

# The relevance of logophoric conditions to the interpretation of the Korean anaphor *caki*

T. Hendrik Kim (UCLA)  
hendrik.kim@ucla.edu

CUSP 9 at UCSC  
October 22, 2016

## 1 Introduction

Han & Storoshenko (2012) make important suggestions about the binding-theoretic status of the Korean anaphor *caki* (e.g. Lee 1973, Kim 1976, Lee 1978, Sung 1981, Yang 1982, Park 1985, O’Grady 1987, Cole et al. 1990). Most importantly, they propose that *caki* is a bound variable that needs a binder in the semantics (i.e., at LF).

In this paper, I show that Han & Storoshenko’s (2012) account fundamentally overlooks important properties of *caki*. Because of this, H&S’s proposal as such cannot stand. Instead, I propose that *caki* has three occurrences:

- a bound anaphor sensitive to logophoricity (empathy locus)
- a bound variable insensitive to logophoricity (‘anti-logophoric’)
- an emphatic reflexive

My proposal is based on the following three points:

- Normally, *caki* passes the test for logophoricity
- However, when *caki* is a genitive or when there is no appropriate logophoric binder, *caki* behaves like a ‘pure’ bound variable
- In object control structures, *caki* must be accompanied by a focus adverbial

## 2 *Caki* is sensitive to logophoric conditions

I adopt Charnavel & Zlogar’s (2016) logophoric centers:<sup>1</sup>

- (1) a. Attitude holder: intellectual perspective  
b. Empathy locus: emotional/mental perspective  
c. Deictic center: spatial/perceptual perspective

### 2.1 Tests for logophoricity

To begin with, we need some tests to diagnose logophoric centers.

**Foolish Attitude Test** Sells (1987) shows that the ascription of foolishness by the evaluative phrase *that fool* can be due to either the external speaker or the attitude holder.

- (2) John told Fred that that fool Alan was harming him.  
(John = the attitude holder) (Cole et al. 2001: 8)

*Foolish Attitude Test*:

- (3) Use the evaluative phrase *that fool x* (or its cross-linguistic counterpart) to check to see if the ascription of foolishness to *x* can be due to the antecedent of the logophoric expression.

Applied to Korean:

- (4) Hwun<sub>i</sub>-i Mina-eykey [**mengchenghan** Inho.nom-i  
Hwun-NOM Mina-DAT foolish Inho.bastard-NOM  
caki<sub>i</sub>-lul ttalatany-ess-ta]-ko malha-yss-ta.  
self-ACC follow-PST-DEC-COMP say-PST-DEC  
‘Hwun<sub>i</sub> told Mina that that fool Inho was following self<sub>i</sub>.’

<sup>1</sup>cf. Sells’s (1987: 457) logophoric centers:

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

**Epithet Attitude Test** Dubinsky & Hamilton (1998) show that an epithet must not have an antecedent that corresponds to the attitude holder:

- (5) a. \*According to John<sub>i</sub>, the idiot<sub>i</sub> is married to a genius.  
(John = the attitude holder)  
b. Speaking of John<sub>i</sub>, the idiot<sub>i</sub> is married to a genius.

Epithet Attitude Test (based on Charnavel & Zlogar 2016: 88):

- (6) Replace the logophoric expression by a co-referring epithet and check whether the sentence becomes unacceptable.

Applied to Korean:

- (7) a. \*Inho<sub>i</sub>-ka malhan.paey.ttalumyen, [ku  
Inho-NOM according.to that  
**ttolai.saykki**]<sub>i</sub>-nun sasil kwunphil-i-ta.  
idiot-TOP in.fact served.in.the.military-be-DEC  
'According to Inho<sub>i</sub>, the idiot<sub>i</sub> in fact served in the military.'  
b. Inho<sub>i</sub>-ey tayhay.tulun.paey.ttalumyen, [ku  
Inho-DAT according.to.what.I.heard.about that  
**ttolai.saykki**]<sub>i</sub>-nun sasil kwunphil-i-ta.  
idiot-TOP in.fact served.in.the.military-be-DEC  
'According to what I heard about Inho<sub>i</sub>, the idiot<sub>i</sub> in fact served in the military.'

**Beloved Empathy Test** Kuno (1987) shows that the expression modified by *beloved/dear* must link with the empathy locus.

- (8) Anonymous posts about her<sub>i</sub> beloved son on the internet hurt Lucy<sub>i</sub>'s {feelings/\*popularity}. (Charnavel & Zlogar 2016: 91)  
(9) Hwun<sub>i</sub>-i Inho-eykey [[**chinayhanun kyoswunim**]-i  
Hwun-NOM Inho-DAT dear professor-NOM  
caki<sub>i</sub>-lul chingchanha-yss-ta]-ko malha-yss-ta.  
self-ACC compliment-PST-DEC-COMP say-PST-DEC  
'Hwun<sub>i</sub> told Inho<sub>i</sub> that his<sub>i</sub> dear professor complimented self<sub>i</sub>.'

## 2.2 Caki takes the empathy locus as its antecedent

I show that although the antecedent of *caki* does not need to be an attitude holder, it needs to be the empathy locus.

For example, *Inho* and *Hwun* are two potential antecedents of *caki* in the sentence below:

- (10) Inho<sub>1</sub>-nun Mina<sub>2</sub>-eykey [Hwun<sub>3</sub>-i ttotasi caki<sub>1/\*2/3</sub>-lul  
Inho-TOP Mina-DAT Hwun-NOM again self-ACC  
hakang-eykey chwuchenha-yss-ta]-ko malha-yss-ta.  
president-DAT recommend-PST-DEC  
'Inho told Mina that Hwun recommended self to the president again.'

And both *Inho* and *Hwun* pass *Beloved Empathy Test*:

- (11) Inho<sup>♡</sup>-nun Mina<sup>\*♡</sup>-eykey [Hwun<sup>♡</sup>-i ttotasi **chinayhanun**  
Inho-TOP Mina-DAT Hwun-NOM again dear  
**kyoswunim**<sup>♡</sup>-ul hakang-eykey chwuchenha-yss-ta]-ko  
professor-ACC president-DAT recommend-PST-DEC-COMP  
malha-yss-ta.  
tell-PST-DEC  
'Inho<sub>1</sub> told Mina that Hwun<sub>2</sub> recommended his<sub>1/2</sub> dear professor to the president again.'  
(The prof is Inho's and Hwun's beloved)

But *Hwun* fails *Foolish Attitude Test*:

- (12) Inho<sup>σ</sup>-nun Mina<sup>\*σ</sup>-eykey [Hwun<sup>\*σ</sup>-i ttotasi caki-lul  
Inho-TOP Mina-DAT Hwun-NOM again self-ACC  
**mengchenghan**<sup>σ</sup> hakang-eykey chwuchenha-yss-ta]-ko  
foolish president-DAT recommend-PST-DEC-COMP  
malha-yss-ta.  
tell-PST-DEC  
'Inho told Mina that Hwun recommended self to that foolish president again.'  
(The ascription of foolishness is due to Inho, not Hwun)

Only *Inho* is a potential antecedent of *caki* in the sentence below:

- (13) Inho<sub>1</sub>-ka Mina<sub>2</sub>-eykey [caki<sub>1/\*2</sub>-ka Hwun-ul  
Inho-TOP Mina-DAT self-NOM Hwun-ACC  
iky-ess-ta]-ko malha-yss-ta.  
win-PST-DEC-COMP tell-PST-DEC  
'Inho told Mina that self beat Hwun (at something).'

And only *Inho* passes *Beloved* Empathy Test:

- (14) Inho<sup>♡</sup>-ka Mina<sup>\*♡</sup>-eykey [**chinayhanun kyoswunim**<sup>♡</sup>-i  
Inho-TOP Mina-DAT dear professor-NOM  
Hwun-ul iky-ess-ta]-ko malha-yss-ta.  
Hwun-ACC win-PST-DEC-COMP tell-PST-DEC  
'Inho told Mina that his dear professor beat Hwun (at something).'

But not only *Inho* but also *Mina* passes Epithet Attitude Test:

- (15) Inho<sub>1</sub>-ka Mina<sub>2</sub>-eykey [**ku ttolai.saykki**<sub>\*1/\*2</sub>-ka Hwun-ul  
Inho-TOP Mina-DAT that idiot-NOM Hwun-ACC  
iky-ess-ta]-ko malha-yss-ta.  
win-PST-DEC-COMP tell-PST-DEC  
'Inho<sub>1</sub> told Mina<sub>2</sub> that the idiot<sub>\*1/\*2</sub> beat Hwun (at something).'

### 2.3 *Caki* is a bound anaphor

*Caki* is sensitive to logophoricity, specifically attitude holders. But is it a pronoun or an anaphor? I make two points to show that it is a bound anaphor.

**C-command** Reflexives need a c-commanding antecedent, but pronouns don't.

- (16) a. [John<sub>1</sub>'s brother]<sub>2</sub> looked at himself<sub>\*1/2</sub> in the mirror.  
b. [John<sub>1</sub>'s brother]<sub>2</sub> looked at him<sub>1/\*2</sub> in the mirror.

*Caki* needs a c-commanding antecedent:

- (17) [[Mina<sub>1</sub>-ka Inho<sub>2</sub>-lul salangha-n-ta]-nun sasil]-i  
Mina-NOM Inho-ACC love-IMPRF-DEC-REL fact-NOM  
caki<sub>\*1/\*2</sub>-lul nollaykhy-ess-ta.  
self-ACC surprise-PST-DEC  
'The fact that Mina<sub>1</sub> loves Inho<sub>2</sub> surprised self<sub>\*1/\*2</sub>.'  
(Han & Storoshenko 2012: 784)

**VP-ellipsis** In English, a pronoun under VP-ellipsis allows either a strict reading or a sloppy reading:

- (18) Fred saw his mother, and Jane did, too.  
a. Fred saw Fred's mother, and Jane saw Fred's mother. (strict, by coreference)  
b. Fred saw Fred's mother, and Jane saw Jane's mother. (sloppy, by variable binding)

But an anaphor under VP-ellipsis only allows a sloppy reading:

- (19) Mary saw herself in the mirror, and Jane did too.  
a. \*Mary saw Mary in the mirror, and Jane saw Mary in the mirror. (strict reading)  
b. Mary saw Mary in the mirror, and Jane saw Jane in the mirror. (sloppy reading)

And *caki* only allows a sloppy reading (Han & Storoshenko 2012):

- (20) Inho<sub>1</sub>-ka caki<sub>1</sub>-lul kwasinha-yess-ko Mina-to  
Inho-NOM self-ACC overtrust-PST-and Mina-also  
kule-ha-yess-ta.  
so-do-PST-DEC  
'Inho overtrusted self and Mina did too.'  
i. Mina overtrusted Mina. (sloppy reading)  
\*ii. Mina overtrusted Inho. (strict reading)

So, *caki* behaves like an anaphor rather than a pronoun. I conclude that *caki* mainly occurs as a bound anaphor that needs to have the empathy locus as its antecedent.

## 2.4 Logophoric account of Han & Storoshenko's (2012) data

The crucial data that Han & Storoshenko use to support their bound-variable analysis of *caki* can be accounted for by the logophoric account.

**Quantification** H&S: In sentences like (23) and (24), *caki* must be bound by a quantifier or an exhaustive focus-marked DP.

- (21) Motwu<sub>1</sub>-ka caki<sub>1</sub>-lul chingsongha-yss-ta.  
 all-NOM self-ACC praise-PST-DEC  
 'Everyone<sub>1</sub> praised self<sub>1</sub>.'  
 ≠ Everyone<sub>1</sub> praised self<sub>2</sub> (some contextually salient individual)
- (22) Inho<sub>1</sub>-man-i caki<sub>1</sub>-lul chingsongha-yss-ta.  
 Inho-only-NOM self-ACC praise-PST-DEC  
 'Only Inho<sub>1</sub> praised self<sub>1</sub>.'  
 = Inho is the only one that praised himself and others did not praise themselves  
 ≠ Only Inho<sub>1</sub> praised self<sub>2</sub> (some contextually salient individual)

Those that are in the domain of quantification in (23) and (24) each correspond to the empathy locus.

- (23) Motwu-ka chinayhanun kyoswunim-ul chingsongha-yss-ta.  
 all-NOM dear professor-ACC praise-PST-DEC  
 'Everyone<sub>1</sub> praised his<sub>1</sub> dear professor.'
- (24) Inho-man-i chinayhanun kyoswunim-ul  
 Inho-only-NOM dear professor-ACC  
 chingsongha-yss-ta.  
 praise-PST-DEC  
 'Only Inho<sub>1</sub> praised his<sub>1</sub> dear professor.'  
 = Inho is the only one that praised his dear professor and others did not praise their dear professors

**Absence of subject orientation** H&S: *Caki* can have a non-subject antecedent because a binder of a bound variable does not have to be a subject.

- (25) Inho<sub>1</sub>-nun Mina<sub>2</sub>-lopwute [caki<sub>1/?2</sub>-ka am-i]-lako  
 Inho-TOP Mina-from self-NOM cancer-be-COMP  
 tul-ess-ta.  
 hear-PST-DEC  
 'Inho<sub>1</sub> heard from Mina<sub>2</sub> that self<sub>1/2</sub> has cancer.'  
 (my judgment, adopted from Yoon 1989: 481)

*Mina*, as well as *Inho*, is the empathy locus:

- (26) Inho-nun Mina-lopwute [chinayhanun kyoswunim-i  
 Inho-TOP Mina-from dear professor-NOM  
 am-i]-lako tul-ess-ta.  
 cancer-be-COMP hear-PST-DEC  
 'Inho heard from Mina that his/her dear professor has cancer.'

However, *Beloved* Empathy Test fails with the genitive *caki*.

- (27) Inho<sub>1</sub>-nun Hwun<sub>2</sub>-ul [caki<sub>1/2</sub>-uy cip]-ulo ponay-ss-ta.  
 Inho-TOP Hwun-ACC self-GEN house-to send-PST-DEC  
 'Inho sent Hwun to self's house.'

*Hwun* is a potential antecedent of *caki*, but it is not the empathy locus:

- (28) Inho-nun Hwun-ul [chinayhanun kyoswunim-uy cip]-ulo  
 Inho-TOP Hwun-ACC dear professor-GEN house-to  
 ponay-ss-ta.  
 send-PST-DEC  
 'Inho<sub>1</sub> sent Hwun<sub>2</sub> to his<sub>1/\*2</sub> dear professor's house.'

**Binding from the genitive** H&S: In English, a variable can be bound by a genitive quantifier that does not c-command it.

- (29) Every senator<sub>1</sub>'s portrait was on his<sub>1</sub> desk.

This seems possible in Korean, too:

- (30) [Motwu<sub>1</sub>-uy sinpal]-un [caki<sub>1</sub>-uy pal]-pota hwelssin khu-ta.  
all-GEN shoes-TOP self-GEN feet-than a.lot big-DEC  
'Everyone's shoes are a lot bigger than self's feet.'

Unfortunately, this cannot be accounted for by the logophoric account (*Beloved* Empathy Test fails):

- (31) [Motwu-uy sinpal]-un [chinayhanun kyoswunim-uy pal]-pota  
all-GEN shoes-TOP dear professor-GEN feet-than  
hwelssin khu-ta.  
a.lot big-DEC  
'Everyone<sub>1</sub>'s shoes are a lot bigger than his<sub>2</sub> dear professor's  
feet.'

So, we've seen two examples, both of which involve the genitive *caki*, that the logophoric account fails to explain. There are a few more problematic cases:

- (32) [Caki swukcey]-nun caki-ka ha-yeya ha-n-ta.  
self homework-TOP self-NOM do-should do-IND-DEC  
'One should do one's homework.'  
(modified from Han & Storoshenko 2012: 766)
- (33) Caki-nun PD-ka toy-ko.siph-ta-ko hay-yo.  
self-TOP PD-NOM become-want-DEC-COMP do-DEC  
'(Swuyen said) self wants to become a producer.'  
(modified from Han & Storoshenko 2012: 766)

All of the problematic cases involve the case in which a potential antecedent of *caki* is not the empathy locus. I suggest that this calls for a different account.

### 3 Anti-logophoric *caki*

I argue that *caki* occurs as a 'pure' bound variable that must be bound at LF (just like H&S's *caki*), when:

- (34) a. *caki* is the possessor of a possessive construction, or  
b. *caki* does not have an appropriate logophoric binder

The supporting evidence comes from the fact that *caki* cannot take first or second person antecedents (Lim 1998):

- (35) \*{Nay<sub>1</sub>/Ney<sub>1</sub>}-ka caki<sub>1</sub>-eykey thwuphyoha-yss-ta.  
I/you-NOM self-DAT vote-PST-DEC  
'I/you voted for myself/yourself.'  
(modified from Hoe 2015)

But this restriction is lifted when first or second person pronouns appear with focus-sensitive operators like *-man* 'only' and *-mace* 'even':

- (36) Na<sub>1</sub>/Ne<sub>1</sub>-**man/mace** caki<sub>1</sub>-eykey thwuphyoha-yss-ta.  
I/you-ONLY/EVEN self-DAT vote-PST-DEC  
'Only/even I/you voted for myself/yourself.'  
(modified from Hoe 2015)

Cole et al. (2001) argue that Chinese *ziji* shows the Blocking Effect (Tang 1989) because the presence of first or second person pronouns indicates that the speaker is the center of deixis, when *ziji* requires that its antecedent be the center of deixis.<sup>2</sup>

- (37) Zhangsan<sub>1</sub> renwei [**wo**<sub>2</sub> zhidao [Wangwu<sub>3</sub> hen ziji<sub>\*1/??2/3</sub>]]  
Zhangsan think I know Wangwu hate self  
'Zhangsan thinks that I know that Wangwu hates himself.'

<sup>2</sup>A long-distance binding of Chinese *ziji* is possible only if all potential antecedents agree in person features (Huang 1984, Tang 1985, 1989, Huang & Tang 1989, 1991, Xu 1993, Pan 1997, Cole et al. 1990, Cole & Sung 1994). So, an intervening first or second person pronoun between a remote DP and *ziji* will block the remote DP from being an antecedent of *ziji*. This is known as the Blocking Effect.

I propose that a similar reason underlies *caki*'s inability to antecede first and second person pronouns:

- (38) a. The presence of first or second person pronouns indicate that the speaker is the empathy locus.  
 b. *caki*'s antecedent cannot be the speaker.

So, (35) crashes because there's no appropriate logophoric *caki*-binder:

- (35) \*{Nay<sub>1</sub>/Ney<sub>1</sub>}-ka caki<sub>1</sub>-eykey thwuphyoha-yss-ta.  
 {I/you}-NOM self-DAT vote-PST-DEC  
 'I/you voted for myself/yourself.' (modified from Hoe 2015)

Further evidence comes from a question-answer sequence like the following, where *pro* in the answer is the speaker:

- (39) Q: Ne nwukwu-eykey thwuphyoha-yss-ni?  
 You who-DAT vote-PST-Q  
 'Who did you vote for?'  
 A: \**pro*<sub>1</sub> caki<sub>1</sub>-eykey thwuphyoha-yss-e.  
 self-DAT vote-PST-DEC  
 (Intended:) '(I<sub>1</sub>) voted for self<sub>1</sub>.'

In contrast, (36) does not crash because although there is no logophoric binder, *caki* can be bound by the focus-sensitive operator:

- (36) Na/Ne-**man**<sub>1</sub>/**mace**<sub>1</sub> caki<sub>1</sub>-eykey thwuphyoha-yss-ta.  
 I/you-ONLY/EVEN self-DAT vote-PST-DEC  
 'Only/even I/you voted for myself/yourself.'  
 (modified from Hoe 2015)

On the other hand, *caki* in (40) can take first or second person antecedents because the genitive *caki* is anti-logophoric:

- (40) a. Ne<sub>1</sub>-nun acikto [caki<sub>1</sub>-uy calmos]-ul kkaytat-ci  
 you-TOP still self-GEN mistake-ACC realize-NMLZ  
 mos-ha-ko iss-ta.  
 cannot-do-CONN be-DEC

'You still don't see your mistake.'

- b. Apeci-nun [nay<sub>1</sub>-ka [caki<sub>1</sub>-uy chaykim]-ul  
 father-TOP I-NOM self-GEN responsibility-ACC  
 taha-ci mos-ha-n-ta]-ko  
 fulfill-NMLZ cannot-do-IMPRF-DEC-COMP  
 namwula-sy-ess-ta.  
 scold-HON-PST-DEC  
 'My father scolded me for not being able to fulfill my responsibilities.'  
 (both examples are from a Korean dictionary)

As such, the problems we faced disappear, because *caki* in such examples is anti-logophoric, i.e. a pure bound variable.

Non-subject binders are okay (*Hwun*):

- (41) Inho<sub>1</sub>-nun Hwun<sub>2</sub>-ul [caki<sub>1/2</sub>-uy cip]-ulo ponay-ss-ta.  
 Inho-TOP Hwun-ACC self-GEN house-to send-PST-DEC  
 'Inho sent Hwun to self's house.'

Subcommanding (Tang 1989) antecedents are okay:

- (42) [Motwu<sub>1</sub>-uy sinpal]-un [caki<sub>1</sub>-uy pal]-pota hwelssin khu-ta.  
 all-GEN shoes-TOP self-GEN feet-than a.lot big-DEC  
 'Everyone's shoes are a lot bigger than self's feet.'

Like the English generic *one* (as in *One often thinks that one's mother is nice*, see Moltmann 2006, 2010), I argue that the generic operator, licensed by the deontic modal *-yeya* 'should', can bind *caki*.

- (43) [*Op*<sub>Gn1</sub> [Caki<sub>1</sub> swukcey]-nun caki<sub>1</sub>-ka ha-yeya]  
 self homework-TOP self-NOM do-should  
 ha-n-ta.  
 do-IND-DEC  
 'One should do one's homework.'  
 (modified from Han & Storoshenko 2012: 766)

*pro* can bind the exempt *caki*:

- (44) *pro*<sub>1</sub> [Caki<sub>1</sub>-nun PD-ka toy-ko.siph-ta]-ko hay-yo.  
 self-TOP PD-NOM become-want-DEC-COMP do-DEC  
 ‘(Swuyen said) self wants to become a producer.’  
 (modified from Han & Storoshenko 2012: 766)

**Brief remarks on the Blocking Effect** *Caki* does not show a Blocking Effect. However, its cousin *casin* exhibits the Blocking Effect (e.g. Lee 1973, Kim 1976, Lee 1978, Sung 1981, Cole et al. 1990, Madigan 2015):

- (45) Hwun<sub>1</sub>-nun [Inho<sub>2</sub>-ka [**nay**<sub>3</sub>-ka casin<sub>\*1/\*2/\*3</sub>-ul  
 Hwun-TOP Inho-NOM I-NOM self-ACC  
 silheha-n-ta-nun kes]-ul a-n-ta]-ko  
 hate-IMPRF-DEC-REL thing-ACC know-IMPRF-DEC-COMP  
 sayngkak-ha-n-ta.  
 think-do-IMPRF-DEC  
 ‘Hwun thinks that Inho knows that I hate myself.’

And it can take first or second person pronouns as its antecedent:

- (46) Nay<sub>1</sub>/Ney<sub>1</sub>-ka casin<sub>1</sub>-eykey thwuphyoha-yss-ta.  
 I/you-NOM self-DAT vote-PST-DEC  
 ‘I/you voted for myself/yourself.’

I propose the following:

- (47) a. The antecedent of *casin* (and perhaps Chinese *ziji*) can be the speaker.  
 b. The Blocking Effect arises from avoiding perspective conflicts (in the light of Huang & Liu 2001)

There’d be no case of conflicting perspectives with the use of *caki*!

#### 4 Emphatic *caki*

Han & Storoshenko (2012: 775–776) take the observation that *caki* appears to be able to ‘replace’ PRO in control contexts (Madigan 2006, 2008) to be supporting evidence for their analysis.<sup>3</sup>

However, there is evidence suggesting that *caki* in control contexts is different from its other occurrences: Object control (Yang 1984).

- (48) Inho<sub>1</sub>-ka Hwun<sub>2</sub>-eykey [PRO<sub>\*1/\*2/\*3</sub> cip-ey  
 Inho-NOM Hwun-DAT home-LOC  
 ka-**la**]-ko myenglyengha-yss-ta.  
 go-IMP-COMP order-PST-DEC  
 ‘Inho ordered Hwun to go home.’

Unlike in (49) where *caki* can substitute PRO without any particular context, it cannot do so in the object control sentence (50):

- (49) Subject control: *caki* acceptable

Inho<sub>1</sub>-ka [Mina<sub>2</sub>-eykey [PRO<sub>1/\*2</sub>/caki<sub>1/\*2</sub>-ka  
 Inho-NOM Mina-DAT PRO/self-NOM  
 ttena-keyss-ta]-ko yaksokha-yss-ta.  
 leave-VOL-DEC-COMP promise-PST-DEC

‘Inho<sub>1</sub> promised Mina<sub>2</sub> PRO<sub>1/\*2</sub>/self<sub>1/\*2</sub> to leave.’

- (50) Object control with *-la*: *caki* unacceptable

a. Cipayin<sub>1</sub>-un pise<sub>2</sub>-eykey [hoycang-hanthey PRO<sub>\*1/\*2</sub>  
 manager-NOM secretary-DAT president-DAT PRO  
 kyengkwa-lul pokoha-la]-ko myenglyengha-yss-ta.  
 progress-ACC report-IMP-COMP order-PST-DEC  
 ‘The manager ordered his secretary to report the progress to the president.’

<sup>3</sup>Control contexts in Korean arise from the combination of a matrix predicate capable of control and an embedded mood marker that triggers control reading of the predicate (Yang 1982, 1984, 1985, 1986, Madigan 2006, 2008, Lee 2009).

- b. \*Cipayin-un pise-eykey [hoycang-hanthey **caki**-ka  
 manager-NOM secretary-DAT president-DAT self-NOM  
 kyengkwa-lul pokoha-la]-ko myenglyengha-yss-ta.  
 progress-ACC report-IMP-COMP order-PST-DEC  
 (Intended:) ‘The manager ordered his secretary<sub>1</sub> that she<sub>1</sub>  
 should report the progress to the president.’

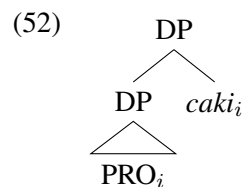
However, *caki* can appear in PRO’s position when the focus adverb *cikcep* ‘in person’ modifies the embedded VP:

- (51) Object control with *-la* in focus context: *caki* acceptable  
 Cipayin<sub>1</sub>-un pise<sub>2</sub>-eykey [hoycang-hanthey *caki*<sub>\*1/2</sub>-ka  
 manager-NOM secretary-DAT president-DAT self-NOM  
**cikcep** kyengkwa-lul pokoha-la]-ko  
 in.person progress-ACC report-IMP-COMP  
 myenglyengha-yss-ta.  
 order-PST-DEC

‘The manager ordered his secretary<sub>1</sub> that she<sub>1</sub> should report the progress in person to the president.’

This casts a serious doubt on whether *caki* in control contexts is the same *caki* that is seen elsewhere.

I propose that *caki* can occur as an emphatic reflexive. Then we could explain why a focus adverbial must accompany *caki* in object control and why its referent must be the same as PRO’s referent, because it is locally bound by PRO:



A positive consequence of this proposal is that it allows us to explain the subset of cases in which *caki* has a cross-sentential antecedent, without positing an implicit topic as H&S do.

- (53) A: Inho<sub>1</sub>-ka salam-ul ponay-ss-ni?  
 Inho-NOM man-ACC send-PST-Q  
 ‘Did Inho<sub>1</sub> send a man?’  
 B: Ani, *pro*<sub>1</sub> *caki*<sub>1</sub>-ka cikcep wa-ss-e.  
 No self-NOM in.person come-PST-DEC  
 ‘No, self<sub>1</sub> came in person.’ (Yang 1982)

The exchange in (53) is a question-answer context where focal alternatives are the list of people who came, which in turn licenses the emphatic *caki*. I propose that B’s answer in (53) contains the emphatic *caki* that is locally bound by *pro*.<sup>4</sup>

### 5 Concluding remarks

- I proposed that *caki* is a ‘logophoric anaphor’ (that is, a bound anaphor sensitive to logophoricity), and its antecedent must be the empathy locus.
- I also showed that *caki* occurs as an ‘anti-logophoric’ bound variable
  - when it is a genitive; and
  - when there is no appropriate logophoric binder for *caki*.
- Lastly, I showed that *caki* has to be licensed by a focus adverbial in object control sentences, and suggested that this is *caki*’s another occurrence: an emphatic reflexive.

This proposal can systematically handle a wide range of data by appealing to logophoric conditions, and can predict when we can expect to see an exemption from logophoricity.

Also, this suggests that principles of grammar and discourse together govern the distribution of *caki* in Korean, similar to how the distribution of Chinese *ziji* and Teochew *kaki* is determined (Cole et al. 2001).

<sup>4</sup>It is striking to note that the focus adverb *cikcep* ‘in person’ is in use with Yang’s (1982) example in (53).



**Remaining problems** There are, of course, remaining problems. One of them is where *caki* is a genitive, but has a cross-sentential antecedent. A postulation of some sort of operator seems necessary, but the licenser of such an operator does not seem to exist in the sentence containing *caki*. Focusing on the fact that *oppa* ‘elder brother (for females)’ is a relational noun that calls for an implicit possessor, and the fact that *caki* can be bound by a generic operator under right circumstances seems to be in the right direction.

- (54) Na-nun Mina<sub>1</sub>-eykey chayk-ul pillyecwe-ss-ta. kulentey  
 I-TOP Mina-DAT book-ACC lend-PST-DEC but  
 sasil ku chayk-un [[caki<sub>1</sub> oppa]-ka ceney  
 in.fact that book-TOP self elder.brother-NOM before  
 na-eykey pillyecwe-ss-ten kes]-i-ess-ta.  
 I-DAT lend-PST-REL thing-be-PST-DEC  
 ‘I lent a book to Mina<sub>1</sub>. But in fact, it was the book that self<sub>1</sub>’s  
 elder brother had lent to me before.’

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