The Behavior of *Zibun* Revisited and the Theory of Grammar*

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In the theoretical analysis of reflexivization in Sohng (2004a), it is predicted that Japanese *zibun*, which is used for all persons, lacks inherent φ-features in the Lexicon and gets its φ-features at LF, like Chinese *ziji*. *Zibun*, like *ziji*, shows strong subject orientation, but does not manifest the blocking effect, unlike *ziji*. This paper shows that strong subject orientation for *zibun* and *ziji* follows from the modified Minimalist Conditions on Subject Orientation and LF Spec-head agreement under the [Ref] feature checking analysis in the Minimalist framework (Chomsky 1995). This paper goes on to show that the lack of the blocking effect of *zibun* follows from Conditions on Subject Orientation and Spec-head agreement, under the theoretical perspective that Agreement (φ-features), EPP, and the Case features are optional in Japanese.

Key words: monomorphemic reflexive, Spec-head agreement, optional agreement, EPP, Case features

1. Introduction

I assume, following Huang & Tang (1991), that the Japanese monomorphemic anaphor *zibun* and its Chinese counterpart *ziji*, which are used for all persons, lack inherent φ-features in the Lexicon, and I claim that they acquire their φ-features in LF.[1]

Zibun and *ziji* are well-known to manifest strong subject orientation: only subjects can be antecedents for them. However, *zibun* with no inherent φ-features behaves differently from *ziji* - it does not show the

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1) I assume in Sohng (2004a) that *ziji*, which is used for all persons, lacks inherent φ-features in the Lexicon and that it acquires and checks its φ-features in LF.

blocking effect, which is characteristic of Chinese monomorphemic re-flexivization.[2]

This paper aims at giving a principled analysis of the exceptional syntactic behavior of *zibun* under the feature movement analysis in the Minimalist framework (Chomsky 1995). Section 2 discusses all the properties of *caki/casin, ziji,* and *zibun* in great details. In section 3, I give an analysis of strong subject orientation and the lack of the blocking effect of *zibun*, based on modified Minimalist Conditions on Subject Orientation and LF Spec-head agreement in the Minimalist framework.

It will be shown in 3.1 that strong subject orientation for *zibun* follows from Conditions on Subject Orientation and Condition on Antecedence, the way strong subject orientation for *zjii* is explained. It will be proven in 3.2 that the lack of the blocking effect of *zibun* follows from Minimalist Conditions on Subject Orientation and Spec-head agreement, under the theoretical perspective that Agreement (ϕ-features), EPP, and the Case features are optional in Japanese. Section 4 critically reviews two previous feature-based Minimalist analyses of monomorphemic reflexivization.

2. Behavior of *Caki/Casin, Ziji,* and *Zibun*

In Sohng (2004b), we note that monomorphemic reflexives in Korean and Chinese have in common distinct properties not shared by those in European languages such as German, Icelandic, and Italian. We further observe here that monomorphemic reflexives in Korean, Chinese, and Japanese show distinct properties not shared by those in European languages.[3]

Chinese *ziji* is used for all persons, as shown in (1).

(1) John   renwei [wo/ni/Bill hai-le   ziji]
    John   think   I/you   hurt-Asp self
    'John   thought that I/you/Bill hurt myself/yourself/himself.'

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2) As has been noted in the literature (Pica 1984, 1987, Katada 1991, etc.), reflexives which can take either local antecedents or long-distance antecedents are monomorphemic reflexives while reflexives that can take only local antecedents are polymorphemic reflexives.

3) For the sake of exposition, I will briefly include properties of monomorphemic reflexives in Korean and Chinese which were included in Sohng (2004a).

The Korean reflexive *caki*, on the other hand, is limited to third-person DPs. The other Korean monomorphemic reflexive *casin* behaves differently: it can refer to the second or the third person DP, but it can only refer to the first-person DP in the absence of any other second or third-person singular DP in the local domain.[4]
Japanese *zibun*, like Chinese *ziji*, is used for all persons, genders, and numbers (Huang & Tang 1991, Kuno 1973), as shown in (2).

(2) Watasi/Anata/John-wa zibun-o suki.
    I/you/John-Top   self-Acc like
    'I/you/John like myself/yourself/himself'

Zibun and *ziji* are well-known to manifest strong subject orientation in the sense that they can only refer to subject antecedents, as illustrated below.

(3) Richard$_i$-ga Bill$_j$-ni zibun$_{i/*j}$-no koto-o   hanasita.
    Richard-Nom Bill-Dat self-Gen   matter-Acc talked
    'Richard talked to Bill about his(Richard's) matter.'

(4) Bill$_i$ gaosu John$_j$ Kate$_k$ piping-le   ziji$_{i/*j/k}$.
    Bill tell   John Kate criticize-Asp self
    'Bill told John that Kate criticized him(Bill)/herself.'

We noted in Sohng (2004a) that Korean monomorphemic reflexives show weak subject orientation in the sense that subject antecedents are preferred over object ones, but objects are still possible antecedents, as shown below.[5]

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4) The reader is referred to Sohng (2004a) for antecedence on *caki* and *casin*.

5) Due to a processing difficulty, the matrix object in (5a), which is in the third choice, seems a little marginal and may be marked with one question mark, but it is still a possible antecedent for *caki* or *casin* in Korean. If the matrix subject *John* is replaced by *na* 'I' in (5a), it becomes clear that the matrix object is an antecedent for the Korean monomorphemic reflexives. See (i) below. No DP with [+1] can be an antecedent for *caki*.

(i) Na$_i$-nun Mary$_j$-eykey [Tom$_k$-i   caki/casin$_{*i/j/k}$-(l)ul coaha-n-ta-ko]
    I-Top   Mary-Dat   Tom-Nom self-Acc   like-Prs-Dec-Comp
    malha-yess-ta.
    say-Pst-Dec
    'I told Mary that Tom like him/?her/himself.'

(5) a. John$_i$-i   Mary$_j$-eykey [Tom$_k$-i   caki/casin$_{i/?j/k}$-(l)ul
    John-Nom Mary-Dat   Tom-Nom self-Acc
    coaha-n-ta-ko]   malha-yess-ta. (i > j)
    like-Prs-Dec-Comp   say-Pst-Dec
    'John told Mary that Tom like him/?her/himself.'
   b. Na$_i$-nun John$_j$-eykey [caki$_{*i/j}$/casin$_{*i/j}$-i cikcep   swukcey-lul
    I-Nom   Mary-Dat   self-Nom   by onesefl homework-Acc
    ha-yeyaha-n-ta-ko]   malha-yess-ta.
    do-must-Prs-Dec-Comp   tell-Pst-Dec
    'I told John that he should do the homework by himself.'

It is well known in the literature (Huang & Tang 1991, Huang, Y 1994, Cole & Sung 1994, etc.) that Chinese *ziji* manifests the blocking effect in that the reflexive is blocked when an immediately higher subject differs in person from a lower subject, as shown in (6). The Korean and Japanese counterparts, on the other hand, do not manifest the blocking effect, contra Cole & Sung (1994:), as illustrated in (7-8).

(6) Bill$_i$ renwei wo$_j$ zhidao Tim$_k$ xihuan ziji$_{*i/*j/k}$.
    Bill think I   know Tim like   self
    'Bill thinks that I know that Tim likes *him/*me/himself.'

(7) Bill$_i$-un [nay$_j$-ka caki$_{i/*j}$/casin$_{i/j}$-ul salangha-n-ta-ko]
    Bill-Top I-Nom   self-Acc   love-Prs-Dec-Comp
    sayngkakha-n-ta.
    think-Prs-Dec
    'Bill thinks I like him/myself.'

(8) Bill$_i$-wa   watashi$_j$-ga John$_k$-ga   zibun$_{i/j/k}$-o sukida-to
    Bill-Top I-Nom   John-Nom self-Acc   like-Comp
    shit-teiru-to   omot-teiru.
    know-Prs-Comp   think-Prs
    'Bill thinks that I know that John likes him/me/himself.'

Japanese *zibun-tati*, the plural forms for *zibun*, and Korean *caki-tul* and *casin-tul*, the plural forms for *caki* and *casin*, respectively, are shown below to take split antecedents: they may take the subject and the object as antecedents.

(9) Bill$_i$-i   Kate$_j$-eykey [nwukwunka-ka caki-tul$_{i+j}$/casin-tul$_{i+j}$-uy
Bill-Nom Kate-Dat   somebody-Nom self-Pl-Gen
chayk-tul-ul ku pang-e noh-ass-ta-ko]   malha-yess-ta
book-Pl-Acc the room-in put-Pst-Dec-Comp say-Pst-Dec
'Bill told Kate that somebody put their books in the room.'

(10) Bill$_i$-wa Kate$_j$-ni [dareka-ga   zibun-tati$_{i+j}$-no
Bill-Top Kate-Dat somebody-Nom self-Pl-Gen
syasin-o   heya-ni oita]-to   itta
picture-Acc room-Dat put-Comp said
'Bill told Kate that somebody put their pictures in the room.'

The monomorphemic reflexives in Japanese, Korean, and Chinese may have arbitrary reference, as shown in (11-13).

(11) Bill$_i$-un [caki$_{arb/i}$-ka caki$_{arb/i}$-lul kacang cal
Bill-Top self-Nom   self-Acc   best
a-n-ta]-ko   sayngkakha-n-ta.
know-Prs-Dec-Comp   think-Prs-Dec
'Bill thinks that one/he knows oneself/himself best.'

(12) Yeye$_i$ shou ziji$_{arb/i}$ zui   liaojie ziji$_{arb/i}$.
grandpa say   self   most know self
'Grandpa says that one/he knows oneself/himself best.'

(13) John-wa zibun$_{arb/i}$-ga zibun$_{arb/i}$-no machigai-o tadasu
John-Top zibun-Nom   zibun-Gen   fault-Acc   correct
bekida to   omotteiru.
should Comp think
'John thinks that one/he should correct one's/his faults.'

One more interesting property of the monomorphemic reflexives in these languages is that they may have inherent reference. Chinese *ziji* may have the first-person or second-person feature without an antecedent in the sentence under a contrastive context, as shown in (14a-b) (Pan, Haihua 1997), the Korean monomorphemic reflexives may have first-person, second-person or third-person features without any antecedent in the sentence in a narrative context, as in (16), and Japanese *zibun* may have the

first-person, second-person, or third-person feature with no antecedent in the sentence, as shown in (15).[6]

(14) a. Dirende   shangwnag henda,   ziji   benshen
        enemy's casualty   very-big self itself
        de   shangwang   henxiao.
        DE casualty   very-little
        'The casualties of the enemy are very big. Our own casualties are very little.'
     b. Ziji   weisheme bu renzhengde xiangyixiang ne?
        self why   not carefully   think-over   Q
        'Why didn't you/I think it over carefully?'

(15) a. Zibun-ni ikasete   kudasai.
        self-Dat go-cause please
        'Please let me go.'
     b. Zibun-no koto-wa   zibun-de sinasai.
        self-Gen thing-Top self-by   do Imp
        'Do your thing by yourself.'
     c. Zibun-ga ikitai   soo-da.
        self-Nom go-want I-hear
        'I hear that he/she wants to go.'

(16) a. A: Nwuka ka-kess-ni?
           who   go-Vol-Q?
           'Who will (intends to) go?'
        B: Casin-i   ka-kess-supnita.
           self-Nom go-Vol-Sentence Ending
           'I will go.'
     b. Caki-ka   chakha-ta.
        self-Nom be good-Dec
        'You are good.'
     c. Casin/Caki-uy il-un   casin-i/caki-ka ha-yela.
        self-Gen   thing-Top self-Nom   Do-Imp

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6) I express sincere thanks to anonymous reviewers for providing good examples (16a, 16c, 16d). A native speaker of Korean also agrees on the relevance of the example (16a), adding that it is very occasionally used in Korea. The example (16a), however, is not very clear to me.

'You do your own thing.'

d. A: Ney-ka   Yenghi-lul   ponay-ess-ni?
      you-Nom Yenghi-Acc   send-Pst-Q?
      'Did you send Yenghi?'

   B: Ani. Casin-i/Caki-ka ka-ki-lul   wuenha-yess-e.
      No.   self-Nom   go-Comp-Acc want-Pst-Dec
      'No, She wanted to go.'

Caki, zibun, and *ziji* have in common distinct properties such as arbitrary reference and inherent reference, not shared by those in such European languages as Icelandic, Italian, and German.[7] This paper thus discusses monomorphemic reflexivization in these languages.

3. A Minimalist Analysis of *Zibun* Reflexivization and Its Consequences

In this section, I first consider the mechanism of head movement in the Minimalist framework (Chomsky 1995). Then, I will give a principled analysis of strong subject orientation and the lack of the blocking effect of *zibun*. It will be shown that the exceptional behavior of *zibun* follows from the modified Minimalist Conditions on Subject Orientation.

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7) Monomorphemic reflexives in Korean, Chinese, and Japanese share distinct properties such as arbitrary reference and inherent reference, and the Korean and Japanese monomorphemic reflexives may take split antecedents. This paper thus discusses and provides an analysis of monomorphemic reflexivization in these languages. Monomorphemic reflexives in some languages such as German and Dutch manifest rare properties. Dutch *zich* in general may not take the closest local antecedent: it may take a long-distance antecedent in general, as shown in (i) below. German *sich* may only take a local antecedent, not a long-distance one, as in (ii). Presently, no theory on anaphora can explain all the behavior of monomorphemic reflexives in all natural languages.

(i) a. Jan$_i$ verraste *zich$_i$.
        'Jan surprised himself.'
    b. Jan$_i$ liet mij voor zich$_i$ werken.
        'Jan made me work for him.' (Koster & Reuland 1991: 84)
(ii) Marie$_i$ sagte daß Johnj sich*$_{i/j}$ gewaschen hat.
     Mary said that John self   washed   has
     'Mary said that John washed himself.'

3.1. Conditions on Subject Orientation

In the Minimalist framework, categorial movement takes place in overt syntax, while movement of formal features occur in LF. Only formal features are assumed to raise covertly to the target of movement to check matching features of the target. It has been assumed in the literatue (Chomsky (1986), Pica (1987), Battistella (1989), Huang & Tang (1991), Cole, Hermon & Sung (1990), Katada (1991), Reinhart & Reuland (1991), Hestvik (1992), etc.) that reflexives raise and adjoin to some category at LF, being subject to the Condition (A) of the Binding Theory which is assumed to apply at LF.

Chomsky (1995) argues that reflexives raise to T at LF by an operation similar in nature to overt cliticization of reflexives in Romance languages.[8] Following the Chomskyan idea, Y.-S. Kim (1999) set forth LF movement of monomorphemic reflexives driven by a need to check the affixal reflexive feature [Ref] in T. Under his system of LF head movement, reflexives have an intrinsic feature [Ref], and the host functional category T may have a [Refl] feature selected in transition from Lexicon to Numeration. He thus argues that the formal features of monomorphemic reflexives as clitics can move successive-cyclically through all the intervening T's to the matrix T to check off the feature [Refl] in T, leading to long-distance binding possibilities for monomorphemic reflexives.

Following Chomsky and Y.-S. Kim, I argue that monomorphemic reflexives are LF clitics with an intrinsic feature [Ref] and the functional category T may have an uninterpretable LF affixal feature [Ref] assigned to them in transition from Lexicon to Numeration.[9] I assume that FF (monomorphemic reflexive = N) raise through all the intervening heads to T by head movement to check off the uninterpretable affixal feature [Ref] in T at LF, as a monomorphemic reflexive is an LF clitic that is as-

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8) The relevant examples are given below.

   (i) a. Queste$_i$ cose   Mauro se$_i$ le   nega.
       these   things Mauro Ref CL denies
       'Mauro denies himself these things.'
     b. Queste$_i$ cose   Mauro se le nega a sè stessoi
       these   things Mauro Ref CL denies to himself
       'Mauro denies himself these things.'

9) Elaborating Chomskyan perspective, Y.-S. Kim suggests that monomorphemic simplex reflexives are simple pronominal elements that need to be treated as clitic D's and that polymorphemic reflexives are complex ones with internal structure that do not cliticize at LF.

sumed to be a covert counterpart to the overt reflexive clitic *se* in Romance languages.[10] I further argue, following Chomsky (1995) and Y.-S. Kim (1999), that polymorphemic reflexives are not LF clitics, and that as such, they do not cliticize to T at LF. I consider it to be a case of a DP c-commanding a monomorphemic reflexive that a DP c-commands FF(monomorphemic reflexive). I adopt the copy theory of movement under which all the traces of a moved item are copies of that item.

We observed in the previous section that the Japanese and Chinese monomorphemic reflexives show strong subject orientation, while the Korean counterparts show weak subject orientation. I showed in my previous paper that this tendency is based on whether the monomorphemic reflexives have inherent ϕ-features.

To give a unified account of subject orientation for monomorphemic reflexives in Korean, Chinese, and Japanese, I slightly revise and extend Conditions on Subject Orientation for monomorphemic reflexives proposed in Sohng (2004a) to handle Japanese as well as Korean and Chinese. The Conditions are given below.

(17) Conditions on Subject Orientation for monomorphemic reflexives in Korean, Chinese, and Japanese

   A. DPs that c-command a monomorphemic reflexive are potential antecedents for a monomorphemic reflexive.
   B. A DP that c-commands the head of a monomorphemic reflexive's chain is preferred over a DP that c-commands a non-head of that monomorphemic reflexive's chain at LF.[11]

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10) I depart from Y.-S. Kim in assuming that FF(monomorphemic reflexive≈N) undergo successive cyclic head movement to T. He argues that FF(monomorphemic reflexive) undergo T-to-T movement, but it should be noted that head movement of FF(monomorphemic reflexive) conforms to Relativized Minimality, Head Movement Constraint, or Shortest Movement Condition. See Chomsky (1995:184) and Collins (1997:22-24) for Shortest Movement Condition. Even in the *Minimalist Inquires* framework, strict successive cyclic movement is enforced in terms of Phase Impenetrability Condition (Chomsky 1999:10).

11) We note that a DP that c-commands the head of a reflexive's chain c-commands all the members of that reflexive's chain, whereas a DP that c-commands a non-head of the reflexive's chain c-commands partial members of that chain at LF. In several cases, a DP that c-commands all the members of a reflexive's chain is found to be preferred over a DP that c-commands partial members of that chain. The relevant examples are (i-iii) below and (5a). Under Chomskyan perspective, *himself* raises to T at LF in (i), in which case the subject c-commands all the members of the reflexives' chain but the object does not. We

Let us consider examples from Japanese and Korean.

(18) John$_i$-i   Mary$_j$-eykey [Tom$_k$-i   caki/casin$_{i/?j/k}$-(l)ul
John-Nom Mary-Dat   Tom-Nom self-Acc
coaha-n-ta-ko]   malha-yess-ta. (i > j)
like-Prs-Dec-Comp   say-Pst-Dec
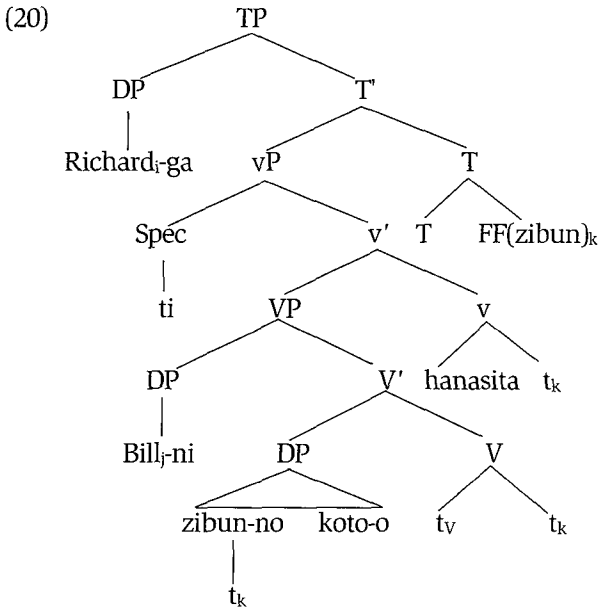'John told Mary that Tom like him/?her/himself.'

(19) a. Richard$_i$-ga   Bill$_j$-ni   zibun$_{i/*j}$-no koto-o   hanasita.
Richard-Nom Bill-Dat self-Gen   matter-Acc talked
'Richard talked to Bill about his(Richard's) matter.'
   b. Richard$_i$-wa   Bill$_j$-ni   Kate$_k$-ga   zibun$_{i/*j/k}$-o sukida-to   itta.
Richard-Top   Bill-Dat Mary-Nom self-Acc-Top like-Comp said
'Richard told Bill that Kate likes him(John)/herself.'

Consider the LF derivation of (19a).

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assume LF head movement of *sig* to T in (ii). After head movement of *sig* to T, the sub-
ject c-commands all the members of the reflexive's chain, but the object does not. In (iii),
we assume no movement of *himself*, an LF non-clitic, after *pictures of himself* has been
topicalized. The matrix subject *John*, which is a preferred antecedent for *himself*, c-com-
mands all the members of the chain of *himself*, but the local subject, which is a less pre-
ferred antecedent, does not.

(i)   Bill$_i$ told John$_j$ about himself$_{i/j}$. (i>j)
(ii) Jón$_i$ syndi Haraldi$_j$ föt   á   sig$_{i/j}$. (i>j)
       Jon told   Harald clothes for self
       'Jon showed Harald clothes for self.'
(iii) John$_i$ thinks that [pictures of himself$_{i/j}$]$_k$, Bill$_j$ likes t$_k$. (i>j)

(20)

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                           TP
                  ┌─────────┴─────────┐
                 DP                    T'
                  │            ┌────────┴────────┐
            Richardᵢ-ga       vP                 T
                         ┌─────┴─────┐      ┌─────┴─────┐
                        Spec         v'     T      FF(zibun)ₖ
                         │      ┌─────┴─────┐
                         ti    VP           v
                         ┌──────┴──────┐  ┌──┴──┐
                        DP            V' hanasita tₖ
                         │       ┌─────┴─────┐
                      Billⱼ-ni  DP           V
                          ┌──────┴──────┐  ┌──┴──┐
                      zibun-no   koto-o  tᵥ    tₖ
                          │
                          tₖ
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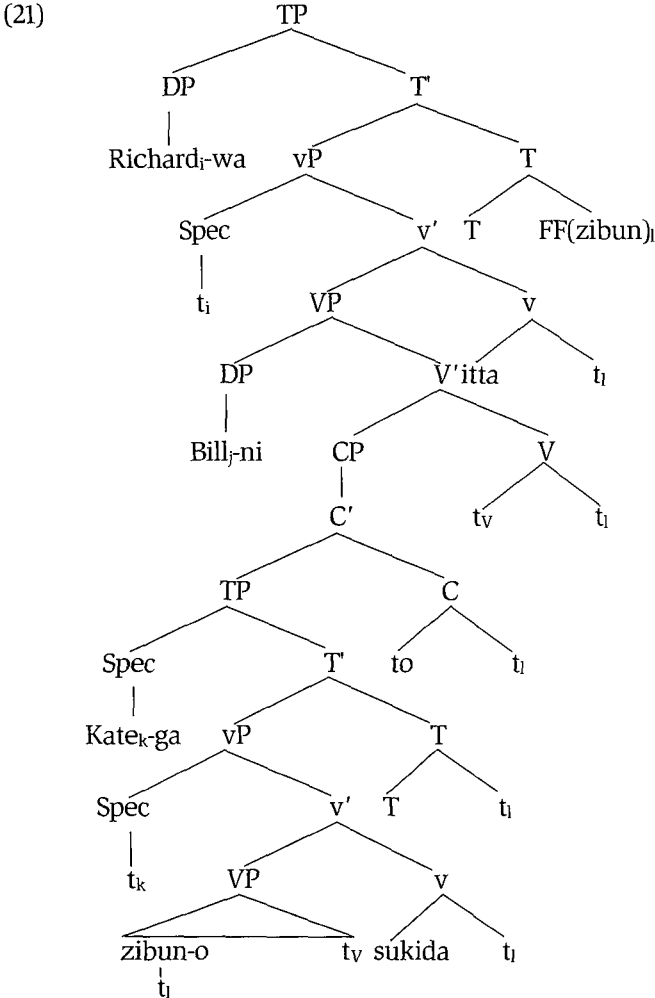
I follow Huang & Tang in claiming that Japanese *zibun* and Chinese *ziji*, which are used for all persons, have no inherent φ-features, and argue that they have their φ-features acquired and checked via Spec-head agreement at LF, which is taken to take place in TP, but not in VP or vP. The verb *hanasita* in (20) raises overtly to the light verb v, forming a [$_v$ v-V] complex, and the subject raises from Spec vP to Spec TP to check the EPP feature and the Nominative Case feature on T. Under the feature movement analysis assumed in the Minimalist framework, FF(*zibun*) undergo head- movement to adjoin to T. *Zibun* with no inherent φ-features picks up the feature [+3] from the subject through LF Spec-head agreement. Consequently, the subject that c-commands *zibun* antecedes the reflexive in line with (17A). We note that *zibun* has not acquired its φ-features until it adjoins to T, and thus that the copy of FF(zibun) adjoined to V does not have φ -features. Even though the object *Bill* also c-commands *zibun*, it cannot antecede the reflexive, since no DP can antecede a reflexive with no φ -features at LF, the level of interpretation.[12] It thus follows that only the

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12) We note that a DP can antecede *zibun* with a specific person feature, for example [+3], which means 'himself' in LF, but that no DP can antecede *zibun* with no person feature whatsoever, which is equivalent to 'self' in LF, the level where interpretation occurs.

subject can antecede *zibun* in (19a). Then the feature [Ref] of *zibun* checks that on T, and both features are deleted.

Let us consider the derivation of (19b).

(21)

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                        TP
              ┌──────────┴──────────┐
             DP                      T'
              │              ┌────────┴────────┐
        Richardᵢ-wa        vP                  T
                      ┌──────┴──────┐     ┌──────┴──────┐
                    Spec          v'  T      FF(zibun)ₗ
                      │        ┌────┴────┐
                      tᵢ      VP          v
                        ┌──────┴──────┐  ┌──┴──┐
                       DP          V'itta   tₗ
                        │        ┌────┴────┐
                    Billⱼ-ni    CP          V
                              │          ┌──┴──┐
                             C'          tᵥ    tₗ
                      ┌───────┴───────┐
                     TP               C
                ┌─────┴─────┐      ┌──┴──┐
              Spec          T'    to    tₗ
                │       ┌────┴────┐
            Kateₖ-ga   vP          T
          ┌────┴────┐        ┌──────┴──────┐
        Spec        v'  T         tₗ
          │      ┌───┴───┐
          tₖ    VP        v
        ┌───────┴───────┐  ┌──┴──┐
    zibun-o        tᵥ sukida   tₗ
       │
       tₗ
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In case the LF affixal feature [Refl] is assigned to the embedded T, FF(zibun) undergo head-movement to the embedded T to check off the feature [Ref] on T. The verb *sukida* has already adjoined to v in overt syntax. At LF, FF(zibun) first raise to V and then to v, and as the adjoined position to v is in the checking domain of v, the Accusative Case feature of FF(*zibun*) ad-

joined to v checks off that on v.[13] After that, FF(*zibun*) raise to T and check the feature [Ref] on T. In that configuration, *zibun* picks up [+3] from the embedded subject by Spec-head agreement. The embedded subject *Kate* c-commands and antecedes the reflexive in line with (17A).

In case the feature [Refl] is assigned to the matrix T, FF(zibun) raise through the embedded T, where *zibun* acquires [+3] from the embedded subject via Spec-head agreement, to finally adjoin to the matrix T. *Zibun* checks its φ-features against those of the matrix subject in terms of Spec-head agreement. The derivation is judged well-formed, as they agree. Consequently, the matrix subject *Richard* which c-commands *zibun* antecedes it. In the above structure, the matrix object *Bill* c-commands a copy of FF(zibun) with [+3] left in the matrix V. Thus, it seems that the matrix object apparently antecedes *zibun* with [+3]. We note that it is inconsistent for a local object not to antecede a monomorphemic reflexive with no inherent φ-features, as in (20), but for a higher object to antecede the reflexive with no inherent φ-features.

I slightly modify LF Condition on Antecedence in Sohng (2004a) and propose it as (22) to handle two kinds of subject orientation at hand.

(22) LF Condition on Antecedence

A DP that c-commands a non-head of a monomorphemic reflexive's chain can actually antecede a monomorphemic reflexive iff all the members of that reflexive's chain have φ-features.[14]

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13) I have basically assume that FF(zibun = N) undergo head-movement at LF, so FF(zibun) are not eligible to raise to Spec vP under the current analysis. Since the adjoined position to v is in the checking domain of v, *zibun* and v have their Accusative Case features checked in that configuration.

14) The empirical support for the Condition (22) is provided below. The LF Condition (22) is the Minimalist recasting of the expression 'a DP can actually chain-bind a monomorphemic reflexive iff all the members of that reflexive's chain have φ-features at LF'. I assume, unlike Barss (1986), that chain-binding as well as binding applies in LF as interpretational procedures.

I basically assume that a DP can chain-bind a reflexive in case all the members of that reflexive's chain have φ-features in LF. In (i), the embedded subject *Bill* chain-binds the reflexive with [+3]. The local subjects in (ii) and (iii), however, cannot chain-bind *zibun* with no φ-features in-situ, but do chain-bind the polymorphemic reflexive *zibun-zisin* with [+3]. *John* in the Korean example (iv) is able to chain-bind *caki* with inherent [+3].

(i)   John$_i$ thinks that [pictures of himself$_{i/j}$]$_k$ Bill$_j$ likes t$_k$.
(ii) Zibun$_{*i/i}$/Zibun-zisin$_i$-o John$_i$-ga t semeta. 'Self, John blamed t.'
(iii) John$_i$-ga Bill$_j$-ni [zibun$_{i/*j*k}$/zibun-zisin$_{i/*j/k}$-o Mike$_k$-ga t semeta to itta]

The LF Condition (22) uniformly excludes an object from being a possible antecedent for a monomorphemic reflexive with no inherent φ-features. As is observed, *zibun* does not get its φ-features until it adjoins to the local T, which means that *zibun*'s φ-features have been unspecified before zibun arrives at the local T. In line with Condition (22), the matrix object *Bill*, which c-commands a non-head of *zibun*'s chain at LF, cannot antecede *zibun*, as the first to third members of *zibun*'s chain have no φ-features.[15]

We note that the above Condition also accounts for strong subject orientation for Chinese *ziji*, which has no inherent φ-features like *zibun*.

(23) Bill$_i$ gaosu David$_j$ Kate$_k$ piping-le   ziji$_{i/*j/k}$
     Bill tell   David   Kate   criticize-Asp self
     'Bill told David that Kate criticized him(Bill)/herself.'

In case the feature [Ref] is assigned to the matrix T, FF(ziji) move through the local T, where *ziji* gets [+3] from the local subject *Kate*, and finally land at the matrix T in (23). Not until has *ziji* adjoined to the local T that it acquires its φ-features. In line with (22), the matrix object, which c-commands a non-head of *ziji*'s chain, cannot antecede *ziji*, since not all the members of the reflexive's chain have φ-features at LF.

Consider weak subject orientation for Korean *caki*.

(24) John$_i$-i   Mary$_j$-eykey [Tom$_k$-i   caki/casin$_{i/?j/k}$-(l)ul
     John-Nom Mary-Dat   Tom-Nom self-Acc
     coaha-n-ta-ko]   malha-yess-ta. (i > j)
     like-Prs-Dec-Comp   say-Pst-Dec
     'John told Mary that Tom like him/?her/himself.'

Consider the case in which the feature [Ref] is assigned to the matrix T. FF(*caki*) raise and adjoin to the matrix T at LF. The matrix object qualifies as an antecedent for *caki* with inherent φ-features in accord with (22), since all the members of *caki*'s chain have φ-features. In line with (17A-B), the

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'John told Bill that self, Mike blamed t.'
(iv) Caki$_i$-lul John$_i$-i t pinanha-yess-ta. 'Self, John blamed t.'

15) Under the Copy theory, all the traces of FF(*zibun*) are copies of FF(*zubun*). A copy of FF(*zibun*) in-situ, a copy of FF(*zibun*) left in the embedded V, and a copy of FF(*zibun*) left in the adjoined position to the embedded v have no φ-features.   ·

subject antecedent is preferred over an object antecedent, as shown in (24).

We have observed that two kinds of subject orientation for mono-morphemic reflexives in these three languages follow from Conditions on Subject Orientation (17) and Condition on Antecedence (22).

3.2. The Lack of the Blocking Effect of *Zibun*

Following and extending Huang & Tang's perspective, I have argued that Japanese *zibun* and Chinese *ziji*, which are used for all persons, have no inherent φ-features, and that they acquire their φ-features through LF Spec-head agreement. Despite the similarities, *zibun* behaves differently from *ziji*: it does not show the blocking effect, which is characteristic of *ziji*. In this section, I will show that the lack of the blocking effect of *zibun* follows from the Minimalist Conditions on Subject Orientation, based on optional agreement for Japanese, as proposed by Kuroda (1988).

3.2.1. Optional Agreement for Japanese

Major typological differences exist between English and Japanese. English has visible Wh-movement, while Japanese does not. English does not scramble and has an orderly word order, but Japanese scrambles and has a free word order. The topic is not prominent in English while it is prominent in Japanese. English does not have multiple-subject constructions while Japanese do have them. Kuroda claims that the parametric difference between English and Japanese consists of the following: Agreement is forced in English while it is not in Japanese. He introduces the following universal assumptions (25A-B) and language-particular Propositions (26A-B).

(25) A. Assumption U-3. Languages are parameterized as to whether X-Agreement is forced or not.

B. Assumption U-4. X-agreement is a feature-sharing (co-specification) between a base category and a Max (N) (=NP or DP) that it governs.

(26) A. Proposition E-5. English is a forced Agreement language.

B. Proposition J-11. Japanese is not a forced Agreement language.

Under his system of Agreement, Agreement-inducing C or I agrees with its external complement, Ext (C) or Ext (I) in English, while it does not have to in

Japanese.[16] Thus, a +wh complementizer is forced to Agree with its External complement in English, leading to obligatory Wh-movement, while it is not in Japanese. Infl is forced to agree with its external complement in English, so Extended Projection Principle holds for English, while Infl is not forced to agree with its external complement in Japanese, so EPP is optional in Japanese. In his system of Agreement, an Agreement-inducing (i.e., Case-marking) lexical category V is forced to Agree (Case-mark) its Internal Complement in English, whereas it is not in Japanese.

What he suggest for the Case theory is that the subject of the finite clause and the object may or may not get Case-marked in Japanese, while they must get Case-marked in English-type languages. What he proposes is that a subject and an object in Japanese can be licensed independently of Case theory, in terms of another lower-case Case-marking mechanism, which assigns *ga* and *o* to them. Thus, the subject with *ga*-marking may stay in Spec VP and get nom-marked or raise to Spec TP and get NOM-marked as well as nom-marked in Japanese.[17]

I will adopt Kuroda's perspective on non-forced Agreement for Japanese, and pursue an account of the lack of the blocking effect of Japanese *zibun*.

3.2.2. The Lack of the Blocking Effect

We note that Japanese *zibun* behaves differently from *ziji* in regards to the blocking effect. It does not show the blocking effect, like the Korean monomorphemic reflexives, as shown below.

(27) Bill$_i$-wa   watashi$_j$-ga John$_k$-ga   zibun$_{i/j/k}$-o   sukida-to
     Bill-Top   I-Nom   John-Nom self-Acc   like-Comp
     shit-teiru-to   omot-teiru.
     know-Prs-Comp   think-Prs
     'Bill thinks that I know that John likes him/me/himself.'

(28) Bill$_i$-un   [nay$_j$-ka caki$_{i/*j}$/casin$_{i/j}$-ul salangha-n-ta-ko]
     Bill-Top   I-Nom   self-Acc   love-Prs-Dec-Comp

---

16) Kuroda uses the conventional terms in the X-bar theory. Max (X), Ext (V), and Ext (I) that he uses in his paper correspond to XP, the external complement of V, and the external complement of I, respectively.

17) Kuroda argues that the subject of a clause is base-generated in Spec V cross-linguistically, which is compatible with the VP-internal Subject Hypothesis.

sayngkakha-n-ta.
think-Prs-Dec
'Bill thinks I like him/myself.'

(29) Bill$_i$ renwei wo$_j$ zhidao Tim$_k$ xihuan ziji$_{*i/*j/k}$.
     Bill think   I   know   Tim like   self
     'Bill thinks that I know that Tim likes *him/*me/himself.'

Unlike Chomskyan approach to agreement, Kuroda claims that these two languages differ with regard to agreement. I accept Kuroda's perspective on agreement - agreement is forced in English-type languages, while it is not in Japanese. Thus, agreement between Spec IP (or TP) and I is optional in Japanese. No agreement occurs between the subject and Infl if the subject with *-ga* marking stays in vP, but agreement does occur when the subject raises and stays in Spec IP.

Chomsky (1998:23) assumes that the EPP feature for T might be universal. I claim in this context that the EPP feature for T is obligatory in English-type languages, but that the EPP feature is optional in Japanese. Under the agreement system taken in this paper, the subject with the *ga*-marking gets nom-marked and licensed by the marker *-ga* when the subject stays in Spec vP, but if the subject with the *ga*-marking raises to Spec TP, it has its Nominative Case feature checked off by T. This entails that in case the subject DP in Japanese is assigned the Nominative Case feature in transition from Lexicon to Numeration, T is assigned the Nominative feature and the EPP feature in transition to Numeration. However, in case the subject DP is not assigned the Case feature when selected into the Numeration, T is not assigned the Case feature and the EPP feature in the course of Numeration in Japanese. The subject DP with the Nominative Case feature necessarily raises from Spec vP to Spec TP to check off the Nominative Case feature and the EPP feature on T, and at LF, φ-features of the subject check off those of the verb. On the other hand, the subject DP without the Case feature remains in Spec vP, and no Case feature and EPP feature checking occurs between the subject and T in overt syntax. Consequently, no φ-features checking occurs between the subject and the verb at LF. The subject DP in Spec vP is licensed by the marker *-ga* in Japanese.

Consider the LF derivation for (27).

(30) a. Bill$_i$-wa [$_{vP1}$ t$_i$ [$_{CP2}$ [$_{TP2}$ [$_{vP2}$ watashi$_j$-ga [$_{CP3}$ [$_{TP3}$ [$_{vP3}$ John$_k$-ga
    zibun$_i$-o sukida]]-to $_{CP3}$] shit-teiru-to $_{CP2}$] omot-teiru.

  b. [$_{CP1}$ [$_{TP1}$ . . . [$_{CP2}$ [$_{TP2}$ watashi$_j$-ga [$_{vP2}$ t$_j$ [$_{CP3}$ [$_{TP3}$ [$_{vP3}$
    John$_k$-ga zibun$_j$-o sukida]]-to $_{CP3}$] shit-teiru-to $_{CP2}$] omot-teiru.

  c. [$_{CP1}$ [$_{TP1}$ . . . [$_{CP2}$ [$_{TP2}$ . . . [$_{CP3}$ [$_{TP3}$ John$_k$-ga [$_{vP3}$ t$_k$ zibun$_k$-o
    sukida]]-to $_{CP3}$] shit-teiru-to $_{CP2}$] omot-teiru.

Consider the case (30a) in which the feature [Ref] is assigned to the matrix T. FF(*zibun*) need to raise to the matrix T to check off [Ref] on T at LF. Under the system of agreement taken in this paper, the matrix subject is assigned the Case feature in transition to Numeration in this case, but the lower subjects are not. The matrix T is assigned the Case feature and the EPP feature in the course of Numeration, while the lower T's are not. The lower subjects *watashi* and *John*, which are licensed by the case-marker *-ga*, remain in vP2 and vP3, respectively. The matrix subject, on the other hand, raises to Spec TP1 to check the Nominative Case feature and the EPP feature on T. FF(zibun) raise and adjoin to T3 at LF, but *zibun* does not acquire its φ-features in T3, since no DP is available in Spec TP3. FF(*zibun*) then raise and adjoin to T2, where *zibun* does not pick up φ-features for the same reason. FF(*zibun*) continue to raise and finally adjoin to the matrix T1, where *zibun* picks up [+3] from the matrix subject *Bill* via Spec-head agreement. The matrix subject c-commands and antecedes *zibun* in accord with (17A). And the feature [Ref] of *zibun* checks that on the matrix T. It is predicted under the LF Condition (22) that the lower subjects *watashi* and *John*, which remain in Spec vP, cannot antecede *zibun*, because the reflexive has not acquired its φ-features until it lands at T1, and thus copies of FF(zibun) left in v2 and v3 do not have φ-features. In case the lowest subject stays in Spec vP3 and the next higher subject raises from Spec vP to Spec TP, the subject in the intermediate clause antecedes *zibun* under the suggested system of feature checking and agreement. In case the lowest subject raises to Spec TP in overt syntax, it antecedes *zibun*, and checking the features [Ref] occurs in the projection of T3 at LF.

To summarize, the lack of the blocking effect of *zibun* follows from Minimalist Conditions on Subject Orientation, under the assumption that Agreement (φ-features), EPP, and the Case features are optional in Japanese.

I showed in my previous paper that the blocking effect for *ziji* follows from Minimalist Conditions on Subject Orientation and LF Spec-head agreement. The lack of the blocking effect of the Korean monomorphemic

reflexives is due to the fact that they have inherent φ-features. They just raise and have DPs with the matching φ-features as antecedents at LF.
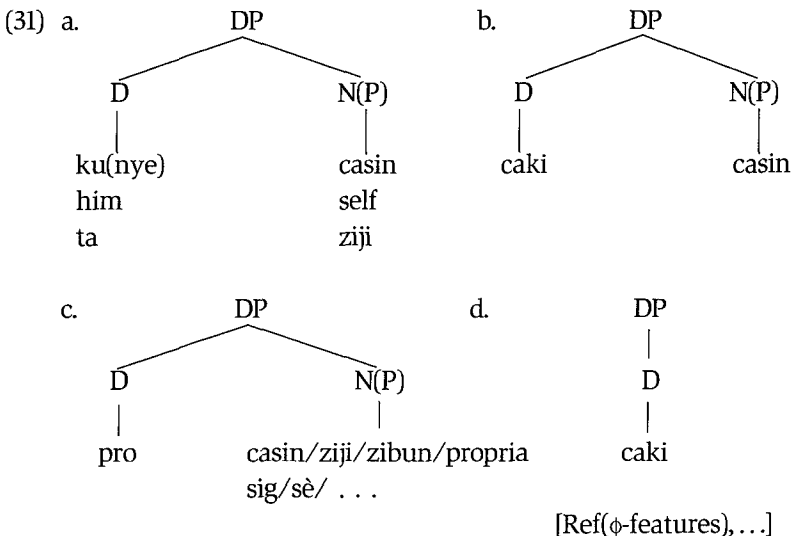
To conclude, all the syntactic behavior of the monomorphemic reflexives *caki, casin, zibun,* and *ziji* follows from Minimalist Conditions on Subject Orientation and LF Spec-head agreement under the Minimalist feature checking analysis.

4. Y.-S. Kim's (1999) and H.-R. Lee's (1998) Analyses

In this section, I will critically review two previous Minimalist analyses, Y.-S. Kim (1999) and H.-R. Lee (1998), that draw on LF movement of the features of the monomorphemic reflexives.

4.1. Y.-S. Kim (1999)

Y.-S. Kim (1999) argues in the Minimalist framework that the reflexive feature [Ref] intrinsic in a reflexive is attracted covertly to the functional category T to check off the uninterpretable LF affixal feature [Ref] in T and to enter into a checking relation with its sublabel [R]. He posits the following structures for the reflexives in natural languages.

(31) a.
```
              DP
           ┌──┴──┐
           D    N(P)
           │     │
         ku(nye) casin
          him    self
           ta     ziji
```

b.
```
              DP
           ┌──┴──┐
           D    N(P)
           │     │
          caki  casin
```

c.
```
              DP
           ┌──┴──┐
           D    N(P)
           │     │
          pro   casin/ziji/zibun/propria
                sig/sè/ . . .
```

d.
```
              DP
              │
              D
              │
             caki
         [Ref(φ-features),...]
```

He assumes that a monomorphemic reflexive may undergo successive cyclic movement through all the intervening T's to the matrix T as a clitic, whereas a polymorphemic reflexive cannot, being a non-clitic. He put forth the Minimal Link Condition (MLC) for the [Ref] feature attraction at LF.

(32) Minimal Link Condition

Minimize the length of links.

(33) a. John$_i$-i   [Bill$_j$-i   caki$_{i/?j}$/casin$_{i/?j}$-ul   miwueha-n-ta-ko]
John-Nom   Bill-Nom self-Acc   hate-Prs-Dec-Comp
mit-nun-ta
believe-Prs-Dec
'John believes that Bill hates him/himself.'
b. Gary$_i$ thinks that Paul$_j$ likes himself$_{*i/j}$.

Under his analysis, the formal features of the monomorphemic reflexive *caki* or *casin* in (33a) are attracted to the local T, and then may undergo successive cyclic movement to the matrix T at LF. Consequently, it is predicted that the monomorphemic reflexive *caki* or *casin* in (33a) can have as antecedent either the embedded subject or the matrix subject, having its referential value specified in terms of [R] in the embedded T or [R] in the matrix T. The embedded object *himself* in (33b), however, can only take the embedded subject as antecedent in conformity with the MLC, as it is a non-clitic.

His analysis, however, has drawbacks on conceptual and empirical grounds. One of the problems for his proposal comes from the so-called blocking effect. The relevant examples are given below.

(34) Bill$_i$-wa   watashi$_j$-ga John$_k$-ga   zibun$_{i/j/k}$-o sukida-to
Bill-Top I-Nom   John-Nom self-Acc   like-Comp
shit-teiru-to   omot-teiru.
know-Prs-Comp   think-Prs
'Bill thinks that I know that John likes him/me/himself.'

(35) Bill$_i$-un   [nay$_j$-ka caki$_{i/*j}$/casin$_{i/j}$-ul salangha-n-ta-ko]
Bill-Top I-Nom   self-Acc   love-Prs-Dec-Comp
sayngkakha-n-ta.
think-Prs-Dec

'Bill thinks I like him/myself.'

(36) Bill$_i$ renwei wo$_j$ zhidao Tim$_k$ xihuan ziji$_{*i/*j/k}$.
     Bill think I know Tim like self
     'Bill thinks that I know that Tim likes *him/*me/himself.'

He proposes the following Feature Control Principle.

(37) Reflexive pro enters into a checking relation with ϕ-feature of T.

Under the F-control principle, *casin* with (31c) as its internal structure is not allowed to refer to a higher clause subject DP if the higher clause subject disagrees with the local subject in its ϕ-features. It is predicted under Feature Control Principle that *zibun* in Japanese as well as monomorphemic reflexives in Korean and Chinese shows the blocking effect, contrary to the fact. His proposal per se cannot explain the lack of the blocking effect of *zibun* as well as that of the Korean monomorphemic reflexives.

Another problem with his analysis is that it predicts that *casin* in Korean can only refer to the subject, as [Ref] of *casin* may raise and cliticize covertly to any T successive-cyclically, being checked by the referential feature [R] in T that has been assigned in terms of Spec-head agreement with the subject DP.

(38) a. Nay$_i$-ka Julie$_j$-lul [casin$_{*i/j}$-i salangha-nun] salam-eykey
        I-Nom Julie-Acc self-Nom love-Rel a man-to
        ponay-ss-ta.
        send-Pst-Dec
        'I sent Julie to a man whom she loves.'
     b. Bill$_i$-un [nay$_j$-ka Julie$_k$-lul casin$_{i/*j/?k}$-uy
        Bill-Top I-Nom Julie-Acc self-Gen
        cip-ulo ponay-ss-ta-ko] sayngkakha-n-ta
        house-to send-Pst-Dec-Comp think-Prs-Dec
        'Bill thinks that I sent Julie to his/her house.'

Contrary to his prediction, however, *casin* refers back to the higher clause object DP in (38a), and it refers back to either the local object DP or the matrix subject DP in (38b). Kim proposes the following optimality control condition for anaphora of *casin*.

(39) [$_D$ pro] c-selecting *casin*, when the reflexive occurring in non-object
position, is analyzed as non-clitic, and so it must be controlled under
the following optimality condition.
(i) it is controlled by the 3rd person DP among co-arguments.
(ii) it is controlled by the subject DP.

However, he does not provide independent supporting evidence for his as-
sumption that [$_D$ pro] c-selecting *casin* is analyzed as non-clitic when the re-
flexive occurs in non-object position. It is unclear how the same structural el-
ement [$_D$ pro FF(casin)] illustrated in (31C) counts as clitic in object position
while it cannot in non-object position. The nature and ranking of the
Conditions (i) and (ii) should also be explained.

One more drawback of his theory comes from his analysis of reflexiviza-
tion in SOV languages on the one hand and that in SVO languages on the
other. Consider reflexivization in the following sentences.

(40) a. Greg$_i$ told Bill$_j$ about himself$_{i/j}$.   (i > j)
   b. Jón$_i$ sendi Haraldi$_j$ föt   á   sig$_{i/j}$/sjaáfan sig$_{i/j}$. (i > j)
      Jon told Harald   clothes for self / himself.
      'Jon sent Harald clothes for himself/him.'
   c. Bill$_i$ shuo John$_j$ sengsong gei Julie$_k$ yipian guanyu ziji$_{i/j/*k}$
      Bill say John give   to Julie one   about   self
      de wenzhang
      de article
      'Bill says that John gave an article about him/himself to Julie.'
   d. Bill$_i$-i   John$_j$-lul   casin$_{i/j}$/caki$_{i/j}$-eykey selmengha-yess-ta.
      Bill-Nom John-Acc self-to   explain-Pst-Dec (i > j)
      'Bill explained John to himself/him.'
   e. Greg$_i$-i   Bill$_j$-ul   caki$_{i/j}$-uy cip-ulo   ponay-ss-ta. (i > j)
      Greg-Nom Bill-Acc self's house-Loc   send-Pst-Dec
      'Greg sent Bill to his house.'
   f. Paul$_i$-ga   [Tom$_j$-ga   Bill$_k$-ni kare-zisin$_{?*i/j/k}$-no koto-o
      Paul-Nom Tom-Nom Bill-Dat himself-Acc   matter-Acc
      hanasita to]   itta. (j > k)
      told   that said
      'Paul said that Tom told Bill about himself/him.'

he claims that an object DP in SOV languages such as Korean and Japanese

moves to Spec v in overt syntax in line with Kayne's (1993, 1994) universal word order hypothesis, and that the object DP or FF(obj) is not subject to further movement in LF, as it has had its Case feature checked in Spec v in overt syntax. An object DP in SVO languages such as English, Italian, Icelandic, etc. has not moved in overt syntax, and thus FF(obj) raise to T to have its Case feature checked at LF.

Under his assumptions, the reflexives in SVO languages are predicted to refer back to either the subject or the object, as LF movements of FF(reflexive) and FF(object) to T in SVO languages allow [Ref] to enter into checking relations with not only [R] of T but also [R] of the object. The reflexives in SOV languages are predicted to refer back to only the subject as FF(object) in Spec v may not move in LF and FF(reflexive) adjoined to T can only enter into a checking relation with [R] in T in LF.

Reflexivization in (40a-b) is explained under his proposal. However, reflexivization in Chinese with SVO word order in (40c) in which ziji may not refer back to the local object cannot be accounted for. Furthermore, weak subject orientation manifested by the monomorphemic reflexives in Korean, an SOV language, and by the polymorphemic reflexives in Japanese, another SOV language, in (40d-f) is yet to be explained under his assumptions.

Even though Kim's analysis deals nicely with several examples from Korean, his analysis still suffers from all these empirical and conceptual weak points.

4.2. H.-R. Lee (1998)

H.-R. Lee proposes LF [+anaphoric] feature movement of reflexives in the framework of *The Minimalist Program*. Her theory is based on a distinction that the [+anaphoric] feature of a monomorphemic reflexive is [+interpretable] and the [+anaphoric] feature of a polymorphemic reflexive is [-interpretable].

Consider the following examples.

(41) John$_i$ thinks that Bob$_j$ hates himself$_{*i/j}$.

(42) John$_i$-i   [Bob$_j$-i   caki$_{i/j}$-lul   miweha-n-ta-ko]
     John-Nom   Bob-Nom   self-Acc   hate-Prs-Dec-Comp
     sayngkakha-n-ta.
     think-Prs-Dec
     'John thinks Bob hates him/himself.'

In (41), FF(VB), formal features of the verb, and FF(OB), those of the object, which include the [+anaphoric] feature of the object, raise covertly and adjoin to the head T at LF. Under H.-R. Lee's proposal, the [+anaphoric] feature enters into a checking relation with the subject in Spec TP, recovering reference from the subject NP. Further movement across the clause boundary is not possible, since the [+anaphoric] feature which is [-interpretable] is eliminated after being checked, under her proposal.

Consider the LF derivation of (42) below.

(43)
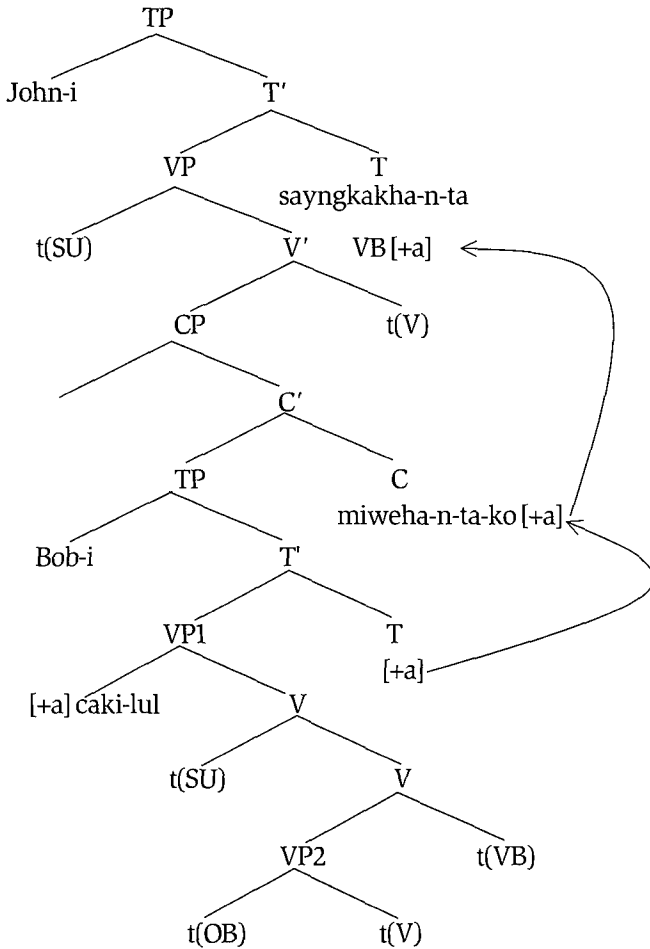
The subject, the object, and the verb move overtly in (42).[18] Caki first moves to the outer Spec position of vP, and the Case feature of the reflexive is checked off in that position. She assumes that the unchecked anaphoric feature continues to move to T where it is checked by the embedded subject Bob. Under her analysis, further LF movement across the clause boundary is assumed to be possible in this case, since the anaphoric feature which is [+interpretable] is accessible to further computation, unlike the [-interpretable] feature. Thus, in her theory, the [+anaphoric] feature continues to move to the matrix T where it enters into a checking relation with the matrix subject John. She assumes that the anaphoric feature of a monomorphemic reflexive is repeatedly accessible to further computation, since it is [+interpretable].

Even though her analysis handles several cases of reflexivization from Korean and English, her theory has conceptual drawbacks. Her theory is based on a distinction that the [+anaphoric] feature of a monomorphemic reflexive is [+interpretable] and that of a polymorphemic reflexive is [-interpretable]. She, however, does not provide motivation or evidence for that distinction. It is unclear how the anaphoric feature is uninterpretable for a polymorphemic reflexive while it is interpretable for a monomorphemic reflexive.

One more problem with her analysis is concerned with covert movement of the [+anaphoric] feature to T at LF, for which she does not provide motivation, either. In my previous paper, I put forth LF head movement of [Ref] of a monomorphemic reflexive as LF clitic to T driven by a need to check [Ref] in T. It needs to be spelled out what motivates covert movement of the anaphoric feature to T in her analysis.

5. Conclusion

As has been noted, the Japanese monomorphemic reflexive *zibun* is used for all persons, just like Chinese *ziji*. I have argued, following Huang & Tang's perspective, that *zibun* has no inherent φ-features in the Lexicon, and claimed that *zibun* acquires and checks its φ-features via LF Spec-head agreement, just like *ziji*. *Zibun* and *ziji* are well-known to

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18) H.-R. Lee assumes that overt subject raising and covert object and V raising occur in English, and that overt subject, object, and V raising occur in Korean.

show strong subject orientation: they can only refer to subjects in the binding domain. Unlike *ziji*, however, *zibun* does not manifest the blocking effect - the monomorphemic reflexive is not blocked even when an immediately higher subject differs in person from a lower subject, as illustrated in (8).

In 3.1, I have shown that strong subject orientation for *zibun* follows from the modified Minimalist Conditions on Subject Orientation (17) and Condition on Antecedence (22). In 3.2, based on Kuroda's (1988) argument on optional agreement for Japanese, I have proven that the lack of the blocking effect of *zibun* also follows from Minimalist Conditions on Subject Orientation and LF Spec-head agreement, under the theoretical perspective that Agreement (ϕ-features), EPP, and the Case features are optional in Japanese.

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