently, the unvalued Tns again probes its domain finding v^* 's *valued* uninterpretable T feature. Agree obtains. Tns gets valued from the subject and the dependency between Tns-external argument- v^* is established. The anaphor SE has unvalued interpretable phi-features and unvalued uninterpretable structural accusative Case. The object EPP feature of v^* probes and finds SE as its goal. SE moves to the edge of v^* . The dependencies are summarized in (111):

(111) [Tns_{uφ} [SE_{uφ} [EA_{valφ} [v*_{uφ} [V... (SE_{uφ})]]]]]

In (111) the external argument (EA) provides the required valued and interpretable instances of $[\phi]$. In a nutshell, the ϕ -dependency gets a free rider on the structural case dependency. After valuing SE, the “instructions for interpretation” of SE are the same as for the ϕ -features of the external argument. That is, we have a copying relation representing identity along the lines discussed. Consequently, the dependency will be interpreted as a binding relation.

Let's see now how the chain condition is implemented in an Agree-based system. For sake of concreteness, consider the question, how to derive the complementarity between the SE-anaphor *zich* in (112a) and the pronominal *hem* in (112b). The SE-anaphor as the subject of the ECM clause is bound by *Peter* via an Agree-chain and mapped onto the expression in (112c).

- (112) a. Peter voelde [zich wegglijden].
 Peter felt [SE slip away]
 'Peter felt himself slip away.'
- b. *Peter voelde [hem wegglijden].
- c. Peter (λx . (x felt [x slide away]))

So, why is it that (112b) cannot simply be mapped onto (112c). The answer is that deriving (112c) from (112b) bypasses the step in (113).

(113) ^{CANCELLED}Peter_φ T v voelde [hem_φ wegglijden] (*Agree-chain)

Example (113) shows an attempt at chain formation, that is, an attempt to overwrite/value features that are already valued. As argued in Reuland (2011a, 2017), this violates a condition on chain formation (the Principle of Recoverability of Deletion, or PRD). Consequently, the derivation cannot continue; it is *cancelled* (see Chomsky 1995). Hence, the interpretation expressed by (112c) is unavailable to (112b/113).

My account of Vietnamese binding in chapter 3 will be based on the operation of Multiple Agree (Hiraiwa 2001, 2005), which is an extension of the Agree operation discussed here (see Giblin 2016, and Zubkov 2018). Hence, we will get back to this issue in the next chapter.

2.4.3. Restrictions on local binding

In section 2.3.1, I indicated how binding is brought about by SELF-movement. Reflexivizing a predicate by SELF-movement is in fact another way to create a syntactic dependency within C_{HL} without using indices.

Consider (114):

- (114) a. Mary admires herself.
 b. Mary [_v self [_v admires]] herself

As I said above, SELF denotes a minimal reflexive relation. Once attached to V, the interpretation of SELF intersects with that of V yielding a reflexivized interpretation of V. Under considerations of

derivational economy, the interpretive dependency between *Mary* and *herself* in (114) is derived only at C_{HL}, which means that no semantic factors are involved in this operation. It just applies blindly whenever the syntactic conditions for its application are met. Note, however, that although intuitively the notion of reflexivity may be clear, it is important to have a working definition. Since the definition in section 2.3.1 is based on coindexing, an alternative definition has to be provided, that does not depend on indices. I will be using the definition in (115), which is based on Dimitriadis (2012):

(115) A predicate is reflexive iff one semantic argument bears two of the predicate's semantic roles.

Given this definition, consider the fact that condition B of the reflexivity approach requires that a reflexive predicate be reflexive-marked. This raises two questions: i) How general is this requirement? And ii) If it is general, why would this be so? And, indeed, languages manifest diverse and special means to express reflexivity. We find SELF-anaphors as in English, bodypart reflexives as in Basque (see Faltz 1977), we find reflexive clitics as in Romance, verbal markers as in Kannada (Lidz 1995). What is very rare is to find a language that just appears to express reflexivity by the subject binding a coargument object pronominal as in (116):

- (116) a. DP V Pron
 b. DP (λx (V x, x))

This is in fact surprising. Just blindly following the procedure in (93) would yield this result as a possible outcome. In fact it seems like the simplest way to represent a reflexive relation. So, why don't we find it as the general strategy?

One might say that the chain condition as an independent syntactic principle rules out 'too local binding' of a fully specified pronominal. However, this would not explain why verbs like *bewonderen* 'admire' and their counterparts in other languages do not allow a simplex pronominal anaphor (see 88b).

Farmer and Harnish (1987) propose a Disjointness presumption on arguments, which may be observationally in the right direction, but the question is what this presumption follows from. Levinson (2000) pursues a similar line as Farmer and Harnish yet focuses on the contrast between verbs requiring complex reflexives and those opting for simplex reflexives. He argues that verbs are categorized into two types: other-directed and self-directed verbs. If a verb is other-directed it needs to be marked when expressing a reflexive relation; no special marking is required if a verb is self-directed. The problem is that there is no independent criterion for this property. It is unclear why a verb like *bewonderen* 'admire', which requires a complex anaphor, would be other-directed, while a verb like *branden* 'burn', which allows a simplex anaphor would be self-directed, unpleasant as it is (see Volkova and Reuland 2014). This approach also leaves open why even with

purportedly self-directed verbs quite generally some marking is needed; using just a pronominal in 3rd person is quite rare. Moreover, the way of encoding reflexivity is quite arbitrary; in many languages bodypart expressions such as *his head*, *his body* can be used to yield a reflexive interpretation. Such facts indicate that reflexivity needs to be licensed in languages with all means that are available in them. Yet, the question is why it is necessary to license reflexivity at all and what is the motivation behind this encoding? This question will be addressed in the next section.

2.4.4. The effect of IDI

As argued in Reuland (2011a), and in more detail in Reuland (2017), the special status of reflexivity essentially results from a general property of computations. To see how, let us reconsider the formulation of reflexivity in (115). As noted, blindly following the procedure in (93) would yield a mapping of (117a) onto (117b), with two occurrences of the variable x in the local domain.

- (117) a. DP V Pron
b. DP (λx (V x , x))

The question is then what goes wrong. Reuland (2011a, 2017) argues that what goes wrong is that it is impossible for the grammatical system to keep occurrences of such identical objects apart in a local domain, as a consequence of our Inability to

Distinguish Indistinguishables (IDI).⁷ In order to be able to distinguish between occurrences of ‘identicals’ a representation minimally needs structure or order. As Reuland argues, neither structure nor order is present at the C–I interface, where syntactic representations are handed over to the interpretation system (Chomsky 1995). Order is a property of Phonetic Form, but not of syntax or the interpretation system. Hence it is not available at the relevant point of the derivation. We know that in the mapping of syntactic structure onto the phonetic representation, all structure that is not directly phonetically interpretable is erased. Similarly, when syntactic structure is handed over to the interpretation system, structure that is not semantically interpretable is erased. Chomsky (1995) proposed that only maximal projections, and heads are visible to the interpretation system ('terms'). Intermediate projections such as V' are not. Thus, translating *DP V pronoun* at the C-I interface involves the steps in (118):

$$(118) \quad \underset{1}{[VP \ x \ [V' V_{01,02} \ x]]} \rightarrow \underset{2}{([VP \ V_{01,02} \ "x \ x"])} \rightarrow \underset{3}{*[VP \ V_{01,02} \ x]}$$

The second step with the two tokens of x in "x x" is virtual (hence put in brackets). With the breakdown of structure, and the absence of order, stage 2 has no status in the computation. Hence, eliminating V' leads directly to stage 3, where only one argument variable is visible.

⁷ This reflects a more general property of “local identity avoidance” (see, for instance, Leben 1973, Richards 2002, and Abels 2003).

Since the verb has two theta-roles to assign, the operation of discharging thematic roles faces an indeterminacy: it requires two arguments and finds only one. Thus, the derivation is illicit (see Reuland 2011a for more details).

2.4.5. Strategies for reflexivity

There are generally three strategies that can be used to avoid IDI from blocking reflexive interpretations.

2.4.5.1. Protection

Protection takes place when a derivation contains material such as a SELF-type element, a bodypart expression or the doubling of a pronominal element that keeps the arguments distinct. The structure for protection is given below:

- (119) a.[Vx [x Morph]]
b. $\lambda x (V x f(x))$ where f maps x onto an element that can stand proxy for $\|x\|$.

(see Reuland and Winter 2009)

For instance, in Dutch, a verb like *bewonderen* 'admire' requires a complex reflexive for a reflexive interpretation; the same applies to its Frisian counterpart *bewûnderje* as in (120):

- (120) a. Winnie bewonderde *zich/zichzelf.
 Winnie admired SE/SELF

- b. Winnie bewûndere *him/himsels.
 Winnie admired him/SELF
- c. Winnie λx (V x [SELF x])
- d. Winnie λx (V x f(x))

The SELF-element in *zichzelf* and *himsels* contributes to making the two arguments distinct in (120a,b). Not only does it make the arguments distinct syntactically, it also contributes to the interpretation, in facilitating a 'proxy-interpretation' of the object. Here, f(x) in (120d) represents an individual that can stand proxy for Winnie, which means it can not only bear the value of Winnie, but also Winnie's statue, Winnie's picture, etc. Cross-linguistically one finds a variety of elements that can serve for protection. A very common instantiation of protection is that the bound element is embedded in an argument, for instance as a possessive. We find this in the use of bodypart 'reflexives' such as Basque *bere burua* 'his head', Georgian *tav tavis* 'his body', Limbum *zhii tu* 'his head', etc. (see Schadler 2014 for an overview) But other languages use a doubling strategy, for instance Malayalam *taan tanne* (Jayaseelan 1997) or Tsaxur *wuž wuž* (Toldova 1996).

In Vietnamese, one also finds instances of such a protection strategy. I will provide a systematic overview of how Vietnamese licenses reflexivity in Chapter 3.

2.4.5.2. Bundling

Another strategy to represent reflexivity is based on bundling of theta-roles (see Reinhart 2002, Reinhart and Siloni 2005, and Reinhart 2016). Bundling is an operation on the argument structure of verbal predicates, which reduces the internal argument, and bundles the agent and theme roles into one composite *agent-theme* role. Depending on the language it may also eliminate the accusative case assigning property of the verb. This operation is illustrated in (121):

(121) Bundling

- a. $V_{acc}(\theta_1, \theta_2) \rightarrow R_s(V)(\theta_{1,2})$
(where $\theta_{1,2}$ stands for the bundling of θ_1 and θ_2)
- b. $V [Agent]_1 [Theme]_2 \rightarrow V [Agent - Theme]_1$
- c. Restriction: Agent-Theme verbs

As argued by Reinhart and Siloni (2005), bundling in the lexicon is restricted to Agent-Theme verbs. Furthermore, in their system, the reduction operation applies to transitive verbs that assign an accusative case to their arguments. This leads to the parameterization of reflexivity in the following manner: some languages have the accusative eliminated by bundling while others leave a Case residue, which needs to be checked. In English bundling eliminates the accusative case property. So after bundling a verb like *wash* is syntactically intransitive, as illustrated in (122).

- (122) a. John washed.
b. DP (λX ([_{VP} V_[Agent-Theme] X])

In Dutch, bundling leaves a case residue; hence a SE-anaphor is merged to check this case, as in (123).

- (123) Winnie waste zich.
Winnie washed SE

In other languages an additional morpheme may be inserted to check a residual case. Russian, for instance one typically finds the element *sja/s'* attached to the verb.

The bundling operation provides a straightforward account for a contrast in the wax museum context (see Jackendoff 1992), as in (124):

- (124) a. {Upon a visit to the wax museum,}
Ringo started washing himself.
(^{Ok}Ringo, ^{Ok}Ringo's statue)
b. {Upon a visit to the wax museum,}
Ringo started washing.
(^{Ok}Ringo, *Ringo's statue)

As noted by Jackendoff, *himself* in such contexts as in (124a) can be interpreted either as the person Ringo or as Ringo's statue. By contrast, in (124b), without an object, Ringo's statue interpretation is

not available. The same pattern can be found in Dutch with *zichzelf* and *zich* (see Reuland 2001, Reuland and Winter 2009). A simple explanation is that in (124b), as a result of the bundling operation a semantically interpretable object argument is lacking, and that the same applies to the Dutch counterpart of (124b) with *zich*. An element like *zich* in this position is not an argument, but just an expletive checking a residual case.

Interestingly, Vietnamese also exhibits lexical bundling with a limited verb class, and where it does, it shows similar effects. This is illustrated in (125a) and (125b) below:

- (125) a. Khi vào thăm bảo tàng sáp, Ringo_i tắ³m cho mình_{i/sp}.
 When come visit museum wax, Ringo wash for body
 ‘Upon a visit to the wax museum, Ringo washed Ringo’s
 statue/himself/me.’
- b. Khi vào thăm bảo tàng sáp, Ringo tắ³m.
 When come visit museum wax, Ringo wash
 ‘Upon a visit to the wax museum, Ringo washed himself.’

The verb *tắ³m* does not take a standard direct object but realizes the object in a PP *cho mình* ‘for body’, here in the form of the anaphor *mình*. If so, it allows a statue reading and a reflexive reading as in (125a). If an object is lacking, as in (125b) it only has a reflexive interpretation, suggesting bundling, but the statue reading is not available. As we saw in the earlier sections of this chapter and will be discussed in more detail in Chapter 3, without a context, *mình* may

allow the speaker interpretation in (125a), which is absent in (125b) as one may expect.

The other empirical fact showing the detransitivization effect of bundling involves object comparison (Zec 1985, Dimitriadis and Que 2009, Dimitriadis and Everaert 2014) illustrated in (126):

- (126) a. Bill washes himself more often than John.
 b. Bill washes more often than John.

The difference between (126a) and (126b) is that the object argument is available in (126a) whereas it is absent in (126b). As a result, object comparison is possible in (126a) which yields two possible readings: i. *Bill washes Bill more often than John washes John*; ii. *Bill washes Bill more often than Bill washes John*. By contrast, in (126b), due to the lack of an object argument, object comparison does not apply; thus there is only one interpretation, namely *Bill washes Bill more often than John washes John*.

Vietnamese shows a similar contrast as English, but in one interesting respect the pattern is different, as illustrated in (127):

- (127) a. Bill_i tắm cho mình_i thường xuyên hơn John.
 Bill wash for body often than John
 'Bill washes me more often than John.'
 ≠Bill washes Bill more often than John washes John.
 = Bill washes me more often than John washes me.

- b. Bill *tắm* thường xuyên hơn John.
 Bill wash often than John
 ‘Bill washes more often than John.’
 = Bill washes Bill more often than John washes John.

The difference comes from the possible interpretation of *mình* as the speaker as in (127a); otherwise the first conjunct alone in this example does not yield a reflexive interpretation. With *mình*, as in (127a) we see only one licit interpretation, namely *Bill washes me more often than John washes me*; the other interpretation, *Bill washes Bill more often than John washes John*, is ruled out. Reasons for the absence of reflexivity in (127a) stem from the verb type at play, namely the grooming verb *tắm* ‘wash’, that is inherently reflexive, thus does not need an object to express reflexivity.⁸ As expected the sentence in (127b) only has one interpretation, namely *Bill washes himself more often than John washes himself*. This is because there is no object argument in the sentence, thus the object comparison is impossible.

⁸ Note that Vietnamese also has another type of inherent reflexive verbs

- (i) Tom *thẹn* *mình*/*Mary *lắm*.
 Tom shame body/Mary very
 ‘Tom shames himself so much’

Similar verbs can be listed, such as *liều mình* (risk body), *giật mình* (shake body or startle), *cúi mình* (bend body), *phóng mình* (bounce body), *trảm mình* (drown body or self-killing). This set of verbs is limited, and noticeably, *mình* in these expressions never has a speaker interpretation.

2.4.5.3. Separation

The last strategy, which has been discussed in the literature, is Separation (Schladt 2000, Schadler 2014). This operation is used to realize the two variables on different grids. The strategy is found in Zande where the object argument in reflexives is located in a PP. In French, Separation contributes an explanation for cases where locally bound pronouns are allowed. For instance, in *Jean est fier de lui* ‘Jean is proud of himself’, *Jean* and *lui* are not on the same grid, due to the fact that in French a preposition like *de* does not undergo reanalysis with the verb unlike their counterparts in Dutch, where an anaphor is required (see Reuland 2011a for discussion). Although Vietnamese does not apply this as a general strategy like Zande, as we will discuss there is an effect of embedding *minh* in certain types of PP.

2.4.5.4. Protecting versus enforcing

As one may observe in many languages, the occurrence of the protecting element in anaphoric expressions not only licenses reflexivity but also enforces it (Schadler 2014). For instance, as we discussed in section 2.3.1, in English, reflexivity is enforced through head movement of SELF onto the verb as in (128) (see Reuland 2011a for a discussion of what may trigger this movement):

(128) The queen complained that Max (*self*)-invited *himself* for a drink.

Consequently, *himself* in (128) can only be bound in its local domain. Other languages have anaphors that license, but do not enforce

reflexivity. Such anaphors typically allow both local and non-local binding. The Indonesian anaphor *dirinya* (see Kartono 2013, 2021) is a case in point, as illustrated in (129):

(129) Indonesian

- a. Rita_j me-lihat diri-nya_j.
 Rita meN-see body-3sg.gen self
 ‘Rita sees herself.’
- b. Rita_j meng-(k)ira Anton_k me-lihat diri-nya_{j/k}.
 Rita meN-think Anton meN-see body-3sg.gen
 ‘Rita thought that Anton saw himself/her.’

(Kartono 2013, 2021)

Dirinya is complex, consisting of a bodypart expression *diri* and a possessive pronoun *-nya*, which makes it complex enough to license reflexivity. However, *diri* itself is unable to act as an operator reflexivizing the predicate (see Kartono 2013, Kartono et al. 2021, for discussion). Adding the element *sendiri* to *dirinya* creates a ‘supercomplex’ anaphor, which enforces reflexivity and hence is local. Another instance of a language in which licensing is distinguished from enforcing is Peranakan Javanese (Cole, Hermon, Tjung, Sim and Kim 2008, Schadler 2014). The complex anaphor *awake dheen* in Javanese can take a local antecedent, a long-distance antecedent, and a discourse antecedent as well. This is exemplified in (130):

- (130) Bowo_j ngomong nek aku pikir [Tono_i ketok awake dheen_{i/j/k}
Bowo N-say that 1sg think [Tono see body-3 3sg
nggon kaca].
in mirror
'Bowo said that I thought that Tono saw himself/him in the
mirror.'

(Cole, Hermon, Tjung, Sim and Kim, 2008)

Adding the element *dewe* creates a supercomplex anaphor, which is local (see Volkova 2017, Rudnev 2017, Reuland, Wong and Everaert 2020, and Wong 2021 for more such cases).

In what follows, I will discuss in detail how Vietnamese fares in this respect, what strategies the language employs to encode reflexivity and what role the element *tu* plays in producing reflexive interpretations. Step by step, the next chapter will explore the nature of *tu*, semantically and syntactically.

Chapter 3

Binding in Vietnamese: Basic patterns

As has become clear in the preceding chapter, the verbal particle *tu* ‘self’ and the anaphor *minh* play an important role in understanding the binding patterns in Vietnamese. In this chapter, I will first explore how *tu* is interpreted and what role it plays in the licensing of reflexivity (3.1), and then I will pay attention to the anaphor *minh* (3.2). Subsequently I discuss the binding patterns of pronouns (3.3), kinship/status terms (3.4), proper names (3.5), closing with a discussion of ‘minor’ reflexivization strategies (3.6). As a result, I claim that reflexivization in Vietnamese is primarily based on syntactic processes, but there is a limited domain where reflexivization reflects a lexical operation in the sense of Reinhart and Siloni (2005). In terms of binding conditions, *minh* is determined as a long-distance bound anaphor and it is only bound locally where the reflexive marker *tu* is present. Pronouns generally obey binding condition B in the sense of Reinhart and Reuland (1993) and yield reflexive interpretations only in the presence of the reflexive marker *tu*. Vietnamese has an interesting pattern with identical pronouns in coargument positions. As we will see, in this configuration their relation is one of coreference, rather than binding. Regarding common nouns used as kinship terms and status terms, these lexical items may behave as bound variables or referential expressions, as is shown by the VP-ellipsis test and have the same distribution as pronominals in many syntactic environments. Lastly, proper names are shown to

comply with binding condition C, but they can be interpreted coreferentially in the case of repeated names just like pronouns, kinship terms and status terms. Furthermore, Vietnamese also employs some other markers of reflexivity, apart from *tự*, with some semantic and pragmatic implications that merit a more thorough investigation in the future.

3.1. The interpretation and distribution of Vietnamese *tự* ‘self’

As discussed in Chapter 2 sections 2.3.1 and 2.3.3 respectively, the 3rd person singular pronominal *nó* and the anaphor *mình* cannot be locally bound unless accompanied by the element *tự* (see also Fukuda 2005, Tran 2009). In fact, as shown by the contrast between (78) and (79) in Chapter 2, it is the narrower notion of coargument binding that is involved. From the perspective of the discussion in the previous section, this indicates that Vietnamese reflects a cross-linguistically general pattern in requiring that reflexivity must be licensed.

3.1.1. The interpretation of *tự* ‘self’ and its reflexivizing effect

According to the literature of Vietnamese, the element *tự* ‘self’ is used to encode various meanings, depending on its syntactic position. In terms of interpretation, *tự* is primarily defined as a lexical item that implies the ability of someone who can do something by himself. Compare (1a), (1b) and (1c):

- (1) a. Nó đan chiếc áo len.
 3sg knit CL sweater
 ‘He/she knit the sweater.’
- b. Nó đã không tự đan chiếc áo len.
 3sg PST NEG self knit CL sweater
 ‘He/she did not knit the sweater by himself/herself.’
- c. Tự nó đã không đan chiếc áo len.
 self 3sg PST NEG knit CL sweater
 ‘He/she himself/herself did not knit the sweater’.

Without the element *tự*, the sentence in (1a) leaves open whether the person himself is knitting the sweater or that person is knitting the sweater with the aid of others. However, in (1b) and (1c) with the presence of the element *tự*, the interpretive options are reduced. (1b) can only mean that the subject is not knitting the sweater by himself/herself and (1c) means that the subject himself/herself is not knitting the sweater. What distinguishes (1b) from (1c) involves the structure in that *tự* is in a position between the subject and the verb in (1b), whereas it precedes the pronominal subject *nó* in (1c). Quite plausibly, in the latter case, *tự* is in fact merged in a position where it is adjoined to the subject. If so, *tự* may function here as an intensifier (König and Siemund 2000). Note also that *tự* is insensitive to animacy, as illustrated in (2) and (3), where it naturally combines with *cửa* 'door' and *tuyết* 'snow' and a fronted *tự* is possible as well:

(2) a. Cánh cửa tự mở.
 CL door self open
 ‘The door opened by itself.’

b. Tự cánh cửa mở.
 self CL door open
 ‘The door itself opened.’

(3) a. Tuyết tự tan.
 snow self melt
 ‘Snow melted by itself.’

b. Tự tuyết tan.
 self snow melt
 ‘Snow itself melted.’

Importantly, as already observed, *tự* may also serve as a reflexivizing element. This is illustrated in more detail below:⁹

(4) a. Người đàn ông_i đã khen mình^{*i/sp}.
 CL man PST praise body
 ‘The man praised *him/me.’

⁹ The unmarked position of intensifying *tự* is prenominal, as illustrated above in (1c), but a postnominal position is not excluded (cf. 1b), as corpora searches have confirmed. Observe that we only get the intensifying reading of *tự* in the position immediately preceding the verb when the possibility of a reflexive interpretation is excluded: compare (1b) with (4b).

- b. Người đàn ông_i đã tự khen mình_{i/*sp}.
 CL man PST self praise body
 ‘The man praised himself/*me.’
- c. Tự người đàn ông_i đã khen mình_{i/sp}.
 self CL man PST praise body
 ‘The man himself praised himself/me.’
- d. Mà_y đang tự khen mình_{i/*sp} sao?
 2sg PROG self praise body Q?
 ‘Are you praising yourself/*me?’
- e. Tôi_i (tự) khen mình_i.
 1sg (self) praise body
 ‘I praise myself.’

First of all, note that, as discussed earlier, *mình* in principle allows an interpretation as the speaker, as illustrated in (4a) by the translation of *mình* as *me*. In (4b), however this interpretation is absent. Here, the presence of *tự* triggers a reflexive reading of *mình*, a reading that is absent in (4a). In a sense, the presence of *tự* overrules the other interpretive options of *mình*.¹⁰ It can therefore be said to enforce

¹⁰ A similar pattern can be observed for the element *chỉ* (only):

- (i) Nó_i chỉ nghĩ cho mình_{i/*sp}.
 3sg only think for body
 ‘He/she only thinks for himself/herself/*me’

In this case, *mình* can be bound locally by the subject as it is contained in a PP (see discussion of (31) below). But since the speaker interpretation is

reflexivity along the lines of the discussion in section 2.4.5.4 in Chapter 2. As shown by the contrast with (4c), *tự* in a presubject position, only licenses, but does not enforce reflexivity. In (4d), the presence of *tự* is obligatory in deriving the reflexive interpretation of *mình* as it is locally bound by the second person pronoun *mày*, and as in (4b) a speaker reading is not available. By contrast, in (4e), when *mình* is locally covalued with the first person pronoun *tôi*, the presence of *tự* is optional. Note that in (4b, d, e) *tự* immediately precedes the predicate (see section 3.1.2 for more detail). The fact that in cases like (4c) *tự* does not enforce reflexivity, but licenses it, need not be surprising.¹¹ By adjoining to the subject it creates complexity on the subject variable of the predicate, licensing reflexivity by protection. For this issue, see Reinhart and Reuland (1993:714) for a discussion of a construction in Dutch where reflexivity is licensed by reflexive-marking a subject.

blocked, one can conclude that the presence of the particle *chỉ* ‘only’ enforces reflexivity.

¹¹ My intuition as well as that of my informants about (4c) contrasts sharply with Fukuda (2005)’s in that according to him, *mình* cannot be interpreted reflexively due to the intervention of an aspect marker between the subject and the verb as in (i):

- i. **Tự* *Tân_i* *đã* *đánh* *mình_i*.
 self Tan Perf hit body

However, according to my native informants, reflexivity is also licensed here along with the intensifying reading.

Standardly, the effect of *tự* as enforcing reflexivity when it precedes the verb can also be observed in complex sentences. Consider the minimal pair in (5):

- (5) a. Mai_i nghĩ Nam_j sẽ động viên mình_{i/*j/sp}.
 Mai think Nam FUT encourage body
 ‘Mai thought Nam would encourage her/me.’
- b. Mai_i nghĩ Nam_j sẽ tự động viên mình_{*i/j/*sp}.
 Mai think Nam FUT self encourage body
 ‘Mai thought Nam would encourage himself/*me.’

In the absence of *tự* the anaphor *mình* may be bound by a remote antecedent, such as the matrix subject *Mai*, as in (5a). Also the speaker interpretation is available in this sentence.¹² By contrast, when *tự* is present, *mình* can only receive a reflexive interpretation, as in (5b), again showing that in this environment it enforces reflexivity¹³.

The same effect obtains when *tự* occurs with pronominals or kinship terms, as illustrated in (6) and (7):

¹² I leave open whether the non-local interpretation involves logophoricity (Fukuda 2005).

¹³ Note that this property of *tự* must be sensitive to the presence of a position in its domain that can be bound, since in the case of (1b) *tự* in preverbal position is just interpreted as an intensifier, and not as a reflexivizer where this would lead to ill-formedness.

- (6) a. Nam_i nghe thấy Hùng_j đổ lỗi cho nó_{i/*j/k}.
 Nam hear see Hung blame for 3sg
 ‘Nam heard that Hung blamed him/*himself/someone else.’
- b. Nam_i nghe thấy Hùng_j tự đổ lỗi cho nó_{i/*j/*k}.
 Nam hear see Hung self blame for 3sg
 ‘Nam heard that Hung blamed *him/himself/*someone else.’
- (7) a. [Anh John]_i nghi ngờ rằng [anh Hùng]_j
 kin.elder brother John doubt COMP kin.elder brother Hung
 đánh thuốc độc [anh ấy]_{i/*j/k}.
 hit drug kin.elderbrother DEM
 ‘Brother John doubted that brother Hung poisoned him/*himself/someone else.’
- b. [Anh John]_i nghi ngờ rằng [anh Hùng]_j
 kin.elder brother John doubt COMP kin.elder brother Hung
 tự đánh thuốc [anh ấy]_{i/*j}.
 self hit drug kin.elder brother DEM
 ‘Brother John doubted that brother Hung poisoned *him/himself.’
- c. *[Anh John]_i nghi ngờ rằng Mai_j tự đánh thuốc
 kin.elder brother John doubt COMP Mai self hit drug
 [anh ấy]_{i/*j}.
 kin.elder brother DEM
 ‘Mr John doubted that Mai poisoned himself.’

In (6a), without the reflexive marker *tự*, the pronominal *nó* can be valued by the matrix subject *Nam* or a discourse antecedent. However,

the presence of *tự* in (6b) reduces the interpretative options of the pronominal to the reflexive interpretation. Similarly, in (7b), *tự* enforces a reflexive interpretation when it co-occurs with the kinship term *anh* ‘older brother’. This contrasts with (7a), where the absence of *tự* allows the kinship term *anh* to freely refer to the matrix subject *anh John* ‘brother John’ or to another individual from discourse. Unlike the pronominal *nó*, the kinship term *anh* is specified for gender and age. Specifically, *anh* can only be used if its referent is male and older than the speaker. Hence, in (7c) it cannot refer to the local subject *Mai* due to a gender feature mismatch since *Mai* is female. Since the reflexive marker *tự* enforces reflexivity, the result shows a feature clash, and consequently, the sentence is ungrammatical, just like its English counterpart **John doubted that Mary poisoned himself*. In the subsection that follows, we will discuss the distribution of the element *tự* as a reflexive marker in interaction with the anaphor *mình* in more detail.

3.1.2. The distribution of *tự* ‘self’

The inflectional domain in Vietnamese is composed of an array of ordered functional morphemes such as tense and aspectual markers (Tran 2009, Duffield 2013, Phan 2013). I will analyze *tự* as a reflexivizing operator (Op) that precedes the vP. This is illustrated in (8):

- (8) a. Peter_i tự tặng mình_i một quyển sách.
 Peter self give body one CL book
 ‘Peter gives himself a book.’

- b. [_{IP} Peter_i [_{I'} I⁰ t_{ij} [_{vP} t_i [_{v'} gives_i + v⁰] Op_j [_{VP} [_{DP} a book] [_{v'} t_i [mình]]]]]]]]

I assume that the complement of I⁰ is a verbal shell headed by a phonetically null light verb 'v' as in (8b). The predicate-internal subject *Peter* moves from its base position within vP to the [Spec,IP] to satisfy the EPP; the light verb then triggers overt movement of the verb *give* to the vP. The element *t_{ij}* is merged into the functional sequence with the vP as its complement. Note that when the v is overt as in (9), where it is realized as the light verb *làm* 'make', the element *t_{ij}* must precede the light verb, as in (9a). If it intervenes between the light verb and the main verb *tổn thương* 'injure', as in (9b), the sentence becomes ungrammatical.

- (9) a. [Đứa bé]_i tự làm tổn thương mình._i
 CL child self make injure body
 'The child injured himself.'

a'. [_{IP} The child_k [_{I'} I⁰ t_{ij} [_{vP} t_k [_{v'} make + v⁰] [_{VP} [_{v'} injure [mình]]]]]]]]

- b. *[Đứa bé]_i làm tự tổn thương mình._i
 CL child make self injure body
 'The child injured himself.'

b'. [_{IP} The child_k [_{I'} I⁰ [_{vP} t_k [_{v'} make + v⁰ *t_{ij} [_{VP} [_{v'} injure [mình]]]]]]]]

From this, I conclude that the element *tự* must precede the vP, not the VP.¹⁴

As argued in Fukuda (2005), the operator *tự* always appears lower than the other functional elements in the functional sequence. This is illustrated in the following examples:

- (10) a. Nam_i *sẽ* *đang* *tự* *đánh* *mình_i*.
 Nam FUT PROG self hit body
 ‘Nam will be hitting himself.’
- b. *Nam_i *sẽ* *tự* *đang* *đánh* *mình_i*.
 Nam FUT self PROG hit body
 ‘Nam will be hitting himself.’
- c. *Nam_i *tự* *sẽ* *đang* *đánh* *mình_i*.
 Nam self FUT PROG hit body
 ‘Nam will be hitting himself.’
- (11) a. Nam_i *đã* *tự* *đánh* *mình_i*.
 Nam PST self hit body
 ‘Nam hit himself.’
- b. *Nam_i *tự* *đã* *đánh* *mình_i*.
 Nam self PST hit body
 ‘Nam hit himself.’
- (12) a. Nam_i *đã* *không* *tự* *đánh* *mình_i*.
 Nam PST NEG self hit body
 ‘Nam did not hit himself.’

¹⁴ This is contrary to Fukuda (2005), who argues that *tự* adjoins to the VP.

- b. * Nam_i *đã* *tự* *không* *đánh* *mình*_i.
 Nam PST self NEG hit body
 ‘Nam did not hit himself.’
- c. * Nam_i *tự* *đã* *không* *đánh* *mình*_i.
 Nam self PST NEG hit body
 ‘Nam did not hit himself.’

(10a) is grammatical as the element *tự* precedes the verb *đánh* ‘hit’ but follows the aspectual marker *đang* expressing duration, and the future tense marker *sẽ*. By contrast, (10b) and (10c) are ungrammatical as the element *tự* precedes these elements. Similarly, (11a) is grammatical since the element *tự* follows the past tense marker *đã*. However, (11b) is ill-formed as *tự* precedes *đã*. The element *tự* must also follow the negation *không* as in (12a). (12b,c) are ungrammatical since *tự* precedes *không* in (12b) and *đã* in (12c).

Furthermore, *tự* cannot adjoin to the object as in (13):

- (13) a. * Nam_i *ngưỡng mộ* *tự* *mình*_i.
 Nam admire self body
 ‘Nam admired himself.’
- b. * Nam_i *gửi* *một* *bức* *thư* *đến* *tự* *mình*_i.
 Nam send one CL letter to self body
 ‘Nam sent a letter to himself.’

The ungrammaticality of (13a,b) indicates that *tự* cannot combine with the direct object *mình* as in (13a) or the indirect object *mình* as in

(13b). In complex sentences, the order of functional words and *tự* is the same as in simplex sentences. See (14):

- (14) a. Nam_i hứa sẽ không *tự* trách mình_i.
 Nam promise FUT NEG self criticize body
 ‘Nam promises not to criticize himself.’
- b. *Nam_i hứa sẽ *tự* không trách mình_i.
 Nam promise FUT self NEG criticize body
 ‘Nam promises not to criticize himself.’
- c. *Nam_i hứa *tự* sẽ không trách mình_i.
 Nam promise self FUT NEG criticize body
 ‘Nam promises not to criticize himself.’

In (14a), *tự* precedes the vP but follows the future tense marker *sẽ* and the negation marker *không*. By contrast, (14b) and (14c) are ungrammatical since *tự* precedes the negation *không* and the future tense marker *sẽ*, respectively. To sum up, we conclude that *tự* precedes the vP but occupies the lowest position in the functional sequence. The pattern is represented in (15):

- (15) *Sẽ*_[future] > *Đã*_[perfect] > *Đang*_[progressive] > Negation > *tự* > vP > VP

Since the element *tự* has a reflexivizing effect, the question is how precisely this reflexivization is brought about. In view of the discussion of reflexivization in Chapter 2 section 2.4.5, it is important to consider what type of strategy it represents. We already saw that it

enforces reflexivity. But does it instantiate the type of reflexive-marking effected by self-type elements, combining enforcing with protection, or does it involve a bundling operation? If it were to instantiate bundling, given the discussion in Reinhart and Siloni (2005), one might wonder whether this bundling takes place in the syntax or in the lexicon. These issues will be taken up in the next section.

3.1.3. *ty* marking as a case of syntactic or lexical reflexivization?

According to Reinhart and Siloni (2005), reflexivization by bundling can take place in the lexicon or in the syntax following the Lex-Syn parameter defined in (16):¹⁵

(16) **The Lex-Syn parameter**

UG allows thematic arity operations to apply in the lexicon or in syntax.

Reinhart and Siloni proposed a number of tests to assess whether a language allows arity operations in the lexicon or in the syntax, which I will apply here to reflexivization in Vietnamese.

For a proper understanding, it is important to see that (16) does not bear on reflexivization in general, but only on reflexivization brought about by thematic arity operations, as in the case of *John washes*.

¹⁵ But see Marelj and Reuland (2016) for a proposal to reduce the Lex-Syn parameter to more elementary properties of the grammatical system.

Reflexivization by SELF-anaphors as in *John washes himself* or *John admires himself* is syntactic, irrespective of the setting of this parameter. A typical example of a syntax language is French, where reflexivization by the clitic *se* is not limited to agent-theme verbs, allowing both *Jean se lave* 'John washes (himself)', and *Jean se haït* 'John hates himself'.

I will now go over these tests to shed light on the status of *tự*. First, note that reflexivization by bundling is taken to be disallowed for ECM subjects in lexicon languages whereas it is allowed in syntax languages. Note also that the restriction to ECM in this test is not crucial. Any reflexivization operation involving the subject of the matrix clause and the subject of the complement clause, cannot instantiate an arity-operation that takes place in the lexicon. So we can apply the test to this configuration in Vietnamese irrespective of whether it really reflects ECM. As illustrated in (17), reflexivization by *tự* can involve the subject of the complement with certain classes of verbs.¹⁶

- (17) a. Mai_i *tự* đánh giá/cho phép mình_i không hoàn hảo.
 Mai self judge/allow body not perfect
 'Mai judged/allowed herself to be imperfect.'

¹⁶ Note that the wellformedness of these sentences depends on the position of *tự*. If it is inserted between *mình* and the embedded predicate the result is ill formed. But this is to be expected since in that position *tự* has no arguments in its domain.

- b. [Chúng nó]_i (tự) cho /nghĩ là mình_i
 PL 3sg (self) suppose/think COMP body
 đã thắng.
 PST win
 ‘They supposed/thought themselves to win.’
- c. [Chúng nó]_i tin mình_i thắng.
 PL 3sg believe body win
 ‘They believed themselves to win.’

(17a) shows the pattern with matrix verbs such as *đánh giá* ‘judge’ or *cho phép* ‘allow’. Here the presence of *tự* is obligatory for *mình* to be bound by the matrix subject. The complements of these verbs are deficient, in that they do not allow Tense or Aspect markings.¹⁷ However, if the matrix verb is in the class containing *cho rằng* ‘suppose’, and other verbs of thinking and of saying such as *nghĩ* ‘think’ as in (17b), tense and aspect can be added to the clausal complement. Here the presence of *tự* is optional. Note that with a verb such as *tin* ‘believe’ as in (17c), *tự* is not available at all, for reasons that are so far not well understood. Although these patterns raise important further questions, for the current issue the outcome of the test is sufficiently clear: the role of *tự* is incompatible with being an arity-operation in the lexicon.

¹⁷ According to Helms-Park (2003) complements to these verbs do in fact instantiate ECM.

A second test involves reflexive nominalizations. In English, for instance, one can say about a girl *She dresses slowly because she is an elegant dresser* (Reinhart and Siloni 2005: 398), with a reflexive interpretation for *dresser*. That is reflexivization feeds nominalization. Assuming that the latter reflects a lexical process, then the reflexivization must be lexical as well. While English Agent nominals allow a reflexive interpretation, their equivalents in French do not. An *habilleur* is someone who dresses other people. The question is then how the counterparts of these expressions behave in Vietnamese. Some examples are given in (18):

- (18) a. người tự trọng
 person self esteem
 ‘a person who has self-esteem’
- b. người tự ái /tự cao/ tự tin
 person self love /self high/ self believe
 ‘a person who loves himself/who is arrogant/ who has confidence in himself’

As shown in (18a,b), reflexivization applies to the verb part resulting in verb phrases such as *tự trọng* ‘self-respect’, *tự ái* ‘self-love’, *tự cao* ‘self-high’, and *tự tin* ‘self-believe’. Subsequently, these verb phrases undergo nominalization producing NPs as seen in (18), which are essentially different from the standard reflexive nominals like *dresser* in English in that nominalization of the verb part *dress* simultaneously renders a reflexive interpretation. Furthermore, in Vietnamese we can

find an equivalent of *dresser* in English as, for instance, *chuyên gia trang điểm* ‘a make-up expert’. However, this NP does not have a reflexive interpretation, instead it refers to a person who puts make-up on his customer’s face.

This issue is to be distinguished from what we can conclude from another operation. To be more specific, in Vietnamese, the element *tự* may contribute to an operation of reflexive nominalization, where reflexive predicates are turned into nominals. See (19):

- (19) a. tính tự phê
 CL self criticize
 ‘self-criticism’
- b. sự tự vệ
 CL self protect
 ‘self-protect’

In these cases, *tự* appears to behave much like English *self*, with the difference that *self* in English does not combine with full verbs. So, in English one has the noun *self-protection*, the modifier *self-protecting* but not the verb *self-protect*. *Tự* also shows some similarity with the reflexivizing prefix *zi-* in Mandarin (see Wong 2021), the difference being that *zi-* is a bound morpheme that never occurs independently like *tự*.

Interestingly, Vietnamese also has a class of expressions that may well show bundling in the lexicon. There is a restricted number of compound verbs constituted by combining the reflexive marker *tự*

with a Sino-Vietnamese element to express reflexivity. This pattern is illustrated in the examples below, where *tự* is combined with a verb and no object is expressed.

- (20) a. Nạn nhân đã tự sát/tử.
 victim PST self kill
 ‘The victim self-killed.’
- b. Kẻ trộm đã tự thú.
 CL robber PST self report
 ‘The robber self-reported (his crime).’
- c. Thầy tu đã tự thiêu.
 CL priest PST self burn
 ‘The priest self-burned.’
- d. *Người công nhân tự giết/đánh/cãi.
 CL worker self kill/hit/argue
 ‘The worker who kills/hit/argue himself.’

Verb stems such as *sát/tử* ‘kill’, *thú* ‘report’ and *thiêu* ‘burn’ are members of a class of Sino-Vietnamese elements.¹⁸ This use of *tự* in

¹⁸ Other examples include *tự cấp* ‘self-provide’, *tự vệ* ‘self-protect’, *tự chủ* ‘self-control’, *tự giác* ‘self-conscious’, *tự phục vụ* ‘self-serve’, *tự dưỡng* ‘self-raise’, *tự xưng* ‘self-address’, *tự nhủ* ‘self-say’ or ‘self-wonder’, *tự phê* ‘self-criticize’. In the linguistic literature on Vietnamese, Sino-Vietnamese elements are well-known as a very special class in the lexicon in that they are used only in formal contexts. By contrast, pure Vietnamese elements are used informally.

(20a,b,c) is, then, quite reminiscent of the use of *zi-* as a reflexivizing prefix in Mandarin. By contrast, the combination of *tự* with pure Vietnamese elements such as *giết* ‘kill’, *đánh* ‘hit’, *cãi* ‘argue’ as in (20d) is ungrammatical. This indicates that bundling in the lexicon is indeed available in Vietnamese. Whether this warrants the conclusion that Vietnamese is a lexicon language in the sense of Reinhart and Siloni is unclear. See Marelj and Reuland (2016) for arguments that there is in fact no strict dichotomy between syntax languages and lexicon languages but that languages may show properties of both.

Reflexivization by *tự* must be a syntactic process in Reinhart and Siloni’s system, since it is not sensitive to verb types. See (21):

- (21) a. $N\acute{o}_i$ *tự* $\grave{a}n$ $m\grave{i}nh_i$.
 3sg self hide body
 ‘He/she hides himself/herself.’
- b. [$B\grave{a}n \acute{a}y$] $_i$ *tự* *yêu* $m\grave{i}nh_i$.
 friend DEM self love body
 ‘He/she loves himself/herself.’
- c. [$\acute{D}u\grave{a} \text{ con g\acute{a}i}$] $_i$ *tự* *ghét* $m\grave{i}nh_i$.
 CL girl self hate body
 ‘The girl hates herself.’
- d. $John_i$ *tự* *biết* $m\grave{i}nh_i$.
 John self know body
 ‘John knows himself.’
-

It equally well reflexivizes an Agent-Theme verb such as *ẩn* 'hide' in (21a), subject-experiencer verbs such as *yêu* 'love', *ghét* 'hate' in (21b,c) and verbs of thinking and saying such as *biết* 'know' in (21d).

The final test in Reinhart and Siloni's approach, is the possibility of reflexivizing the goal argument. This is taken to be allowed with syntactic reflexivization, but not with lexical reflexivization. As shown in (22) *tự* can in fact reflexivize the goal argument of ditransitive verbs:

- (22) a. [Thầy giáo]_i *tự* gửi cho mình_i một bức thư.
 stat.male teacher self send for body one CL letter
 'The teacher sent himself a letter.'
- b. Nam_i *tự* cung cấp thức ăn cho mình_i.
 Nam self provide food for body
 'Nam provided himself with foods.'

To sum up, what we have seen so far indicates that reflexivization by *tự* is a syntactic process. But in the case of verbs formed from Sino-Vietnamese roots, we saw that lexical reflexivization is also an option. And in fact, like in English, this option is also available for grooming verbs in Vietnamese. As illustrated in (23) these verbs may occur without an object and have a reflexive interpretation:

- (23) a. Nam tắm.
 Nam wash
 ‘Nam washes himself.’
- b. Bill cạo râu.
 Bill shave beard
 ‘Bill shaves himself.’
- c. Mary trang điểm.
 Mary make up
 ‘Mary makes up herself.’

So far, this leaves open whether the effect of *tự* is comparable to that of *self*, or whether it effects true bundling in the syntax. This can be assessed by checking for the availability of statue readings. In Chapter 2 section 2.4.5.2, we noted that *mình* by itself allows a statue reading, unlike bare reflexive verbs. The examples are repeated here in (24):

- (24) a. Khi vào thăm bảo tàng sáp, Ringo tắm cho mình.
 When come visit museum wax, Ringo wash for body
 ‘Upon a visit to the wax museum, Ringo washed Ringo’s
 statue/himself/me.’
- b. Khi vào thăm bảo tàng sáp, Ringo tắm.
 When come visit museum wax, Ringo wash
 ‘Upon a visit to the wax museum, Ringo washed himself.’

The question is now how reflexivization with *tự* fares in this respect. To see this consider the contrast in (25):

(25) a. Khi vào thăm bảo tàng sáp, Ringo đã chế nhạo mình.

When come visit museum wax, Ringo PST mock body
 ‘Upon a visit to the wax museum, Ringo mocked
 Ringo’s statue/me.’

b. Khi vào thăm bảo tàng sáp, Ringo đã tự chế nhạo mình.

When come visit museum wax, Ringo PST self mock body
 ‘Upon a visit to the wax museum, Ringo mocked himself.’
 (not ‘statue of’)

In (25a), in the absence of the element *tự*, the anaphor *mình* has two possible interpretations i. a statue reading or ii. the speaker reading. On the other hand, in (25b), when reflexivization is expressed with the reflexive marker *tự*, *mình* is interpreted as a true reflexive disallowing a statue reading. This shows that *tự* does contribute to the operation of bundling in syntax.

To conclude, reflexivization in Vietnamese may exhibit the properties of both Lexicon languages and Syntax languages. As for the former, Vietnamese allows bundling in the lexicon as is shown by the behavior of grooming verbs and a set of reflexivized Sino-Vietnamese verb stems. Reflexivization by *tự* typically involves a syntactic process, as is shown by the fact that it applies to embedded subjects and goal arguments and by the insensitivity of the reflexive marker *tự* to verb types. The question is then whether this makes it a syntax language in

the sense of Reinhart and Siloni. For this, *tư* would have to effect bundling in their sense. The fact that reflexivization by *tư* does not yield statue readings, but just strict reflexivization may be an indication that what it effects is indeed bundling (unlike clitics in Romance, which do have statue readings, see Marelj and Reuland 2016). A full discussion will have to wait for another occasion, though.

The following sections will present a systematic overview of how the binding conditions work out in Vietnamese.

3.2. Binding conditions of the anaphor *mình*

In the literature of Vietnamese, *mình* has been argued to be a monomorphemic reflexive pronoun or an anaphor (Tai Can Nguyen 1945, Thompson 1965, Cooke 1965, Thien Giap Nguyen 1998, Ngoc Them Nguyen 2009, Thuan Tran 2009, Phu Phong Nguyen 1996). As we saw in Chapter 2 section 2.1, *mình* can be anaphorically related to antecedents of all persons, but it can also be independently assigned the value of the speaker of an utterance (or that of the addressee). As I mentioned in Chapter 2, my goal is to provide a unified analysis of *mình*. For now I will just note the speaker value when it is available, marked as *sp*. The integration of this possibility into the system will be postponed to the next chapter. As already noted, *mình* allows non-local antecedents. See (26):¹⁹

¹⁹ Note that the plural form *chúng mình* restricts non-local binding to antecedents with a 1st person plural interpretation which may include the addressee, as illustrated in (i) and (ii):

- (26) a. $Bạn_i$ biết $[ông \ cụ]_j$ đã bảo vệ $mình_{i/*j/sp.}$
 friend.add know CL old man PST protect body
 ‘You already knew the old man had protected
 you/*himself/me.’
- b. $Nó_i$ nghĩ Mai_j thương hại $mình_{i/*j/sp.}$
 3sg think Mai pity body
 ‘He/she thinks Mai pities him/her/*herself /me.’

-
- (i) $[Tâm \ and \ Mai]_i$ đã nói với $bạn_j$ là Hùng
 Tam and Mai PST say with friend.add that Hung
 ngưỡng mộ $[chúng \ mình]_{i+j/i}$ rồi.
 admire PL body already
 ‘Tam and Mai said to you that Hung admired us already.’
- (ii) $[Tâm \ and \ Mai]_i$ đã nói với $bạn_j$
 Tam and Mai PST say with friend.add
 là $[chúng \ mình]_{i/*j}$ ngưỡng mộ Hùng rồi.
 that PL body admire Hung already
 ‘Tam and Mai said to you that we admired Hung already.’

As we can see, in (i), *chúng mình* as an object may have two possible values:
 i. its value may include the speaker and an associate realized as the matrix subject, plus the addressee realized as the matrix indirect object; ii. only the speaker and an associate, realized as the matrix subject. However, when *chúng mình* serves as an embedded subject as in (ii), only speaker and associate/the matrix subject is qualified as its antecedent. A precise analysis will have to wait for another occasion.

In (26a, b), *mình* can take the matrix subject as its antecedent, namely the common noun *bạn* ‘friend’ in (26a) and the third person pronoun *nó* in (26b). In these examples, the speaker interpretation is available. However, in the presence of the reflexive marker *tự*, *mình* must be bound locally and loses the speaker value, where it would be otherwise available. See (27):

- (27) a. *Bạn_i biết [ông cụ]_i đã tự bảo vệ mình_{*i/j/*sp.}*
 friend.add know CL old man PST self protect body
 ‘You knew the old man had protected *you/himself/*me.’
- b. *Nó_i nghĩ Mai_j tự thương hại mình_{*i/j/*sp.}*
 3sg think Mai self pity body
 ‘He/she thinks Mai pities *him/*her/herself/*me.’

The contrast between (26) and (27) warrants the conclusion that *mình* itself does not license reflexivity. Hence, *tự* performs two roles: it both licenses and enforces reflexivity.

What is striking here is that, unlike the other personal pronouns, *mình* can have a first person pronoun as its antecedent without resorting to the reflexive marker *tự*, although the latter is optionally allowed. This is illustrated in (28):

- (28) *Tôi_i đã (tự) làm tổn thương mình_i.*
 1sg PST (self) make injure body
 ‘I injured myself.’

The most straightforward analysis is that under the option without *tự*, *mình* is assigned the speaker value directly from the discourse. So, what we have in that case is coreference between *tôi* and *mình* rather than binding. If so, IDI is not involved, and no special licensing is needed. As is standard for pronominals and anaphors, *mình* can be bound by quantificational antecedents as exemplified in (29):

- (29) a. [Mỗi vận động viên]_i đều quý mến huấn luyện viên của *mình*_i.
 each athlete all adore coach POSS body
 ‘Every athlete adores his coach.’
- b. Vì huấn luyện viên của *mình*_i, [mỗi vận động viên]_i
 because coach POSS body, each athlete
 đều cố hết sức.
 all try up energy
 ‘For his coach, every athlete tried his best.’

Mình may also be bound when it occurs as the possessor of a NP as in (30a), as an embedded subject as in (30b) or as a complement in a locative PP as in (30c).

- (30) a. Nam_i thương mẹ của *mình*_{i/sp}.
 Nam love mother POSS body
 ‘Nam loves his/my mother.’
- b. [Ông ấy]_i đoán *mình*_{i/sp} có thể giành giải thưởng.
 kin.grandfather DEM guess body MOD win prize
 ‘He guessed he/I could win the prize.’

- c. [Người phụ nữ]_i thấy một con ma phía trước mình_{i/sp}.
 CL woman see a CL ghost in front of body
 ‘The woman saw a ghost in front of herself/me.’

As one can see, *mình* can either receive the value *Nam* in (30a), *ông ấy* ‘he’ in (30b), *người phụ nữ* ‘the woman’ in (30c) or be valued as the speaker in all these sentences. Prepositional objects deserve special mention. In these cases, *mình* allows a local antecedent, and a speaker interpretation, without the presence of *tự*, contrary to (indirect/direct) object positions (section 2.3.1):

- (31) a. Nam_i mua quyển sách cho mình_{i/sp}.
 Nam buy CL book for body
 ‘Nam buys a book for himself/me.’
 b. Tâm_i bầu cho mình_{i/sp}.
 Tam vote for body
 ‘Tam voted for himself/me.’
 c. Nó_i đang nghĩ về mình_{i/sp}.
 3sg PROG think about body
 ‘She thinks about herself/me.’

We will return to these examples, and their relevance, below. Note that one may perhaps wonder whether in the case of referential antecedents such as *Nam*, *ông ấy* ‘he’ or *người phụ nữ* ‘the woman’, the dependency relation could be one of coreference rather than of binding. However, as discussed in Chapter 2 sections 2.2, binding is preferred over coreference

by economy. Of course, whether this is in fact the case is an empirical matter, but we will see in the discussion of VP-ellipsis below that when binding is possible, *mình* is indeed bound.

Mình also exhibits subject-orientation like other long-distance reflexives (see, for instance Pica 1987). This is illustrated in (32):²⁰

- (32) a. Nam_i bảo Dũng_j là Mai xúc phạm mình_{i/*j}.
 Nam tell Dung COMP Mai offend body
 ‘Nam told Dung that Mai offended him/*him.’
- b. Dũng_i nghe từ Nam_j là Mai xúc phạm mình_{i/*j}.
 Dung hear from Nam COMP Mai offend body
 ‘Dung heard from Nam that Mai offended him/*him.’

(32a) shows that *mình* cannot refer to *Dũng* since *Dũng* is an object. Instead, it takes the matrix subject *Nam* as its antecedent. Similarly, in (32b), *mình* can only have the matrix subject *Dũng* as its antecedent. It is important to note that *mình* does not allow split antecedents. This distinguishes *mình* from standard pronominals, which do take split antecedents. Compare:

²⁰ Ivan and Bui (2019) observe that subject-orientation also holds in the local domain:

- (i) Ginny_i nói với Luna_j về mình_{i/*j}.
 Ginny talk with Luna about body
 ‘Ginny talked with Luna about herself’

- (33) a. [Một đứa trẻ]_i hỏi [ông cụ]_j liệu họ_{i+j} nên đi.
 one CL child ask kin.grandfather old if they_{i+j} MOD leave
 ‘A child asked the old man if they had to leave.’
- b. Mai_i thấy Nam_j đặt một bông hồng bên cạnh mình_{i/j/*i+j}.
 Mai see Nam put one CL rose beside body
 ‘Mai saw Nam put a rose beside her/him.’
- c. Mai_i bảo Hằng_j rằng Nam yêu mình_{i/*j/*i+j}.
 Mai tell Hằng COMP Nam love body
 ‘Mai told Hang that Nam loved her.’

While the plural third person pronoun *họ* takes the union of *một đứa trẻ* ‘a child’ and *ông cụ* ‘the old man’ as its antecedent in (33a), *mình* in (33b) can only have either *Mai* or *Nam* and in (33c) only *Mai* as its possible antecedents but not their union. This indicates that *mình* is assigned an antecedent by a syntactic operation, presumably chain formation (see the discussion of binding by chain formation in Chapter 2 sections 2.4.1/2.4.2). This will be important for the subsequent discussion in chapters 4 and 5.²¹

This result is also important to understand the following property. As discussed extensively in the literature, one way to differentiate binding from coreference is using tests based on ellipsis. Here I will use VP ellipsis. Specifically, if an anaphoric expression linked to an NP antecedent gives rise to sloppy readings, it is interpreted as a bound

²¹ The fact that non-locally bound *mình* does not allow split antecedents shows that the approach to non-local binding in Charnavel (2020) does not apply to Vietnamese *mình*; see Wong (2021) for convincing evidence that it does not apply to Mandarin *ziji* either.

variable. On the other hand, if the anaphoric expression obtains only strict readings, it is valued by coreference. With respect to the anaphor *mình*, in a local context and in the presence of *tự*, only sloppy readings are obtained as indicated in (34) and (35):

- (34) a. $D\ddot{u}ng_i$ thích bức ảnh của $m\grave{h}nh_{i/sp}$ và Mai cũng vậy.
 D\ddot{u}ng like CL picture POSS body and Mai also so
 ‘D\ddot{u}ng likes his picture/my picture and so does Mai.’
 = Dung likes Dung’s picture/my picture and Mai likes Mai’s picture/my picture.
- b. LF1: $Dung (\lambda x (x \text{ likes } x\text{'s picture}))$ and
 $Mai (\lambda x (x \text{ likes } x\text{'s picture}))$
 LF2: $Dung (\lambda x (x \text{ likes } m\grave{h}nh\text{'s picture}))$ and
 $Mai (\lambda x (x \text{ likes } m\grave{h}nh\text{'s picture}))$
- (35) a. $D\ddot{u}ng_i$ *tự* chăm sóc $m\grave{h}nh_{i/*sp}$ và Mai cũng vậy.
 Dung self take care of body and Mai also so
 ‘Dung took care of himself/*me and so did Mai.’
 = Dung took care of himself and Mai took care of herself.
- b. LF: $Dung (\lambda x (x \text{ self took care of } x))$ and
 $Mai (\lambda x (x \text{ self took care of } x))$

In (34a), the second conjunct can mean Mai likes her own picture or my picture with *mình* potentially interpreted as the speaker. Here the anaphor *mình* plays a role as the possessor of the possessive NP *bức ảnh của mình* ‘the picture of body’. It yields a sloppy reading, which is represented in the logical form in (34b) where the variable *x* stands

for the anaphor *mình* and x is under the scope of the λ -operator representing the sloppy reading in LF1. Furthermore, in certain contexts *mình* in (34a) may potentially have a speaker interpretation that generates a strict reading also, as represented in LF2 in (34b). On the other hand, with the presence of the reflexive marker *tự* in (35), *mình* only has a sloppy interpretation. The unavailability of strict readings indicates that *mình* is a true anaphor that can only be interpreted as a bound variable, along the lines in the literature that standard anaphors strongly prefer sloppy interpretations (Keenan 1971, Partee and Bach 1984, Heim and Kratzer 1998). Furthermore, in a complex sentence with a non-local antecedent, also the speaker interpretation becomes available as in (36).

(36) a. Nam_i nghĩ Dũng ghét mình_{i/sp} và Mai cũng vậy.

Nam think Dung hate body and Mai also so

‘Nam thought Dung hated him/me and so did Mai.’

= Nam thought Dung hated him/me and Mai thought Dung hated her/me.

b. LF1: Nam thought (λx (Dung hated x)) and

Mai thought (λx (Dung hated x))

LF2: Nam thought (λx (Dung hated *mình*)) and

Mai thought (λx (Dung hated *mình*))

The fact that the speaker reading emerges in (34) and (36) indicates that in the case of strict identity readings, *mình* is linked to its antecedent by the obligatory application of a syntactic process, which

is not available in non-local cases. Again, a good candidate for the syntactic process is chain formation. This leaves open why a strict non-speaker reading is absent in (34) and (36). This suggests that the syntactic conditions enabling the speaker interpretation rule out the other option.

Finally, note the following interesting restriction. As we have seen, *mình* may serve as a long-distance anaphor. In (37), for instance, both the intermediate subject *Hùng* and the more remote subject *Nam* can serve as antecedents. In addition, it can receive the speaker value. As expected, *Mai* is excluded for reasons of locality (IDI). Similarly, in (38a), *mình* can only be bound by the first person pronoun *tôi* as well as the intermediate subject *Nam*, and *Mai* is again ruled out for locality reasons. The same holds for (38b) in which *mình* can be long-distance bound by the intervening common noun *bạn* ‘friend’ as an addressee or by the 1st person pronoun *tôi* as the matrix subject.

- (37) Nam_i biết $Hùng_j$ nói Mai_k ủng hộ $mình_{i/j/*k/sp}$.
 Nam know Hung say Mai support body
 ‘Nam knows Hung says Mai supports him/*herself/me.’
- (38) a. $Tôi_i$ biết Nam_j nói Mai_k ủng hộ $mình_{i/j/*k}$.
 1sg know Nam say Mai support body
 ‘I know Nam says Mai supports me/*him/herself.’
- b. $Tôi_i$ biết $bạn_j$ nói Mai_k ủng hộ $mình_{i/j/*k}$.
 1sg know friend.add say Mai support body
 ‘I know you said Mai supported me/you/*herself.’

The long-distance binding of *minh* and the relevant issues will be discussed in more detail in Chapters 4 and 5, with a special attention to the speaker role.

3.3. Binding conditions of Pronouns

One of the intriguing properties of the Vietnamese anaphoric system concerns the ability of the pronominals to be covalued with a local antecedent. As introduced previously, there are two ways of representing interpretive dependencies between nominal expressions, namely binding and coreference. While the former is subject to syntactic and semantic conditions, along the lines discussed in Chapter 2 section 2.4, the latter is pragmatics-based.

As discussed, coreference is excluded when the antecedent is a quantificational phrase. When the potential antecedent is referential, coreference is regulated by Rule I (Grodzinsky and Reinhart 1993). Its effect is that the binding strategy is preferred over coreference, even if that results in ungrammaticality for binding theoretic reasons (condition B effects). Nevertheless, Rule I does not rule out coreference, if the results of binding and coreference are interpretively distinguishable. On the basis of this, one would expect pronominals to be free in their local domain. According to a significant section of Vietnamese speakers, including myself, this is indeed the case as illustrated in (39a) and (40a), whereas covaluation with a non-local antecedent is fine, as illustrated in (39c) and (40c).²² In the case of

²² For reasons of readability, I will occasionally use the term condition B where no confusion arises.

(39d), the 3rd person pronoun *nó* is contained in a locative PP, which is not in a violation of Condition B, just like in English, thus it can be bound locally by the subject *Nam* or has a disjoint reference from the discourse interpreted as *someone else*. Furthermore, as already discussed in section 3.1, in the presence of *tự*, in fact, the pronominals *nó* and *họ* must be covalued with their local subject, as indicated by the grammaticality of (39b) and (40b).

- (39) a. *Mai_i nhìn nó_i.
 Mai see 3sg
 Intended: Mai sees herself.
- b. Mai_i tự nhìn nó_i.
 Mai self see 3sg
 ‘Mai sees herself.’
- c. Nam_i biết Mai_j nhìn nó_{i/*j}.
 Nam know Mai see 3sg
 ‘Nam knew Mai saw him.’
- d. Nam_i đặt một quyển sách bên cạnh nó_{i/j}.
 Nam put one CL book beside 3sg
 ‘Nam put a book beside him/someone else.’
- (40) a. *[Các cô gái]_i đã bảo vệ họ_i.
 PL CL girl PST protect 3pl
 Intended: The girls protected themselves.

- b. [Các cô gái]_i đã tự bảo vệ họ_i.
 PL CL girl PST self protect 3pl
 ‘The girls protected themselves.’
- c. [Các cô gái]_i nói [đám con trai]_j sẽ bảo vệ họ_{i/*j}.
 PL CL girl say PL CL boy FUT protect 3pl
 ‘The girls said the boys would protect them.’

Compared to languages like English, or Dutch binding in prepositional objects is different.²³ In (41) we repeat the examples form (31) above, but now with *mình* replaced by a pronoun:

- (41) a. Nam_i mua quyển sách cho nó_{i/j}.
 Nam buy CL book for him
 ‘Nam buys a book for himself/him’
- b. Tâm_i bầu cho nó_{i/j}.
 Tam vote for him
 ‘Tam voted for himself/him.’
- c. Nó_i đang nghĩ về nó_{i/*j}.
 3sg PROG think about him
 ‘He/she thinks about himself/herself.’

²³ But Vietnamese is not that different from French *Jean_i est fier de lui_i/lui même_i* ‘Jean is proud of himself’. Reuland (2011: 240-244) accounts for these cases by what he calls ‘masking’.

As shown in (41a) and (41b), the pronominal *nó* embedded in a PP, namely, *cho nó* ‘for him/her’ may take the local subject, *Nam* in (41a) and *Tâm* in (41b), as its antecedent. In addition, it may also pick up a different individual from the discourse in these examples. However, when we have two occurrences of the pronominal *nó* as in (41c), such a difference in value is excluded. In other words, in the case of two identical pronouns covaluation is obligatory, see for more detail the discussion starting with (55) later in this chapter.

According to Narahara (1995), the absence of *tự* in cases like (39a) and (40a) certainly makes a reflexive interpretation impossible. On the other hand, the presence of *tự* in (42), according to the author, brings out a reflexive interpretation for the pronoun *nó*:

- (42) Hoàng *tự* đánh nó.
 Hoang self hit 3sg
 ‘Hoang hits himself.’

Aside from Narahara (1995), Tran (2009) also confirms that pronominals in Vietnamese obey canonical condition B as shown in (43a) and (43b):

- (43) a. **Tân_i thích nó_i.*
 Tan like him
 ‘Tan likes himself.’

- b. Tân_i biết Mai thích nó_i.
Tan know Mai like him
'Tan knows Mai likes him.'
(Tran, 2009)

However, for many speakers, (39a) and (39c) are clearly acceptable, as in (44) and (45) without the stars.²⁴

- (44) Padme_i trách nó_{i/j}.
Padme blame 3sg
'Padme blames her(self).'
(Bui, 2019)

- (45) Luna_i nói là Ginny_j trách nó_{i/j}.
Luna say that Ginny criticize 3sg
'Luna said Ginny criticizes her(self).'
(Ivan and Bui, 2019)

²⁴ It has been observed from my interviews that there are regional differences in Vietnamese. Often the distinction is made between varieties spoken in the North, the Middle and the South (cf. also Tran 2009). For instance, here we can see that the distinction between (39a-39c) and (44-45) is also based on regional variation between Bui (from the North) and me (from the Middle). I have checked this with several informants (both linguistically trained and untrained). Note, though, that even for speakers from the South a non-local construal of *nó* in cases like (44) and (45) is preferred over a local construal, where the choice exists.

This is the variety of Vietnamese studied in Bui (2019) and Ivan and Bui (2019) in a number of experiments. However, in another configuration Bui found that a local construal of pronominals is impossible. The question Bui addressed is why this would be so. What could be the factor distinguishing Vietnamese from English? To answer this, Bui manipulates the type of antecedent, using two-alternative forced choice comprehension judgment tasks. Subjects had to select an antecedent leading to an interpretation that fits the sentence best, as in (46):

(46)

Condition	Sentence									
NON-LOCAL QP	Mọi	thằng	nhân	viên	nói	là	Tâm	bầu	cho	nó.
	every	SUB	person	worker	say	that	Tam	vote	for	SUB
	'Every employee said that Tam voted for <u>him</u> .'									
LOCAL QP	Tâm	nói	là	mọi	thằng	nhân	viên	bầu	cho	nó.
	Tam	say	that	every	SUB	person	worker	vote	for	SUB
	'Tam said that every employee voted for <u>him</u> .'									

Crucially, Bui found that quantified antecedents do not allow local binding of *nó* (see Bui 2019 for the details). Bui concludes that these and other results indicate that pronominal binding in Vietnamese is subject to condition B, but that some factor prevents Rule I from applying in the case of referential antecedents, allowing coreference between *nó* and a local antecedent in (44-45) above. In fact, what she proposes is that Rule I involves a comparison between a derivation with *mình* and a derivation with *nó*. She argues that *nó* is marked for a honorificity feature [-Hon] while *mình* is not. On the basis of this they

are not equivalent semantically, hence do not lead to the same interpretation. Therefore, she argues, Rule I is satisfied.

The question is, then, how to interpret this pattern, including the variation observed, from the current perspective. As discussed, the canonical binding condition B does not constitute a unified phenomenon. It results from the interaction between two different properties of the language system: i) the effects of IDI: local identity avoidance, which requires reflexivity to be licensed; ii) the effects of the chain condition: if chain formation would result in the violation of a fundamental grammatical principle, the derivation is cancelled (and accessing the discourse route as an alternative is ruled out); see the discussion in Chapter 2 section 2.4.2.

Although the pattern in (44) and (45) might seem puzzling from the perspective of local identity avoidance, it is not puzzling if the dependency is one of coreference instead of binding. In the case of coreference, there are no identical variables on the grid of the predicate, so IDI does not come into play. What about the chain condition? In the implementation of Reuland (2011a) and Zubkov (2018), see also Reuland and Zubkov (2022), its effect essentially depends on features of the pronominal being accessible as a goal for probing. If the pronominal is valued for a feature for which chain formation could be attempted, the chain condition is violated and the derivation cancelled. If Bui is right and it is a feature for honorificity that allows *nó* to escape the effects of Rule I, by the same token this feature could also be involved in effecting a chain condition violation. So, suppose the two varieties of Vietnamese differ in terms of the

grammatical status of the honorificity feature. In both varieties a valued honorificity feature is part of the feature composition of *nó*, potentially licensing coreference. In the more 'loose' variety that is all there is to say. But in the stricter variety it is a feature that is so grammaticalized that it plays a role in an attempt at chain formation, leading to cancellation of the derivation if the goal is already valued for it. If so, one may wonder why local binding of *nó* does not violate the chain condition in the presence of *tự*. The simplest assumption is that the intervening *tự* acts as a barrier for probing and blocks chain formation.

In other respects, Vietnamese exhibits the same binding pattern as its English counterpart, when a binding relation may be established between pronouns and their quantificational antecedents. See (47):

- (47) a. [Mỗi đứa con gái]_i yêu mẹ của nó_i.
 each CL girl love mother POSS 3sg
 'Every girl loves her mother.'
- b. [Mỗi đứa con gái]_i ăn một quả táo trước khi nó_i trình diễn.
 each CL girl eat one CL apple before 3sg perform
 'Every girl eats an apple before she performs.'
- c. (Trước khi nó_i trình diễn), [mỗi đứa con gái]_i ăn một
 (before 3sg perform), each CL girl eat one
 quả táo (trước khi nó_i trình diễn).
 CL apple (before 3sg perform)
 'Before she performs, every girl eats an apple.'

(47a) and (47b) show that the pronominal *nó* is bound by the quantificational NP *mỗi đứa con gái* ‘every girl’. Note that just like English, Vietnamese allows what looks like backward binding in (47c), due to reconstruction of a fronted clause into its source position. Although the quantificational NP *mỗi đứa con gái* does not c-command the pronoun *nó* it does c-command the source position of the clause, indicated by the reconstructed [*trước khi nó trình diễn*] ‘[before she performs]’ in (47c), hence *nó* can still be bound by it.

As discussed in Chapter 2 section 2.3.5, the difference between the bound variable and referential interpretation of pronominals also shows up in ellipsis context, as in (48), where (48a) represents VP-ellipsis and (48b) the *only*-interpretation:

(48) a. Nam_i nghĩ nó_i là một thiên tài và Bill cũng vậy.

Nam think he be one genius and Bill also so

‘Nam thinks he is a genius and so does Bill.’

= Nam thinks Nam is a genius and Bill thinks Bill is a genius.

= Nam thinks Nam is a genius and Bill thinks Nam is a genius.

LF:

Nam ($\lambda x(x$ thinks x is a genius)) and Bill (~~$\lambda x(x$ thinks x is a genius)~~)

Nam ($\lambda x(x$ thinks *he* is a genius)) and Bill (~~$\lambda x(x$ thinks — *he* is a genius)~~)

b. Chỉ có Nam_i nghĩ nó_i là một thiên tài.

only have Nam think 3sg be one genius

‘Only Nam thinks he is a genius.’

Lit: Only Nam thinks Nam is a genius.

LF:Only Nam ($\lambda x(x$ thinks x is a genius))Only Nam ($\lambda x(x$ thinks *he* is a genius))

As we saw, in the stricter variety of Vietnamese, pronouns cannot corefer with a local subject due to the effect of Rule I. They cannot be locally bound either, since the resulting reflexive predicate must be licensed. As already discussed in Chapter 2 section 2.3.1, local binding is available in the presence of *t_l*, which both licenses and enforces reflexivity. This is illustrated in (49):

- (49) a. [Đứa bé]_i đã tự nhốt nó_i trong phòng.
 CL child PST self confine 3sg in room
 ‘The child confined itself in the room.’
- b. Mai_i nói [đứa bé]_j đã tự nhốt nó_{*i/j} trong phòng.
 Mai say CL child PST self confine 3sg in room
 ‘Mai said that Nam confined himself in the room.’

As shown in (49), *nó* may be bound by a *đứa bé* ‘the child’ in (49a) and by the embedded subject *Nam* in (49b), but the more remote subject *Mai* is excluded.

Let us next consider the pattern where the antecedent and its dependent element are formally identical arguments. See the sentences in the following example:

- (50) a. Tô_i (tự) trách tô_i.
 1sg (self) blame 1sg
 ‘I blame myself.’
- b. Mày_i nên (tự) trách mày_i.
 2sg MOD (self) blame 2sg
 ‘You should blame yourself.’
- c. Nó_i (tự) trách nó_i.
 3sg (self) blame 3sg
 ‘He/she blames himself/herself.’
- d. Họ_i (tự) trách họ_i.
 3pl (self) blame 3pl
 ‘They blame themselves.’

As shown in (50), the repeated pronouns can all be covalued with their local coargument antecedents and the reflexive marker *tự* is optional in these sentences. This is in line with Tran (2009) who also indicated that a reflexive interpretation can be derived with identical coarguments. In this aspect, Vietnamese seems to behave like San Lucas Quiavini Zapotec languages (SLQZ) in that in these languages the pronouns can bind identical pronouns as argued by Lee (2003) in (51):

- (51) R-yu’lààa’z-ëng la’anng.
 hab-like-3s.prox 3s.prox
 ‘He/she likes himself/herself.’

The question is what this implies for the approach to binding I presented. This depends on whether it is truly a matter of binding or rather an effect of coreference. To assess whether we have binding or coreference we turn to VP-ellipsis. While the repeated pronouns in SLQZ allow sloppy readings in the VP-ellipsis context, the pattern with repeated pronouns in Vietnamese brings out only strict readings. Compare (52) and (53):

SQLZ

(52) R-yu'làaa'z –ëngla'anng chiru' zë'cy cahgza' Gye'eihlly.

hab-like-3s.prox 3s.prox also likewise Mike

'He/she likes himself/herself, and Mike does too.'

(Mike likes himself/*him/*her)

(Lee, 2003)

Vietnamese

(53) a. Tô_i trách tô_i và Mai cũng vậy.

1sg blame 1sg and Mai also so

'I blame myself and so does Mai.'

= I blame myself and Mai also blames me.

b. Nó_i trách nó_i và Mai cũng vậy.

3sg blame 3sg and Mai also so

'He/she blames himself/herself and so does Mai.'

= He/she blames him/her and Mai also blames

him/her = Mai.

The difference in semantic behavior between repeated pronouns in SLQZ in (52) and those in Vietnamese in (53) shows that while the pronouns in SLQZ-type languages can indeed be locally bound, the repeated pronouns in Vietnamese are not. Thus, the dependency is one of coreference rather than of binding.

The same holds for repeated pronouns in Vietnamese in only-sentences. For example:

- (54) a. Chỉ có tôi_i khen tôi_i.
 only have 1sg praise 1sg
 ‘Only I praise myself.’

Lit: I am the only one who praises me. (No one else praises me) - AVAILABLE

=/= Only I am a self-praiser. (No one else praises themselves) – NOT AVAILABLE

- b. Chỉ có nó_i khen nó_i.
 only have 3sg praise 3sg
 ‘Only he/she praises himself/herself.’

= For he/she → an individual a, a is the only one who praises a. (No one else praises a) - AVAILABLE

=/= For he/she → an individual a, a is the only self-praiser. (No one else praises themselves) - NOT AVAILABLE

The repeated first-person pronoun *tôi* ‘I’ in (54a) and the repeated third person pronoun *nó* ‘he/she’ in (54b) are covalued with their identical coarguments. This, again, shows that although Vietnamese

superficially shares the pattern of pronoun repetition in the local domain with SLQZ –type languages, this pattern represents coreference rather than binding in the language.

Furthermore, the pronominal *nó* in the repeated *nó-nó* pattern is subject to an interesting interpretive restriction, already briefly mentioned earlier. To illustrate this, consider the case in (55) with two occurrences of *nó* in the context expressed by a preceding sentence:

- (55) Nam giận Mike. Nó trách nó vì vấn đề này.
 Nam angry Mike. 3sg blame 3sg for problem DEM
 ‘Nam got angry with Mike. He blamed himself for this
 problem.’

Despite the context, which favors an interpretation in which the first occurrence of *nó* has the value *Nam* and the second occurrence has the value *Mike*, it only has the interpretation where both occurrences refer to *Nam* or both occurrences refer to *Mike*. In such cases Vietnamese does not allow the two occurrences of *nó* to have different values. Crucially, this restriction is not limited to the coargument domain. It also applies in (56) below:

- (56) Nam giận Mike. Nó nói nó đã chưa hoàn thành nhiệm vụ.
 Nam angry Mike. 3sg say 3sg PERF NEG complete task
 ‘Nam got angry with Mike. He said that he had not completed the
 task.’

Similarly in (56), the two occurrences cannot have different values, and based on the causal chain of the events, *nó* would be interpreted as *Mike*. The following example shows that the identity requirement also applies if one of the occurrences of *nó* is in an adjunct:

- (57) Nam giận Mike. Nó đã bình tĩnh chỉ sau khi
 Nam angry Mike. 3sg PERF calm down only after
 nó rời đi.
 3sg go away
 ‘Nam got angry with Mike. He would calm down only after he
 had left.’

The two occurrences of *nó* in (57) either both refer to *Nam* or both to *Mike*. This is evidence that the identity requirement on these occurrences cannot be captured by a movement analysis as has been proposed for SLQZ-type languages (Lee 2003), since movement would have to cross an adjunct island. The pattern, then, indicates that *nó*, like 1st and 2nd person pronouns, is subject to what one may call *Interpret Together*, as a special case of *Shift Together*. The generalization is that occurrences of shiftable indexicals in a sentence cannot shift independently of each other, as proposed by Anand and Nevins (2004).²⁵ This can for instance be captured by the

²⁵ Note that this restriction also holds for *mình*:

- (i) Nam_i nói với mình_{sp} về mình^{*i/sp}.
 Nam talk with body about body
 ‘Nam talked to me about *himself/ me.

assumption that these occurrences of *nó* are all linked to the same position in the left periphery of the sentence (see Delfitto and Fiorin 2011 for person features). This then indicates that (55) indeed represents coreference. If so, this case is theoretically comparable to what we see with 1st person. In representing coreference rather than binding, this pattern is compatible with the approach to binding I am entertaining. This brings us to a more detailed analysis of kinship terms and status terms.

3.4. Binding conditions on Kinship terms and Status terms

Apart from using pronouns in making reference to discourse participants, Vietnamese also utilizes other nominal expressions such as kinship terms and status terms as we saw in Chapter 2 section 2.1.4. Unlike pronouns, kinship terms and status terms are essentially common nouns in that they can be modified by a demonstrative or can be preceded by a numeral, as illustrated respectively in (58) and (59):

- (58) [Cái anh/thầy/*nó đó] xấu nhất
[CL kin.elder brother/stat.male teacher/*3sg DEM] ugly most
trong nhóm.
in group
'That older brother/teacher/*he is the ugliest in the group.'
-

- (59) Hai em/thầy/*mày đi đâu đấy?
 two kin.younger/stat.male teacher/*2sg go where Q?
 ‘Where are you going?’

Kinship terms and status terms have uses that are quite similar to the use of pronouns, as we saw, but unlike these they are not specified for person features. Instead, they depend on the contextual relation to the speaker to determine which participant they stand for. See the following examples:

- (60) a. Bác đang xem tivi.
 kin.uncle PROG watch TV
 = ‘I am watching TV.’
 = ‘He is watching TV.’
 b. Bác đang xem tivi à?
 kin.uncle PROG watch TV Q?
 = ‘Are you watching TV?’
- (61) [Bà ấy] đang đón con.
 kin.grandmother DEM PROG pick up kin.son/daughter
 = ‘She is picking you up.’
 = ‘She is picking me up.’
 = ‘She is picking him/her up.’
- (62) a. Thầy đang giảng bài.
 stat.male teacher PROG teach lesson
 = ‘I am teaching.’
 = ‘He is teaching.’

- b. Thầy đang giảng bài à?
 stat.male teacher PROG teach lesson Q?
 =‘Are you teaching?’
- c. [Thầy ấy] đang giảng bài.
 stat.male teacher DEM PROG teach lesson
 ‘He is teaching.’

Without a specific context, (60a) is ambiguous. The kinship term *bác* ‘uncle’ in the subject position can be interpreted as the (male) speaker or as a non-participant. By contrast, when occurring in an interrogative sentence, the same kinship term in (60b) is interpreted as the addressee. The same holds for (61) in which the ambiguity arises with the kinship term *con* ‘child’ in the object position. Here the individual referred to can be conceived as the speaker, the addressee, or as a non-participant. However, when kinship terms are modified by demonstratives, they can only be interpreted as non-participants. This is illustrated by the kinship term *bà ấy* ‘that grandmother’ in the subject position in (61). In contrast to *con* ‘kin.son/daughter’ the interpretation of *bà ấy* does not vary and is uniformly that of a non-participant. Similarly, the status term *thầy* ‘male teacher’ in (62) may have the speaker interpretation or refer to a third party. It refers to the addressee when it occurs in an interrogative sentence as in (62b), but if *ấy* is added as in (62c) its role can only be that of a non-participant.

Kinship terms and status terms share some binding properties with pronouns (see also Tran 2009). Like pronouns, kinship terms or

status terms cannot have an antecedent in their local domains, but do allow a non-local antecedent (abstracting from whether this is binding or coreference). Consider (63) and (64):

(63) a. *[*Bác Minh*]_i ngưỡng mộ [*bác ấy*]_i.
 kin.uncle Minh admire kin.uncle DEM
 Intended: 'Uncle Minh admired himself.'

b. [*Bác Minh*]_i nghe là [*dì Mai*] ngưỡng mộ
 kin.uncle Minh hear COMP kin.aunt Mai admire
 [*bác ấy*]_i.
 kin.uncle DEM
 'Uncle Minh heard that aunt Mai admired him.'

(64) a. *[*Thầy Minh*]_i khen [*thầy ấy*]_i.
 stat.male teacher Minh praise stat.male teacher DEM
 Intended: 'Teacher Minh praised him.'

b. [*Thầy Minh*]_i nghe là [*thầy Nam*]
 stat.male teacher Minh hear COMP stat.male teacher Nam
 khen [*thầy ấy*]_i.
 praise stat.male teacher DEM
 'Teacher Minh heard that teacher Nam admired him.'

So, the kinship term *bác* 'uncle' in (63b) has a non-local antecedent, namely *bác Minh*, whereas (63a) is ruled out as *bác* cannot have a local antecedent. The same holds for the status term *thầy* 'male teacher' in (64a) and (64b).

As one may expect, a kinship or a status term may pick up an individual from the context as its value, which may be identical to the value of an element in the preceding discourse. See (65):

- (65) *Son*_i đã lên thư viện.
Son PERF up library.
 [Em/Thầy ấy]_i rất nghiêm túc.
 kin.younger/stat.male teacher DEM very serious
 ‘Son went to the library. He is very serious.’

In (65), the kinship term *em* or the status term *thầy* may corefer with the expression *Son*, a male proper name.

Kinship terms and status terms cannot be anteceded by pronominals but they are allowed to antecede pronominals. Additionally, a descriptive NP can antecede kinship and status terms but not vice versa. This is illustrated in (66) and (67) below:

- (66) a. **Nó*_i bảo [em ấy]_i sẽ đến.
 3sg say kin.younger DEM FUT come
 ‘He/she said that he/she would come.’
 b. [Em ấy]_i bảo *nó*_i sẽ đến.
 kin.younger DEM say 3sg FUT come
 ‘He/she said that he/she would come.’

- (67) a. [Thầy dạy Toán]_i đang ủng hộ
 stat.male teacher teaching Math PROG support
 đội của [thầy ấy]_i.
 team POSS stat.male teacher DEM
 ‘The math teacher is supporting his team.’
- b. *[Thầy ấy]_i đang ủng hộ đội của
 stat.male teacher DEM PROG support team POSS
 [thầy dạy Toán]_i.
 stat.male teacher teaching Math
 ‘The math teacher is supporting his team.’

As the examples in (66) show, the kinship term *em* cannot be anteceded by the pronoun *nó* in (66a) but, as a common noun, it can antecede the pronoun *nó* in (66b).²⁶ Similarly, a status term like *thầy* cannot antecede a full NP as *thầy dạy Toán* in (67b) whereas the reverse case in (67a) is well-formed. These examples satisfy the Hierarchy of Referentiality proposed by Lasnik (1986) in that a more referential expression can antecede a less referential expression, but not vice versa.

Since kinship terms and status terms may be close to pronominals in their use, they are expected to yield both coreferential and bound variable readings. And in fact they do. The question is however what allows them to do so, since their counterparts in other

²⁶ This is in line with Pham (2011)’s judgment in that, according to him, kinship terms can bind pronouns in some cases.

languages and language families such as Germanic, Romance and other languages from the Indo-European language family do not allow bound variable construal of kinship and status terms.

Let's therefore consider what it takes to be bound. Recall from Chapter 2 section 2.3.4 that Reinhart (2006) proposes a definition of A-binding in terms of the logical notion of binding as in (68):

(68) **A-Binding**

α A-binds β iff α is the sister of a λ -predicate whose operator binds β

This corresponds to the following logical syntax representation:

(69) $\alpha (\lambda x (P (x \dots x)))$

In (69) the λ -operator binds the two occurrences of the variable x . α stands for the raised subject from its [VP, Spec] position. Since α is the sister of the λ -predicate, the two variables x get A-bound by α . This presupposes that pronominals can be represented as variables in logical syntax. Consider then the ellipsis structure in (70), where the interpretation of the elided VP² has to be reconstructed on the basis of VP¹. One option is that *his* in *his hands* is represented as x , which is subsequently bound by the λ -operator, yielding (70a). The alternative is for *his* to be interpreted referentially, and to pick up a value from the discourse, for instance *John* as in (70b).

- (70) John [_{VP1} washes his hands] and Jim does [_{VP2} Δ] too
- a. John [λx (x washes x's hands)] and Jim [λx (x washes x's hands)] (sloppy)
- b. John [λx (x washes his=John hands)] and Jim [λx (x washes his=John hands)] (strict)

As already discussed in Chapter 2 section 2.3.5, kinship terms in Vietnamese can be bound and consequently may have both sloppy and strict readings in this environment. This is illustrated in again in (71):

- (71) [Anh Nam]_i bán quyển sách của
 kin.elder brother Nam sell CL book POSS
 [anh ấy]_i và [anh Hùng] cũng vậy.
 kin.elder brother DEM and kin.elder brother Hung also so
 ‘Nam sells his book and Hung does so.’
- a. Anh Nam (λx (x sells anh ấy's \rightarrow x's book) and anh Hùng
 (λx (x sells anh ấy's \rightarrow x's book)
 => **Sloppy is available**
- b. Anh Nam (λx (x sells anh ấy = anh Nam's book) and anh
 Hùng (x sells anh ấy = anh Nam's book)
 => **Strict is available**

So the question is, how a common noun expression like *anh ấy* can be bound whereas its counterpart in other language families cannot. That it can be bound at all presupposes that its logical syntax representation contains a variable. That common noun expressions contain a variable

has already been argued by Higginbotham (1983). For instance, informally, the LF representation of an expression like *every man* is taken to be [every x: man (x)]. Similar representations are given to other determiners. This entails that the variable in the representation of DP's will in principle always be bound within the DP, and hence not be available for binding by an external operator. Note, however, that the semantic structure of kinship and status terms is somewhat more complex, since they are intrinsically relational. A brother is always the brother of someone, a teacher is the teacher of someone. Higginbotham argues that the possessive constructions as in (72a) are interpreted as in (72b), where R stands for a possessive relation:

- (72) a. John's cat \rightarrow [_{NP} NP₁'s N']
 b. [the x: N' (x) & R (x, NP₁)]

Keeping it very informal, let us see what this implies for relational terms. The simplest way to express what distinguishes relational nouns from common nouns like *cat* is that the relational component of the former is not absent, even when it is not overtly expressed. To take a noun like *sister* or *mother/mommy* as an example, even in the absence of an overtly expressed possessive its representation contains a silent pronominal element as in (73), where R of course does not stand for a possessive relation, but for an intrinsic relation between a kinship and the other (as in the case of status terms):

- (73) a. *sister* → [_{NP} *pro*'s N']
 b. [the x: *sister*' (x) & R (x, *pro*₁)]

What is kept is the rendering as a definite expression. This accounts for the fact that in the absence of an overt possessive, nouns like *sister*, *mother* or *mommy* only allow a strict reading in ellipsis sentences, as in (74):

- (74) *Masha* loves *sister/mother/mommy* and *Dory* does too.

Even if *Dory* has a different sister or mother than *Sasha* has, the interpretation can only be that *Masha* and *Dory* love the same unique individual. This immediately points at a solution for the Vietnamese case. In the case of a null pronoun, in the R-relation, a definite determiner is absent. So, taking Vietnamese *anh áy* ‘elder brother’ as an example, instead of (74), we have (75):

- (75) [_{NP} *anh áy*] → [_{NP} *pro*'s N'] → [some x: *anh áy* (x) & R (x, *pro*₁)]

Since the unicity requirement expressed by the definite article in (73) is absent, *pro* can yield a variable that remains free within the NP, and consequently can be bound by an operator at the sentence level. This accounts for the availability of a bound variable reading. So, let us repeat (71) with a more elaborate structure in (76):

- (76) [Anh Nam]_i bán quyển sách của
 kin.elder brother Nam sell CL book POSS
 [anh ấy]_i và [anh Hùng] cũng vậy.
 kin.elderbrother DEM and kin.elder brother Hung also so
 ‘Nam sells his book and Hung does so.’
- a. Anh Nam (λx (x sells [_{XPOSS1} anh ấy]_{POSS2} book)) and
 anh Hùng (λx (x sells [_{XPOSS1} anh ấy]_{POSS2} book))
 ⇒ **Sloppy is available**
- b. Anh Nam (λx (x sells [_{PROPOSS1} anh ấy]_{POSS2} book)) [_{PRO}
 =Nam] and anh Hùng (x sells [_{PROPOSS1} anh ấy]_{POSS2} book))
 [_{PRO}=Nam]
 ⇒ **Strict is available**

Thus, the ambiguity of (71) and (76) follows from the assumption that the covert pronoun in ‘possessor’ position (for lack of a better term) can either be interpreted as a variable to be bound, or referentially. Speculating on the further sources of the cross-linguistic differences in this domain, it may well be the case that Vietnamese is a classifier language whereas Indo-European languages do not underlie the difference. However, establishing this would involve a different project, and lead us beyond the scope of this dissertation.

But let us now see how kinship and status terms fare with respect to the *Interpret Together* constraint and to what extent is the behaviour of *em ấy* ‘younger brother/sister’ similar to that of *nó*? Consider first the non-repetition case in (77):

- (77) a. Nam giận Mike. [Em ấy] trách nó
 Nam angry Mike. kin.younger DEM blame 3sg
 vì vấn đề này.
 for problem DEM
 ‘Nam got angry with Mike. He blamed him for this problem.’
- b. Nam giận Mike. Nó trách [em ấy]
 Nam angry Mike. 3sg blame kin.younger DEM
 vì vấn đề này.
 for problem DEM
 ‘Nam got angry with Mike. He blamed him for this problem.’

In both (77a) and (77b) *nó* and *em ấy* must have different values, with the one being Nam and the other Mike. With two occurrences of *em ấy*, we observe the same pattern as with *nó*, see (78):

- (78) Nam giận Mike. [Em ấy] trách [em ấy]
 Nam angry Mike. kin.younger DEM blame kin.younger DEM
 vì vấn đề này.
 for problem DEM
 ‘Nam got angry with Mike. He blamed himself for this problem.’

Thus in (78) the two occurrences of *em ấy* must refer to the same individual, either *Nam* or *Mike*. The same applies to the counterpart of (56)-(57) in the previous section with *nó* replaced by *em ấy*. In these environments as well, different occurrences of *em ấy* are subject to the *Interpret Together* constraint. As in the case of *nó*, this dependency

reflects a restriction on coreference rather than that it reflects binding. This is again supported by what we see in VP-ellipsis contexts.

As I discussed in Chapter 2 section 2.3.5, there is an asymmetry in the interpretation of kinship terms and status terms based on honorificity in VP ellipsis contexts. The relevant examples are repeated here as (79) and (80):

- (79) a. [Anh Nam]_i thích con chó của
 kin.elder brother Nam like CL dog POSS
 [anh ấy]_i và Mai cũng vậy.
 kin.elder brother DEM and Mai also so
 ‘Nam likes his dog and Mai does too.’
 = Brother Nam likes brother Nam’s dog and Mai likes Nam’s dog too.
 ≠/ = Brother Nam likes brother Nam’s dog and Mai likes Mai’s dog too.
- b. [Anh Nam]_i thích con chó của
 kin.elder brother Nam like CL dog POSS
 [anh ấy]_i và [anh Hùng] cũng vậy.
 kin.elder brother DEM and kin.elder brother Hung also so
 ‘Nam likes his dog and Hung does too.’
 = Brother Nam likes brother Nam’s dog and brother Hung likes brother Nam’s dog.
 = Brother Nam likes brother Nam’s dog and brother Hung likes brother Hung’s dog.

- (80) a. [Thầy Kiên]_i ghét hàng xóm của [thầy ấy]_i
 stat.teacher Kien hate neighbor POSS stat.teacher DEM
 và Nam cũng vậy.
 and Nam also so
 ‘Kien hates his neighbors and Nam does too.’
 = Teacher Kien hates teacher Kien’s neighbors and Nam also
 hates teacher Kien’s neighbors.
 =/= Teacher Kien hates teacher Kien’s neighbors and Nam also
 hates Nam’s neighbors.
- b. [Thầy Kiên]_i ghét hàng xóm của [thầy ấy]_i
 stat.teacher Kien hate neighbor POSS stat.teacher DEM
 và [thầy Nam] cũng vậy.
 and stat.teacher Nam also so
 ‘Kien hates his neighbors and Nam does too.’
 = Teacher Kien hates teacher Kien’s neighbors and teacher
 Nam also hates teacher Kien’s neighbors.
 = Teacher Kien hates teacher Kien’s neighbors and teacher
 Nam hates teacher Nam’s neighbors.

As noted, in (79a), the kinship term *anh ấy* only has a strict identity reading. Contextually, the use of the proper name *Mai* without a kinship term presupposes that *Mai* is either younger or of the same age as the speaker whereas the use of *anh ấy* implies that *anh Nam* is older than the speaker; so there is an asymmetry between the two subjects, hence the sloppy reading does not arise. By contrast, in (79b), the kinship term *anh ấy* allows both sloppy and strict readings. The same

holds for status terms shown in (80a,b). Specifically, in (80a), the status term *thầy* *ấy* only has a strict reading. By contrast, in (80b), the status term *thầy* may have both a sloppy and a strict reading.

Unlike (71), which we extensively discussed above, the slightly different example in (82) represents only a strict reading. The relevant factor can be identified once we enrich the representation of (71) with honorificity features, as in (81), and compare it with (82) similarly enriched (but simplifying the possessive structure).

- (81) [Anh Nam]_i bán quyển sách của
 kin.elder brother Nam sell CL book POSS
 [anh ấy]_i và [anh Hùng] cũng vậy.
 kin.elderbrother DEM and kin.elder brother Hung also so
 ‘Nam sells his book and Hung does so.’
- a. Anh_[+H] Nam (λx (x sells x=anh_[+H] ấy’s book) and anh_[+H]
 Hùng (λx (x sells x=anh_[+H] ấy’s book)
 ⇒ **Sloppy is available**
- b. Anh_[+H] Nam (λx (x sells anh ấy = anh_[+H] Nam’s book) and
 anh_[+H] Hùng (x sells anh ấy = anh_[+H] Nam’s book)
 ⇒ **Strict is available**
- (82) [Anh Nam]_i mắng con của [anh ấy]_i
 kin.elder brother Nam scold child POSS kin.elderbrother DEM
 và [em Hùng] cũng vậy.
 and kin.younger Hung also so
 ‘Nam scolds his child and Hung does so.’

- a. Anh_[+H] Nam (λx (x scold x=anh_[+H] áy's child) and em_[-H] Hùng (λx (x scolds x=*anh_[+H] áy's child)

Sloppy is not available

- b. Anh_[+H] Nam (λx (x scolds anh áy = anh_[+H] Nam's child) and em_[-H] Hùng (x scolds anh áy = anh_[+H] Nam's child)

=> Strict is available

As can be observed, in (82) there is a contrast in terms of honorificity (marked as [+H] and [-H]) between the copied variable resulting from *anh áy* and the argument *em Hùng*. Due to a matching requirement *em_[-H] Hùng* cannot A-bind the *anh_[+H] áy* variable in the second conjunct; consequently a sloppy reading is unavailable. The strict reading is available as both pro's in *anh áy* only pick up *anh Nam* as their antecedent.

Adding some more details, I propose that honorificity is a semantic feature consisting of two contradictory sub-features [+Honorific] or [+H] and [-Honorific] or [-H], which exist on lexical heads and should be matched like other features, as illustrated below:

$$(83) \quad \text{DP} (\lambda x (\text{P}(x \dots x)))$$

$$\quad \quad \quad [[\text{DP}_{[\alpha\text{Honorific}]}] \lambda x_{[\alpha\text{Honorific}]} [\text{P}(x_{[\alpha\text{Honorific}]}) \dots x_{[\alpha\text{Honorific}}] \dots]]$$

I assume that in VP-ellipsis, the λ -expression of the antecedent clause is copied and pasted into the elided VP to yield its interpretation. If the copied variable and the binder in the elided VP match each other in terms of honorification, binding can take place. See (84):

- (84) a. $DP_{[+Honorific]} [\lambda x_{[+Honorific]} [P(x_{[+Honorific]} \dots x_{[+Honorific]})]]$ and
 $DP_{[+Honorific]} [\lambda x_{[+Honorific]} [P(x_{[+Honorific]} \dots x_{[+Honorific]})]]$
- b. $DP_{[-Honorific]} [\lambda x_{[-Honorific]} [P(x_{[-Honorific]} \dots x_{[-Honorific]})]]$ and
 $DP_{[-Honorific]} [\lambda x_{[-Honorific]} [P(x_{[-Honorific]} \dots x_{[-Honorific]})]]$

By contrast, binding is blocked when there is a mismatch between the copied variable and the binder in terms of honorification. If so, the POSS phrase is not bound by the local subject in the resulting configuration and only coreference with the subject in the antecedent clause is available. See (85):

- (85) a. $DP_{[+Honorific]} [\lambda x_{[+Honorific]} [P(x_{[+Honorific]} \dots x_{[+Honorific]})]]$ and
 $DP_{[-Honorific]} [\lambda x_{[+Honorific]} [P(x_{[+Honorific]} \dots x_{[+Honorific]})]]$
- b. $DP_{[-Honorific]} [\lambda x_{[-Honorific]} [P(x_{[-Honorific]} \dots x_{[+Honorific]})]]$ and
 $DP_{[+Honorific]} [\lambda x_{[-Honorific]} [P(x_{[-Honorific]} \dots x_{[-Honorific]})]]$

Thus, sloppy identity is excluded if the binder and bindee in the antecedent clause do not match in honorificity with the envisaged binder in the consequent clause. Returning to (98a,b) in Chapter 2 with the honorificity features added, the relevant pattern is given in (86a,b):

- (86) a. [Anh_[+H] Nam] thích con chó của
 kin.elder brother Nam like CL dog POSS
 [anh_[+H] áy] và Mai_[-H] cũng
 kin.elder brother DEM and Mai also
 [thích con chó của anh_[+H] áy].
 [like CL dog POSS kin.elder brother DEM]
- a'. Brother_[+H] Nam [$\lambda x_{[+H]} [x_{[+H]} \dots x_{[+H]}]$] and Mai_[-H]
{H]} [$\lambda x{[+H]} [x_{[+H]} \dots x_{[+H]}]$] (x covalued with *anh Nam*)
- b. [Anh_[+H] Nam] thích con chó của
 kin.elder brother Nam like CL dog POSS
 [anh_[+H] áy] và [anh_[+H] Hùng] cũng
 kin.elder brother DEM and kin.elder brother Hung also
 [thích con chó của anh_[+H] áy].
 [like CL dog POSS kin.elder brother DEM]
- b'. Brother Nam_[+H] [$\lambda x_{[+H]} [x_{[+H]}$ likes the dog of $x_{[+H]}$]]
 and brother_[+H] Hung [$\lambda x_{[+H]} [x_{[+H]}$ likes the dog of $x_{[+H]}$]]

As (86a) shows, the copied kinship term *anh áy* does not match the binder *Mai* in the elided clause in terms of honorification, thus only a strict identity reading is available. By contrast, in (86b), the copied kinship term *anh áy* matches the binder *anh Hung* with respect to the [+H] feature, thus a sloppy reading arises.

Similarly, the derivation of the pattern with status terms in (99a,b) from Chapter 2 can be accounted for as in (87a,b) by adding the honorificity features:

- (87) a. [Thầy_[+H] Kiên] ghét hàng xóm của
 stat.male teacher Kien hate neighbor POSS
 [thầy_[+H] ấy] và Nam_[-H] cũng
 stat.male teacher DEM and Nam also
 [ghét hàng xóm của thầy_[+H] ấy].
 hate neighbor POSS stat.male teacher DEM
 a'. Teacher_[+H] Kien [λx_[+H] [x_[+H] hates the neighbors of x_[+H]]]
 and Nam_[-H] [λx_[+H] [x_[+H] hates the neighbors of x_[+H]]]
- b. [Thầy_[+H] Kiên] ghét hàng xóm của
 stat.male teacher Kien hate neighbors POSS
 [thầy_[+H] ấy] và [thầy_[+H] Nam] cũng
 stat.male teacher DEM and stat.male teacher Nam also
 [ghét hàng xóm của thầy_[+H] ấy].
 hate neighbor POSS stat.male teacher DEM
 b'. Teacher_[+H] Kien [λx_[+H] [x_[+H] hates the neighbors of x_[+H]]]
 and teacher_[+H] Nam [λx_[+H] [x_[+H] hates the neighbors of
 x_[+H]]]

In (87a), a mismatch in terms of honorification between the copied status term *thầy ấy* and the envisaged binder *Nam* in the elided clause blocks the sloppy reading. By contrast, the copied status term *thầy ấy* matches with the binder *thầy Nam* in the elided clause with respect to the [+H] feature, hence a sloppy reading is allowed in (87b).

To conclude, kinship terms and status terms only yield strict readings if there is a mismatch in honorificity between these expressions and their envisaged antecedents in the elided clause. On the other hand, they may produce both sloppy and strict readings in the VP-ellipsis context when there is a match in honorificity between these expressions and their antecedents in the elided clause.

Thus, although being common nouns, due to their relational character, kinship terms and status terms in Vietnamese have a potentially open position that allows them to share properties of binding with pronouns. Like pronouns, under the VP-ellipsis, these nominal expressions can also yield both bound variable and coreferential readings, except that they are restricted by honorification that determines how these dependent elements should be interpreted in corresponding to their antecedents.

3.5. Binding conditions of Proper names

Unlike pronouns, kinship terms and status terms, names cannot be bound in Vietnamese. In particular, they cannot be bound by pronouns or by another name or R-expression. This is illustrated in (88):

- (88) a. * $N\acute{o}_i$ không biết Mai đến thăm Nam_i .
 3sg NEG know Mai come visit Nam
 ‘He did not know Mai came visit Nam.’
- b. * $[Th\grave{a}ng\ n\grave{a}t\ r\ddot{u}o\grave{u}]_i$ nói mọi người thích Nam_i .
 CL drunken say everyone like Nam
 ‘The drunken man said everyone likes Nam.’

The ungrammaticality of (88a,b) suggests that Condition C holds in Vietnamese, which is along the lines of Trinh and Truckenbrodt (2018). Repeated names, however, do not appear to comply with Condition C, as illustrated in (89) and (90).²⁷

(89) John tin John sẽ thắng.

John believe John FUT win

‘John believes that he will win.’

(90) *John thương John.

John love John

‘John loves himself.’

This issue is resolved by Trinh and Truckenbrodt (2018) who provide evidence that covaluation of identical proper names in Vietnamese in a local domain involves coreference rather than binding.²⁸ On the basis of

²⁷ The examples are from Lasnik (1986), who claims that there is a contrast in grammaticality between (89) and (90). In (89), covaluation is licit, while in (90) it is not. Narahara (1995) also reports that her Vietnamese informants exclude (90). However, Lasnik and Narahara’s judgments do not correspond to mine, and have not been confirmed by my native informants, who report that (90) is grammatical (cf. also Tran 2009). The judgments reported by Pham (2011) are also aligned with mine. At this moment, it is very unclear whether the judgments reported by Lasnik and Narahara reflect real variation. Resolving this issue will have to wait for a more systematic investigation of variation in Vietnamese.

²⁸ They do so in a discussion of Rule 1 that does not concern us here.

the VP-ellipsis test, the only-sentences test, and the quantificational antecedents test, these authors found that there are only strict identity readings available in those constructions. This indicates that repeated names cannot be treated as pronouns and cannot be bound. This is indeed in line with my result in this chapter that identical names or NPs in general can only yield strict readings through all the binding-coreference tests. One aspect from my findings that goes beyond the results in Trinh and Truckenbrodt (2018) is that not only names but also identical pronouns and kinship and status terms give rise to strict readings only as I discussed in section 3.3. As noted there, this distinguishes Vietnamese from SLQZ languages and Thai where identical names can only yield sloppy readings (Lee 2003).

The conclusion is that Vietnamese expressions with repeated names have no implications for condition C. Since we have coreference rather than binding, condition C is not involved. One may wonder what this implies for Rule I; why doesn't Rule I enforce binding? The answer is straightforward, though. Rule I or its successor in Reinhart (2006) or Reuland (2011a), is in essence an economy measure. Binding is preferred over coreference, but only if binding is available. If the structure of a particular element is such that it cannot be bound, binding does not come into play and coreference is the only option available.

Up to this point, we have seen that repeated names, like repeated pronouns, kinship and status terms allow a coreferential interpretation. Consequently, it should be determined to what extent

this is possible for other, more complex nominal expressions. Let us consider the following examples:

(91) a. *[Ông thầy tu] chỉ trích [ông thầy tu].

CL priest criticize CL priest

Intended meaning: The priest criticized himself.

b. *[Thằng ăn trộm] nghĩ [thằng ăn trộm] không làm gì sai.

CL thief think CL thief NEG do what wrong

Intended meaning: The thief thought he did nothing wrong.

(92) a. Mai_i đang khen Mai_i.

Mai.sp PROG praise Mai.sp

‘Mai/I is/am praising herself/me.’

a'. Mai_i khẳng định_i Mai_i khéo léo sao?

Mai.add claim Mai.add clever Q

‘Did you claimed that you were clever?’

b. [Mỹ Tâm]_i đang nhận xét về [Mỹ Tâm]_i.

My Tam.sp PROG judge about MyTam.sp

‘My Tam/I is/am judging herself/me.’

b'. Tâm_i nói Tâm_i đang trồng cây á?

Tam.add say Tam.add PROG grow plant Q

‘Did you say you were growing plants?’

c. *[Nguyễn Văn Nam] ngưỡng mộ [Nguyễn Văn Nam].

Nguyen Van Nam.sp admire Nguyen Van Nam.sp

Intended meaning: Nguyen Van Nam/I admire(s) himself/me.

- c'. *Nguyễn nghĩ Nguyễn đã hiểu chuyện sao?
 Nguyen.add think Nguyen.add PST understand story Q
 Intended meaning: Do you think you understand the story?

The expression *ông thầy tu* ‘the priest’ in (91a) and *thằng ăn trộm* ‘the thief’ in (91b) cannot be covalued with their repeated form. This indicates the impossibility of repeated noun phrases to be covalued or stand in a binding relation. However, with respect to proper names, it seems to me that there is some freedom. As we can see in (92), repeated first names are acceptable such as *Mai* in (92a,a’) and *Mỹ Tâm/Tâm* in (92b,b’). Repeated full names and last names are, however, ill-formed such as the full name *Nguyễn Văn Nam* in (92c) and the last name *Nguyễn* in (92c’). In general, it seems that full NPs are subject to condition C. That is, they are fully referential and cannot be bound. An attempt to covalue them causes a crash. This distinguishes them from kinship and status terms in that a covert pro existing in the structure of kinship and status terms results in their interpretations as bound variables, aside from covaluation.

3.6. Variants of the reflexive structure in Vietnamese

In addition to standard reflexive structures based on the combination of the reflexive marker *tự* with the anaphor *mình*, or the pronominal *nó*, there are variants that are formed by having materials such as the body-expression *bản thân* ‘root of body’ or the intensifier *chính* ‘very/right’ adjoined to the anaphoric element. These variants may more directly represent the case of protection in Vietnamese, see the

discussion of protection in Chapter 2 subsection 2.4.5.1. This pattern is illustrated in (93):

- (93) a. $N\acute{o}_i$ phải có lòng tin vào bản thân $m\grave{i}nh_i/n\acute{o}_i$.
 3sg MOD have trust in root of body body/3sg
 ‘He/she must trust in himself/herself.’
- b. $M\grave{a}y_i$ phải có lòng tin vào bản thân $m\grave{i}nh_i/m\grave{a}y_i$.
 2sg MOD have trust in root of body body/2sg
 ‘You must trust in yourself.’
- c. $T\acute{o}i_i$ phải có lòng tin vào bản thân $m\grave{i}nh_i/t\acute{o}i_i$.
 1sg MOD have trust in root of body body/1sg
 ‘I must trust in myself.’
- d. [Anh Nam]_i yêu bản thân [anh áy]_i.
 kin.elder brother Nam love root of body kin.elder brother DEM
 ‘(Brother) Nam loves himself.’

(93) indicates that the presence of the body-expression *bản thân* ‘root of body’ preceding the anaphor *mình* or the pronouns such as *nó*, *mày*, *tôi* or the kinship term *anh* licenses a reflexive interpretation. As a protection means, *bản thân* not only makes the antecedent and its dependent element distinct but also conveys a proxy interpretation. That is to say, these complex reflexive expressions not only bear the value of the antecedents but also their representatives such as his/her/my/your statue/shade/picture...etc. Furthermore, as illustrated by the contrast in (94) *bản thân* in fact enforces a reflexive interpretation:

- (94) a. Nam_i nghĩ Mai_j không yêu mình_{i/*j}.
 Nam think Mai NEG love body
 ‘Nam thought Mai did not love him.’
- b. Nam_i nghĩ Mai_j không yêu bản thân mình_{*i/j}.
 Nam think Mai NEG love root of body body
 ‘Nam thought Mai did not love herself.’

Without the element *bản thân*, *mình* in (94a) can be non-locally bound by the matrix subject *Nam*. By contrast, when *bản thân* is present in (94b), *mình* only allows the embedded subject *Mai* as its antecedent. While this suggests a parallel with the effect of *tự*, the parallel is not complete, since, interestingly, when the sentence contains a 1st person subject pronoun, *mình* can always be valued by that pronoun regardless of the presence of *bản thân*. See (95):

- (95) a. Tôi_i biết [người phụ nữ]_j đã đánh giá thấp bản thân mình_{i/j}.
 1sg know CL woman PST underestimate root of body body
 ‘I knew the woman had underestimated herself/me.’
- b. Tôi_i biết [người phụ nữ]_j đã đánh giá thấp mình_{i/*j}.
 1sg know CL woman PST underestimate body
 ‘I knew the woman had underestimated me.’

As we saw in section 3.1, *tự* always enforces a local reading, while in (95a), the effect of *bản thân* is that both the matrix subject *tôi* and the embedded one *người phụ nữ* may serve as potential antecedents. In (95b), without *bản thân*, *mình* only takes the matrix subject *tôi* as its

antecedent, while excluding the embedded subject *người phụ nữ* ‘the woman’. I will come back to this issue in chapter 5, where I present an extensive discussion of the speaker interpretation of *mình*.

Although secondary, another way to express reflexivity without the reflexive marker *tự* is to combine *mình* with the intensifier *chính* ‘very/right’ which is shown in (96):

- (96) a. *Mày_i đừng từ bỏ chính mình_i.*
 2sg NEG give up very body
 ‘Don’t give up on you yourself.’
- b. *Nó_i không chấp nhận chính mình_i.*
 3sg NEG accept very body
 ‘He/she does not accept himself/herself.’
- c. *#Chính nó_i không chấp nhận mình^{*i/sp}.*
 very 3sg NEG accept body
 ‘He/she does not accept me.’
- d. **Nó_i không chính chấp nhận mình_i.*
 3sg NEG very accept body
- e. **Nó_i chính không chấp nhận mình_i.*
 3sg very NEG accept body

As illustrated in (96a,b), the combination between *chính* and *mình* enforces reflexivity. However, in (96c), when *chính* associates with the subject *nó*, it has an intensifying effect, hence no reflexive interpretation arises. On the other hand, when *chính* precedes the verb *chấp nhận* ‘accept’ as in (96d) and precedes the negation *không* as in

(96e) or any other functional heads alike, the sentences become ungrammatical.

The same applies for the pronominal *nó* as in (97) in which *chính* also enforces reflexivity:

- (97) Nam_i không chấp nhận chính nó_i.
 Nam NEG accept very 3sg
 ‘Nam does not accept himself.’

However, if the coarguments are identical, the intensifier *chính* only adds an emphasis to the sentence; otherwise without *chính* the sentence still obtains a reflexive interpretation. See (98a,b):

- (98) a. Nó_i không chấp nhận chính nó_i.
 3sg NEG accept very 3sg
 ‘He/she does not accept himself/herself.’
 = He accepted others but not himself.
- b. Nó_i không chấp nhận nó_i.
 3sg NEG accept 3sg
 ‘He/she does not accept himself/herself.’

Furthermore, in complex sentences, the presence of *chính* combining with the anaphor *mình* restricts the interpretive options of *mình* to the local subject. See (99):

- (99) a. Nói_i nghĩ Mai_j đã làm tổn thương chính mình_{*i/j}.
 3sg think Mai PERF make hurt very body
 ‘He/she thought Mai hurt herself.’
- b. Nói_i nghĩ Mai_j đã làm tổn thương chính nó_{*i/j}.
 3sg think Mai PERF make hurt very 3sg
 ‘He/she thought Mai hurt herself.’

As shown in (99a), *mình* has the local subject *Mai* as its antecedent in the presence of *chính*. The same holds for the third person pronoun *nó* in (99b) since the element *chính* has an effect of restricting the referential domain. However, the reflexive reading cannot be obtained when *chính* is merged to the embedded subject *Mai* as in (100). At this point, *chính* may serve as an intensifier.

- (100) Nói_i biết chính Mai_j đã làm tổn thương mình_{i/*j}.
 3sg know very Mai PERF make hurt body
 ‘He/she knew Mai herself hurt him/*herself.’

In summary, I have presented a set of variants of the reflexive construction in Vietnamese in which the presence of special lexical items such as *bản thân* ‘root of body’ and *chính* ‘very’ contribute to yielding reflexivity. Especially, the use of *chính* has a semantic effect as an intensifier that enables it to not only intensify the object it associates with but also to serve as a secondary means in generating reflexive readings besides the standard reflexive marker *tự*. What *bản*

chân and *chính* may measure up to the standard protection strategy lies in the respect that they can protect the anaphoric expressions from the IDI effect and produce reflexive interpretations. Investigating into the other functions of these expressions would go beyond the scope of this dissertation and thus should wait for future research.

Chapter 4

Non-local binding in Vietnamese

Long-distance reflexives are reflexives that take their antecedents beyond the local domain, that is, beyond the domain corresponding to the ‘governing category’ in the CBT (see chapter 2 section 2.2.2, roughly the domain of their nearest subject). As noted in the previous chapters, in addition to local antecedents, *mình* also allows non-local antecedents, as in (88a) from chapter 2, repeated here as (1) (in addition to an interpretation as the speaker, see section 4.4) (note that the local interpretation is ruled out here due to IDI).

- (1) Hùng_i nghĩ Nam_j đã bảo vệ mình_{i/*j/sp}.
Hung think Nam PST protect body
‘Hung thought Nam had protected him/me.’

And in fact, non-locally bound anaphors occur in many languages. Since non-locally bound anaphors provide a challenge to condition A of the CBT, their existence has given rise to an extensive literature. As discussed in Chapter 2 section 2.4.2, syntax has two operations to represent anaphoric dependencies, namely movement of a reflexivizing operator onto the predicate and establishing a chain type dependency based on an Agree type operation. In the present chapter, I will discuss in more detail how both operations work in Vietnamese. I will start with a discussion of non-local binding. In the present section

I will provide an informal discussion of the main features that deserve our attention. In section 4.2, I introduce the operation of Multiple Agree, which extends the conception of Agree in Chomsky (1995), and illustrate how it works for Mandarin, based on Giblin (2016). Section 4.3 presents a specific proposal for the representation of person, which is important to understand how Multiple Agree operates, and how it helps provide an account of a restriction on non-local binding in Mandarin (the 'blocking effect'). Section 4.4 provides an informal presentation of the main features of non-local anaphora in Vietnamese and in what respects it differs from Mandarin, expanding the discussion in Chapters 2 and 3. Section 4.5 introduces the performative hypothesis proposed by Ross (1970), which helps explain why the anaphor *mình* may obtain a speaker interpretation. Then, section 4.6.1 will show how long-distance binding of *mình* follows from the operation of Multiple Agree. Section 4.6.2 presents a detailed analysis of the reflexivizing effect of the element *tu* and the way it interacts with the properties of the anaphor *mình*, pronominals and common nouns used as kinship terms and status terms. In a nutshell, once there is *tu*, the anaphor *mình* as well as pronominals, kinship and status terms get bound in their local domain. In contrast, in the absence of *tu*, these nominal categories must not be bound locally. Lastly, section 4.7 is the conclusion.

In the next section I sketch some of the issues that came up in this literature on non-local binding, although I will not strive for completeness.

4.1. Background on non-local binding

4.1.1. Properties of long-distance reflexives cross-linguistically

In line with much of the literature, I will be using the terms *long-distance anaphor* and *long-distance reflexive* or *LD-reflexive* interchangeably. It is important to distinguish between dependencies reflecting structural binding (requiring the antecedent to c-command the anaphor) and dependencies reflecting discourse valuation, where c-command is not required as in the case of Icelandic logophoric *sig* (Reuland and Koster 1991, Reuland and Sigurjónsdóttir 1997), although in the literature this distinction is not always maintained.

The contrast between local and LD-reflexives gave rise to the question of whether there are defining properties of LD-reflexives setting them apart from the local ones. An influential line of work argues that the properties in (2) are characteristic of LD-reflexives (see Pica 1985, 1987, 1991; Battistella 1987, 1989; Cole, Hermon, & Sung 1990; Cole & Sung 1994, and others):

- (2) Characteristic properties of LD reflexives:
- LD reflexives are monomorphemic
 - LD reflexives are subject-oriented

In addition, it has been observed that in some languages, in particular Mandarin, LD reflexives manifest a blocking effect. That is, whether or not a remote subject is available as an antecedent may depend on an additional requirement on the path between the anaphor and its

antecedent, namely an intervening 1st or 2nd person NP would block long-distance binding of the anaphor by a 3rd person NP.

In the literature one often finds these properties illustrated by Icelandic and Mandarin Chinese. In (3a), for instance the monomorphemic Icelandic anaphor *sig* can have the matrix subject *Jón* as its antecedent, whereas the complex anaphor *sjálfan sig* in (3b) cannot. For Mandarin Chinese one finds the claim that the anaphor *ziji* is simplex and consequently can be bound by a subject beyond its local domain, such as *Zhangsan* in (4a), while the complex anaphor *ta-ziji* can only get bound locally by *Lisi* in (4b).

- (3) a. Jón_i segir [að María elski sig_i].
 John says that Mary love.SBJV self
 ‘John says that Mary loves himself.’
- b. Jón_i segir [að María_j elski sjálfan sig_{j/*i}].
 John says that Mary love.SBJV self
 ‘John says that Mary loves herself.’
- (Thráinsson, 2017)
- (4) a. Zhangsan_i renwei Lisi_j hen ziji_{i/j}.
 Zhangsan think Lisi hate self
 ‘Zhangsan thinks that Lisi hates him.’
- b. Zhangsan_i renwei Lisi_j hen ta ziji_{*i/j}.
 Zhangsan think Lisi hate him self
 ‘Zhangsan thinks that Lisi hates himself.’
- (Tang 1985, 1989)

More recently, however, it has been established that *being monomorphemic* is in fact not the relevant property. As we already saw in chapter 2 (section 2.3.1), even English *himself* can have a non-local antecedent under appropriate conditions. As discussed in section 2.4.5.4 also the complex anaphor *dirinya* in Indonesian allows non-local antecedents. The literature has many more examples of complex anaphors with non-local antecedents, see, for instance, Jayaseelan (1997) for Malayalam, Volkova (2017) for Meadow Mari, or Rudnev (2017) for Avar. Finally, in Reuland, Wong and Everaert (2020), and Wong (2021) it has been established that a paradigm example of a simplex anaphor, namely Mandarin *ziji* is in fact complex, consisting of a reflexivizing element *zi-* and a pronominal stem *-ji*. So, what initially appeared to involve a contrast between simplicity and complexity, in fact reduces to the contrast between the presence or absence of an element enforcing reflexivity as discussed in Chapter 2 section 2.1.

As indicated in (3) and (4), *sig* and *ziji* have also been claimed to be subject-oriented, in the sense that they require a subject as their antecedent. Although perhaps not as absolute as was originally thought, there is at least a strong tendency for LD-reflexives to be subject-oriented. This property is illustrated in (5) for Icelandic and (6) for Mandarin, where an object is not available as a possible antecedent of the anaphor unlike what we see in (7) with a local dependency in English.

- (5) *Eg lofadi Harald_i ad raka sig_j.
 'I promised Harold to shave (INF) himself.'
 (Hyams and Sigurjónsdóttir, 1990)
- (6) Wo_i ma ta_j dui ziji_{i/*j} mei you haochu.
 I scold he to self not have advantage
 'That I scolded him did me/*him no good.'
 (Tang, 1989)
- (7) John gave Mary_i a book about herself_i.

The ungrammaticality of (5) shows that the antecedent of *sig* must be a subject, as it cannot be bound by the object *Haraldi*. Similarly, *ziji* in (6) can only take the subject *wo* as its antecedent but not the object *ta*. By contrast, in (7), English allows the reflexive *herself* to have the object *Mary* as its antecedent.

It should be noted that the domain of condition B effects is much smaller than the binding domain of non-local, or even local reflexives, see already the discussion of the occasional lack of complementarity in Chomsky (1981), referred to in Chapter 2, and, for instance, Reinhart and Reuland (1993) for a more extensive discussion. Consequently, one generally does not find complementarity between non-locally bound reflexives and pronominals. This is illustrated for Mandarin below:

- (8) a. Zhangsan_i zhidao Lisi_j lao piping ziji_{i/j}.
 Zhangsan know Lisi incessantly criticize self
 'Zhangsan knows that Lisi criticizes him/himself all the time.'

- b. Zhangsan_i zhidao Lisi_j lao piping ta_{i/*j}.
 Zhangsan know Lisi incessantly criticize him
 ‘Zhangsan knows that Lisi criticizes him all the time.’
 (Huang et al, 2009)

In (8a) the reflexive *ziji* in Mandarin allows a local as well as a non-local antecedent. As shown in (8b) the pronominal *ta* must be free in the local domain but can be bound in the non-local domain. Hence, we observe complementarity in the latter, but not in the former.

4.1.2. Previous studies on long-distance binding

In the nineteen seventies, the phenomenon of non-local binding of anaphors started drawing attention from many linguists in generative grammar (see for instance Thráinsson 1976). Non-local binding cannot be straightforwardly accommodated by Chomsky (1981)’s Binding theory, thus a revision of the theory was required. One may distinguish two lines of approach to long-distance binding of reflexives: i. syntactic approaches ii. discourse-based approaches. In practice, they are not mutually exclusive, so one may in fact also find non-uniform approaches, combining features of (i) and (ii). More recently, one may identify a morphosyntactic approach, which is in fact a subcase of (i).

Earlier syntactic approaches were based on the idea that the violation of locality was only apparent, and due to some additional syntactic process. One prominent approach is the head-movement approach. The main idea of this approach is that the long-distance binding

domain can be reduced to the minimal domain due to covert movement of the anaphor at LF. For instance, Lebeaux (1983) argues that there is no actual long-distance binding of reflexives and this remote binding can be accounted for by moving the anaphoric element closer to its antecedent. At this stage the anaphoric element becomes local to its antecedent and thus obtains the index and phi-features from there. Lebeaux's proposal has been adopted and elaborated in a substantial literature, including Chomsky (1986), Battistella (1989), Cole, Hermon and Sung (1990), Cole and Sung (1994) and Cole and Wang (1996), to name a few. Building on the idea of Lebeaux (1983) that all anaphors move at LF representation, Pica (1987) argues that the relevant syntactic operation is head movement. This entails that reflexives can only be non-locally bound if they are bare heads (X^0). Therefore, complex reflexives such as *themselves* are locally bound whereas simplex ones such as Icelandic *sig* can be long-distance bound. He proposes that reflexives in an embedded clause can co-refer with the matrix subject by movement to the matrix INFL node as long as this movement does not cross any tensed sentence boundary²⁹.

Another way of resolving the locality issue is proposed by Manzini and Wexler (1987). These authors assume that languages differ in their choices of an opacity factor, determining the governing category for anaphors. That is, while in the CBT it is the local subject that qualifies as the opacity factor, in their approach, the binding domain is

²⁹ Pica (1991) proposes that the relevant operation is not head-movement, but clitic movement. For current purposes, this modification can be left aside.

parameterized; a governing category is determined by a choice of an opacity factor from five possible values, as given in (9):

- (9) γ is a governing category for α iff γ is the minimal category that contains α and a governor for α and
- a. can have a subject, or, for $\alpha =$ anaphor, has a subject β , $\beta \neq \alpha$, or
 - b. has an INFL; or
 - c. has a Tense; or
 - d. has a referential Tense; or
 - e. has a root Tense

The choice of a value is determined by particular lexical properties of the anaphoric element involved. Manzini and Wexler's approach fills a gap in Pica's proposal, but an important drawback is that it does not offer a principled restriction on the choice of opacity factors (see Reuland and Koster 1991 for discussion), predicting more variation between anaphoric systems than is actually found.

In works such as Cantrall (1969, 1974), Kuroda (1973) and Kuno (1972), a different factor in non-local anaphora is identified, namely the role of perspective/point of view. As a general term for this factor, the term *logophoricity* has come into use, originally introduced by Hagège (1974) to characterize a class of pronouns in languages of Niger-Congo family that refer to the source of the discourse, but this use was subsequently expanded by Clements (1975). Under this view, reflexives may be bound to a higher subject "whose speech, thoughts, feelings or general state of consciousness are reported", to use the

formulation in Clements (1975). There are many studies in this area. For instance, Cantrall (1969, 1974) proposes that the use of English reflexives and pronouns represents different points of view. He argues that when reflexives are long-distance bound, they aim to represent an internal point of view of the subject, as opposed to the speaker.

Kuroda (1973) and Kuno (1972) propose a similar hypothesis when they distinguish the reportive narrative style from the non-reportive narrative style in Japanese by the use of reflexives and pronominals. Their main point is that the choice of the reflexive *zibun* is well-formed in the non-reportive style as the event is presented from the point of view of the discourse character, whereas the felicity of pronouns is observed in the reportive style as the scenario is captured from the speaker's perspective. In a nutshell, the selection and interpretation of reflexives or pronominals in long-distance binding sentences crucially depends on whose point of view is being presented and the awareness of characters.

Sells (1987) proposes a more elaborate theory of discourse factors in the form of three primitive roles of the antecedent in discourse, as stated in (10):

(10)

SOURCE: one who is the intentional agent of the communication.

SELF: one whose mental state or attitude the content of the proposition describes.

PIVOT: one with respect to whose (space-time) location the content of the proposition is evaluated.

Informally speaking, Source is the individual who produces the speech, Self is the one whose thoughts and feelings are being reported, and Pivot is the one whose point of view is being represented. An illustration for each discourse role is provided in the following examples from Vietnamese:

- (11) Hoa_i báo Mai đã đánh mình_{i/sp}.
 Hoa say Mai PST beat body
 ‘Hoa said Mai had beaten self/me.’
- (12) Nam_i đã rất vui khi quyển sách của
 Nam PST very happy when CL book POSS
 mình_i được xuất bản.
 body PASS publish
 ‘Nam was very happy when his book was published.’
- (13) Khi Mai đến thăm mình_{i/sp}, Nam_i đang lau nhà.
 When Mai come visit body, Nam PROG clean house
 ‘When Mai came to visit self/me, Nam was cleaning the house.’

In (11), the remote antecedent *Hoa* represents the SOURCE role, as she is the person who utters the sentence. In (12), the matrix subject *Nam* has the role of SELF since *Nam* is the one whose feeling is being reported. Lastly, in (13), the antecedent *Nam* has a PIVOT role as he is the one whose point of view is being represented. It is not clear however that these notions play an independent role in the conditions under which *mình* is bound, unlike what Sells reports for *zibun* in Japanese.

Huang and Liu (2001) present an account for the binding properties of Mandarin *ziji* that is representative for the class of mixed approaches. Local binding of *ziji* is taken to be governed by syntactic principles much like the CBT, whereas non-local binding is governed by discourse properties.

4.1.3. The Blocking effect

I will continue this overview by introducing an issue that has received considerable attention in the literature on Mandarin and will also be important in our discussion of Vietnamese. Oversimplifying the issue, in some languages, prominently including Mandarin, LD binding of an anaphor is blocked by an intervening subject with person features different from those of the matrix subject (for a relevant discussion, see for instance, Y-H. Huang 1984, Battistella 1989, Cole, Hermon and Sung 1990, Huang and Tang 1991, Sung 1990). This fact is illustrated by the contrast in Mandarin Chinese in the example below:

- (14) a. Zhangsan_i renwei Lisi_j zhidao Wangwu_k xihuan *ziji*_{i/j/k}.
 Zhangsan think Lisi know Wangwu like self
 ‘Zhangsan thinks Lisi knows Wangwu likes himself/herself.’
- b. Zhangsan_i renwei wo/ni_j zhidao Wangwu_k xihuan *ziji*_{*i/*j/k}.
 Zhangsan think I/you know Wangwu like self
 ‘Zhangsan thinks I/you know Wangwu likes
 him/*me/*you/himself.’

(Cole, Hermon and Huang, 2006)

In (14a), *Zhangsan*, *Lisi* and *Wangwu* are 3rd person and are all available as antecedents of *ziji*. In (14b), the matrix subject *Zhangsan* and the intermediate subjects *wo* or *ni* differ in person, *Zhangsan* being 3rd person and *wo* 1st person, while *ni* is 2nd person. This configuration prohibits the reflexive *ziji* from getting bound by the matrix subject *Zhangsan*; the intermediate subject (*wo* or *ni*) itself is not admissible as an antecedent either. This phenomenon is referred to as the *blocking effect*.³⁰

Intervention of a 2nd or 1st person pronoun blocks the LDB of *ziji* even when these pronouns are in a non-subject position (see Huang and Tang 1991, and also Giblin 2016). This is illustrated in (15) (note that in fact the non-subject *Lisi* in (15a) is able to bind *ziji*, see the further discussion below):

- (15) a. Zhangsan_i renwei Lisi_j de jiao'ao hai-le ziji_{i/j}.
 Zhangsan think Lisi of arrogance harm-Perf self
 'Zhangsan felt that Lisi's arrogance harmed him.'
- b. Zhangsan_i renwei wo_j de jiao'ao hai-le ziji_{*i/j}.
 Zhangsan think I of arrogance harm-Perf self
 'Zhangsan felt that my arrogance harmed *him/me.'

(Huang and Tang, 1991)

³⁰ It may be tempting to think that it is the mismatch between the higher subject and the lower subject, which results in blocking, but this cannot be the case since the following is fine (Giblin 2016: 43):

- (i) Wo_i renwei [Lisi_j hen ziji_{i/j}].
 I think Lisi hate self
 'I think that Lisi hates self.'

It has been suggested that the presence of a blocking effect correlates with an impoverished or entirely absent verbal agreement (see Cole, Hermon and Sung 1990, Cole and Sung 1994 for discussion). In Mandarin, verbal agreement is indeed absent. The same applies to Vietnamese. The question is, then, whether there is a blocking effect in Vietnamese as well. As we will see, there are restrictions on non-local binding in Vietnamese that are *prima facie* reminiscent of a blocking effect. However, there are also non-trivial differences with what one finds in Mandarin. This question will be among the main issues to be discussed later in section 4.4, after the introduction of the necessary technical background, specifically the use of Agree to represent anaphoric dependencies.

In all the approaches to non-local binding in Mandarin the blocking effect plays an important role. One type of approach is the syntactic movement approach proposed by Battistella (1989), Cole, Hermon and Sung (1990) and Cole and Sung (1994).

According to Battistella (1989), long-distance binding relation is obtained through the process of *ziji* successively undergoing covert head movement to INF/AGR at LF in satisfaction of Binding condition A (Chomsky 1981). In languages lacking subject-verb agreement such as Mandarin Chinese, INFL has no inherent person features contrary to INFL in agreement languages such as Italian or English. Thus, once the person features between the subjects clash, long-distance binding of *ziji* is blocked.

The head movement analysis was further developed by Cole, Hermon and Sung (1990, 1994). Like Battistella, they argue that long-distance

binding of *ziji* is implemented by successive movement of *ziji* from INFL-to-INFL. They argue that this process is governed by the Feature Percolation Principles, stated as follows:

(16) **The Feature Percolation Principles (FPP)**

- a. The features of the mother node and the features of the daughter nodes will be identical.
- b. If the features of the daughter nodes conflict, the mother node will have the features of the head node.

Under the view of FPP, INFL in every clause must agree with *ziji* at LF, otherwise there is an agreement crash, resulting in blocking.

Huang and Tang (1991) show that this approach in its original form faces significant empirical problems, among other things due to the fact that it cannot explain how non-subjects may nevertheless cause blocking as in (15) above and in fact can occur as antecedents of *ziji*.

The movement approach also faces technical problems that are internal to the framework (see Reinhart and Reuland 1991), and are less relevant for present purposes. A crucial problem facing the original movement approach is that it assumes that *ziji* is monomorphemic, contrary to fact (see Reuland, Wong and Everaert 2020, Wong 2021).

Huang and Tang (1991) develop an account that provides an answer to the role of non-subjects in binding and blocking. To account for the pattern in (15), they propose that the c-command condition in binding

is too strong for Mandarin Chinese. Rather, it is governed by sub-command as defined in (17):³¹

(17) **Subcommand**

β sub-commands α iff:

a. β c-commands α , or

b. β is an NP contained in an NP that c-commands α or that sub-commands α , and any argument containing β is in subject position.

According to (17), the sub-commanding NP *Lisi* in (15a) can bind *ziji* since it is the most prominent animate subject contained in the c-commanding NP *Lisi de jiao'ao* 'Lisi's arrogance'. As is standard, long-distance binding of *ziji* by the matrix subject *Zhangsan* is not affected. However, the intervention of the first person pronoun *wo* as the sub-commanding subject in (15b) blocks *ziji* from being bound remotely by the matrix subject *Zhangsan*.

In elaborating their proposal, they develop a very intricate system, but it relies on the use of indices that violates the inclusiveness condition (see section 2.3.4), hence I will refrain from further discussing it.

³¹ Huang and Liu (2001:(80)) argue that in Kayne (1994)'s approach to syntactic structure, in fact no special definition is needed. Assuming that specifiers are introduced by adjunction, and that c-command is as defined in (i), then any specifier of X c-commands everything that X c-commands.

(i) X c-commands Y iff X and Y are categories and X excludes Y and every category that dominates X dominates Y.

Pursuing a different line, Huang and Liu (2001) propose that local binding of *ziji* is governed by a syntactic principle such as condition A of the CBT, but that non-local binding is governed by discourse conditions, which then are taken to account for the blocking effect. For instance, as they point out, when the speaker is uttering the sentence, using a 3rd person pronoun and pointing his finger to another person in a certain place, this will have an impact on reducing the binding scope of *ziji* to the local domain. See (18):

- (18) Zhangsan_i shuo ta_j qipian-le ziji_{*i/j}.
 Zhangsan say he/she cheat-PFV self
 ‘Zhangsan said that he/she cheated himself/herself.’

Thus, the use of the 3rd person pronoun *ta* deictically as indicated with “≥” prevents *ziji* from being long-distance bound by the matrix subject *Zhangsan*, resulting in the blocking effect.

Following Huang et al. (1984), Huang and Liu (2001) gives an account for the blocking effect based on a perceptual strategy. Accordingly, the long-distance binding of *ziji* is blocked due to the conflicting perspectives between the NPs, which can be made visible by rendering the sentence in the form of a direct discourse presentation, as illustrated in (19):

- (19) a. Zhangsan_i manyuan Lisi_j chang piping ziji_{i/j}.
 Zhangsan complain Lisi often criticize self
 ‘Zhangsan complained that Lisi often criticized self.’

- b. Zhangsan manyuan, “Lisi chang piping wo.”
 Zhangsan complained, „Lisi often criticized me.”
- c. Zhangsan_i manyuan wo_j chang piping ziji_{*i/j}.
 Zhangsan complain I often criticize self
 ‘Zhangsan complained that wo often criticized self.’
- d. Zhangsan manyuan, “Wo chang piping wo.”
 Zhangsan complained, „I often criticized me.”

Consider a sentence as in (19a), with *ziji* bound by *Zhangsan*. In direct discourse, it would be represented as in (19b), which is fine. Consider now (19c) with *wo* as its intermediate subject. Here *wo* can only be interpreted as the speaker of the whole sentence. Suppose we again convert *ziji* to *wo*, as in (19d). Under the intended interpretation *wo* = *Zhangsan*, we have two different occurrences of *wo* with two interpretations in the same clause. As they argue, “two instances of ‘I’ occurring in the same clause would be used to refer to two separate individuals [i.e., the speaker of the entire sentence, and the speaker of the embedded discourse]. Under such a situation the hearer is apt to be confused, and communication cannot be effective...” This, then, reflects a ‘clausemate condition’. However, as Wong (2021) shows, this condition is too strong, since also non-clause mates can induce a blocking effect, as in (20) (Wong 2021: Chapter 5:19):

- (20) a. Zhangsan_i renwei wo_j zhidao Wangwu_k xihuan zi-ji_{*i/*j/k}.
 Zhangsan think I know Wangwu like REFL-self
 ‘Zhangsan thinks that I know that Wangwu likes himself.’

- b. Zhangsan renwei, "Wo zhidao, 'Wangwu xihuan wo.'
 Zhangsan think, I know, Wangwu like me
 'Zhangsan thinks, "I know, 'Wangwu likes me.'."

However, if the condition is weakened, it should not be weakened too much since it is not the case that anything goes, given the absence of the blocking effect in (21):

- (21) Zhangsan_i zhidao na-ge zhu zai wo_j jia de xuesheng_k
 Zhangsan know that-CL stay at my house DE student
 xihuan ziji.
 like self_{i/*j/k}.
 'Zhangsan knows that the student who is staying at my house
 likes self.'

(Giblin 2016:113)

Here *wo* is too deeply embedded to give rise to a blocking effect. This indicates that a syntactic factor is indispensable. Finally, note that, such a pragmatic account cannot explain why some but not all languages show the blocking effect. These and other drawbacks also apply to a purely pragmatic account as in Y-Huang (2009, 2016) (see Wong (2021) for a detailed criticism).

In order to conclude this overview, worth mentioning is Pollard and Xue (1998) who make an attempt to integrate syntactic and pragmatic factors in giving an explanation for the blocking effect. Instead of making a theoretical distinction between locally and non-locally

bound *ziji*, they assume one element *ziji* but a division of labor between syntactic and non-syntactic binding mechanisms, in the sense that the latter mechanisms kick in when the former cannot apply. The main points of their proposal are stated as follows:

- (22) (i) An instance of *ziji*, *Z*, can always be anteceded by a potential binder *X* as long as there is no non-agreement blocker *Y* for *X*, *Z*.
(ii) An instance of *ziji*, *Z*, can be anteceded by an *X* which is not a potential binder only if certain non-syntactic conditions obtain.

In their approach, *Y* is a non-agreement blocker for *X*, *Z* provided: a. *X* and *Y* differ in either person or number and not both are third person; and b. *Y* is not the object coargument of either *Z* or the minimal clause containing *Z*. Their general takes on the division of labor between syntactic and non-syntactic interpretive procedures much in line with the perspective, for instance Reinhart and Reuland (1993) and subsequent works. In their implementation, they are less concerned with relating the details of their derivations to more primitive properties of the language system, as in the approach I will be exploring. Hence I will not discuss their approach in more detail.

All in all, the approaches I discussed all have their own drawbacks. In developing an analysis of anaphoric dependencies in Vietnamese, I will therefore pursue an alternative account elaborating the approach presented in Giblin (2016). Building on the works of Progovac (1992, 1993) and Reuland (2005, 2011a), Giblin proposes a syntactic account

for non-local binding and the blocking effect in Mandarin Chinese. Binding of phi-feature deficient anaphors such as *ziji* is established by forming an Agree-based dependency (Chomsky 2000, 2001, 2008; Reuland 2005, 2011a). More specifically, Giblin's approach uses the operation of Multiple Agree, as proposed by Hiraiwa (2001, 2005). A more detailed discussion of Giblin's approach will be presented in the following sections 4.2 and 4.3.

4.2. Multiple Agree

As discussed in Chomsky (2000, 2001), Agree is a syntactic operation. The appeal to its existence is justified by the fact that quite commonly in natural language different constituents share features. Technically, in Chomsky's implementation, Agree takes place between an element that is unvalued for some relevant feature (a probe) and an element that can supply such a value (a goal), and subject to the requirement that the probe c-commands the goal. The domain in which a probe can look for a value constitutes its search domain. Thus, the c-command domain of a probe contains its search domain. Such a probe and a goal are in a feature checking relation. However, the theory of Agree proposed by Chomsky cannot deal with cases where a multiple feature-checking operation occurs in Japanese such as in Raising to Object and Clefting (see Hiraiwa 2001, 2005; Ura 1996). Extending the theory of Agree, Hiraiwa proposes a theory of Multiple Agree in which a single probe can simultaneously agree with multiple goals in its search domain. Multiple Agree is characterized as follows:

(23) **Multiple Agree** (Multiple feature checking) with a single probe is a single simultaneous syntactic operation; Agree applies to all the matched Goals at the same derivational point derivationally simultaneously.

(Hiraiwa 2001, 2002)

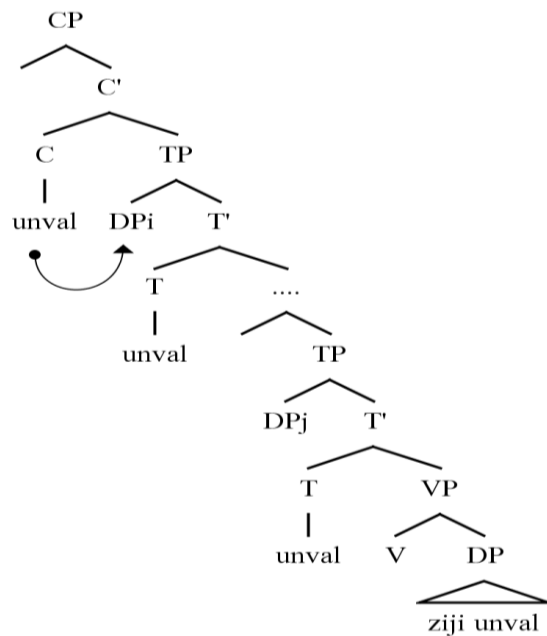
Since anaphor binding may include interpretive dependencies between one antecedent and multiple anaphors, Multiple Agree is potentially better suited for modeling it than the original Agree operation. Multiple Agree as defined in (23) possesses two characteristic features namely simultaneity and multiplicity. Whereas the former means Agree comes out at once at the same derivational point, the latter refers to the number of goals with which the probe can agree. According to Hiraiwa, in the case of Multiple Agree, the probe searches down its domain to match the highest goal then hold on until it matches all other possible goals and Agree applies at once. As mentioned in Chapters 2 and 3, Mandarin Chinese has an anaphoric element *ziji* that can be non-locally bound, as illustrated in (24):

(24) Zhangsan_i renwei Lisi_j hen ziji_{i/j}.
 Zhangsan think Lisi hate self
 ‘Zhangsan thinks that Lisi hates self.’

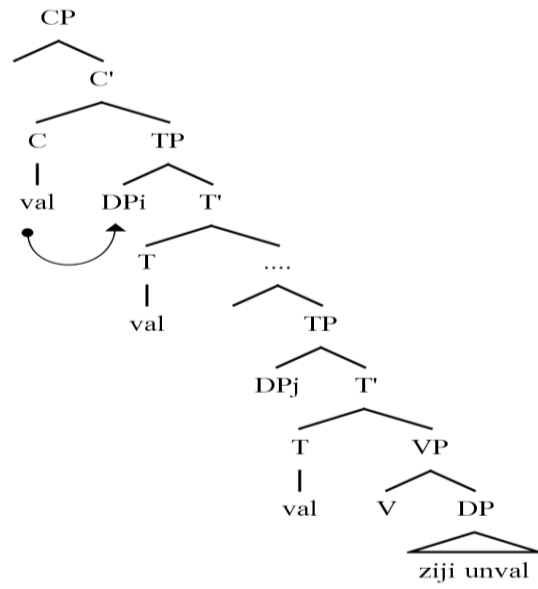
In accounting for long-distance binding of *ziji* in Mandarin Chinese, Giblin (2016) adopted Hiraiwa’s Multiple Agree and Progovac (1992, 1993)’s analysis of long-distance reflexives. Giblin assumes that there

is a matrix C^0 , which starts out unvalued for some relevant phi-features and looks for their values in its search domain. C^0 finds these values on the matrix subject and gets valued. Subsequently, the matrix T^0 and all embedded T^0 s receives these values from C^0 , hence indirectly from the matrix subject. The element *ziji* is feature deficient. Assuming that a subordinate TP contains an occurrence of *ziji* this element will agree with the embedded T^0 and share the relevant values. What results in a phi-feature dependency with the matrix subject, which is interpreted as binding. Hence, long-distance binding is accounted for. This operation is represented in the trees below:

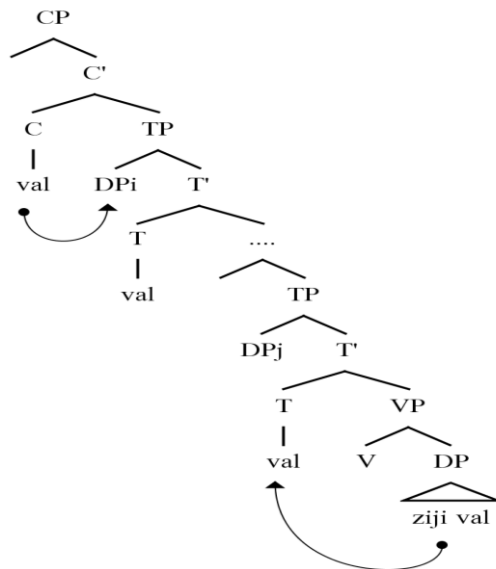
(25)



(26)



(27)



(Giblin 2016:141)

Summarizing the effect of each structure:

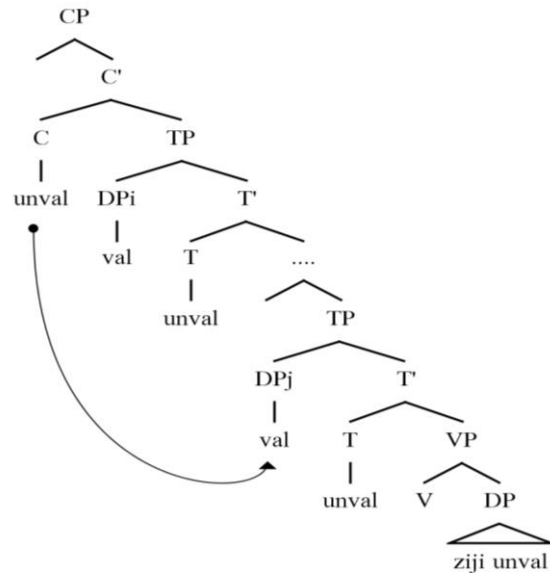
(25): The elements C^0 , T^0 and the reflexive *ziji* all start out unvalued for phi-features; the arrow represents the search operation of C^0 in its domain and finds the matrix subject DP_i which values C^0 .

(26): The phi-feature values from C^0 transfer to the matrix T^0 and embedded T^0 making them all valued, whereas the reflexive *ziji* is not yet valued.

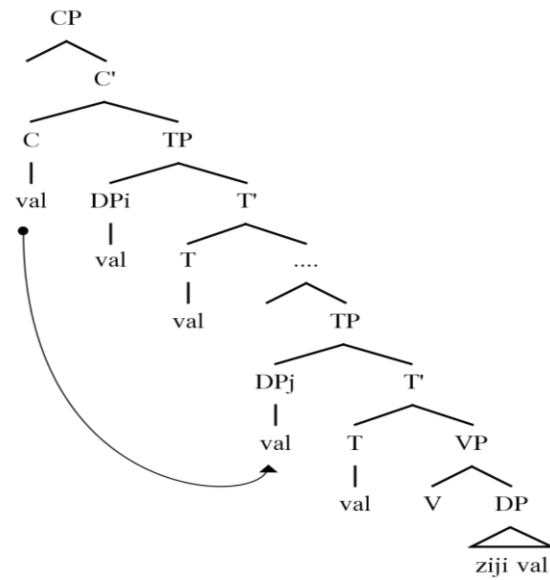
(27): The embedded T^0 bears the same value as the matrix subject, and is able to share these values with *ziji*, hence *ziji* ends up being bound by the latter.

Next, consider how Giblin's account accommodates the binding relation between the embedded antecedent DP_j and *ziji*. As assumed earlier, being in a Multiple Agree operation, the probe C^0 can check multiple goals in its search space; hence after matching DP_i , it can continue looking for a match with another goal; in (28) it finds one, namely DP_j . As we will see next, in order to avoid a crash, DP_i and DP_j must bear non-conflicting features. If so, one of these DPs will be used to value the features of the probe, from which the binding relation follows. If the matrix DP_i values the features of the probe, *ziji* gets bound by the matrix DP_i . Alternatively, if the intermediate DP_j values the probe, the latter will bind *ziji*. This option is represented in (28) and (29):

(28)



(29)



(Giblin 2016:142)

Summarizing (28) and (29):

(28): The elements C^0 , two instances of T^0 and the reflexive *ziji* all start out unvalued; the arrow represents the searching operation of C^0 in its domain and finds DP_j , which values C^0 .

(29): After C^0 gets valued by DP_j , both the matrix T^0 and the embedded T^0 inherit the matched features from C^0 . The features inherited from C^0 then pass down to *ziji*, which ends up being bound by DP_j .

4.3. The representation of person and the blocking effect in Mandarin

As already noted, non-local binding in Mandarin is subject to a restriction, in the form of the Blocking effect. Inspired by Reuland (2011a) and Progovac (1992, 1993)'s derivations, Giblin proposes an analysis of this effect, which I will summarize below, using (30) as an example:

- (30) Zhangsan_i renwei wo/ni_j zhidao Wangwu_k xihuan ziji_{*i/*j/k}.
 Zhangsan think I/you know Wangwu like self
 'Zhangsan thinks I/you know Wangwu likes
 him/*me/*you/himself.'

(Cole, Hermon and Huang 2006:23)

As (30) shows, *ziji* cannot be bound by a third person matrix subject NP like *Zhangsan* if there is a 1st or 2nd person pronoun such as *wo/ni* in the search space of the matrix C^0 . Note that this intervening element

need not be in a position that would make it a potential antecedent (see Giblin 2016:109) for details. Here I will restrict the discussion to the main features of the approach presented in Giblin (2016). It is based on the following conditions:

(31) **A Condition on Multiple Agree**

Multiple Agree can take place only under non-conflicting feature specifications of the agreeing elements.

In the light of (31), two arguments cannot have contrasting specifications for person when entering Multiple Agree; otherwise the sentence is ungrammatical. But it is possible for one argument to be fully specified whereas the other argument lacks a specification. Giblin's account of the blocking effect is based on the feature system for personal pronouns proposed in Béjar and Rezac (2009).

Béjar and Rezac make use of the semantic categories [+/-Participant] and [+/-Speaker]. Their proposal for the encoding of person feature specifications is formulated in the following table:

(32)

Person specifications

A: Person specifications			B: Shorthand 1>2>3		
3rd	2nd	1st	3rd	2nd	1st
[π]	[π]	[π]	[3]	[3]	[3]
	[participant]	[participant]		[2]	[2]
		[speaker]			[1]

As shown in (32), while π , representing *person*, is shared by all pronouns, the participant feature is only shared by 1st and 2nd person. 1st and 2nd person form a contrastive relation in that the 1st person is not only assigned a marked [+participant] value shared with 2nd person but also contains the marked [+speaker] value, which is absent in the 2nd person entry. Furthermore, the table expresses that the [+speaker] value will always go together with a [+participant] value.

Giblin's account for the Blocking effect now works in the following manner. Giblin proposes that the probe C^0 merged in the matrix clause is unvalued for a [+participant] feature and searches for a source to value it. The valuation operation of C^0 will be prohibited if it violates the requirement of Contiguous Agree (Nevins 2007).³²

(33) **Contiguous Agree** (informally)

There can be no interveners between P and x that are not in the domain of relativization that includes x.

Specifically, for the case under consideration, this amounts to (34):

(34) (Giblin 2016:147)

- i. The probe is relativized to search for [+participant]
- ii. A convergent derivation will occur when there are no unmarked values of [participant] that intervene between the

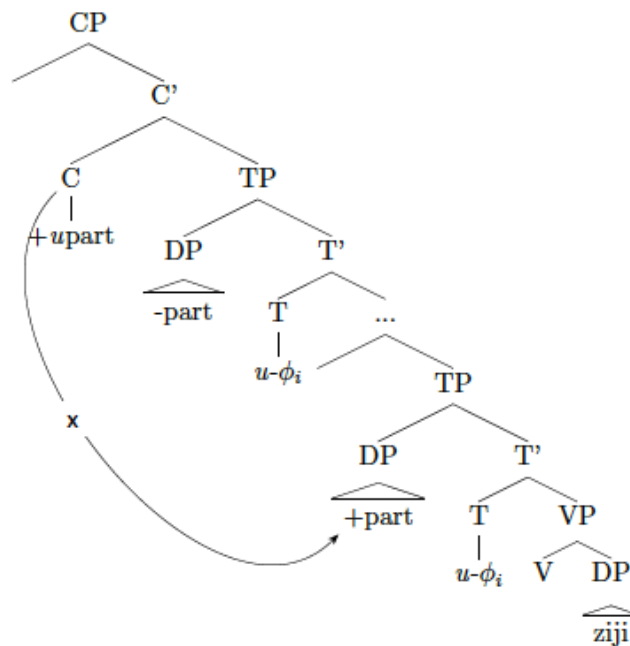
³² For sake of completeness, I quote these conditions here in full, as Giblin (2016:102) presents them.

Contiguous Agree (CA): For a relativization R of a feature F on a probe P, and $x \in \text{Domain}(R(F))$, $\neg \exists y$, such that $y > x$ and $p > y$ and $y \notin \text{Domain}(R(F))$.
Matched Values (MV): For a relativization R of a feature F, $\exists \alpha, \alpha \in \{+, -\}$, $\forall x, x \in \text{Domain}(R(F))$, $\text{val}(x, F) = \alpha$.

probe and the featural specification that it is looking for. That is, there can be no [-participant] DPs that occur between the probe and a [+participant] DP.

Let us see how this works. *i* is illustrated in (35) (Giblin 2016:54), where the intervention of the unvalued [-part] DP between the probe C^0 and the [+part] DP as the goal, which is a better match, causes a violation of Contiguous Agree. Hence, the derivation crashes, which is indicated by the star. Crucially, the [+part] feature is shared by 1st and 2nd person pronominals. Hence its role in the derivation entails that both 1st and 2nd person pronominals cause a blocking effect.

(35)



The Contiguous Agree constraint works effectively in dealing with the fact that blocking can be caused by interveners that are not themselves possible binders, an issue that is problematic for other approaches.

4.4. The main features of Vietnamese compared with Mandarin

As we saw in Chapters 2 and 3, the anaphor *mình* not only allows non-local subjects as possible antecedents but may also receive a speaker interpretation from the discourse. The question is, how to derive the speaker interpretation when a first person pronoun is not present in the sentence. Vietnamese also shows an intervention effect on non-local anaphora, which *prima facie* may seem reminiscent of the blocking effect in Mandarin. However, once considered in detail, it shows significant differences. As a starting point of the more formal discussion, let me summarize here the main facts that will have to be accounted for:

- i. *Mình* can take non-local antecedents.
- ii. *Mình* always allows a speaker interpretation.
- iii. *Mình* is subject-oriented, but like Mandarin *ziji* it also allows a sub-commanding antecedent as defined in (17).
- iv. Access to a non-local antecedent by *mình* is blocked in certain configurations.

The first and second properties are illustrated in the following examples:

- (36) $Nó_i$ $tưởng$ Mai_j $đến$ $thăm$ $mình_{i/*j/sp}$.
 3sg suppose Mai come visit body
 ‘He/she supposed that Mai came to visit him/her/*herself/me.’
- (37) [$Bà$ $ấy$] $_i$ $không$ tin $mình_{i/sp}$ $có$ $thể$ $làm$ $điều$ $đó$.
 kin.grandma DEM NEG believe body MOD do thing DEM
 ‘She did not believe that she/I could do it.’

In (36), *mình* may take the singular 3rd person pronoun *nó* as its antecedent or the speaker as its value. Local binding of *mình* by the proper name *Mai* is ruled out as a locality violation. Example (37) shows that the anaphor *mình* is licit as an embedded subject. In this position it can be bound by the matrix subject NP *bà ấy* or it may refer to the speaker from discourse. This property distinguishes Vietnamese from languages like Icelandic and English, and many others in which nominative anaphors are not allowed. Following the reasoning of Anagnostopoulou and Everaert (1996), the presence of the nominative anaphor in Vietnamese stems from the fact that Vietnamese lacks verbal inflection for phi-features, thus *mình* can be licensed at [Spec, IP]³³.

The possibility of *mình* being bound by an antecedent outside its local domain is similar to *ziji* in Chinese and to long-distance reflexives in many other languages. However, there is a contrast with Mandarin in that *mình* never gets bound to the local antecedent, unless there is the reflexive marker *tr*, as discussed in Chapter 3 section 3.1.

³³ This generalization also holds in other non-agreement languages such as Mandarin Chinese and Japanese (Anagnostopoulou and Everaert 1996).

As shown in (38), *mình* can also be non-locally bound when it is in an adjunct clause. Here *mình* can be bound by either *Hùng* in the adjunct clause or *John* in the main clause. This indicates that the adjunct clause has undergone fronting; the relevant configuration for binding obtains by reconstruction to a position where *John* c-commands the clause (see Reuland and Avrutin, 2005). This is significant since it shows that adjuncts in Mandarin are not islands for Agree (see Boskovic 2007). The example also shows that such fronting blocks the availability of the speaker interpretation. This issue will be taken up in the next chapter.

- (38) Bởi vì Hùng_j nói Mary chỉ trích mình_{i/j}, nên John_i
 Because Hung say Mary criticize body, so John
 thấy buồn.
 feel sad
 ‘Because Hung said that Mary criticized Hung/John, so John
 felt sad.’

For Mandarin shown in (39), *ziji* not only allows non-local subjects such as *Lisi* and *Zhangsan* as antecedents, but also the local-subject *Wangwu*, since unlike *mình*, *ziji* is complex and licenses reflexivity, along the lines discussed in Chapter 2.

- (39) Zhangsan_i renwei Lisi_j zhidao Wangwu_k xihuan ziji_{i/j/k}.
 Zhangsan think Lisi know Wangwu like self
 ‘Zhangsan thinks Lisi knows Wangwu likes him/himself.’

LDB of reflexives in adjunct clauses can be found in Chinese as well. This is illustrated in (40) where *ziji* in the adjunct clause has *Zhangsan* in the matrix sentence as its antecedent. Here too, binding is licensed under the assumption that the adjunct clause reconstructs to a position in the domain of *Zhangsan*.

- (40) Lisi lai baifang ziji de shihou
 Lisi come visit self REL moment,
 Zhangsan_i zheng zai zuofan.
 Zhangsan now at cook
 ‘When Lisi came to visit him_i, Zhangsan_i was cooking.’
 (Mei, 2015:23)

Mình also occurs as a possessive anaphor. As such, it has the same binding possibilities as when it is the complement of a verb.

- (41) Nam_i biết người đàn ông_j rất quý mẹ của mình_{i/j/sp}.
 Nam know CL man very like mother of body
 ‘Nam knew that the man liked his/my mother very much.’

In (41), since *mình* is contained within the possessive phrase *mẹ của mình* ‘mother of body’, it is not an argument of the predicate *quý* ‘like’. As a result, condition B is not violated and *mình* can be bound by the local subject *người đàn ông* without additional licensing being necessary. As expected, possessive *mình* may also be long-distance bound, here by the matrix subject *Nam* or valued as the speaker.

Like long-distance reflexives in other languages, *mình* also shows subject orientation (see also Fukuda 2005, Ivan and Bui 2019). Some illustrative examples are given below:

- (42) Mai_i kể với Nam_j chuyện của mình_{i/*j/sp}.
 Mai tell with Nam story of body
 ‘Mai told Nam her/my story.’
- (43) Hùng_i kể với Mai_j là mình_{i/*j/sp} đã giành được
 Hung tell with Mai COMP body PST attain
 huy chương vàng.
 medal golden
 ‘Hung told Mai that he/I has won the golden medal.’

In (42) and (43) *mình* allows the subjects *Mai* and *Hùng* respectively as its antecedents, but excludes the objects *Nam* in (42) and *Mai* in (43). This supports the generalization of Pica (1987) that typical LDB reflexives are subject-oriented.

In this aspect, Vietnamese is like Mandarin where *ziji* also only allows subjects as antecedents, see (44):

- (44) Wangwu_i shuo Zhangsan_j zengsong gei Lisi_k yipian guanyu
 Wangwu say Zhangsan give to Lisi one about
 ziji_{i/j/*k} de wenzhang.
 self de article
 ‘Wangwu says Zhangsan gave an article about him/himself
 to Lisi.’

(Cole et al., 2001)

But note that in Vietnamese, in the right context, a speaker interpretation is available in these sentences as well.

As we saw in section 4.1.1 in Mandarin, long-distance reflexives may also take a sub-commanding subject as their antecedent. Binding by a sub-commanding antecedent is possible in Vietnamese as shown in (45), where *mình* takes the sub-commanding nominal *Mary*, rather than the full NP *bức thư của Mary* as its antecedent.

- (45) [Bức thư của Mary_i]_k cho biết Nam là người đã hại mình_{i/*k/sp}.
 CL letter POSS Mary give know Nam be person PST harm body
 ‘Mary’s letter has shown that Nam was the one who harmed
 her/me.’

The impossibility for the whole subject NP *bức thư của Mary* ‘Mary’s letter’ to qualify as *mình*’s antecedent is due to the fact that *mình* is never covalued with a non-human antecedent. A sub-commanding antecedent only comes into play in Vietnamese when it is a specifier within an inanimate subject NP (see Giblin 2016: 185, for a discussion of similar facts in Mandarin and a derivation of this pattern in terms of *cyclic agree*, Béjar and Rezac, 2009).

Like Chinese, Korean and Japanese, Vietnamese allows anaphors without an overt antecedent. As noted in Chapter 2, section 2.1.2 in the traditional descriptions of Vietnamese, *mình* was analyzed as a pronoun when it is used to address the speaker or the hearer from the discourse. The question is whether a linguistic antecedent is entirely absent, or rather covertly present in the structure. As indicated there,

one of the goals of my dissertation is to provide a unified analysis of *mình*. Let me at this moment limit myself to some examples, comparing Vietnamese (46) to similar expressions in Mandarin (47):

- (46) a. *Mình* có thể đến không?
 body.sp MOD come Q?
 ‘May I come?’
- b. *Mình* có thể đến không?
 body.add MOD come Q?
 ‘May you come?’
- c. **Mình* có thể đến không?
 body.3sg MOD come Q?
 ‘May he/she come?’
- (47) *Ziji*_{speaker/addressee} *zhidao hai wen bieren.*
 Self-N know still ask others
 ‘I/you myself/yourself know it, but I/you still ask others.’
 (Yuan, 2021:19)

Ziji in Mandarin may refer to the speaker and the addressee as determined by the discourse as in (47). Like *ziji*, *mình* can be valued as the speaker or the addressee when there is no antecedent available in the sentence as in (46a) and (46b). Furthermore, as in Mandarin and the other languages mentioned above, *mình* cannot refer to the third participant from the discourse as illustrated in (46c). However, unlike in Mandarin, the use of *mình* referring to the addressee is very limited. In fact, it only occurs in a very special context such as conversations

between husband and wife or when used to address someone intimately. All in all, its use as an addressee is not common, hence I will not discuss it any further.

Let me, as the final topic in this section, present a preliminary discussion of ‘blocking’ in Vietnamese. In sections 4.1.2, 4.2 and 4.3, I presented an extensive discussion of the blocking effect in Mandarin. We noted that also Vietnamese shows restrictions on non-local binding of *mình*. I will limit myself to the main differences between blocking in Mandarin and blocking in Vietnamese and defer a more extensive discussion to the next chapter.

In Vietnamese, only an intervening first person pronoun yields a blocking effect. This is illustrated in (48):³⁴

- (48) a. Nam_i nghĩ Hùng_j biết Mai tấn công mình_{i/j/sp}.
 Nam think Hung know Mai attack body
 ‘Nam thinks Hung knows Mai attacks himself/me.’
- b. Nam_i nghĩ mà**y**/bạn_j biết Mai tấn công mình_{i/j/(sp)}.
 Nam think 2sg/friend.add know Mai attack body
 ‘Nam thinks you know Mai attacks him/you/(me).’

³⁴ In Vietnamese even proper names and common nouns such as kinship terms and status terms can also be used to self-address (Pham 2002, Trinh and Truckenbrodt 2018), but in this chapter we limit our discussion to the first person pronoun only.

- c. Nam_i nghĩ tôi_j biết Mai tấn công mình^{*_{i/j}}.
 Nam think 1sg know Mai attack body
 ‘Nam thinks I know Mai attacks me.’

In (48a), *mình* can be long-distance bound by the third person antecedent *Hùng* in the intermediate clause or *Nam* in the matrix clause or it can be valued as the speaker. Similarly, in (48b), *mình* can have the 2nd person pronoun *mày* or the form *bạn* ‘friend’ in the intermediate clause as an antecedent, as well as the third person form *Nam* in the matrix clause. If the intermediate subject is *bạn* ‘friend’, the speaker interpretation is available as in (48a). However, if the intermediate subject is *mày*, this interpretation is not available. I will come back to this difference in the next chapter. Crucially, long-distance binding of *mình* is blocked in (48c) where the first person pronoun *tôi* serves as the subject in the intermediate clause. Here an intervention effect occurs and the anaphor *mình* can only take *tôi* as its possible antecedent. However, the absence of a blocking effect in the case of the 2nd person intervener constitutes an important difference with Mandarin. The question is whether this difference is just a marginal effect, or whether it bears on the very mechanism involved.

This blocking effect in Vietnamese and the issues it raises will be discussed extensively in Chapter 5.

To summarize, the data presented above show that *mình* in Vietnamese exhibits the canonical properties of a long-distance bound reflexive, which most typically include the property of being subject-

oriented. In addition, *minh* virtually always allows a speaker interpretation. This gives rise to the following question: How is the speaker reading syntactically encoded? This question will be solved in the next section in which I will introduce the performative frame proposed by Ross (1970) (see also Reinhart, 1983), and show how it works for Vietnamese.³⁵

4.5. The performative frame (Ross 1970)

Consider the following sentences:

- (49) a. Prices slumped.
b. Even Rodney's best friends won't tell him.
- (50) a. I promise you that I won't squeal.
b. I sentence you to two weeks in the Bronx.

(Ross 1970)

Elaborating Austin (1962) who distinguishes constative sentences as in (49) from performative sentences in (50), Ross (1970) proposes that every sentence is embedded under a performative frame: a covert syntactic structure containing a representation of the speaker, the hearer and a performative verb. The proposal is formulated as in (51):

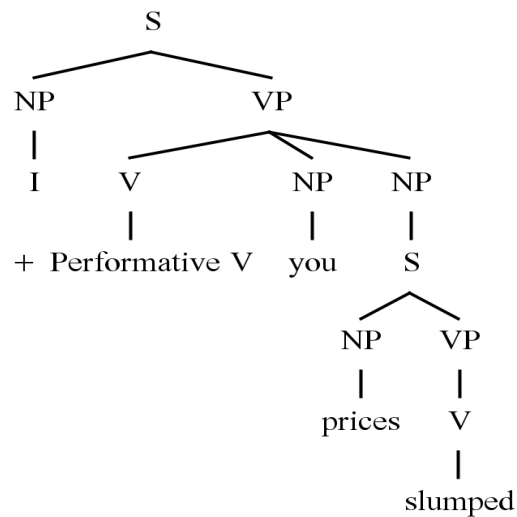
³⁵ Note that my proposal bears some similarity to Trinh and Truckenbrodt (2018) in that these authors also employ Ross's performative frame. They use it to address a different issue; hence I will not include it in my discussion.

(51) **The performative analysis**

All declarative sentences occurring in contexts where first person pronouns can appear derive from deep structures containing one and only one superordinate performative clause whose main verb is a verb of saying.

Ross uses the term *deep structure*, which is currently no longer in use, but refers to a structural representation of a sentence before movement and deletion operations. He proposes that a sentence like (49a) will have a deep structure as in (52).

(52)



(52) contains a performative frame “I - performative V - you” as the highest clause. In Ross’s analysis, this frame is subsequently deleted. In more current terms one would say that the elements of the frame are

syntactically represented but are not realized at PF (Phonological Form). This is the form in which I will adopt it.

To demonstrate the syntactic visibility of the performative frame, Ross provides thirteen arguments in English, among which seven arguments are dedicated to postulating a higher subject NP *I*; three further arguments are to prove that verbs in the silent clause must be verbs of saying with the feature composition [+communication, +linguistic, +declarative]; and the other three arguments are to provide the evidence for a 2nd person indirect object.

Let us revisit some arguments that are of relevance to our later discussion. The first argument I would like to relate to is the existence of the 1st person subject in the hidden clause when the visible clause contains picture-NPs such as picture of oneself, story or portrayal of oneself, etc. The argument is based on a similarity between the sentences in (53) and (54):

- (53) a. Tad knew that it would be a story about himself
 b. Mike will not believe that this is a photograph of himself.
 c. I promised Omar that it would be a poem about himself.

(Ross, 1970)

- (54) a. This is a picture of myself.
 b. (I V_{told} you) this is a picture of myself.

The sentences in (53) feature a construction in which the reflexive pronoun *himself* embedded in a picture-NP can refer to the NP in the

higher clause and *himself* is anaphoric. If the performative analysis is adopted, the fact that *myself* in (54) is licit without an overt antecedent can be accommodated, given that there is in fact an antecedent, namely the 1st person subject of the silent higher clause.

An argument for a silent 2nd person antecedent is provided by the contrast in (55):

- (55) a. Kick yourself.
 b. *Kick themselves.

In order to capture this contrast, the structure must contain an element that may serve as antecedent for *yourself*, but not for *themselves*.

Furthermore, according to Ross, the silent verb must be a verb of saying which bears the features [+communication, +linguistic, +declarative]; otherwise, the sentence is ungrammatical. See (56):

- (56) Tom_i said/declared/asserted/*laughed/*groaned/*snorted that
 Ann could swim, but nobody believed him_i.

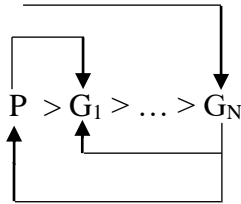
Thus, Ross's performative analysis expresses that there is a silent performative clause in the highest position in every declarative sentence. This approach will shed light on the Vietnamese data when we start our analysis in the following section, be it that I will qualify it and assume that the performative frame is optional.

4.6. Ingredients of my analysis

4.6.1. A Multiple Agree account of the binding of the anaphor *mình*

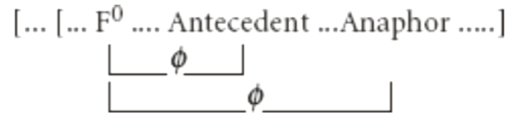
As discussed in section 4.2, Multiple Agree (Hiraiwa 2002, 2005) expresses that a single probe has the ability to agree with multiple goals derivationally simultaneously. The formulation is repeated in (57):

(57) Multiple Agree (P, v G)



As discussed in section 4.3, Giblin (2016) provides an account of non-local binding of Mandarin *ziji* including the blocking effect based on chain formation by Multiple Agree, and subject to the contiguity requirement on chain links expressed by Nevins (2007)'s Contiguous Agree condition. Like Mandarin Chinese, Vietnamese has no overt morphological agreement. This means that the phi-features of the specifier of TP will not be inherited from a T. Following Giblin (also see Miyagawa 2010, Chomsky 2008), we assume that the core binding pattern in Vietnamese can be represented as in (58):

(58)



More specifically, F^0 can be equated with a silent phi-deficient C, which probes for relevant features, finds these in the nearest subject in its c-command domain, and shares them with a phi-deficient anaphor in its domain (with both the subject and the anaphor technically serving as goals). To accommodate long-distance binding, Giblin assumes that the dependency between F^0 and elements lower in the structure is not blocked by intervening complementizers and other phase boundaries (see also Bošković 2007). I will make the same assumption for Vietnamese.

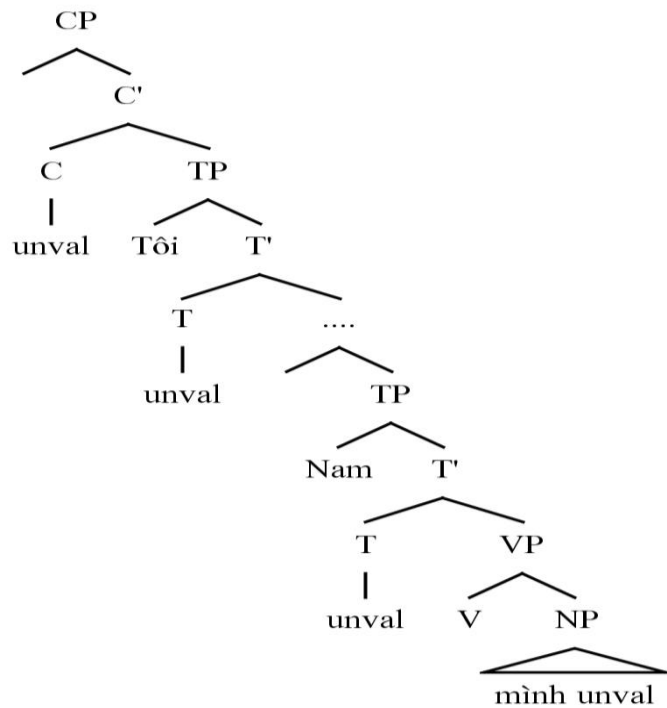
In Chapter 2 section 2.1.2, we saw that, *mình* can have a speaker interpretation aside from the other possible interpretations it may receive. Let us then taken (59) as a starting point.

- (59) *Tôi_i biết Nam_j khen mình_{i/*j}.*
 1sg know Nam praise body.
 ‘I know that Nam praised me.’

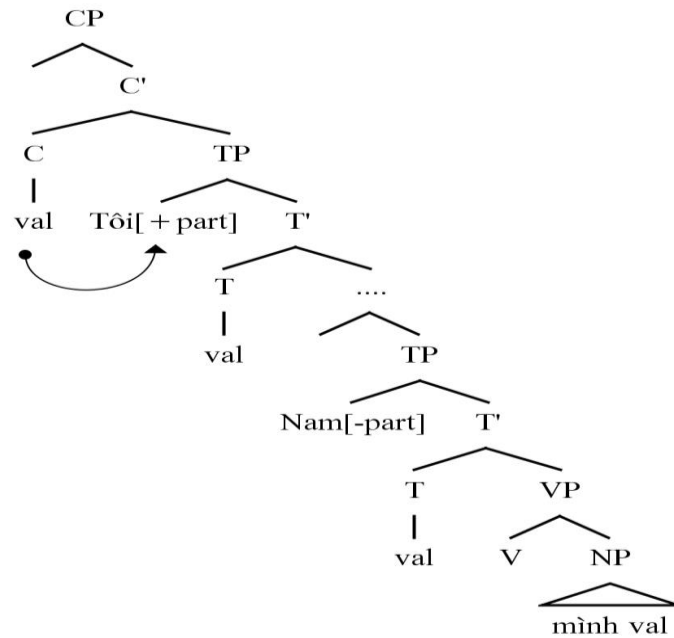
In (59), *mình* can get long-distance bound by the matrix subject *tôi*, which being 1st person represents the speaker. As discussed in Chapters 2 and 3 the local subject *Nam* is not available since reflexivity is not licensed. Our analysis will follow Giblin (2016)’s approach to Mandarin, yet slightly changed. While in Mandarin there

is a matrix C^0 looking for a [+participant] feature to value, in Vietnamese its search is more restricted, namely to an [+author] feature). I also assume that *mình* is unvalued for person features. The link with the antecedent is provided by the complementizer C^0 as illustrated in (60) and (61):

(60)



(61)



C^0 starts out as unvalued for person features shown in (60) and looks for a [+author] feature. C^0 finds the [+author] feature in the 1st person subject in its domain, which carries that feature (the NP *tôi* 'I' in (60)). By Multiple Agree, it is valued for that feature and shares it with the T projections including the matrix T and embedded T and also with *mình*. The resulting feature chain then yields the 1st person interpretation of *mình*. *Nam* is not available as an antecedent, since reflexivity would not be licensed.

Next, consider the structure in (62):

- (62) Nam_i khen $mình_{*i/sp}$.
 Nam praise body
 ‘Nam praises me.’

Even though no 1st person pronoun is realized, *mình* in (62) gets a 1st person interpretation. The question is how this interpretation is assigned. In fact, the availability of this interpretation follows straightforwardly, if we adopt the performative hypothesis. As noted, I assume that every sentence optionally (optionally, for reasons to be discussed in the next chapter) contains a syntactically expressed but silent, first person pronoun as the subject of a silent verb of saying or thinking (and a silent second person object, which I will not discuss), as illustrated in (63):

- (63) (C^0 $Tôi_{sp}$ $kể$) Nam_i khen $mình_{*i/sp}$.
 (C^0 1sg tell) Nam praise body
 ‘(I’m telling that) Nam praised me.’

The interpretation of *mình* as a speaker now follows on the same footing as in (62). Here too I assume that there is a matrix C^0 whose values are shared with *mình* through Multiple Agree. Within the silent performative frame the C^0 is valued by the first person pronoun and shares its value with T and *mình* in its domain, just as in overt case of (60) and (61). This, then, accounts for the availability of a speaker interpretation in the absence of an overt 1st person antecedent.

Now let us turn to another relevant issue. As discussed in Chapter 3 section 3.1.1, in cases like (65), the presence of *tự* prevents the speaker interpretation from arising, in contrast to (64).

- (64) John_i nghĩ Nam_j khen mình_{i/*j/sp}.
 John think Nam praise body.
 ‘John thought that Nam praised him/me.’
- (65) John_i nghĩ Nam_j tự khen mình_{*i/j/*sp}.
 John think Nam self praise body.
 ‘John thought that Nam praised himself/*me.’

As noted there, this is due to the fact that *tự* enforces reflexivity resulting in *mình* being coargument bound. Interestingly, the same also holds for pronominals as in (66), kinship terms as in (67) and status terms as in (68):

- (66) a. John_i nghĩ Nam_j coi thường nó_{i/*j/k}.
 John think Nam disregard 3sg
 ‘John thinks that Nam disregards him/someone else.’
- b. John_i nghĩ Nam_j tự coi thường nó_{*i/j}.
 John think Nam self disregard 3sg
 ‘John thinks that Nam disregards himself.’
- (67) a. John_i nghĩ Nam_j ngưỡng mộ [em ấy]_{i/*j/k}.
 John think Nam admire kin.younger DEM
 ‘John thinks that Nam admires him/someone else.’

- b. John_i nghĩ Nam_j tự ngưỡng mộ [em ấy]^{*i/j}.
 John think Nam self admire kin.younger DEM
 ‘John thinks that Nam admires himself.’
- (68) a. [Thầy John]_i nghĩ [thầy Nam]_j
 stat.male teacher John think stat.male teacher Nam
 trừng phạt [thầy ấy]_{i/*j/k}.
 punish stat.male teacher DEM
 ‘John thinks Nam punishes him/someone else.’
- b. [Thầy John]_i nghĩ [thầy Nam]_j
 stat.male teacher John think stat.male teacher Nam
 tự trừng phạt [thầy ấy]^{*i/j}.
 self punish stat.male teacher DEM
 ‘John thinks Nam punishes himself.’

In (66a), (67a) and (68a), the third person pronoun *nó*, the kinship term *em* and the status terms *thầy* respectively may take either the matrix subject as their antecedent or they receive a value from the discourse. The occurrence of the reflexive marker *tự* in the embedded clause immediately reduces the binding domain of these nominal categories to the local one, which is shown in (66b), (67b) and (68b). The fact that these nominal categories are locally bound in the presence of the reflexive marker *tự* indicates that in this domain the chain condition (see Chapter 2.3.2) is not operative. As mentioned in chapter 3 the simplest assumption is that this is due to the presence of *tự* serving as a barrier for probing, hence blocking chain formation. The details will have to be left to future research.

In the next section I will discuss in more detail the nature of the operation that *tự* performs.

4.6.2. An account of the reflexivizing effect of *tự* on *mình*, pronominals, kinship terms and status terms

In accounting for the reflexivizing effect of *tự*, we note that, structurally, the intervening and c-commanding *tự* ‘self’ has scope over the vP. The effect of *tự* on *mình*, pronominals, kinship and status terms is represented as follows, assuming, as is standard, that the subject has been moved out of the vP by quantifier raising, leaving a ‘trace’:

- (69) Nam tự khen mình.
 Nam self praise body
 [Nam [*tự* [_{vP} t_{Nam} [praise *mình*]]]]
- (70) Nam tự khen nó.
 Nam self praise 3sg
 [Nam [*tự* [_{vP} t_{Nam} [praise *nó*]]]]
- (71) Nam tự khen [em ấy].
 Nam self praise kin.younger DEM
 [Nam [*tự* [_{vP} t_{Nam} [praise *em ấy*]]]]
- (72) [Thầy Nam] tự khen [thầy ấy].
 stat.male teacher Namself praise stat.male teacher DEM
 [Thầy Nam [*tự* [_{vP} t_{Nam} [praise *thầy ấy*]]]]

The difference between (69), (70), (71) and (72) consists in the type of anaphoric expression. The structural uniformity indicates that *tư* imposes the same restriction on those nominal categories. I propose that the element *tư* serves as an operator like REFL shown in (73), which applies to a 2-place predicate R with R standing for a relation between atomic entities and generates a 1-place predicate over sets A of atomic entities:

(73) REFL : $\lambda R. \lambda A. \forall x \in A [R(x, x)]$ (see Keenan 1988)

The configuration for *tư* to apply is given in (74a). After applying Quantifier Raising, and rendering *minh*, etc, as variables (see Chapter 3 section 3.4), the result is a vP with two open positions. The effect of merging *tư* is that these open positions are identified as in (74b):

(74) a. $[\lambda x. \lambda y [{}_{vP} x [\text{praise } y]]]$
 b. $[\lambda x. \lambda y [{}_{vP} x [\text{praise } y]]] + tư \rightarrow [\lambda x [tư [{}_{vP} x [\text{praise } x]]]]$

In this form, the operation indicates that *tư* has a bundling effect in the sense of Reinhart and Siloni (2005), and does not yield a proxy interpretation. As discussed in Chapter 3 section 3.1.3, this is in fact correct. Unlike the complex anaphors found in other languages (English *himself*, Dutch *zichzelf*, etc.), Vietnamese reflexives based on *tư* do not allow proxy interpretations.

In summary, the element *tư* has the effect that it reflexivizes a predicate it is construed with. Consequently, once there is *tư*, the

anphor *mình*, as well as the other dependent expressions, are bound in their local domain, even though in the absence of *tu*, they allow non-local binding or even a discourse value.

4.7. Conclusion

In this chapter, I have presented a brief overview of the main issues raised by the phenomenon of non-local binding, primarily in Mandarin Chinese, including a sketch and an assessment of some of the main approaches. I described in some detail the approach developed in Giblin (2016). In particular, I focused on the blocking effect as a restriction on non-local binding in Mandarin. One difference between Vietnamese and Mandarin is the systematic availability of the speaker interpretation for *mình*. I showed how this can be captured by the assumption that Vietnamese sentences are optionally embedded under a syntactically visible performative frame. I pointed out that Vietnamese also exhibits a restriction on non-local binding that bears some prima facie similarity to the blocking effect in Mandarin, but also shows a potentially significant difference. I indicated that a detailed study of non-local binding and its restrictions will be offered in Chapter 5. I concluded this chapter with an analysis of the particle *tu* as a reflexive marker in Vietnamese.

Chapter 5

A Blocking Effect in Vietnamese

Many languages have anaphors that allow an antecedent beyond the local domain, but only some exhibit Blocking effect such as Mandarin Chinese (Y.-H. Huang 1984, Battistella 1989, Cole, Hermon and Sung 1990, Huang and Tang 1991, Sung 1990) and Malayalam (Jayaseelan 1997). To bring this discussion forward, I will explore the blocking effect in Vietnamese by answering to the following questions: What is the nature of blocking effects in Vietnamese? Could there be different factors leading to a superficially similar result? Can we subsume Vietnamese blocking effects under the same category as blocking effects in other languages?

In 5.1, I will investigate in which syntactic environments Vietnamese shows blocking effects. First, I will explore the properties of the blocking phenomenon in the language and then show how its manifestation in Vietnamese contrasts with its Chinese counterpart. As we will see, the conclusion will be justified that though being a non-overt agreement language like Chinese, the blocking effect in Vietnamese is not the same. Therefore, my investigation will not only present an interesting case study on the canonical blocking theory, but also shed light on the division of languages in terms of the correlation between agreement and blocking effects.

Section 5.2 will be dedicated to developing an account for blocking effects in Vietnamese. In Chapter 4 section 4.4, I have already shown

how the movement theories failed in accounting thoroughly for the blocking effect in Chinese and introduced Giblin (2016)'s approach to Chinese as a more promising solution for the problematic cases that the previous accounts still left. However, although Giblin's approach works well for Mandarin, we will see that it does not fully carry over to Vietnamese, as the blocking pattern for *mình* is distinct from that of Chinese *ziji*. Hence, an alternative account must be required. I will argue that unlike Chinese, the blocking effect in Vietnamese is not caused by a violation of Contiguous Agree with respect to the [participant] feature but by a violation with respect to the [+author] feature. In the end, then, the source for the blocking effect in Vietnamese will be closer to that in Mandarin than the differences would lead one to initially expect. The chapter is concluded with a discussion of the blocking effect as it arises with other nominal expressions such as kinship and status terms.

5.1. Blocking effects in Vietnamese

5.1.1. The properties of blocking phenomenon in Vietnamese

According to Cole, Hermon and Sung (1993) and Cole and Sung (1994), languages without Agreement are likely to induce the blocking effect and Mandarin is one of that kind. Similarly to Mandarin Chinese, Vietnamese does not have subject-verb agreement. Like *ziji* in Mandarin Chinese, Vietnamese *mình* also exhibits a long-distance binding relation with its antecedent that makes it worthwhile to consider from this perspective. As observed, non-local binding in

Vietnamese formally shows a blocking phenomenon. This is illustrated in the following examples:

- (1) Nam_i nghĩ $Hùng/bạn_j$ biết Mai thích $mình_{i/j/sp}$.
 Nam think Hung/friend.add know Mai like body
 ‘Nam thinks Hung/you know(s) Mai likes him/you/me.’
- (2) Nam_i nghĩ $tôi_i$ ³⁶ biết Mai thích $mình_{*i/j}$.
 Nam think 1sg know Mai like body
 ‘Nam thinks I know Mai likes me.’
- (3) $Tôi_i$ nghĩ Nam_j biết Mai thích $mình_{i/j}$.
 1sg think Nam know Mai like body
 ‘I think Nam knows Mai like him/me.’

In (1), the antecedent of *mình* can be the intermediate subject *Hùng*, the common noun *bạn* as the addressee, or the matrix subject *Nam*; *mình* may also receive a speaker value from discourse. In contrast, *mình* in (2) can only be coreferential with the intermediate subject, namely the first person pronoun *tôi* ‘I’, and binding of *mình* by the matrix subject *Nam* is blocked. Hence, a blocking pattern is indeed

³⁶ The choice of the first person pronoun *tôi* is for a neutral interpretation of the sentence. Aside from *tôi*, there are commonly two other first person pronouns, which have different contextual nuances such as *ta* ‘I’ implying the superiority of a figure (yet rarely used nowadays) and *tao* ‘I’ expressing a familiar usage between peers or of the elders toward younger individuals (Thompson 1965, Nguyen Tai Can 1975, Nguyen Phu Phong 1996, Nguyen Thien Giap 1998, Pham 2002).

observed. The blocking configuration in Vietnamese differs from that in Mandarin Chinese in that the second person pronoun does not serve as a blocker, as illustrated in (4):

- (4) Nam_i nghĩ mà_y³⁷ biết Mai thích mình_{i/j}.
 Nam think 2sg know Mai like body
 ‘Nam thinks you know Mai likes him/you.’

Furthermore, in Mandarin Chinese the intervening first person pronoun is itself ruled out as an antecedent, whereas it is licit in Vietnamese. Similarly to Chinese, an intervening third person NP does not serve as a blocker in Vietnamese as shown in (3). Here *mình* refers to the speaker realized as the first person pronoun *tôi* in the matrix clause, while binding by the intermediate antecedent *Nam* is also acceptable. Generally, as discussed in Chapter 4, *mình* can optionally refer to the speaker when there is no first person antecedent as in (1), repeated here as (5):

- (5) Nam_i nghĩ Hùng/bạn_j biết Mai thích mình_{i/j/sp}.
 Nam think Hung/friend.add know Mai like body
 ‘Nam thinks Hung/you know(s) Mai likes him/you/me.’

³⁷ Note that, unlike the case of the common noun *bạn* ‘friend’ used as the addressee shown in (1), the speaker interpretation is impossible in (4) when the second person pronoun is the intervening subject.

In general, there are two cases of the blocking effect in Vietnamese, which are given as follows:

- i. There is a blocking effect when a first person pronoun subject intervenes between *mình* and a more remote potential antecedent.
- ii. The blocking effect is also induced when a sub-commanding first person pronoun intervenes between *mình* and a more remote potential antecedent.

Case (i) is illustrated in (2) in which the intervening subject of the first person *tôi* triggers a blocking effect. The same pattern holds in cases where the predicates are various kinds of thinking and saying verbs such as *ngờ* ‘doubt’, *tiết lộ* ‘reveal’, *tin* ‘believe’, *hiểu* ‘understand’, *tưởng* ‘mistakenly guess’, *quên* ‘forget’. See (6), (7) and (8):

- (6) a. Nam_i ngờ là Hùng_j đã tiết lộ với mọi người
 Nam doubt that Hung PST reveal with everybody
 rằng Thu ghét mình_{i/j/sp}.
 that Thu hate body
 ‘Nam doubted that Hung revealed with everybody that Thu hated himself/me.’
- b. Nam_i ngờ là bạn_j đã tiết lộ
 Nam doubt that friend.add PST reveal
 với mọi người rằng Thu ghét mình_{i/j/sp}.
 with everybody that Thu hate body
 ‘Nam doubted that you revealed with everybody that Thu hated himself/you/me.’

c. Nam_i ngờ là tôi_j đã tiết lộ với mọi người rằng
 Nam doubt that 1sg PST reveal with everybody that
 Thu ghét mình_{*i/j}.
 Thu hate body
 ‘Nam doubted that I revealed with everybody that Thu hated
 me.’

(7) a. Nam_i tin Hùng_j sẽ hiểu rằng Thu
 Nam believe Hung will understand that Thu
 luôn muốn bảo vệ mình_{i/j/sp}.
 always want protect body
 ‘Nam believed Hung would understand that Thu always
 wanted to protect himself/me.’

b. Nam_i tin bạn_j sẽ hiểu rằng Thu
 Nam believe friend.add will understand that Thu
 luôn muốn bảo vệ mình_{i/j/sp}.
 always want protect body
 ‘Nam believed you would understand that Thu always wanted
 to protect himself/you/me.’

c. Nam_i tin tôi_j sẽ hiểu rằng Thu
 Nam believe 1sg will understand that Thu
 luôn muốn bảo vệ mình_{*i/j}.
 always want protect body
 ‘Nam believed I would understand that Thu always wanted to
 protect me.’

- (8) a. Nam_i tưởng Hùng_j đã quên rằng Thu
 Nam suppose Hung already forget that Thu
 lừa mình_{i/j/sp}.
 deceive body
 ‘Nam supposed Hung forgot that Thu deceived himself/me.’
- b. Nam_i tưởng bạn_j đã quên rằng Thu lừa
 Nam suppose friend.add PST forget that Thu deceive
 mình_{i/j/sp}.
 body
 ‘Nam supposed Hung forgot that Thu deceived
 himself/you/me.’
- c. Nam_i tưởng tôi_j đã quên rằng Thu
 Nam suppose 1sg alreadyforget that Thu
 lừa mình_{*i/j}.
 deceive body
 ‘Nam supposed I already forgot that Thu deceived me.’

The examples (6c), (7c) and (8c) show that the presence of an intervening first person pronoun *tôi* simply excludes long-distance binding of *mình* by the matrix subject *Nam*. By contrast, the intervening common noun *bạn* as the addressee in (6b), (7b) and (8b), like the 2nd person pronoun *mày* in (4), and the third person NPs in (6a), (7a) and (8a) do not trigger a blocking effect. Similar patterns hold for sentences in (9) and (10) where the matrix predicates are verbs of perception such as *nghe* ‘hear’ and *thấy* ‘see.’

- (9) a. Nam_i nghe Hùng_j tiết lộ với mọi người rằng
 Nam hear Hung reveal with everybody that
 Thu ghét mình_{i/j/sp}.
 Thu hate body
 ‘Nam heard Hung reveal with everybody that Thu hated
 him/him/me.’
- b. Nam_i nghe bạn_j tiết lộ với mọi người
 Nam hear friend.add reveal with everybody
 rằng Thu ghét mình_{i/j/sp}.
 that Thu hate body
 ‘Nam heard you reveal with everybody that Thu hated
 him/you/me.’
- c. Nam_i nghe tôi_j tiết lộ với mọi người rằng
 Nam hear 1sg reveal with everybody that
 Thu ghét mình^{*}_{i/j}.
 Thu hate body
 ‘Nam heard me reveal with everybody that Thu hated me.’
- (10) a. Nam_i thấy Hùng_j tiết lộ với mọi người rằng
 Nam see Hung reveal with everybody that
 Thu ghét mình_{i/j/sp}.
 Thu hate body
 ‘Nam saw Hung reveal with everybody that Thu hated
 him/him/me.’

- b. Nam_i thấy bạn_j tiết lộ với mọi người
 Nam see friend.add reveal with everybody
 rằng Thu ghét mình_{i/j/sp}.
 that Thu hate body
 ‘Nam saw you reveal with everybody that Thu hated
 him/you/me.’
- c. Nam_i thấy tôi_j tiết lộ với mọi người
 Nam see 1sg reveal with everybody
 rằng Thu ghét mình_{*i/j}.
 that Thu hate body
 ‘Nam saw me reveal with everybody that Thu hated me.’

These sets of sentences indicate that the predicates do not play a role in causing the blocking effect but the first person pronoun does.

As indicated in (ii), a sub-commanding NP of the first person also yields a blocking pattern. See (11a,b). However unlike in Mandarin (Giblin p. 45), in Vietnamese a 1st person pronoun in object position does not act as a blocker, as illustrated in (11c,d):

- (11) a. Hùng_i nghĩ tính kiêu ngạo của Nam_j đã hại
 Hung think CL arrogance of Nam PST hại
 mình_{i/j/sp}.
 harm body
 ‘Hung thought that Nam’s arrogance harmed him/me.’

- b. Nam_i nghĩ tính kiêu ngạo của tôi_j đã
 Nam think CL arrogance of 1sg PST
 hại mình^{*_{i/j}}.
 harm body
 ‘Nam thought that my arrogance harmed *him/me.’
- c. John_i nói với tôi_j là Nam ghét mình_{i/j}.
 John say with 1sg COMP Nam hate body
 ‘John said to me that Nam hates him/me.’
- d. John_i luôn nhắc tôi_j là Nam ghét mình_{i/j}.
 John always remind 1sg COMP Nam hate body
 ‘John always reminds me that Nam hates him/me.’

In (11a), *mình* may take the matrix subject *Hùng* or the sub-commanding *Nam* as its antecedent (see Chapter 4: example 45) or it may receive a speaker value from discourse. On the other hand, the presence of the first person pronoun *tôi* as the sub-commanding element in (11b) results in a blocking effect. Here, *mình* can only be bound by the first person pronoun *tôi* while its remote binding by the matrix subject *Nam* is ruled out. In (11c,d), however, the intervening *tôi* does not keep *John* from acting as an antecedent for *mình*.

Note that, as a subcase, blocking does occur when *mình* functions as a nominative anaphor. Consider (12):

- (12) a. Hùng_i nghĩ tôi_j sẽ thừa nhận mình^{*_{i/j}} đã chỉ trích Mai.
 Hung think 1sg will admit body PST criticize Mai
 ‘Hung thought I would admit that I criticized Mai.’

- b. Tôi_i nghĩ Hùng_j biết mình_{i/j} đã chỉ trích Mai.
 1sg think Hung know body PST criticize Mai
 ‘I thought Hung knew he/I criticized Mai.’

As shown in (12a), with the intervention by the first person pronoun *tôi*, binding of *mình* by the remote antecedent *Hùng* is blocked. By contrast, in (12b), when the intervening subject is a third person expression, namely *Hùng*, binding by *Hùng* as well as binding by the first person pronoun *tôi* are fine. Note, that this differs from what Gibling (p. 169-170) observed for Mandarin Chinese, where *ziji* in subject position is exempt from binding requirements and can have a non-local antecedent even in the presence of [+participant] interveners.

As in the cases discussed above, long-distance binding of *mình* as a possessor is blocked as well when a first person pronoun intervenes. Consider (13):

- (13) Nam_i nghĩ tôi_j biết Thu_k thích khu vườn của mình_{*i/j/k}.
 Nam think 1sg know Thu like garden POSS body
 ‘Nam thought that I knew Thu likes self’s garden’.

As illustrated in Chapter 4 section 4.4, *mình* as a possessor can be bound by the local subject. Therefore, in (13), *mình* may take the local subject *Thu* or the first person pronoun *tôi* as its antecedents. However, binding of *mình* by the matrix subject *Nam* is ruled out as a result of the blocking effect.

The question of how to accommodate both the differences and the similarities between the blocking effects in Vietnamese and Mandarin will be addressed and resolved in the next sections.

5.1.2. The blocking effect in Vietnamese

The evidence presented so far shows that whatever causes the blocking effect shows up differently in Vietnamese. As I will show one factor is that the blocking effect in Vietnamese is based on the [+author] feature rather than on the [+participant] feature. However as we will see there are two other factors as well. One is the optional presence of the performative frame, which accounts for the fact that *mình* can virtually always be valued as the speaker from the discourse. The other major factor, to be discussed in more detail in section 5.2, I hypothesize to reside in the optional merger of a complementizer in complement clauses.

In the previous section, we discussed possible combinations of third person subject NPs with lower subjects as potential interveners. Here, I will further examine the combinations of the first person pronoun *tôi/tao* and the second person pronoun *mày* as the higher subjects with the different options for lower subjects. See (14) and (15):

- (14) a. Tôi_i biết nó_j tin Hà không ghét mình_{i/j}.
 1sg know 3sg believe Ha NEG hate body
 ‘I knew he believed that Ha did not hate self.’
 =>1>3

b. Tao_i biết mà_y_j nghĩ Hà không ghét mình_{i/j}.
 1sg know 2sg think Ha NEG hate body
 ‘I knew you thought that Ha did not hate self.’
 =>1>2

c. Tôi_i nói tôi_i nghĩ Hà không ghét mình_i
 1sg say 1sg think Ha NEG hate body
 ‘I said I thought that Ha did not hate self.’
 =>1>1

(15) a. Mà_y_i biết nó_j nói Hà không tin
 2sg know 3sg say Ha NEG believe
 vào mình_{i/j}/_{*sp}.
 in body
 ‘You knew he said that Ha had no confidence in self.’
 =>2>3

b. Mà_y_i nói mà_y_i tin Hà không ghét mình_i/_{*sp}.
 2sg say 2sg believe Ha NEG hate body
 ‘You said you believed that Ha did not hate self.’
 =>2>2

c. Mà_y_i nói tao_j tin Hà không ghét mình_{*i/j}.
 2sg say 1sg believe Ha NEG hate body
 ‘You said I believed that Ha did not hate self.’
 =>*2>1

The sentences in (14) and (15) show that there is a blocking effect only in the case of (15c) where the first person pronoun *tao* serves as the intervener and triggers a blocking effect. Note that (15a,b) deserve

attention in one other respect, namely that the speaker interpretation of *mình* is not available here, see the next section for discussion.

The difference between the blocking effect in Vietnamese and that in Mandarin Chinese is summarized in table 5.1 (based on the Vietnamese facts that we have established so far) and table 5.2 (representing the facts from Mandarin Chinese provided by Li 1990).

Table 5.1. The blocking vs non-blocking patterns in Vietnamese

Higher subject	Lower subject		
	1 st	2 nd	3 rd
1 st	Vacuous	LD allowed (cf.14b)	LD allowed (cf.14a)
2 nd	LD blocked (cf.15c)	LD allowed (cf.15b)	LD allowed (cf.15a)
3 rd	LD blocked (cf.2)	LD allowed (cf.1,4)	LD allowed (cf.1,6a,7a,8a)

Further properties:

- i. In Vietnamese the intervener that causes the blocking can itself act as an antecedent of *mình*.
- ii. A [+author] element in object position doesn't cause blocking.
- iii. *Mình* in subject position is subject to blocking.

Table 5.2. The blocking vs non-blocking patterns in Mandarin Chinese summarized by Li (1990)

Higher subject	Lower subject		
	1 st	2 nd	3 rd
1st	Vacuous	F	F
2nd	B	F	F
3rd	B	B	F

According to Li's clarification:

+ **F** stands for **Free**, that means the long-distance binding is allowed

+ **B** stands for **Blocked**, that means the long-distance binding is blocked

Further properties:

- i. In Mandarin the intervener that causes the blocking cannot itself act as an antecedent of *ziji*.
- ii. A [+participant] element in object position does cause blocking.³⁸
- iii. *Ziji* in subject position is not subject to blocking.

5.2. My analysis: The interaction of *mình* with the [+author] feature

In Chapter 4 section 4.3, I introduced Giblin's approach, which successfully accounts for many cases of the blocking effect in

³⁸ See Miyagawa (2017: fn. 8) for some interesting discussion, with some observations about variation.

Mandarin Chinese that earlier proposals did not cover. To recapitulate, in his implementation, the blocking effect arises when binding of *ziji* violates the Contiguous Agree constraint (Nevins 2007), namely there can be no interveners between the probe and goal that are not in the domain of relativization. Nevertheless, it seems that his analysis does not immediately extend to Vietnamese.

Informally, what plays a role as a blocker in Vietnamese is an intervening 1st person pronoun. Whenever an intermediate clause has a first person subject this element assigns the 1st person value to *mình* and blocks the binding of *mình* by more remote potential antecedents. Thus, one crucial difference between Vietnamese and Mandarin Chinese is that, in Vietnamese binding is based on the [+author] feature, rather than the [+participant] feature. I will then refer to the blocking effect in Vietnamese as **the author effect**.³⁹

In addition to this, as we saw in Chapter 3 section 3.1, *mình* cannot be bound in its local domain unless the reflexive marker *tr* is present and in Chapter 4, I already presented an analysis of non-local binding in Vietnamese. Building upon these chapters, I will propose an account for the blocking effect in Vietnamese in the following manner.

Let's first come back to the fact that *mình* may in principle be assigned a speaker value from the discourse. As discussed in chapter 4

³⁹ See also the discussion of the Ultra Strong PCC in Giblin (2016: section 4.4). As Iain Giblin (personal communication) notes, the Li (1990) data suggests that differently flavored probes are even available in Mandarin.

this is captured by the proposal that in Vietnamese sentences are *optionally* embedded under a silent performative frame (Ross 1970) which is visible to the syntax, including a silent 1st person subject. This entails that a sentence such as (16a), with indices omitted may have the structure in (16b) with possible binding dependences, or the structure of (16c). It is the latter structure which gives rise to the availability of the speaker value for *mình*.

- (16) a. Nam nghĩ (rằng) Hùng biết (rằng) Thu thích mình.
 Nam think (that) Hung know (that) Thu like body
- b. Nam_i nghĩ (rằng) Hùng_j biết (rằng) Thu thích mình_{i/j}.
 Nam think (that) Hung know (that) Thu like body
- c. [Tôi_{sp} kể [Nam_i nghĩ (rằng) Hùng_j biết (rằng) Thu
 [1sg tell Nam think (that) Hung know (that) Thu
 thích mình_{sp}.]]
 like body
 (I told that)‘Nam thought that Hung knew Thu likes
 him/(me).’

As discussed in chapter 4 section 4.6.1, our general mechanism of syntactic binding is based on Multiple Agree. Thus, as in Hirawai (2005) and Giblin (2016)’s approach, one probe can agree with multiple goals simultaneously. The general structure of (16c) is as in (17). C⁰ is initially unvalued for the [+author] feature, and so is *mình*. Hence C⁰ probes for this feature. By assumption, the NP_{valφ} of the performative frame is 1st person and will contain [+author] as part of

its feature specification. If so, it will value C^0 . C^0 shares its value with *mình* by Multiple Agree, yielding (18). Chain formation is possible given that Vietnamese lacks an obligatory C^0 introducing subordinate clauses, in line with Giblin's assumption for Mandarin. Thus, the silent first person qualifies as the $NP_{val\phi}$ in (17), and *mình* is valued as the speaker, as in (18).

(17) [$C^0_{u\phi}$ [$NP_{val\phi}$ [$T^0_{u\phi}$..V.. [$T^0_{u\phi}$ *mình* _{$u\phi$} ]]]] \rightarrow

(18) [[$C^0_{val\phi}$ [$NP_{val\phi}$ [$T^0_{val\phi}$..V.. [$T^0_{val\phi}$ *mình* _{$val\phi$}]]]]]]

Consider next the alternative derivation. Under this derivation the silent performative frame is absent. So, the italic part of (17) is not silent and just corresponds to the initial part *Nam nghĩ* 'Nam think' of (16b). Here, *Nam* is valued for ϕ -features, but does not contain the [+author] feature. However, as discussed by Giblin, Preminger (2014) developed a theory of valuation in which the impossibility to achieve full valuation does not lead to a crash. Informally, it is possible to settle for a 'next best'. So, even if C^0 probes for an [+author] feature, if it cannot find this feature on the $NP_{val\phi}$, it settles for what it can find there, for instance, whatever represents a 3rd person feature.⁴⁰ Giblin develops this formally in terms of the feature structure for pronouns

⁴⁰ Iain Giblin (personal communication) suggests that it would be interesting to explore whether this would enable one to dispense with the performative frame. If the probe is an [author] probe perhaps it can default to the [author] valuation. Pursuing the implications of this idea will have to wait for another occasion, though.

proposed by Béjar and Rezac (2003, 2009) as mentioned earlier in Chapter 4 section 4.3 and repeated here as in (19):

(19)

Person specifications					
A: Person specifications			B: Shorthand 1>2>3		
3rd	2nd	1st	3rd	2nd	1st
[π]	[π]	[π]	[3]	[3]	[3]
	[participant]	[participant]		[2]	[2]
		[speaker]			[1]

In (19), the speaker feature stands for [+author] in our terms, and [π] is shared by all pronouns and, one may assume, also with other 3rd person expressions. Therefore, more precisely, what C^0 settles for is [π]. This feature will be shared with *mình* and binding obtains. This accounts for the options in (16b) where *Nam* binds *mình*. The question is now how to account for the option where *mình* is bound by the intermediate subject *Hùng*. A straightforward way to capture this optionality is to assume that the intermediate verb may optionally select for a CP. If so, the structure that allows the intermediate subject to act as a binder of *mình* is one in which its complement of an embedded verb is a CP with a C^0 with an unvalued [+author] feature and the same procedure applies to that CP.⁴¹

⁴¹ Note that the presence or absence of C in the relevant sense is independent of the presence of *rằng*, which is, then, not a complementizer in a syntactic sense.

The reading of (16b) where *Nam* is the binder is illustrated in (20). The matrix C^0 is merged. Upon merger, C^0 probes its search domain for the [+author] feature, does not find it but sees the 3rd person as a next best on the matrix subject NP *Nam* and gets valued. The T^0 projections inherit the [π] feature from C^0 and then shares it with *mình*, which leads to its being bound.

- (20) [$C^0_{u\phi \rightarrow val\phi}$ [$Nam_{val\phi}$ nghĩ Hùng biết Thu thích mình $_{u\phi \rightarrow val\phi = Nam}$]]
 Nam think Hung know Thu like body
 ‘Nam thinks Hung knows Thu likes him.’

To see how the alternative is derived where the intermediate subject is the binder, consider (21). Here the verb *nghĩ* ‘think’ is taken to select a CP with a C head. Let’s refer to this intermediate C as C_1^0 . Thus C_1^0 will have been merged in the intermediate clause. C_1^0 gets valued by the embedded subject *Hùng* and transfers its [π] feature to *mình*, which results in the interpretation of *mình* as bound by *Hùng*.

- (21) Nam_i nghĩ [$C_1^0_{u\phi \rightarrow val\phi}$ [$Hùng_{val\phi}$ biết Thu thích mình $_{u\phi \rightarrow val\phi = Hùng}$]]
 Nam think Hung know Thu like body
 ‘Nam thinks Hung knows Thu likes him.’

Note that there will also be a matrix CP, but one may assume that it cannot probe beyond the embedded C_1^0 due to minimality.⁴²

⁴² See Rizzi (1990) and see Zubkov (2018) for minimality as a constraint on probing.

Let us try to apply Giblin's approach to cases like (22), where the first person pronoun *tôi* intervenes. If we assign (22) the structure of (23) we have a configuration that violates Contiguous Agree, see Chapter 4 section 4.3. It would not be plausible to assume that Contiguous Agree would not apply in Vietnamese. Thus, under this structure *tôi* is a blocker. Since Contiguous Agree is violated, no Agree chain is formed, indicated by $*\rightarrow_{val\phi}$ in (23). Consequently, the first person interpretation of *minh* is not derived either.

- (22) Nam_i nghĩ (rằng) tôi_j biết (rằng) Thu thích mình_{*i/j}.
 Nam think (that) 1sg know (that) Thu like body
 'Nam thought that I knew Thu likes *him/me.'
- (23) [$C_{u\phi}^0 * \rightarrow_{val\phi}$ [Nam_{val\phi}} nghĩ tôi_j biết Thu thích
 Nam think 1sg know Thu like
 mình_{u\phi} * \rightarrow_{val\phi} = *Nam/*me}]]
 body
 'Nam thinks I know Thu likes *him/*me.'

However, unlike in Mandarin Chinese, there is another derivation, which does yield the intermediate 1st person as an antecedent. As we saw in the discussion of (21), Vietnamese has the option of merging an intermediate C. Consider again the sentence in (22) but now under the option of merging a C_1^0 as the complement of the verb *nghĩ* 'think' as in (24):

- (24) [C_1^0 _{uφ→valφ} [Nam_{valφ} nghĩ [C_1^0 _{uφ→valφ} [tôi_{j=+author} biết Thu
 Nam think 1sg know Thu
 thích mình_{uφ→valφ =+author}]]]
 like body
 ‘Nam thinks I know Thu likes *him/me.’

Under this option, *mình* is effectively valued by the intervening 1st person without a contiguity violation. Upon merger, C_1^0 probes its search domain for an [+author] feature and finds the first person pronoun *tôi*, which intrinsically bears the [+author] feature. C_1^0 gets valued, thus the complement T¹ and embedded T⁰s inherit this feature from C_1^0 and finally value *mình*. This configuration satisfies Contiguous Agree as there is no unmarked [author feature] intervening between the probe C_1^0 and the [+author] *tôi*. As a result, *mình* ends up having the author interpretation. Note that this derivation says nothing about the binding possibilities of lower subjects. We know that in (22) and (24) *Thu* is not available as an antecedent of *mình*, but this is due to the fact that it would give rise to a locality violation as discussed in Chapter 3. If the possibility of *tôi* as an antecedent in (24) is due to the optional presence of the complementizer C_1^0 , this would make us wonder what happens if the *mình* is further embedded, for instance as a possessive. If so, locality would not prevent *Thu* from binding *mình*. Let’s therefore consider the sentence in (25a). If complementizers can always be optionally inserted, one possibility is the structure in (25b).

- (25) a. Nam_i nghĩ (rằng) tôi_j biết (rằng) Thu_k thích khu vườn
 Nam think (that) 1sg know (that) Thu like CL garden
 của mình^{*i/j/k}.
 POSS body
 ‘Nam thought that I knew Thu likes self’s garden’.
- b. Nam_i nghĩ [C₁⁰ [tôi_j biết [C₂⁰ [Thu_k thích [khu vườn
 Nam think 1sg know Thu like [CL garden
 của mình^{*i/j/k}]]]]]
 POSS body]
 ‘Nam thought that I knew Thu likes self’s garden’.

In this structure, C₂⁰ is a minimality barrier for C₁⁰. Given our reasoning so far, mediated by C₂⁰, the local subject *Thu* should be able to bind *mình*, and in fact it does. This indicates that the analysis proposed is indeed on the right track. Note that the derivation of a case like *2 > 1 ... in (15c) with *mày* as the matrix subject is no different from the cases of *3 > 1 ... discussed here. Like a 3rd person matrix subject a 2nd person matrix subject causes a contiguity violation. But a merging an intermediate C licenses the 1st person interpretation of *mình*.

For sake of completeness, consider (26a) with *tôi* as the matrix subject. We may assume that the performative frame is absent as the first person pronoun *tôi* bears the [+author] feature as shown in (26b) and the derivation proceeds as in the case of (16c). C⁰ is merged and gets valued by the first person pronoun *tôi*. The [+author] feature from C⁰ is inherited by the matrix T⁰ and the embedded T⁰ that in turn values *mình* yielding the first person interpretation.

- (26) a. $Tôi_i$ nghĩ (rằng) Nam_j biết (rằng) Thu thích $mình_{i/j}$.
 1sg think (that) Nam know (that) Thu like body
 ‘I thought that Nam knew Thu likes me/him.’
- b. [$C^0_{=unval}$ [$Tôi_i=author$ nghĩ (rằng) Nam_j biết (rằng) Thu thích
 1sg think (that) Nam know (that) Thu like
 $mình_{i=author/j}$.]]
 body
 ‘I thought that Nam knew Thu likes me/him.’

As assumed, a C_1^0 with an unvalued feature can also optionally be merged in the intermediate clause as in (27). As in the other cases discussed, C_1^0 constitutes a minimality barrier for the matrix C^0 . It probes in its search domain and gets valued by the intermediate subject *Nam*. The T^0 projections inherit the value from C_1^0 and transfer to *mình*. As a result, *mình* can also take *Nam* as its potential antecedent.

- (27) [$C^0_{=unval}$ [$Tôi_i=author$ nghĩ (rằng) [$C_1^0_{=unval}$ [$Nam_j=val$ biết (rằng)
 1sg think (that) Nam know(that)
 Thu thích $mình_{i/j}$.]]]]
 Thu like body
 ‘I thought that Nam knew Thu likes me/him.’

The approach I am exploring also allows me to account for the occurrence of the author effect when the first person pronoun *tôi* is a subcommander, since it serves as a possessor as in (28a). The relevant options are shown in (28b) and (28c).

- (28) a. Nam_i nghĩ [[tính kiêu ngạo của tôi_{j=author}]] đã hại
 Nam think CL arrogance of 1sg PST harm
 mình*_{i/j=author}].
 body
 'Nam thought that my arrogance harmed me.'
- b. [C⁰_{=unval} [Nam_i nghĩ [[tính kiêu ngạo của tôi_{j=author}] đã
 Nam think CL arrogance of 1sg PST
 hại mình*_{i/j}]]]
 harm body
- c. Nam_i nghĩ [C⁰_{=unval} [[tính kiêu ngạo của tôi_{j=author}]
 Nam think CL arrogance of 1sg
 đã hại mình*_{i/j=author}]]]
 PST harm body

I will assume that a sub-commanding *tôi* is available as a target for probing. As a consequence, the configuration in (28b) violates contiguity, and under that derivation neither *Nam* nor *tôi* will be able to bind *mình*. An alternative derivation is available if the complement of the verb *nghĩ* 'think' is headed by a C₁⁰ as in (28c). It will be able to find *tôi* as a target, get valued and now bind *mình* without a contiguity violation.

This analysis also applies to the subcase of the blocking effect in which *mình* plays a role as a nominative anaphor. See (29):

- (29) a. Hùng_i nghĩ tôi_{j=author} sẽ thừa nhận mình*_{i/j} đã
 Hung think 1sg FUT admit body PST
 chỉ trích Mai.
 criticize Mai
 'Hung thought I would admit that I criticized Mai.'

- b. [$C^0_{=unval}$ [Hùng_i nghĩ [tôi_{j=author} sẽ thừa nhận [mình_{*i/*j}
 Hung think 1sg FUT admit body
 đã chỉ trích Mai]]]
 PST criticize Mai
- c. [Hùng_i nghĩ [$C^0_{=unval}$ [tôi_{j=author} sẽ thừa nhận [mình_{*i/j}
 Hung think 1sg FUT admit body
 đã chỉ trích Mai]]]]]
 PST criticize Mai

The derivation will proceed as in the other cases we discussed. In the case of (29b), there will be a contiguity violation, but in the case of (29c), with an intermediate C^0_1 , *mình* will be bound by *tôi*. Recall now that in this respect Vietnamese differs from Mandarin. In Mandarin subject *ziji* is exempt and not sensitive to blocking. The simplest assumption is that unlike what Giblin assumes for Mandarin, T^0 in Vietnamese has a residual phi-feature that enters in an agree-relation with *mình* in subject position, thus making it visible for probing and chain formation along the lines of the derivation given.

Finally consider the fact that in Vietnamese *tôi* in object position does not act as a blocker, while in Mandarin a [+participant] element does. In order to act as a blocker an element must be visible for probing. Consider then the configurations in (11c,d), repeated here:

- (11) c. John_i nói với tôi_j là Nam ghét mình_{i/j}.
 John say with 1sg that Nam hate body
 ‘John said to me that Nam hates him/me.’

- d. John_i luôn nhắc tôi_j là Nam ghét mình_{i/j}.
 John always remind 1sg that Nam hate body
 ‘John always reminds me that Nam hates him/me.’

To account for the pattern in (11c) it suffices to assume that the preposition *với* ‘with’ creates a domain that is opaque for probing, whereas the corresponding structure in Mandarin is not. The case of (11d) is perhaps less straightforward, but it suffices to assume that in Vietnamese oblique marked arguments carry a functional layer that protects them from probing.⁴³

This, then, derives the main patterns of non-local binding in Vietnamese.

Let’s now come back to two issues left open in Chapter 4. Both involve exceptions to the generalization that *mình* always allows a speaker interpretation. The first case is illustrated in (30a), repeating (38) in Chapter 4:

⁴³ Ideally one would like to find independent evidence for this assumption. As suggested by Iain Giblin (personal communication), perhaps the operation of AGREE in this case proceeds in some sort of phase-like manner. Suppose that, the phases have phi-features derived from the clausal subjects and it is these boundary features that are checked for contiguity. Multiple Agree is still allowed but the stops along the way are only phase-boundaries. See the Miyagawa (2017) for a discussion along these lines of Mandarin. Pursuing this idea would lead us beyond the scope of the current project, though.

- (30) a. Bởi vì Hùng_j nói Mary chỉ trích mình_{i/j}, nên John_i thấy buồn.
 Because Hung say Mary criticize body, thus John feel sad
 ‘Because Hung said that Mary criticized Hung/John, thus John felt sad.’
- b. [$C^0_{=unval}$ [$John_i$ thấy buồn [bởi vì Hùng_j nói Mary chỉ trích
 John feel sad because Hung say Mary criticize
 mình_{i/j}]]]
 body

The simplest way to account for the fact in (30a) that a speaker interpretation is absent is to assume that the presence of the performative frame that is needed for the speaker interpretation is incompatible with the configuration resulting from preposing the adverbial clause, for instance if they compete for the same position. So, this is the solution I will tentatively adopt.

The other issue is why the presence of a second person pronoun *mày* may block a speaker interpretation. See (31), after (48b) in Chapter 4:

- (31) Nam_i nghĩ mà_y biết Mai tấn công mình_{i/j/*(sp)}.
 Nam think 2sg know Mai attack body
 ‘Nam thinks you know Mai attacks him/you/*(me).’

On the other hand, kinship terms like *em* ‘younger brother/sister’, common nouns such as *bạn* ‘friend’ and proper names, with prima

facie the same interpretation, namely that of the addressee, do not, as in (32):

- (32) Nam_i nghĩ bạn/em_j biết Mai
 Nam think friend.add/kin.younger.add know Mai
 tấn công mình_{i/j/(sp)}.
 attack body
 ‘Nam thinks you know Mai attacks him/you/(me).’

This restriction has a rather different type of explanation. As discussed in Chapters 2 and 3, honorificity is an important factor in Vietnamese, and sentences must respect a certain degree of harmony in honorificity. The form *mày* reflects a high degree of informality almost rudeness, whereas *bạn* ‘friend’ is rather neutral, and also *em* ‘younger brother’ is more intimate than ‘familiar’. The high degree of informality expressed by *mày* does not match with the degree of esteem a speaker is supposed to have for herself. Therefore, the presence of *mày* is incompatible with the presence of the performative frame. Consequently, the speaker interpretation, which depends on the presence of the performative frame, is absent in (31). From the opposite end, a high degree of formality as one may find in status terms has the same effect, see (33).

- (33) Nam_i nghĩ thầy_j biết Mai
 Nam think stat.male teacher.add know Mai
 tấn công mình_{i/j/*(sp)}.
 attack body
 ‘Nam thinks you know Mai attacks him/you/*(me).’

Here the status of a teacher appears to be too high for compatibility with the performative frame.

I will conclude this chapter with a discussion of alternative forms of reference to the speaker, their role in blocking and what this tells us.

5.3. Forms of reference to the speaker and blocking

As we saw in Chapters 2 and 3, Vietnamese has a rich inventory of forms that can be used to refer to the speaker and the addressee. These include proper names like *Hùng* or *Mai*, kinship terms such as *anh* ‘elder brother’, *em* ‘younger brother/sister’, status terms like *thầy* ‘male teacher’, etc. My discussion here will be limited to expressions with a speaker role. There is a clear difference between such terms and pronominals. Pronominals are dedicated to a certain role. A form like *tôi* is always used for the speaker, never for the addressee or a third party. It is an important issue to what extent the use of non-pronominals in what one intuitively might understand in pronominal roles is just a free discourse-based use or somehow syntactically encoded. Interestingly, the blocking effect in Vietnamese may shed light on this issue. Under the account given, blocking is an effect that is intrinsically related to properties of feature chains, in the form of the contiguity requirement. If the use of non-pronominals in ‘pronominal’

roles would be just a free discourse-based process, one would expect that non-pronominals do not give rise to intervention effects. However, they do. As illustrated in (34), not only the first person pronoun *tôi* can serve as an intervener in a blocking configuration but also kinship terms, status terms and proper names that are used to self-address can produce the blocking effect.

- (34) a. Nam_i nghĩ anh_j đã biết Mai không
 Nam think kin.elder brother.sp PST know Mai NEG
 tin mình $_{i/j}$.
 trust body
 ‘Nam thought I knew Mai did not trust me/*him.’
- b. Nam_i nghĩ $thầy_j$ biết cái Mai
 Nam think stat.male teacher.sp know CL Mai
 tố cáo mình $_{i/j}$.
 denounce body
 ‘Nam thought I knew Mai denounced me/*him.’
- c. Nam_i nghĩ Hùng $_j$ biết Mai ghét mình $_{i/j}$.
 Nam think sp know Mai dislike body
 ‘Nam thought I knew Mai disliked me/*him.’

The contrast in (34a, b, c) shows that the kinship term *anh*, the status term *thầy* and the proper name *Hùng* referring to the speaker all induce the blocking effect, prohibiting long-distance binding of *mình* by the matrix subject *Nam*, leaving for *mình* only the speaker/author value. Since, clearly, these non-pronominals cannot have the value [+author]

feature intrinsically, they must receive it from the frame in which they appear. This presupposes a left periphery that is at least as rich as assumed in works such as Delfitto and Fiorin (2011), see the discussion in Reuland (2015), and which allows such elements to obtain a valued [+author] feature by being linked to the relevant position in the left periphery. Further pursuing this issue would lead me beyond the scope of this dissertation. It will therefore be left for future research.

5.4. Conclusion

In this chapter, I provided an account of the binding of *mình* and the blocking effect in Vietnamese. I took as my starting point the approach developed in Giblin (2016) for Mandarin. The differences between the binding patterns of Vietnamese *mình* in comparison with Mandarin *ziji* follow from the following factors:

- i. *Mình* is simplex whereas *ziji* is complex.
- ii. In Mandarin, C^0 searches for a valued [+participant] feature whereas the feature searched for in Vietnamese is [+author].
- iii. In Mandarin, only the root clause has a C^0 , whereas in Vietnamese a C^0 can optionally be merged to each complement clause.
- iv. Vietnamese allows the optional merger at the root of a performative frame containing a silent 1st person subject pronoun.

Vietnamese has a rich system of non-pronominal forms, including proper names, kinship terms and status terms that may receive a speaker value in interpretation. In addition, binding patterns may be influenced by a harmony requirement in terms of honorificity. Prima facie the blocking

effect in Vietnamese appeared to be rather different from that in Mandarin, but once considered in detail, it turned out that the basic mechanism is quite similar to that in Mandarin, the difference being largely reducible to the factors in (ii), (iii) and (iv) above.

Chapter 6

Summary and Conclusion

6.1. Introduction

In recent years there has been an increase in studies focusing on the issue of binding and coreference in Vietnamese. Prima facie the binding patterns in Vietnamese look rather different from the patterns in well-known languages like English that underlie the canonical binding theory (Chomsky 1981, 1986). In addition to pronominal elements and an anaphoric element *mình*, also proper names and common noun expressions such as kinship terms and status terms show pronominal characteristics. Honorificity features appear to play a much more significant role in the language. While *mình* can be non-locally bound, for coargument binding it requires the element *tự*. In addition, *mình* can virtually always be interpreted as the speaker in the absence of an overt 1st person antecedent. Non-local binding of *mình* is subject to a blocking effect that at first sight may seem similar to the blocking effect in Mandarin Chinese but is rather different in detail. While many of these facts have been discussed in the literature, a comprehensive picture is lacking so far.

The aim of my dissertation is to contribute to filling this gap including new issues that have not been introduced or discussed extensively in the previous literature. My work is inspired by the approach to binding presented in Reinhart (1983, 2006), further developed in Reinhart and Reuland (1993), Reinhart and Siloni (2005) together with the

minimalist program outlined in Chomsky (1995) and subsequent work, and elaborated in Reuland (2001, 2011) and Giblin (2016). I found that a number of facts may seem puzzling from the perspective of the canonical binding theory, fall into place when a distinction is maintained between binding and coreference, systematically employing syntactic tests to tease them apart.

This background allowed me to provide a distinctive and finer-grained analysis of binding of *mình* as well as binding of pronouns, common nouns used as kinship terms and status terms, and proper names. Two other prominently interesting issues that weave the rest of my dissertation are an inquiry into the properties of non-local binding of *mình* and the blocking effects, carrying out a systematic comparison with non-local binding patterns of the anaphor *ziji* in Mandarin Chinese.

6.2. Summary of the chapters

Chapter 2 introduces the anaphoric system in Vietnamese that not only consists of the anaphor *mình*, personal pronouns but also common nouns used as kinship terms and status term, and proper names. I include a discussion of the intricate properties of honorificity in Vietnamese. This chapter also shows the shortcomings of the canonical binding theory in applying to Vietnamese and it provides the theoretical background necessary to bridge the gap. Like reflexives such as *zich* in Dutch and *sig/seg* in Scandinavian, but unlike Mandarin Chinese *ziji*, *mình* exhibits the properties of a simplex anaphor in that it is mono-morphemic and just like pronominals, it does not reflexive-mark the predicate. These properties lead to the

possibility of *mình* being a long-distance bound and discourse-bound anaphor. Like *mình*, pronominals, kinship terms and status terms can also be bound. On the basis of ellipsis tests, I investigated the differences between binding of *mình* and of the other nominal expressions. I found that *mình* can only produce a sloppy reading (unless a speaker value is counted), whereas pronouns, kinship terms and status terms can yield both sloppy and strict readings. In contrast to these, proper names can only have strict readings, indicating that they cannot be bound but only corefer. An issue that has received considerable attention in recent years is the status of sentences with identical arguments (pronominals, proper names) in subject and object positions. As I showed, such expressions with identical arguments represent coreference only, not binding. As in other languages investigated so far, reflexivity must be licensed in Vietnamese. The element *tr* plays an important role in the expression of reflexivity. When the verbal particle *tr* has the vP in its scope, it also has the effect of enforcing reflexivity. I have explained how Vietnamese utilizes all three strategies reported in the literature (cf. Reuland 2011): protection, bundling and separation.

Chapter 3 provides more details on reflexivization, expanding on issues preliminarily introduced in Chapter 2. I show that reflexivization in Vietnamese may take place in the syntax, or more limitedly in the lexicon. Reflexivization by *tr* must be a syntactic process. *Mình* is classified as a long-distance bound anaphor and it is only bound locally in the presence of the reflexive marker *tr*. Pronouns generally obey binding condition B in the sense of Reinhart and Reuland (1993) and

yield reflexive interpretations only in the presence of *tự*, with an interesting pattern of variation among varieties of Vietnamese in the distribution of binding versus coreference (see also Bui 2019). I present an extensive discussion of kinship terms and status terms, and what allows these to behave as bound variables or referential expressions in ellipsis environments. As I show, match versus mismatch in honorificity features plays an intriguing role in the availability of the bound variable interpretation. Proper names are shown to comply with binding condition C in that they cannot be bound, but they can be interpreted coreferentially in the case of repeated names. Finally, I discuss that Vietnamese also employs some other markers of reflexivity such as the body-expression *bản thân* ‘root of body’ or the intensifier *chính* ‘very/right’ with some semantic and pragmatic implications that merit a more thorough investigation in the future.

We learned from Chapter 3 that *mình* is a long-distance anaphor. To fully understand this property of *mình*, Chapter 4 starts with a brief overview of the main issues raised by the phenomenon of non-local binding, primarily in Mandarin Chinese, including a sketch and an assessment of some of the main proposals in the previous literature. I describe in some detail the proposal presented in Giblin (2016), which elaborates an approach to anaphor binding based on the operation of Multiple Agree. In particular, I focus on the blocking effect as a restriction on non-local binding in Mandarin and discuss whether Vietnamese shows a similar pattern. One property distinguishing Vietnamese from Mandarin is the systematic availability of the speaker interpretation for *mình*. I then show how this phenomenon can

be captured by the assumption that Vietnamese sentences are optionally embedded under a syntactically visible performative frame modeled on Ross (1970). I point out that Vietnamese not only exhibits a restriction on non-local binding that bears some, *prima facie*, similarity to the blocking effect in Mandarin, but also shows potentially significant differences, to be discussed in detail in Chapter 5. I conclude this chapter with an analysis of the particle *tr* as a reflexive marker.

Continuing the discussion of long-distance binding of *mình*, Chapter 5 provides an explicit account of the binding of *mình* and the blocking effect in Vietnamese. I took as my starting point the approach developed in Giblin (2016) for Mandarin. The differences between the binding patterns of Vietnamese *mình* in comparison with Mandarin *ziji* follow from the following factors:

- i. *Mình* is simplex whereas *ziji* is complex.
- ii. In Mandarin, C^0 searches for a valued [+participant] feature whereas the feature searched for in Vietnamese is [+author].
- iii. In Mandarin, only the root clause has a C^0 , whereas in Vietnamese a C^0 can optionally be merged to each complement clause.
- iv. Vietnamese allows the optional merger at the root of a performative frame containing a silent 1st person subject pronoun.

Prima facie the blocking effect in Vietnamese appeared to be rather different from that in Mandarin, but once considered in detail, it turned out that the basis mechanism is quite similar to that in Mandarin, the difference being largely reducible to the factors in (ii), (iii) and (iv) above.

6.3. Conclusion

Vietnamese has a rich system of non-pronominal forms, including proper names, kinship terms and status terms that may receive a speaker value in interpretation. In addition, binding patterns may be influenced by a harmony requirement in terms of honorificity. At the end of this dissertation, what will be imprinted in our mind is that although there is a quite diverse system of anaphoric expressions in Vietnamese, there is also unity in this diversity. Vietnamese has a simplex anaphor *mình* that in many ways behaves like simplex anaphors in Reinhart and Reuland (1993)'s system. Unlike canonical reflexives such as English *himself*, *mình* needs to go hand in hand with the reflexive marker *tu* to get it bound locally; otherwise, it is long-distance bound by a structurally higher antecedent or by a discourse antecedent that is the speaker. While traditional descriptions of Vietnamese distinguish between a first person pronominal *mình* and an anaphor *mình*, my analysis provides a unification due to the role of the performative frame. This option of valuing *mình* as the speaker/the author makes Vietnamese special in comparison to many other languages. I also showed the importance of honorificity in understanding the system of personal pronouns, common nouns used as kinship terms and status terms, and proper names, and the restrictions they show in their capacity of being used anaphorically. In representing reflexivity, the reflexive marker *tu* appears to be a versatile creature in such a way that it not only pairs with the anaphor *mình* but also with the pronominals and common nouns used as

kinship terms and status terms. *Tu* enforces reflexivity wherever it scopes over the predicate, while being an intensifier in other positions. With all the similarities and differences Vietnamese anaphoric system possesses in comparison to other languages, it can be unified into the world of anaphors/reflexives and successfully accounted for by the perspective on binding elaborated in this dissertation.

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Samenvatting in het Nederlands

Het doel van dit proefschrift is om een gedetailleerde analyse aan te bieden m.b.t. anaforische afhankelijkheden in de Vietnamese taal. Vanaf het begin van de analyse wordt de focus gezet op theoretische puzzels en fenomenen die bijdragen aan ons begrip van het Vietnamees en van taal in het algemeen.

Om dit doel te behalen heb ik onderzoek gedaan naar de verzameling anaforische expressies, de expressie van reflexiviteit, de syntactische representatie van niet-lokale anaforische afhankelijkheden en de beperkingen waaraan deze afhankelijkheden onderhevig zijn. Op het eerste gezicht zien de bindingspatronen in het Vietnamees er nogal anders uit vergeleken met de bindingspatronen die gebruikt worden in bekendere talen zoals Engels. Naast voornaamwoordelijke elementen en het anaforische element *mình*, vertonen ook eigennamen en zelfstandige naamwoorden, zoals verwantschapstermen en statustermen, pronominale kenmerken. Zo lijkt bijvoorbeeld honorificiteit een veel grotere rol te spelen in de taal. Hoewel *mình* niet-lokaal gebonden kan zijn, is voor coargument binding van het element *tự* nodig net als andere voornaamwoordelijke elementen, als weerspiegeling van cross-linguïstisch patroon van dat reflexiviteit moet worden gelicentieerd. Bovendien kan *mình* vrijwel altijd worden geïnterpreteerd als de spreker wanneer een openlijk uitgedrukt 1e persoons antecedent afwezig is. Niet-lokale binding van *mình* is onderhevig aan een blokkerend effect dat op het eerste gezicht op hetzelfde blokkerende effect lijkt dat we in het Mandarijn Chinees

terugvinden maar in detail nogal verschilt. Met alle overeenkomsten en verschillen die het Vietnamese anaforische systeem heeft in vergelijking met andere talen, laat ik zien dat deze taal kan worden verenigd in de wereld van anaforen/reflexieven en met succes kan worden verantwoord via een Multiple-Agree-gebaseerde aanpak van anafoorbinding zoals toegelicht in dit proefschrift.

Dit proefschrift heeft zes hoofdstukken. Hieronder vindt u kort een samenvatting met betrekking tot elk hoofdstuk:

Hoofdstuk 1 introduceert de algemene kwesties van anaforische afhankelijkheden op cross-linguïstisch vlak.

Hoofdstuk 2 introduceert het anaforische systeem in het Vietnamees dat niet alleen bestaat uit de anafoor *mình*, persoonlijke voornaamwoorden, maar ook zelfstandige naamwoorden die worden gebruikt als verwantschapstermen, statustermen, en eigennamen. Ik voeg daarnaast ook een discussie toe met betrekking tot de ingewikkelde eigenschappen van eerbaarheid in het Vietnamees. Dit hoofdstuk laat ook de tekortkomingen zien van de canonieke bindings theorie bij toepassing op het Vietnamees, en geeft daarnaast ook de theoretische achtergrond die nodig is om deze kloof te overbruggen. Net als reflexieven zoals *zich* in het Nederlands en *sig/seg* in Scandinavische talen, maar in tegenstelling tot het Mandarijn-Chinese *ziji*, vertoont *mình* de eigenschappen van een simplex anafoor doordat het monomorfemisch is en net als voornaamwoorden het predikaat

niet reflexief markeert. Deze eigenschappen leiden tot de mogelijkheid dat *mình* een langeafstandsgebonden en discoursgebonden anafoor is. Net als *mình* kunnen ook voornaamwoorden, verwantschapstermen, en statustermen gebonden zijn. Aan de hand van ellipstesten heb ik de verschillen tussen de binding van *mình* en van de andere nominale uitdrukkingen kunnen onderzoeken. Ik ontdekte dat *mình* alleen ‘sloppy’ lezingen kan produceren (tenzij de sprekerswaarde ook wordt geteld), terwijl voornaamwoorden, verwantschapstermen, en statustermen zowel sloppy als strikte lezingen kunnen opleveren. In tegenstelling kunnen eigennamen alleen strikt worden geïnterpreteerd, wat aangeeft dat ze niet kunnen worden gebonden maar alleen kunnen verwijzen. Een onderwerp dat de afgelopen jaren veel aandacht heeft gekregen, is de status van zinnen met identieke argumenten (voornaamwoorden, eigennamen) in onderwerp- en objectposities. Zoals ik aantoonde, vertegenwoordigen dergelijke uitdrukkingen met identieke argumenten alleen identiteit van verwijzing, en geen binding. Net als in andere talen die tot nu toe zijn onderzocht, moet reflexiviteit in het Vietnamees worden gelicentieerd. Het element *tr* speelt een belangrijke rol bij de uitdrukking van reflexiviteit. Wanneer het partikel *tr* de vP in zijn bereik heeft, heeft het ook het effect dat reflexiviteit wordt afgedwongen. Ik heb uitgelegd hoe het Vietnamees alle drie de strategieën gebruikt die in de literatuur worden vermeld (vgl. Reuland 2011): bescherming, bundeling en scheiding.

Hoofdstuk 3 geeft meer details over reflexivisatie, waarbij ik dieper inga op kwesties die eerder in hoofdstuk 2 werden geïntroduceerd. Ik

laat zien dat reflexivisatie in het Vietnamees kan plaatsvinden in de syntaxis, of op beperkte wijze in het lexicon. Reflexivisatie door *tư* moet een syntactisch proces zijn. *Mình* is geclassificeerd als een over lange afstand gebonden anafoor, en wordt alleen lokaal gebonden in aanwezigheid van de reflexief-markeerder *tư*. Voornaamwoorden respecteren over het algemeen bindingsconditie B in de zin van Reinhart en Reuland (1993) en geven alleen reflexieve interpretaties in aanwezigheid van *tư*, met een interessant patroon van variatie tussen Vietnamese variëteiten in de verdeling van binding versus coreferentie (zie ook Bui 2019). Daarnaast presenteer ik een uitgebreide discussie met betrekking tot verwantschapstermen en statustermen, en hoe deze zich kunnen gedragen als gebonden variabelen of referentiële expressies in ellipsomgevingen. Zoals ik laat zien, speelt match versus mismatch in honorificiteitskenmerken een intrigerende rol bij de beschikbaarheid van een gebonden variabeleninterpretatie. Eigennamen blijken te voldoen aan bindingsconditie C, in die zin dat ze niet kunnen worden gebonden, maar ze wel co-referentieel kunnen worden geïnterpreteerd in het geval van herhaalde namen. Ten slotte bespreek ik dat Vietnamees ook enkele andere kenmerken van reflexiviteit gebruikt, zoals de lichaamsexpressie *bản thân* 'root of body' of intensificeerder *chính* 'zeer/juist' met enkele semantische en pragmatische implicaties die in de toekomst grondiger onderzoek verdienen.

Uit hoofdstuk 3 hebben we geleerd dat *mình* een anafoor voor lange afstanden is. Om deze eigenschap van *mình* volledig te begrijpen,

begint hoofdstuk 4 met een kort overzicht van de belangrijkste problematiek dat wordt veroorzaakt door het fenomeen van niet-lokale binding, voornamelijk in het Mandarijn-Chinees, inclusief een schets en een beoordeling van enkele van de belangrijkste voorstellen in de eerdere literatuur. Ik beschrijf in enig detail het voorstel gepresenteerd in Giblin (2016), dat een benadering van anafoorbinding uitwerkt op basis van de Multiple Agree operatie. Ik focus me in het bijzonder op het blokkerende effect als een beperking op niet-lokale binding in het Mandarijn, en bespreek of Vietnamees een vergelijkbaar patroon vertoont. Een eigenschap die Vietnamees van Mandarijn onderscheidt, is de systematische beschikbaarheid van de spreker interpretatie voor *mình*. Vervolgens laat ik zien hoe dit fenomeen kan worden beschreven door de aanname dat Vietnamese zinnen optioneel zijn ingebed in een syntactisch zichtbaar performatief frame, gemodelleerd naar Ross (1970). Ik wijs erop dat het Vietnamees niet alleen een beperking vertoont op niet-lokale binding, die op het eerste gezicht enige gelijkenis vertoont met het blokkerende effect in het Mandarijn, maar ook potentieel significante verschillen vertoont, die in detail worden besproken in hoofdstuk 5. Ik concludeer dit hoofdstuk met een analyse van het partikel *thư* als reflexieve marker.

Hoofdstuk 5 vervolgt de discussie over lange-afstandsbinding van *mình* en geeft een expliciete beschrijving van de binding van *mình* en het blokkerende effect in het Vietnamees. Ik nam als uitgangspunt de benadering die is ontwikkeld in Giblin (2016) voor Mandarijn. De verschillen tussen de bindingspatronen van het Vietnamese *mình* in

vergelijking met het Mandarijnse *ziji* komen door de volgende factoren:

- i. *Mình* is simplex, terwijl *ziji* complex is.
- ii. In het Mandarijn zoekt C^0 naar een [+participant] kenmerk dat een waarde heeft, terwijl het kenmerk waarnaar in het Vietnamees wordt gezocht [+auteur] is.
- iii. In het Mandarijn heeft alleen de hoofdzin een C^0 , terwijl in het Vietnamees een C^0 optioneel kan worden toegevoegd aan elke complement zin.
- iv. Vietnamees staat optioneel de toevoeging toe aan de root van een performatief frame dat een stil eerste persoons onderwerp/voornaamwoord bevat.

Op het eerste gezicht leek het blokkerende effect in het Vietnamees nogal te verschillen van dat in het Mandarijn, maar bij nader inzien bleek het basismechanisme vergelijkbaar te zijn met dat in het Mandarijn, waarbij het verschil grotendeels herleidbaar is tot de factoren in (ii), (iii) en (iv) (hierboven genoemd).

Hoofdstuk 6 bevat samenvattingen en conclusies.

Curriculum Vitae

Quy Ngoc Thi Doan was born on August 22nd, 1987 in Hue, Vietnam. She attended Hue University of Sciences from 2006 to 2010 for her Bachelor degree in Vietnamese Linguistics (theoretical linguistics). From 2011 to 2013, she pursued a Master degree in Vietnamese Linguistics (theoretical linguistics) and successfully defended her Master thesis titled “The conceptual metaphors of weather in Vietnamese”. She started her work on Vietnamese anaphora in 2014 by applying to Project B8 “Alternations and Binding” at the University of Stuttgart, Department of Linguistics/Germanic Studies and serving as a research assistant from September 2014 to August 2015. She further developed her expertise by carrying out a Ph.D. project at the *Utrecht Institute of Linguistics OTS* of Utrecht University (as of 2023 the *Institute for Language Sciences*) where she worked on the research topic “Anaphoric Dependencies in Vietnamese – A Syntactic Approach”. This dissertation contains the results of her study.