The conceptual basis for reflexive constructions in Japanese

Yukio Hirose *

Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences, University of Tsukuba, Tsukuba-shi,

Ibaraki-ken, 305-8571, Japan

* Tel.: +81 29 857 6675; fax: +81 29 857 6675

E-mail address: hirose.yukio.ft@u.tsukuba.ac.jp

Abstract

Japanese has a variety of words for self corresponding to English reflexive pronouns, such as *zibun, zisin, mizukara, onore*, and *ware*, which can all be used as reflexive markers. Moreover, words for body or mind like *karada* 'body' and *kokoro* 'mind/heart' can also be regarded as reflexive markers when used to describe self-directed actions like stretching oneself and bracing oneself. Just to say that reflexive constructions are those in which the subject is coreferential with the object does not explain the multiplicity of reflexive markers in Japanese. This paper argues that the multiplicity and intricacy of Japanese reflexive constructions can be accounted for in terms of conceptual models based on the "Subject-Self" metaphor (Lakoff and Johnson, 1999), according to which a person is divided into a Subject and one or more Selves. It is shown that reflexive constructions in Japanese consist of a family of constructions that have different lexical forms and meanings but whose conceptual basis is provided by the Subject-Self distinction.

Keywords: Reflexive; Japanese; Self; Subject-Self metaphor; Emphatic function; Contrastive function

1. Introduction

English reflexive pronouns like *himself* are typically used as reflexive markers indicating the reflexivity of one's action, as exemplified in (1).

(1) Ken blamed himself.

In Japanese, there are a variety of words for self corresponding to English reflexive pronouns, such as *zibun, onore, mizukara, zisin* (especially in the form of *zibun-zisin* 'self-self' or *kare-zisin* 'him-self'), and *ware*, which can all be used as reflexive markers,¹ as shown in (2).²

(2) a. {zibun / onore / mizukara}-o semeru

{self / self / self}-ACC

blame

'blame oneself'

b. zisin 'self'

{zibun-zisin / kare-zisin}-o semeru

{self-self / him-self}-ACC blame

'[Lit.] blame {self-self / him-self}'

c. ware-o wasureru

self-ACC forget

'lose/forget oneself'

¹ When these reflexive pronouns take the subject of a sentence as their antecedent, the subject may be a first-person pronoun like *watasi* 'I', a second-person pronoun like *anata* 'you', or a third-person noun or pronoun like *Ken* or *kare* 'he'.

² The following abbreviations are used in the glosses of examples in this paper: ACC = accusative, BENEF = benefactive, CAUS = causative, COP = copula, DAT = dative, EMPH = emphatic, GEN = genitive, HON = honorific (= subject honoric), HUM = humble (= non-subject honorific), HYPOC = hypocoristic, IMP = imperative, LOC = locative, NOM = nominative, NEG = negative, NMLZ = nominalizer, PAST = past, PERF = perfective, POL = polite, Q = question, QUOT = quotative, TOP = topic.

Moreover, words for body or mind like *karada* 'body' and *kokoro* 'mind/heart' can also be viewed as reflexive markers when used to describe self-directed actions, as in (3).

- (3) a. karada-*o arau* body-ACC wash 'wash oneself'
 - b. kokoro-o nayamaseru
 mind/heart-ACC trouble
 'trouble oneself'

In generative linguistics, the syntactic behavior of two of these reflexive markers, *zibun* and *zisin*, has been extensively studied, especially in terms of binding theory (see, e.g., Aikawa, 1999 for a detailed survey). But the question of how the multiple reflexive markers are conceptually similar to and different from one another has not been dealt with seriously.

In this paper, I will address this question and argue that the multiplicity and intricacy of Japanese reflexive constructions can be explained in terms of conceptual models based on what Lakoff calls the "Subject-Self" metaphor, according to which a person is divided into a Subject and one or more Selves (Lakoff, 1996, 1997; Lakoff and Johnson, 1999).³ By proposing four distinct conceptual models, I will show that reflexive constructions in Japanese consist of a family of constructions that have different lexical forms and meanings but whose conceptual basis is provided by the Subject-Self distinction.

The paper is organized as follows. In section 2, I briefly discuss the polysemous nature of Japanese reflexives such as *zibun*, *onore*, and *ware*, and point out that their uses as reflexive markers are extensions of their uses as so-called "logophoric" and

³ Hence the metaphor is also known as the "Divided-Person" metaphor (cf. Talmy, 1988 and Haiman, 1995 for related work).

"viewpoint" markers—a fact especially remarkable in light of the fact that reflexive markers in many languages are derived from intensifiers or body-part terms (e.g., König and Siemund, 2000a; Schladt, 2000). In section 3, I introduce the Subject-Self distinction and develop two conceptual models underlying reflexive constructions with *zibun* and those with words for body or mind, respectively; it is noted in particular that the occurrence of *zibun* as a reflexive marker cannot be adequately accounted for in terms of the semantics of verbs alone. In section 4, I focus on the emphatic and contrastive functions of reflexive constructions by examining the emphatic marker *zibun-de* 'by self' and the contrastive reflexive *zisin*. On the basis of the Subject-Self distinction, I first clarify the intensifying mechanism of *zibun-de*, and then present a conceptual model for *zisin*, which enables us to explain the ways in which *zisin* is similar to and different from *zibun*. In sections 5 and 6, I deal with the reflexive markers *onore*, *mizukara*, and *ware*, and consider how they are characterized semantically as compared with *zibun*; it is also argued that *ware* needs a special conceptual model of its own. Finally, in section 7, I summarize and conclude the paper.

2. Logophoricity, viewpoint, and reflexivity

Before going into the discussion of reflexive constructions as such, I would like to point out the important fact that the reflexive markers *zibun*, *onore*, and *ware*, in particular, have or used to have the pronominal usage of referring to the speaker; i.e., they originally mean a kind of "I", as will be shown presently. Let me take *zibun* as an example. First of all, as discussed at length in Hirose (1997, 2000, 2002), *zibun* is polysemous with at least three different uses illustrated in (4)-(6).⁴

⁴ Oshima (2004, 2006) also develops a similar analysis from a different perspective based on formal semantics. Sells' (1987) well-known study on logophoricity in Japanese deals only with the logophoric and viewpoint uses of *zibun*, and not with its reflexive use. For more detailed discussion of the distinction between the three uses of *zibun*, see especially Hirose (2002) and Oshima (2004).

- (4) Akio-wa zibun-wa ganko da to {itteiru / omotteiru}. (logophoric)

 Akio-TOP self-TOP stubborn COP QUOT {say / think}

 'Akio {says / thinks} that he is stubborn.'
- (5) Akio-wa zibun-ga tomodati-kara karita hon-o nakusita. (viewpoint)

 Akio-TOP self-NOM friend-from borrowed book-ACC lost

 'Akio lost a book that he borrowed from a friend.'
- (6) Akio-wa zibun-o hihansita. (reflexive)
 Akio-TOP self-ACC criticized
 'Akio criticized himself.'

In (4) *zibun* occurs in the indirect-discourse complement of a saying or thinking verb and is used to refer to the original speaker of indirect discourse, i.e., the person whose discourse is being reported or represented. This use is generally known as "logophoric". *Zibun* can also appear outside the context of indirect discourse, as in (5) and (6). In (5) it is employed as a "viewpoint" expression to indicate that the speaker is describing the book Akio lost from Akio's point of view, rather than from his own. On the other hand, *zibun* in (6), like that in (2a), serves as a reflexive marker to signal coreference between the subject and object of a predicate. This use is simply referred to here as "reflexive use". *Zibun* in its reflexive use must appear as the object of a predicate whose subject is its antecedent. While the viewpoint use of *zibun* allows replacement with a pronominal like *kare* 'he', the reflexive use does not, as seen from the contrast between sentences (7) and (8) (where *kare* is intended to be coreferential with Akio).

- (7) Akio;-wa kare;-ga tomodati-kara karita hon-o nakusita.

 Akio-TOP he-NOM friend-from borrowed book-ACC lost

 'Akio; lost a book that he; borrowed from a friend.'
- (8) *Akio;-wa kare;-o hihansita.

 Akio-TOP him-ACC criticized

'Akio_i criticized him_i.'

In (7), though, it is no longer guaranteed that the speaker is taking Akio's point of view.5

As argued in Hirose (1997, 2002), the most basic of these three uses is logophoric *zibun*, which represents the "private self", i.e., the speaker as the subject of thinking or consciousness, distinguished from the "public self" as the subject of communicating.⁶ The meaning of *zibun* extends from logophoric to viewpoint to reflexive through the process of "objectification or dissociation of self", which is a metonymic shift from the self as the subject of consciousness to the self as the object of consciousness (see Hirose, 2002 for details). Thus, the viewpoint use represents the speaker's "objective self", i.e., the self that the speaker dissociates from his consciousness and projects onto another person. The reflexive use, on the other hand, represents the objective self of the agent of an action, i.e., the self that the agent (not the speaker) dissociates from his

In the case of *zibun*, its referent Akio is depicted as the subject of consciousness (to be called the private self below) from his own internal perspective; on the other hand, when *kare* is chosen, Akio is depicted as a third person from the speaker's external perspective as a reporter (cf. Hirose, 2002: section 6). In the logico-philosophical or formal-semantic tradition, the kind of opposition found between *zibun* and *kare* in indirect discourse is often discussed in connection with what is known as the *de sel*non-*de se* distinction; see Oshima (2006) for a detailed study of such phenomena in Japanese.

⁶ Japanese has no fixed word like English / for the public self. Depending on the speaker's interpersonal relationship with the addressee, a variety of words are used including *boku* 'I (male-casual)', *atasi* 'I (female-casual)' *watasi* 'I (male-formal, female-formal/informal)', *watakusi* 'I (very formal)', *ore* 'I (male-casual/vulgar)', *atai* 'I (female-vulgar)', kinship terms like *otoosan/okaasan* 'father/mother', and the occupational title *sensei* 'teacher'. Metaphorically speaking, while the private self designated by *zibun* is the "naked" self, these various words are different "clothes" for the private self to wear in public. For detailed discussion of the distinction between public and private self, as well as its linguistic and cultural implications, see Hirose (2000) and Hasegawa and Hirose (2005).

⁵ Logohoric *zibun* can also be replaced with a pronominal like *kare*, as illustrated in (i).

⁽i) Akio;-wa {zibun; / kare;}-ga minna-o tasuketa to omotteiru.

Akio-TOP {self / he}-NOM everyone-ACC saved QUOT think

'Akio; thinks that he; saved everyone.'

consciousness and treats like another person.

In this connection, very few Japanese dictionaries explicitly state whether it was the logophoric or the reflexive use that came first. But according to *Gogen Yurai Jiten*, an online dictionary of etymological origins of Japanese words (available at http://gogen-allguide.com/), *zibun* was first used as a first-person pronominal in the ninth century (during the Heian period), and its reflexive use appeared in the medieval period (after the 12th century). If so, the historical development of *zibun* is consistent with the hypothesis in question.

Furthermore, Mori (2008) argues on the basis of data from *Genji Monogatari* (or the Tale of Genji), written by Murasaki Shikibu at the beginning of the 11th century, that the kind of semantic extension involved in *zibun* in Modern Japanese is also found in the use of *ware* and *onore* in Late Old Japanese.⁷ That is, *ware* and *onore* used to have the same kinds of uses as *zibun*, and the most basic one was logophoric, representing the private self as the subject of thinking or consciousness.⁸ To illustrate the logophoric and viewpoint uses of *ware* and *onore*, Mori (2008:301-302) cites examples like the following from *Genji Monogatari*.⁹

(9) logophoric use

a. Ware ha saritomo, kokoro-nagaku mihate-temu to obosinasu ...
self TOP anyway heart-long look.after-will QUOT think.HON

'(Genji) thinks, "Anyway, I [= ware] will look after (her) forever."

(Chapter 6: Suetsumuhana)

⁷ The Japanese language used in the Heian period (794-1185), when *Genji Monogatari* was written, is called *Tyuuko Nihongo*, which is often translated into English as "Late Old Japanese" (Miller, 1967; Shibatani, 1990).

⁸ Mori points out that in Late Old Japanese the public self was represented by words like *maro*, *nanigasi*, and *kokoni; ware* and *onore* could also be employed to refer to the public self, as is the case with *zibun* in Modern Japanese (Hirose, 2000; Hasegawa and Hirose, 2005).

⁹ The transcriptions of the examples in (9) and (10) follow old Japanese orthography (known as *rekisiteki kanadukai* 'historical *kana* usage'). The English glosses and translations are mine.

b. ... onore *hitori simo kokoro wo tatete mo, ikaga ha to*self alone EMPH heart ACC stand even.if how TOP QUOT

omohiyori-haberi-si ...

think-POL-PAST

'(I) thought, "What good is it for me [= *onore*] alone to assert myself?" [This is an utterance by a lady called Miyasudokoro to report her own thought.]

(Chapter 39: Yuugiri)

(10) viewpoint use

a. ... naho ware ni turenaki hito no mi-kokoro wo tukisezu
 still self DAT cold person GEN HON-heart ACC endlessly
 nomi obosinageku.

EMPH grieve.HON

'(Genji) grieves endlessly over the heart of the person still cold to him [= ware].' (Chapter 9: Aoi)

b. ... mi-tatematuru hito mo ito kanasikute, onore mo yoyoto look-HUM person also very sad self also bitterly naki-nu.

cry-PERF

'The person looking (at Genji crying) was also so sad that he [= *onore*] cried bitterly too.' (Chapter 4: *Yuugao*)

In (9) both *ware* and *onore* occur in the reported-clause complement of a thinking verb, and are used to denote the subject of thinking.¹⁰ In (10) the narrator is using *ware* and *onore* to refer to Genji and the person looking at Genji crying (namely, a servant named Koremitsu), respectively. By doing so, the narrator is empathizing with these characters and describing the situations in (10a) and (10b) from their points of view.

¹⁰ It is not clear whether the reported clauses in (9) are instances of direct or indirect discourse, but in either case I assume with Mori that *ware* and *onore* in (9) represent the subject of thinking, i.e., what I call the private self.

Mori observes that *ware* was the unmarked word for private self, while *onore* was a marked one with a humble nuance; in the viewpoint use, *ware* was generally employed to indicate the speaker's empathy with another person, whereas *onore* was used especially in reference to someone the speaker regarded as an inferior. The logophoric and viewpoint uses of *ware* and *onore* are now obsolete, but their reflexive uses still remain in Modern Japanese, with their own particular semantics, as we will see later in sections 5 and 6.

Incidentally, Morino (1970) and Miyaji (1973) remark that *mizukara* 'self' was also used as a word for "I" in Late Old Japanese. Nakada et al. (1983) speculate, however, that this use was derived by deleting *ware* from the composite expression *ware mizukara* 'I self', where *ware* is the first-person pronominal, and *mizukara* functions as an intensifier, just like the *myself* in *I myself*. If so, we may say that unlike *ware* and *onore*, *mizukara* was originally an emphatic reflexive. In fact, it is this property that is observed in its reflexive use in Modern Japanese as well (more on this in section 5).

3. Two conceptual models based on the Subject-Self distinction

3.1. Subject-in-Self vs. Self-as-Other

Returning now to *zibun*, it is important to note that while the reflexive use is the primary function of English reflexive pronouns, it is just a derivative function for *zibun* (see Uehara, 2003 for a related discussion). The derivativeness of reflexive *zibun* is reflected in the fact that when *zibun* can be interpreted either logophorically or reflexively, as in (11), the logophoric interpretation (i.e., coreference with Akio) is preferred to the reflexive interpretation (i.e., coreference with Ken) without further contextual information.

(11) Akio_i-wa Ken_j-ga zibun_{i/j}-o semeta to omotteiru.

Akio-TOP Ken-NOM zibun-ACC blamed QUOT think

'Akio_i thinks that Ken_i blamed {him_i / himself_i}.'

The derivative nature of the reflexive use also manifests itself in the fact that English reflexives cannot always be translated as *zibun*. Thus, for example, physical actions such as hitting oneself and kicking oneself and psychological processes such as troubling oneself and bracing oneself cannot be naturally expressed in Japanese with *zibun*, as shown in the (b) examples of (12)-(14).

- (12) a. Ken {hit / kicked} himself.
 - b. ??Ken-wa zibun-o {nagutta / tataita / ketta}.

 Ken-TOP self-ACC {struck / hit / kicked}
- (13) a. Don't trouble yourself about that man.
 - b. ??Anna otoko-no koto-de zibun-o nayamaseru na.

 that man-GEN about self-ACC trouble NEG.IMP
- (14) a. Ken braced himself.
 - b. ??Ken-wa zibun-o hikisimeta.Ken-TOP self-ACC braced

Two questions arise here. First, how is reflexive marking by *zibun* in Japanese different from that by English *-self* forms? Second, why is it that *zibun* can be used with nonphysical action verbs like those in (2a) and (6), but not with physical and nonphysical action verbs like those in (12)-(14)?

In order to answer these questions, it is useful to consider what Lakoff calls the "Subject-Self" metaphor, according to which a person is divided into a Subject and one or more Selves (Lakoff, 1996, 1997; Lakoff and Johnson, 1999).¹¹ The Subject is defined as the locus of consciousness, and the Self as the rest of the person, including the body, social roles, memories, past actions, and so on.¹² In this metaphorical model,

¹¹ In this paper, "Subject" with a capital "S" is used to refer to the Subject in Lakoff's sense, and "subject" with a small "s" to refer to the grammatical subject of a sentence.

¹² As discussed by Lakoff, there are many English expressions about the self whose meanings cannot be adequately explained without the Subject-Self metaphor; just to mention a

the Subject is normally assumed to be inside the Self, in which case the Self physically corresponds to the body and psychologically to the mind; after all, your consciousness is normally in your body and mind. Now compare Lakoff's notion of Self with what is termed the objective self in Hirose (2002). The Self in Lakoff's sense can refer to an objective aspect of a person,¹³ whether it is located with or separated from the Subject. On the other hand, the objective self refers exclusively to that objective aspect of a person that is separated from the Subject and placed on a level with (or on an equality with) others. Then, for our purposes, the Subject-Self distinction can be largely divided into two cases represented in Figs. 1 and 2.

[Insert Figs. 1 and 2 about here.]

In Fig. 1, the Subject is located in the Self, and the arrow indicates that the Subject "acts on" a specific aspect of the Self as a container, i.e., the body or the mind. In Fig. 2, as indicated by the vertical line, the Self is separated from the Subject and placed on a level with others; and, as shown by the arrow, the Subject acts on the "Self as Other". When we say the reflexive use of *zibun* represents the objective self of an agent, that means it agrees with the Self-as-Other model, but not with the Subject-in-Self model.

few, the semantic contrast between *If I were you, I'd hate me* and *If I were you, I'd hate myself*, and idiomatic expressions such as *You need to step outside yourself*, *I was beside myself*, *I got carried away*, and so on. For details, see Lakoff (1996, 1997) and Lakoff and Johnson (1999:Ch. 13). Lakoff mentions some Japanese examples in order to suggest the cross-linguistic validity of the Subject-Self metaphor. But he does not discuss how the metaphor accounts for the semantics of multiple reflexive constructions in Japanese. The present paper is, to the best of my knowledge, the first attempt to address this issue. See also Kövecses (2005) and Domaradzki (2011) for further discussion on the cross-linguistic validity of the Subject-Self metaphor.

- ¹³ As Kevin Moore (p.c.) has suggested to me, an objective aspect of a person is "that which is observable by everyone". The mind can be construed as an objective aspect of a person because it can be described in parallel with the body, as exemplified below (cf. the "mind-as-body" metaphor as discussed in Sweetser, 1990).
- (i) He has a {good / strong / young / healthy / tough / beautiful} body.
- (ii) He has a {good / strong / young / healthy / tough / beautiful} mind.

With this in mind, let us return to the examples in (12)-(14) and consider why *zibun* is unacceptable there. When one hits or kicks oneself, one's Subject is usually considered to be inside one's Self, i.e., one's body. This situation matches the Subject-in-Self model, but not the Self-as-Other model; thus the Self in this case cannot be expressed by *zibun*.¹⁴ The same explanation applies to sentences such as (15) and (16).

- (15) a. Ken washed himself.
 - b. *Ken-wa zibun-o aratta.Ken-TOP self-ACC washed
- (16) a. Ken stretched himself out on the bed.
 - b. *Ken-wa beddo-no ue-de zibun-o nobasita.

 Ken-TOP bed-GEN on self-ACC stretched.out

As discussed by Haiman (1983) and Kemmer (1993), in body actions like washing oneself and stretching oneself out, the agent and the object acted on are viewed as conceptually inseparable. This is because, in terms of the Subject-Self metaphor, when these actions are carried out, one's Subject is normally taken to be inside one's Self. Hence the unacceptability of (15b) and (16b). Similarly, in psychological processes such as troubling oneself and bracing oneself, one's Subject can be said to be inside one's Self in the sense that in these cases one's consciousness is usually in one's mind. This does not fit in with the Self-as-Other model, so *zibun* is not allowed in (13) and (14). In Japanese, the Self in the Subject-in-Self model—call it the Container Self—is generally denoted by words for body or body parts or words related to mind, as

¹⁴ It should be noted that although verbs like *hit* and *kick* typically denote other-directed actions, this lexical property itself does not govern the occurrence of *zibun* as a reflexive marker; what matters is the kind of conceptual model that applies at the level of reflexive constructions (see section 3.2 for related discussion).

¹⁵ These sentences sound worse than those in (12b), because the degree of conceptual inseparability of the two participants involved is greater in the former than in the latter.

illustrated by the following examples.

- (17) a. Ken-wa karada-o aratta.

 Ken-TOP body-ACC washed

 '[Lit.] Ken washed body.'
 - b. Ken-wa beddo-no ue-de karada-o nobasita.

 Ken-TOP bed-GEN on body-ACC stretched.out

 '[Lit.] Ken stretched body out on the bed.'
- (18) a. Anna otoko-no koto-de {atama / kokoro}-o nayamaseru na.

 that man-GEN about {head / mind}-ACC trouble NEG.IMP

 '[Lit.] Don't trouble {head / mind} about that man.'
 - b. Ken-wa {kimoti / ki}-o hikisimeta.

 Ken-TOP {feelings / spirits}-ACC braced

 '[Lit.] Ken braced {feelings / spirits}.'

On the other hand, in nonphysical domains involving mental abilities such as perception, memory, imagination, and cognition, you can get outside yourself and look at yourself as if you were someone else; namely, the Subject can easily detach the Self and put it on a level with others. This is the kind of situation depicted by the Self-as-Other model, and the Self in question is the Objective Self (henceforth capitalized). The Objective Self is no longer a physical or psychological container for the Subject, but corresponds to abstract entities such as a mental image of oneself, social roles, memories, beliefs, past actions, values, day-to-day behavior, and so on, which the Subject can treat as external objects. Thus, when one blames or criticizes oneself, one's Self is construed to be separated from one's Subject and placed on a level with others. This is why *zibun* can be used reflexively in examples (2a) and (6). By the same token, *zibun* is acceptable in the following sentences, which all describe "self-conscious" actions in which you are acting on yourself as if you were someone else.

(19) Akio-wa zibun-o {hometa / sontyoosita / keibetusita / osaeta / hagemasita}.
Akio-TOP self-ACC {praised / respected / despised / suppressed / encouraged}
'Akio {praised / respected / despised / suppressed / encouraged} himself.'

Unlike *zibun* in Japanese, English *-self* forms can represent both the Container Self and the Objective Self. This is because they are general terms for objective aspects of a person, so it does not matter to them whether the Self is located with or separated from the Subject.

3.2. On Haiman's distinction between introverted and extroverted verbs

A few words are in order here about Haiman's (1983, 1995) well-known distinction between "introverted" and "extroverted" verbs, which is said to be relevant to determining the form of reflexive marking in many languages (cf. also Kemmer, 1993; König and Siemund, 2000a; Smith, 2004; etc.). According to Haiman (1983:803), introverted verbs denote "actions which one generally performs upon one's self", whereas extroverted verbs denote "actions which the subject usually performs toward others". Based on this distinction, one might speculate that it is extroverted verbs, and not introverted verbs, that allow *zibun* as a reflexive marker.

This verb-based view is inadequate, however, in at least two respects. First, among typical extroverted verbs are *hit* and *kick*, but their Japanese counterparts do not usually take *zibun*, as indicated in (12b). Second, *zibun* can be used reflexively even with typical introverted verbs like *arau* 'wash' if it is implied in context that the Self acted on is separated from the Subject. This is in fact possible when *zibun* is interpreted as referring, for example, to a statue of oneself; and on this interpretation, sentence (15b) is quite acceptable. Thus it is not the contrast in verb class per se, but rather the contrast between conceptual models like Figs. 1 and 2, that really governs the occurrence of *zibun* as a reflexive marker.

Note further that causative verbs like force are also typically extroverted and in

English, reflexive sentences like (20) are often used. But the *self*-form in such sentences cannot be translated as *zibun*, as shown by the unacceptability of (21).

- (20) I forced myself to yawn.
- (21) *Boku-wa zibun-ni murini akubi-o s-ase-ta.

 I-TOP self-DAT forcedly yawn-ACC do-CAUS-PAST

 'I forced myself to yawn.'

In Japanese, the kind of situation described in (20) is normally expressed by an intransitive sentence like (22).

(22) Boku-wa murini akubi-o si-ta.

I-TOP forcedly yawn-ACC do-PAST

'I yawned forcedly.'

Zibun is not allowed in (21) because when you force yourself to yawn, your Subject is inside your Self (your body), a situation compatible with the Subject-in-Self model, but not with the Self-as-Other model. Again, this fact suggests that the reflexive use of zibun cannot be properly explained in terms of the semantics of verbs alone. That does not mean, of course, that Haiman's (1983) original hypothesis is wrong, since his generalization is that in languages which employ both (phonologically) light and heavy reflexive forms, the light forms tend to combine with introverted verbs while the heavy forms tend to combine with extroverted verbs.

4. The emphatic and contrastive functions of reflexive constructions: *Zibun-de* 'by self' and *zisin* 'self'

At this point, it is interesting to compare the unacceptable sentences in (12b), repeated below in (23), with the acceptable ones in (24) and (25), which have additional elements such as *zibun-de* 'by self' and *zisin*, another 'self'.

- (23) ?? Ken-wa zibun-o {nagutta / tataita / ketta}.
 Ken-TOP self-ACC {struck / hit / kicked}
 'Ken {hit / kicked} himself.'
- (24) Ken-wa zibun-de zibun-o {nagutta / tataita / ketta}.
 Ken-TOP self-by self-ACC {struck / hit / kicked}
 'Ken {hit / kicked} himself by himself.'
- (25) Ken-wa zibun-zisin-o {nagutta / tataita / ketta}.
 Ken-TOP self-self-ACC {struck / hit / kicked}
 'Ken {hit / kicked} himself.'

As observed by McCawley (1972) and Aikawa (1998), verbs of hitting and kicking do not allow *zibun* as such, but do allow it when it co-occurs with *zibun-de* or *zisin*, as in (24) and (25). McCawley simply mentions this fact without explanation. Aikawa attempts to account for it by assuming in terms of binding theory (cf. Büring, 2005 for a useful survey) that *zibun-de* and *zisin* are "reflexivizers" that impose an identity relation between co-arguments of a predicate.¹⁶

Aikawa's treatment, however, encounters at least two problems. First, it is inappropriate to regard *zibun-de* and *zisin* merely as reflexivizers, because they can occur in intransitive sentences, as in (26) and (27).

(26) Akio-wa zibun-de kita.

Akio-TOP self-by came
'Akio came by himself.'

¹⁶ As for *zibun*, Aikawa (1998:20) says that it "cannot be associated with SELF in a concrete sense," so it is not permitted as the object of a physical action verb. She does not, though, go into the question of why *zibun* cannot represent "SELF in a concrete sense" in the first place. Also, she seems to overlook the fact that in acceptable sentences like (24) *zibun* denotes the agent's body, at least literally; so how that can be possible remains a mystery in her account.

(27) Akio-zisin-ga kita.

Akio-self-NOM came

'Akio himself came.'

Second, simply saying that they are reflexivizers does not explain why it is that the *zibun* of *zibun-zisin* can be replaced by a pronominal like *kare* 'he', whereas the second *zibun* of *zibun-de zibun* cannot.

- (28) Akio-wa {zibun-zisin / kare-zisin}-o hihansita.

 Akio-TOP {self-self / him-self}-ACC criticized

 '[Lit.] Akio criticized {self-self / him-self}.'
- (29) Akio-wa {zibun-de zibun / *zibun-de kare}-o hihansita.

 Akio-TOP {self-by self / self-by him}-ACC criticized

 '[Lit.] Akio criticized {self by self / *him by self}.'

This contrast, as we will see later, is an important point that distinguishes between *zibun-de* and *zisin*. In what follows, I will examine the meanings of these two expressions and clarify their conceptual roles in reflexive constructions in terms of the Subject-Self metaphor.

4.1. The double-zibun construction

Let me begin with *zibun-de*. Generally, *zibun-de* means "by one's own agency" and implies "without the help of others". Its function is to emphasize the agent's independence and separation from others, so it may be referred to as an "emphatic agentive marker". When *zibun-de* highlights the agent's separation from others, it also has a meaning close to "alone", which itself is expressed in Japanese by *hitori-de*, as in (30b). Interestingly, *by oneself* in English has both senses of *zibun-de* and *hitori-de*, as shown in (31).

(30) a. Akio-wa zibun-de kita.¹⁷

Akio-TOP self-by came

'[Lit.] Akio came by self (= by his own agency, without the help of others).'

- b. Akio-wa hitori-de kita.

 Akio-TOP one.person-by came
 'Akio came alone.'
- (31) Akio came by himself. (= (30a) and (30b))

Now we should ask the question: what happens when *zibun-de* occurs with reflexive *zibun*? To answer this question, we need to look again at the Self-as-Other model, given in Fig. 2. A little reflection reveals that *zibun-de*, when applied to this model, emphasizes the Subject's separation from the Self, which is placed on an equality with others. Thus, the *zibun-de zibun* construction—call it the double-*zibun* construction—creates more distance between Subject and Self than the single-*zibun* construction; in this sense, *zibun-de* serves to reinforce the Self-as-Other model.

By utilizing the double-*zibun* construction, we can construe actions normally incompatible with the Self-as-Other model in such a way that they agree with the model; this is possible, of course, due to the above-mentioned function of *zibun-de*. Thus, sentences like (24) evoke images in which you hit or kick yourself as if you were someone else. Similarly, the unacceptable examples in (13b) and (14b), repeated below

at a deli store, etc.)?'

According to the same reviewer, *zibun-de* in (30a) can also be interpreted similarly to *zibun-kara* 'self-from', which means "voluntarily".

¹⁷ A reviewer has pointed out that in an example like (i), *zibun-de* can imply "rather than having someone else do so".

⁽i) Sono sandoitti zibun-de tukutta no?that sandwich self-by made Q'Did you make that sandwich by yourself (rather than having your mother make it, buying it

⁽ii) Akio-wa zibun-kara kita.Akio-TOP self-from came'Akio came voluntarily. (Akio came without anyone having asked or forced him to do so.)'

in (32), become acceptable when zibun-de is added, as in (33).18

- (32) a. ??Anna otoko-no koto-de zibun-o nayamaseru na.
 that man-GEN about self-ACC trouble NEG.IMP
 'Don't trouble yourself about that man.'
 - b. ??Ken-wa zibun-o hikisimeta.Ken-TOP self-ACC braced'Ken braced himself.'
- (33) a. Anna otoko-no koto-de zibun-de zibun-o nayamaseru na.

 that man-GEN about self-by self-ACC trouble NEG.IMP

 'Don't trouble yourself by yourself about that man.'
 - b. Ken-wa zibun-de zibun-o hikisimeta.Ken-TOP self-by self-ACC braced'Ken braced himself by himself.'

When you trouble yourself or when you brace yourself, you are not normally viewing yourself as if you were someone else, which means that your Self is co-located with your Subject. In this case, as can be seen from the oddity of (32), *zibun* is not appropriate to use to describe the situation, since it represents the "self as other". But on the other hand, it is also possible to view yourself as an other in troubling yourself or bracing yourself. This situation can be described by using the double-*zibun* construction, where *zibun-de* serves to distance your Self from your Subject, thereby placing it on a level with others. Thus, (33a) and (33b) imply, respectively, "Don't trouble yourself as if you were troubling someone else" and "Ken braced himself as if he were bracing someone else". Generally in these cases, as compared with cases of Subject-in-Self

The judgments on examples such as (32) and (33) are subtle and may vary among speakers. I believe that has something to do with how speakers construe the psychological processes of troubling oneself and bracing oneself, that is, to what extent one's Self is construed to be separated from one's Subject in these processes, as will be mentioned below.

such as (18a) and (18b), one's worry or one's feelings are much harder to control, just as it is harder to control others.

In contrast to (33), double-zibun sentences like the following are odd.

- (34) a. ??Ken-wa zibun-de zibun-o aratta.¹⁹

 Ken-TOP self-by self-ACC washed 'Ken washed himself by himself.'
 - b. *Ken-wa beddo-no ue-de zibun-de zibun-o nobasita.
 Ken-TOP bed-GEN on-LOC self-by self-ACC stretched.out
 'Ken stretched himself out by himself on the bed.'

This is because it is rather difficult to conceive of a situation in which you wash yourself as if you were washing someone else, or stretch yourself as if you were stretching someone else.

To recapitulate, the double-*zibun* construction is an emphatic version of the single-*zibun* construction, reinforcing the Self-as-Other model. So the second *zibun* of *zibun-de zibun* must represent the Objective Self, which cannot be expressed by any other word than *zibun*. This is why the pronominal *kare* 'he' cannot replace *zibun* in (29).

4.2. The contrastive function of zisin and its conceptual model

Let us now proceed to consider the meaning of *zisin*. Formally, *zisin* attaches to a word X designating a person to form X-*zisin*, where X may be a proper name (*Ken-zisin* 'Ken-self'), common noun (*gakusei-zisin* 'student-self'), pronominal (*kare-zisin* 'him-self'), or reflexive (*zibun-zisin* 'self-self'). Functionally, *zisin* is an "emphatic contrastive marker" like the emphatic use of English reflexive pronouns,²⁰ and it

¹⁹ Aikawa (1998) finds an example like (34a) acceptable, but it is marginal at best for me and the other Japanese speakers I have checked with.

²⁰ For the emphatic use of English reflexive pronouns, see Edmondson and Plank (1978), Baker (1995), Kemmer (1995), Van Hoek (1997), Cohen (1999), König and Siemund (2000b),

conveys "contrastive focus" and "counter-expectation". The contrastive-focus function indicates that X has been selected to the exclusion of other alternatives; the counter-expectation function signals that the selection of X is contrary to the speaker's expectation. Thus, for example, the following sentence has an implication like this: the speaker had expected that someone other than Akio would come, but the one who actually came was Akio himself.

(35) Akio-zisin-ga kita. (= (27))

Akio-self-NOM came

'Akio himself came.'

Now, if we combine this general function of *zisin* with the Subject-Self distinction, we obtain a conceptual model like that in Fig. 3—call it the "Not-Other-but-Self" model—which represents the function of *zisin* as a reflexive marker. In this model, the agent as Subject was expected to act on others—indicated in Fig. 3 by the dashed arrow—but the one he actually acts on is not others but his own Self. Notice here that the speaker, not the agent, puts the agent's Self on a level with others and contrasts it with them. Then *zisin* as a reflexive marker designates that Self of the agent that the speaker contrasts with others, which I call the Contrasted Self.

[Insert Fig. 3 about here.]

In this respect, *zisin* differs from reflexive *zibun*, which denotes the Objective Self. Thus, when you criticize *zibun*, as in (36a), you are criticizing yourself as if you were someone else. On the other hand, when you criticize *zibun-zisin*, as in (36b), you are criticizing none other than yourself, contrary to the expectation that you would criticize someone else.²¹

Stern (2004), etc.

²¹ Unlike *zisin*, *zibun* itself is neutral with respect to contrastiveness. It should be noted,

(36) a. zibun-o hihansuru
self-ACC criticize
'[Lit.] criticize self'
b. zibun-zisin-o hihansuru
self-self-ACC criticize
'[Lit.] criticize self-self'

Similarly, the acceptability of sentences like (25) is accounted for as follows. Physical actions such as hitting and kicking can easily be seen with the expectation that the agent will physically affect someone else (which is why, as mentioned in section 3.2, hit and kick are classified as extroverted verbs). Accordingly, hitting or kicking oneself may be construed as contrary to expectation, and in that case sentences like (25) are appropriate. In contrast, bodily actions like washing or stretching the body are usually directed to oneself, and it is very unlikely that these actions create expectations that the agent will act on someone else. That is why sentences such as those in (37) are unnatural.

(37) a. ?? Ken-wa zibun-zisin-o aratta.

Ken-TOP self-self-ACC washed

'Ken washed himself.

b. *Ken-wa beddo-no ue-de zibun-zisin-o nobasita.

Ken-TOP bed-GEN on-LOC self-self-ACC stretched.out

however, that as with ordinary noun phrases, *zibun* can be used contrastively, depending on the context, as in (i) (cf. Hirose, 2009).

(i) Akio-wa Ken de naku, zibun-o hihansita.

Akio-TOP Ken COP NEG self-ACC criticized

'Akio criticized not Ken but himself.'

In a context like this, *zibun* is interchangeable with *zibun-zisin*, which is always lexically specified as contrastive.

'Ken stretched himself out on the bed.'

As is clear from the discussion so far, *zibun* and *zisin* share the same function of placing the agent's Self on a level with others. But they are different as to who puts the agent's Self on a level with others: it is the agent himself in the case of *zibun* and the speaker in the case of *zisin*. In other words, *zibun* refers to the agent's Self as seen from the agent himself, while *zisin* refers to the agent's Self as seen from the speaker.

In the case of *zisin*, the speaker, when seeing the agent's Self, can take either the agent's or his own point of view, and here is where the difference comes in between *zibun-zisin* 'self-self' and *kare-zisin* 'him-self', as illustrated in (38).

(38) Akio-wa {zibun-zisin / kare-zisin}-o semeta.

Akio-TOP {self-self / him-self}-ACC blamed '[Lit.] Akio blamed {self-self / him-self}.'

In (38) *zibun-zisin* indicates that the speaker is describing Akio's Self from Akio's viewpoint. *Kare-zisin*, on the other hand, signals that Akio's Self is described from the speaker's own viewpoint, which treats Akio as a third person; hence the use of *kare* 'he'. This observation suggests that the *zibun* of *zibun-zisin* is not a reflexive use but a viewpoint use just like the *zibun* in (39), which can also be replaced with *kare*.

(39) Akio-wa {zibun / kare}-no heya-o soozisita.

Akio-TOP {self / he}-GEN room-ACC cleaned '[Lit.] Akio cleaned {self's / his} room.'

Here again, *zibun* describes Akio's room from Akio's viewpoint, and *kare* from the speaker's viewpoint.²²

²² As shown in Hirose (1997, 2002), viewpoint *zibun* represents the self that the speaker projects onto a 'situational subject', i.e., the most prominent participant in a situation, which is

On the other hand, *zibun* as a reflexive marker cannot be replaced with *kare* (which is intended to be coreferential with *Akio*).

(40) Akio-wa {zibun / *kare}-o semeta.

Akio-TOP {self / him}-ACC blamed

'[Lit.] Akio blamed {self / him}.'

This is because, as I have already mentioned, the Objective Self, represented by *zibun*, must be seen from the agent and hence cannot be described from the speaker's point of view. That is why the Objective Self cannot be referred to by a pronominal like *kare*.²³

usually realized as the grammatical subject of a sentence. This is why, as is well known, *zibun* typically takes a subject noun phrase as its antecedent. This property is also inherited by *zibun-zisin*.

- ²³ A reviewer notes that an example like (i), due originally to Oshima (2004: section 2.3), poses a problem for my analysis; that is, if the Objective Self, represented by *zibun*, must be seen from the agent, as claimed here, then there should be a conflict of viewpoints in (i), because the use of the benefactive verb *kureru* 'give', an empathy-loaded predicate, requires the speaker to describe the event from the viewpoint of the dative object (i.e., Mari) rather than from the viewpoint of the subject as the antecedent of *zibun* (i.e., Ken). But actually this sentence is acceptable.
- (i) Ken_i-wa e-no moderu-tosite zibun_i-o Mari-ni wariatete-kureta.

 Ken-TOP picture-GEN model-as self-ACC Mari-DAT assign-BENEF.PAST 'Ken assigned himself to Mari as a portrait model (for her sake).'

My tentative solution to this problem is to regard the viewpoint from which to see the (agent's) Objective Self as independent of the viewpoint from which to describe a situation. In other words, I assume that the viewpoint conveyed by reflexeive *zibun* is restricted to the interpretation of the reflexive marker itself and does not range over the whole clause containing it. This seems parallel to the fact that in example (ii) below, the viewpoint conveyed by the genitive *zibun* contained in the noun phrase *zibun-no hon* 'self's book' is restricted to the interpretation of that noun phrase and does not affect the viewpoint of the whole sentence, where, again, the speaker is describing the event from the viewpoint of the dative object, not that of the subject (cf. Kuno, 1978; Hirose, 1997, 2002; Oshima, 2004).

(ii) Keni-wa zibuni-no hon-o Mari-ni kasite-kureta.

Ken-TOP self-GEN book-ACC Mari-DAT lend-BENEF.PAST

Now, the perspectival difference between *zibun-zisin* and *kare-zisin* may manifest itself as a difference in acceptability. In (41), for example, while *zibun-zisin* is acceptable, *kare-zisin* is not.

(41) Akio-wa kodomo-no koro yoku {zibun-zisin / ??kare-zisin}-o semeta.

Akio-TOP child-GEN time often {self-self / him-self}-ACC blamed '[Lit.] In his childhood, Akio often blamed {self-self / him-self}.'

Since this sentence is about Akio's experiences in childhood, it is natural for the speaker to take the perspective of Akio as he was a child, but not to take his own present perspective, which is too distant from Akio's childhood. In sentence (42), by contrast, *kare-zisin* is acceptable.

(42) Akio-wa kodomo-no koro-kara zuutto {zibun-zisin / kare-zisin}-o
Akio-TOP child-GEN time-from always {self-self / him-self}-ACC
semete-kita.

blaming-came

'[Lit.] Akio has always blamed {self-self / him-self} since childhood.'

Because of the presence of the deictic verb *kita* 'came', this sentence describes Akio's experiences from childhood up to the present, thereby enabling the speaker to take his own perspective as well as that of Akio.

It may be worthwhile at this point to say a few words about the alleged locality requirement of *zisin*. It has often been observed in the generative literature (see Aikawa, 1999 and references cited there) that while *zibun* can participate in long-distance binding, *zisin* cannot. Thus, in an example like (43), *zibun* can refer either to the embedded subject Haruo or to the matrix subject Akio, but *zibun-zisin* refers exclusively

'Ken lent his book to Mari (for her sake).'

The validity of this solution should, of course, be further investigated in future research.

to Haruo. I note parenthetically that what allows *zibun* to participate in long-distance binding is its logophoric or viewpoint use, not its reflexive use (cf. Hirose, 2002).

(43) Akio_i-wa Haruo_j-ga {zibun_{i/j} / zibun-zisin_{*i/j}}-o semeta to omotteiru.

Akio-TOP Haruo-NOM {self / self-self}-ACC blamed QUOT think

'[Lit.] Akio_i thinks that Haruo_j blamed {self_{i/j} / self-self_{*i/j}}.'

In my view, the so-called locality requirement of *zisin* is not a syntactically necessary condition, but rather a pragmatic default condition that stems from its contrastive function. Generally, *zisin*, which has the meaning 'not other but self' (as indicated in Fig. 3), puts in focus the referent that is most likely to be contrasted with the other possible alternatives it excludes. Then in cases like (43), *zibun-zisin* takes as its antecedent the subject of the minimal clause in which it is contained, because it is the referent of this subject that is most likely to be contrasted with the possible candidates excluded by *zisin*. After all, unless otherwise stated, it is easier and more natural to contrast someone Haruo blames with Haruo himself than with Akio, since Haruo is a direct participant in the event, but Akio is not.

Note further that the locality requirement can be overridden by contextual factors, as predicted from its pragmatic nature. Consider the following example.

(44) Yamada-kyoozyui-wa gakuseitati-ga hokano kyoozyu de naku
Yamada-professor-TOP students-NOM other professor COP NEG
zibun-zisini-o hihansita koto-ni taihen odoroita.
self-self-ACC criticized NMLZ-DAT very was.surprised
'Professor Yamadai was very surprised that the students criticized not the other professors but himselfi.'

In this sentence, the candidates excluded by *zisin* are expressed by *hokano kyoozyu* 'the other professors', which is obviously contrasted with the matrix subject

Yamada-kyoozyu 'Professor Yamada'; thus, *zisin* places Professor Yamada at the center of focus, and as a result *zibun-zisin* takes the matrix subject as its antecedent.

The same holds when *zibun-zisin* is replaced with *kare-zisin*, as in (45), where *kare-zisin* is interpreted as referring to Professor Yamada.

(45) Yamada-kyoozyui-wa gakuseitati-ga hokano kyoozyu de naku
Yamada-professor-TOP students-NOM other professor COP NEG
kare-zisini-o hihansita koto-ni taihen odoroita.
self-self-ACC criticized NMLZ-DAT very was.surprised
'Professor Yamadai was very surprised that the students criticized not the other professors but himselfi.'

Here again, the difference between (44) and (45) is whether the event in question is described from the viewpoint of Professor Yamada or that of the speaker.

Although we have so far considered *zisin* in the form of *zibun-zisin* or *kare-zisin*, this word can be used alone, as in an example like (46).

(46) Abe-syusyoo, zisin-o kataru.
Abe-prime.minister self-ACC talk
'Prime Minister Abe talks about himself'.

In that case, it is neutral with respect to viewpoint. Thus the simplex use of *zisin* is particularly frequent in newspaper articles and headlines.

5. Onore and mizukara as reflexive markers

In this section, I discuss two other reflexive markers, *onore* and *mizukara*. First of all, *onore* is an archaic or literary version of *zibun*, fitting in with the Self-as-Other model. Thus, it can create archaic-sounding expressions such as those in (47).

(47) a. onore-ni katu
self-DAT conquer
'conquer oneself'
b. onore-o imasimeru
self-ACC admonish
'admonish oneself'

As with *zibun*, *onore* can form a double-*onore* construction, as exemplified in (48), where *onore-de* functions as an emphatic agentive marker in the same way that *zibun-de* does.

- (48) a. onore-de onore-o hagemasu self-by self-ACC encourage 'encourage oneself by oneself'
 - b. onore-de onore-o rissuru
 self-by self-ACC discipline
 'discipline oneself by oneself'

However, *onore* is different from *zibun* in two respects. First, it is restricted in register to literary language and rarely occurs in ordinary conversation. For example, in a casual utterance like (49), *zibun* is acceptable, but not *onore*.

(49) Ken-tyan, amari {zibun / ??onore}-o seme-tara dame yo.

Ken-HYPOC too.much {self / self}-ACC blame-if no.good I.tell.you 'Don't blame yourself too much, Ken.'

Second, while *zibun* can co-occur with honorific as well as non-honorific verb forms, *onore* cannot co-occur with honorific verb forms, as illustrated in the following examples. (50) a. non-honorific (or plain) form

Akio-wa nandomo {zibun / onore}-o seme-ta.

Akio-TOP again.and.again {self / self}-ACC blame-past 'Akio blamed himself again and again.'

b. honorific form

Tanaka-sensei-wa nandomo {zibun / *onore}-o seme-rare-ta.

Tanaka-teacher-TOP again.and.again {self / self}-ACC blame-HON-PAST 'Mr. Tanaka blamed himself again and again.'

This is because the nuance of humbleness attached to the logophoric use of *onore* in Late Old Japanese (see section 2) is carried over into its reflexive use. That is, the subject antecedent of *onore* is intended to denote an equal or inferior of the speaker, and it is this property that clashes with subject honorification.

Mizukara is a rather formal expression agreeing with the Self-as-Other model, and its unique property is that it emphasizes the agency of the Subject, as does the double-*zibun* construction. In this sense, *mizukara* as a reflexive marker incorporates the meaning of *zibun-de zibun* 'self by self'. Thus, for example, sentence (51) means almost the same as (52); this is confirmed by the fact that a sentence like (53), which contains the sequence *zibun-de mizukara-o*, sounds redundant and awkward.

- (51) Akio-wa mizukara-o hihansita.

 Akio-TOP self.by.self-ACC criticized

 'Akio criticized himself by himself.'
- (52) Akio-wa zibun-de zibun-o hihansita.

 Akio-TOP self-by self-ACC criticized

 'Akio criticized himself by himself.'
- (53) ?? Akio-wa zibun-de mizukara-o hihansita.

 Akio-TOP self-by self.by.self-ACC criticized

 '[Lit.] Akio criticized self by self by self.'

Unlike onore, mizukara can co-occur with honorific verb forms, as can zibun-de zibun.

(54) Tanaka-sensei-wa {mizukara / zibun-de zibun}-o seme-rare-ta.

Tanaka-teacher-TOP {self.by.self / self-by self}-ACC blame.HON.PAST 'Mr. Tanaka blamed himself by himself.'

Another important point about *mizukara* is that it can also be used adverbially, as in (55), or adnominally, as in (56).

- (55) Kono kotati-wa mizukara kangae manabu koto-ga dekiru.

 this children-TOP by.self think learn NMLZ-NOM can

 'These children can think and learn by themselves.'
- (56) Akio-mizukara-ga sono sigoto-o yatta.

 Akio-by.self-NOM the job-ACC did

 'Akio did the job by himself.'

In both (55) and (56) *mizukara* serves as an emphatic agentive marker meaning "by oneself, by one's own agency".

Interestingly, the adverbial use of *mizukara* can be combined with the reflexive *zibun*, as in (57), to convey the same meaning as the double-*zibun* construction.

(57) Akio-wa mizukara zibun-o hihansita.

Akio-TOP by.self self-ACC criticized

'Akio criticized himself by himself.'

But we can see from the ungrammaticality of (58) that no double-*mizukara* is possible due to its overemphasis on the agency of the Subject.

(58) *Akio-wa mizukara mizukara-o hihansita.

Akio-TOP by.self self.by.self-ACC criticized

'[Lit.] Akio criticized self by self by self.'

Furthermore, as pointed out by a reviewer, adverbial *mizukara* can also mean "voluntarily", as does the phrase *zibun-kara* 'self-from'. Thus, *mizukara* in (59), used in this sense, is more naturally paraphrased with (60) than with (61) (thanks to the reviewer for these examples).

- (59) Kare-wa mizukara tumi-o kokuhakusita.

 he-TOP mizukara sin-ACC confessed

 'He voluntarily confessed his sin.'
- (60) Kare-wa zibun-kara tumi-o kokuhakusita.

 he-TOP self-from sin-ACC confessed

 'He voluntarily confessed his sin.'
- (61) ??Kare-wa zibun-de tumi-o kokuhakusita.

 he-TOP self-from sin-ACC confessed

 'He confessed his sin by himself.'

As for the adnominal use of *mizukara*, it is formally similar to that of *zisin*, but their basic functions are different. Compare example (56) with the following.

(62) Akio-zisin-ga sono sigoto-o yatta.

Akio-self-NOM the job-ACC did

'It was Akio, and no one else, who did the job.'

In (56) *mizukara* emphasizes the meaning "without the help of others" and highlights Akio's own agency, whereas in (62) *zisin* underscores the contrastive meaning "not others but Akio" (cf. section 4.2). However, if Akio did the job without the help of others,

then we infer that it was Akio, and no one else, who did the job. In this sense, *mizukara* can be said to imply the same meaning that *zisin* conveys. That does not mean, of course, that they have the same function. In fact, *zisin*, because of its contrastive meaning, is perfectly acceptable in an identificational sentence like (63), but *mizukara* is not.

(63) Sono sigoto-o yatta no wa Akio-{zisin / *mizukara} da.

the job-ACC did NMLZ TOP Akio-{zisin / mizukara} COP

'The one who did the job is Akio himself.'

6. Ware as a reflexive marker

Finally, let us consider *ware*, whose reflexive use in Modern Japanese is limited to some idiomatic expressions such as those in (64) and (65).

- (64) a. Boku-wa sono riron-no utukusisa-ni ware-o wasureta.

 I-TOP the theory-GEN beauty-LOC self-ACC forgot

 'I lost myself in the beauty of the theory.'
 - b. Kare-wa ikari-de ware-o usinatta.

 he-TOP anger-with self-ACC lost

 'He was beside himself with anger.'
- (65) Kare-wa yooyaku ware-ni kaetta.

 he-TOP finally self-LOC returned

 'He finally returned to himself.'

As pointed out in Hirose (1997), ware as a reflexive marker is specialized to designate "a Self with normal consciousness". So in (64) ware-o wasureru and ware-o usinau both mean "lose normal consciousness"; in (65) ware-ni kaeru means "return to normal consciousness".

The Subject-Self relationship underlying these expressions can be depicted by the

conceptual model in Fig. 4, which I refer to as the "Out-of-Normal-Self" model.

[Insert Fig. 4 about here.]

In Fig. 4, the double-headed arrow indicates a transition from normal to non-normal states of consciousness or vice versa. In this model, the Subject is separated away from the Self in which it normally resides with normal consciousness. It is this Self—call it the "Normal Self"—that is represented by the reflexive *ware*. As suggested by examples (64) and (65), the Normal Self is conceptualized either as an object of possession or as a location.²⁴

The Out-of-Normal-Self model is specifically and only about *ware*, and its crucial point is whether the Subject is in the Normal Self or not. In this respect, the model is different from that of Subject-in-Self (see Fig. 1), in which the crucial point is that not only is the Subject located in the Self, but it also acts on a specific aspect of the Self as a container.

Note that since *ware* is licensed only by the Out-of-Normal-Self model, it cannot substitute for other reflexives, as illustrated in (66).

- (66) a. Akio-wa {karada / *ware}-o aratta.

 Akio-TOP {body / WARE}-ACC washed 'Akio washed himself.'
 - b. Akio-wa {zibun / *ware}-o hihansita.Akio-TOP {self / WARE}- ACC criticized 'Akio criticized himself.'

²⁴ This means that the Out-of-Normal-Self model is characterized in terms of two specific metaphors proposed by Lakoff: Self Control Is Object Possession and Self Control Is Being In One's Normal Location (Lakoff and Johnson, 1999:Ch.13). The former metaphor implies that the Subject is in normal consciousness when it is in possession of the Self; the latter metaphor implies that the Subject is in normal consciousness when it is in its normal location, where the Self is.

Recall from section 2 that in Late Old Japanese *ware* was typically used to represent the private self, i.e., the speaker as the subject of thinking or consciousness. Viewed in this light, it is not surprising that *ware* as a reflexive marker in Modern Japanese means the Self in which one's consciousness normally resides.

Furthermore, it is worth noticing that not only *ware* but also *onore* and *zibun* cannot be used adnominally, unlike *zisin* and *mizukara*.

(67) Akio-{zisin / mizukara / *ware / *onore / *zibun}-ga kita.

Akio-self-NOM came

'Akio himself came / Akio came himself.'

The acceptability contrast here is exactly due to the fact that while *zisin* and *mizukara* are essentially intensifiers, *ware*, *onore*, and *zibun* have their origins in their logophoric uses, as observed in section 2.²⁵

7. Summary and conclusion

In this paper, based on Lakoff's Subject-Self distinction, I have proposed four conceptual models for the semantics of reflexive constructions in Japanese. In the Subject-in-Self model, the agent as Subject acts on his Self as a (physical or psychological) container. In the Self-as-Other model, the agent as Subject acts on his Self as if it were someone else. In the Not-Other-but-Self model, the agent as Subject acts on his own Self, contrary to the expectation that he would act on someone else. In the Out-of-Normal-Self model, the Subject is separated away from the Self in which it

There are also two Sino-Japanese words for self, *ziko* and *ziga*. *Ziko* is the Sino-Japanese counterpart of *onore*, and is used in much the same way as the latter. Its most distinctive characteristic, however, is that it forms Sino-Japanese compounds corresponding to English ones like *self-analysis* and *self-criticism*; e.g., *ziko-bunseki* 'self-analysis', *ziko-hihan* 'self-criticism'. *Ziga* is often employed in the philosophical and psychological literature to designate one's ego.

normally resides. I have referred to the Selves in these four models, respectively, as the Container Self, the Objective Self, the Contrasted Self, and the Normal Self. English reflexive pronouns like *himself* can represent any of the four Selves. This is because they are general terms for objective aspects of a person; i.e., they designate the Self in general, whatever its relation to the Subject.

Japanese, however, does not have such general terms, so different words are used for different Selves. The Container Self is denoted by words for body or body parts or words related to mind. The Objective Self is designated typically by *zibun*, but also by *onore* and *mizukara*; these three are different in register or the emphasis of agency. Also relevant here are double-*zibun* and double-*onore* constructions; they serve to emphasize the agency of the Subject, thereby reinforcing the Self-as-Other model. The Contrasted Self is represented by the contrastive reflexive *zisin*. The complex forms *zibun-zisin* and *kare-zisin* differ with respect to viewpoint; the former, but not the latter, indicates that the speaker is viewing a reflexive event from the perspective of its agent rather than his own. The Normal Self is designated by the special reflexive *ware*, which evokes a transition from normal to non-normal states of consciousness or vice versa.

In conclusion, I have demonstrated that reflexive constructions in Japanese consist of a family of constructions that have different lexical forms and meanings but whose conceptual basis is provided by the independently motivated distinction between Subject and Self.

Acknowledgements

Earlier versions of parts of this paper were presented at conferences including the Sixth Annual Meeting of the Japanese Cognitive Linguistics Association (Ochanomizu University, September 2005) and the Fourth International Conference on Construction Grammar (University of Tokyo, September 2006). I am grateful to the following people for their comments and questions: Kenneth William Cook, Michael Ellsworth, Charles Fillmore, Yoko Hasegawa, David Lee, Yusuke Minami, Yuichi Mori, Koichi Nishida, Yoshiki Nishimura, Toshiaki Oya, and Yukinori Takubo. Special thanks are due to Kevin

Moore and Naoaki Wada, who read earlier versions of this paper and provided helpful feedback and suggestions. Finally, I would like to thank two anonymous reviewers for their detailed and valuable comments. This work is supported by a Grant-in-Aid for Scientific Research (B) (No. 24320088) from the Japan Society for the Promotion of Science.

References

- Aikawa, Takako, 1998. Nature of local *zibun* 'self' and reflexive-marking in Japanese. Reports of the Keio Institute of Cultural and Linguistic Studies 30, 17-52.
- Aikawa, Takako, 1999. Reflexives. In: Tsujimura, Natsuko. (Ed.), The Handbook of Japanese Linguistics. Blackwell, Oxford, pp. 154-190.
- Baker, C. L., 1995. Contrast, discourse prominence, and intensification, with special reference to locally free reflexives in British English. Language 71, 63-101.
- Büring, Daniel, 2005. Binding Theory. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.
- Cohen, Dana, 1999. Towards a unified account of intensive reflexives. Journal of Pragmatics 31, 1041-1052.
- Domaradzki, Mikołaj, 2011. The Self in Arabic and the relativism-universalism controversy. Cognitive Linguistics 22, 535-567.
- Edmondson, Jerold A., Plank, Frans, 1978. Great expectations: an intensive self analysis. Linguistics and Philosophy 2, 373-413.
- Gogen Yurai Jiten (Online Dictionary of Etymological Origins of Japanese Words), 2003-2014. Available at http://gogen-allguide.com/, Lookvise, Tokyo.
- Haiman, John, 1983. Iconic and economic motivation. Language 59, 781-819.
- Haiman, John, 1995. Grammatical signs of the divided self: a study of language and culture. In: Abraham, Werner, Givón, T., Thompson, Sandra A. (Eds.), Discourse Grammar and Typology: Papers in Honor of John W. M. Verhaar. John Benjamins, Amsterdam, pp. 213-234.
- Hasegawa, Yoko, Hirose, Yukio, 2005. What the Japanese language tells us about the alleged Japanese relational self. Australian Journal of Linguistics 25, 219-251.

- Hirose, Yukio, 1997. Hito o arawasu kotoba to shouou. (Words of reference to persons and anaphora). In: Nakau, Minoru (Ed.), Siji to Shouou to Hitei. (Reference, Anaphora, and Negation). Kenkyusha, Tokyo, pp. 1-89.
- Hirose, Yukio, 2000. Public and private self as two aspects of the speaker: a contrastive study of Japanese and English. Journal of Pragmatics 32, 1623-1656.
- Hirose, Yukio, 2002. Viewpoint and the nature of the Japanese reflexive *zibun*. Cognitive Linguistics 13, 357-401.
- Hirose, Yukio, 2009. Washa shijisee to shiten to taihi. (Logophoricity, viewpoint, and contrast). In: Tsubomoto, Atsuro, Hayase, Naoko, Wada, Naoaki (Eds.), "Uchi" to "Soto" no Gengogaku. (The Linguistics of "Inside" and "Outside"). Kaitakusha, Tokyo, pp. 147-173.
- Kemmer, Suzanne, 1993. The Middle Voice. John Benjamins, Amsterdam.
- Kemmer, Suzanne, 1995. Emphatic and reflexive *-self:* expectations, viewpoint, and subjectivity. In: Stein, Dieter, Wright, Susan (Eds.), Subjectivity and Subjectivisation: Linguistic Perspectives. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, pp. 55-82.
- König, Ekkehard, Siemund, Peter, 2000a. Intensifiers and reflexives: a typological perspective. In: Frajzyngier, Zygmunt, Curl, Traci S. (Eds.), Reflexives: Forms and Functions. John Benjamins, Amsterdam, pp. 41-74.
- König, Ekkehard, Siemund, Peter, 2000b. Locally free *self*-forms, logophoricity, and intensification in English. English Language and Linguistics 4, 183-204.
- Kövecses, Zoltán, 2005. Metaphor in Culture: Universality and Variation. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.
- Kuno, Susumu, 1978. Danwa no Bunpoo (The Grammar of Discourse). Taishukan, Tokyo.
- Lakoff, George, 1996. Sorry, I'm not myself today: the metaphor system for conceptualizing the self. In: Fauconnier, Gilles, Sweetser, Eve (Eds.), Spaces, Worlds, and Grammar. University of Chicago Press, Chicago, pp. 91-123.

- Lakoff, George, 1997. The internal structure of the Self. In: Neisser, Ulric, Jopling, David A. (Eds.), The Conceptual Self in Context: Culture, Experience, Self-Understanding, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, pp. 92-113.
- Lakoff, George, Johnson, Mark, 1999. Philosophy in the Flesh: The Embodied Mind and Its Challenge to Western Thought. Basic Books, New York.
- McCawley, Noriko Akatsuka, 1972. A Study of Japanese Reflexivization. University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign dissertation, Urbana, IL.
- Miller, Roy Andrew, 1967. The Japanese Language. University of Chicago Press, Chicago.
- Miyaji, Yutaka, 1973. Genji Monogatari, Makura no Sousi ni okeru keigo. (Honorifics in the Tale of Genji and the Pillow Book of Sei Shonagon). In: Hayashi, Shiro, Minami, Fujio (Eds.), Joodai, Chuuko no Keigo. (Honorifics in Old and Late Old Japanese). Meiji Shoin, Tokyo, pp. 73-115.
- Mori, Yuichi, 2008. Jiko-hyoogen no dainamizumu: *zibun, ware, onore* o chuusin ni. (The dynamism of self-expression: with special reference to *zibun, ware,* and *onore*). In: Mori, Yuichi, Nishimura, Yoshiki, Yamada, Susumu, Yoneyama, Mitsuaki (Eds.), Kotoba no Dainamizumu. (The Dynamism of Language). Kuroshio Shuppan, Tokyo, pp. 295-309.
- Morino, Muneaki, 1970. Oochoo Bungaku to Josei no Gengo: Genji Monogatari o Chuushin tosite. (Heian Court Literature and Women's Language: With Special Reference to the Tale of Genji). Aoyama Gakuin Women's Junior College, Tokyo.
- Nakada, Norio, Wada, Toshimasa, Kitahara, Yasuo (Eds.), 1983. Kogo Daijiten. (The Unabridged Dictionary of Archaic Japanese). Shogakukan, Tokyo.
- Oshima, David Y., 2004. *Zibun* revisited: empathy, logophoricity, and binding. University of Washington Working Papers in Linguistics 23, 175-190.
- Oshima, David Y., 2006. Perspectives in Reported Discourse. Stanford University dissertation, Stanford, CA.
- Schladt, Mathias, 2000. The typology and grammaticalization of reflexives. In: Frajzyngier, Zygmunt, Curl, Traci S. (Eds.), Reflexives: Forms and Functions. John

- Benjamins, Amsterdam, pp. 103-124.
- Sells, Peter, 1987. Aspects of logophoricity. Linguistic Inquiry 18, 445-479.
- Shibatani, Masayoshi, 1990. The Languages of Japan. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.
- Smith, Mark, 2004. Light and heavy reflexives. Linguistics 42, 573-615.
- Stern, Nancy, 2004. The semantic unity of reflexive, emphatic, and other *-self* pronouns. American Speech 79, 270-280.
- Sweetser, Eve, 1990. From Etymology to Pragmatics: Metaphorical and Cultural Aspects of Semantic Structure. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.
- Talmy, Leonard, 1988. Force dynamics in language and cognition. Cognitive Science 12, 49-100.
- Uehara, Satoshi, 2003. *Zibun* reflexivization in Japanese: a Cognitive Grammar approach. In: Casad, Eugene H., Palmer, Gary B. (Eds.), Cognitive Linguistics and Non-Indo-European Languages. Mouton de Gruyter, Berlin, pp. 389-404.
- Van Hoek, Karen, 1997. Anaphora and Conceptual Structure. University of Chicago Press, Chicago.

Yukio Hirose is a Professor in the Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences at the University of Tsukuba, where he teaches both undergraduate and graduate courses in linguistics. His research interests lie mainly in the interface between grammar and meaning, lexical semantics, pragmatics, and contrastive analysis of Japanese and English. He has recently been working on topics related to subjectivity in language such as how the self is linguistically expressed.

Figures

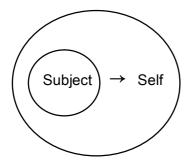


Fig. 1. Subject-in-Self

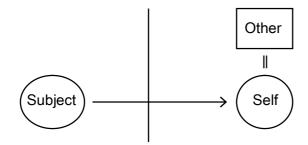


Fig. 2. Self-as-Other

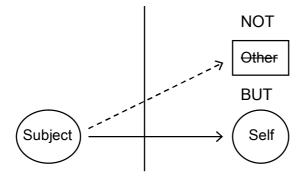


Fig. 3. Not-Other-but-Self

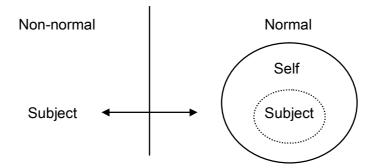


Fig. 4. Out-of-Normal-Self