

Vietnamese *mình*

Attitudes, empathy and the blocking effect

C.-T. Tim Chou and Trần Phan

National Yang Ming Chiao Tung University | National Tsing Hua University

This paper has four goals. (1) We argue that the non-local antecedent of the long-distance reflexive *mình* is either an attitude holder bearing a *de se* belief, or an empathy locus in the event/state that the utterance speaker identifies with (Kuno & Kaburaki 1977; Kuno 1987; Huang & Liu 2001; Wang & Pan 2015; Charnavel 2019b). (2) We show that Huang & Liu's (2001) analysis based on direct discourse representations fares better than the generalized discourse requirement in Cole et al. (2006) to characterize the distribution of the blocking effect of *mình* because first/second-person pronouns induce blocking only when they occur within the relevant direct discourse representation for the intended long-distance interpretation of *mình*. (3) We propose that the blocking effect of *mình* can be lifted with proper contextual support, invoking the Topic Empathy Hierarchy (Kuno & Kaburaki 1977; Kuno 1987) to override the Speech-Act Empathy Hierarchy and neutralize the perspective conflicts induced by a first/second-person pronoun. (4) We posit that the dependency between *mình* and its non-local antecedent is mediated by an implicit logophoric operator/pronoun in Charnavel's (2019b) two-stage model of binding of long-distance anaphora (Nishigauchi 2014; Sundaesan 2018; Ikawa 2024; Baker & Ikawa 2024). We show that the existence of the implicit logophoric operator/pronoun not only captures the hybrid syntactico-pragmatic properties of Vietnamese *mình*, but also plays a pivotal role in explicating the interpretative possibilities of multiple occurrences of *mình*.

Keywords: long-distance anaphor, Vietnamese, blocking effect, attitude holder, empathy locus

1. Introduction

This article focuses on the distribution and the interpretations of the bare reflexive *mình* in Vietnamese, as shown in (1).^{1,2}

- (1) *Tân_i bầu cho mình_i.*
 Tân vote for self
 ‘Tân_i voted for himself.’

We would like to start with three basic properties of *mình* that are directly linked to the goal of this paper. First, Ivan & Bui (2019:52) (see also Bui 2019; Doan 2022; Doan et al. 2024) note that *mình* can function as a long-distance bound anaphor (LDA) that refers to a non-local antecedent as in (2). The long-distance interpretation of LDA poses a challenge to Binding Principle A because it shows that an anaphor does not need to be locally bound by the local antecedent within the local binding domain (Huang & Liu 2001; Pan 2000; Wang & Pan 2015; Charnavel 2019b; Baker & Ikawa 2024, among others). In this paper, we refer to the long-distance bound *mình* as long-distance (LD) *mình* and the locally bound *mình* as local *mình*.

- (2) *Mình* as a long-distance anaphor:
Nguyễn_i nghĩ [là Tân_j không nên bầu cho mình_{i/j}].
 Nguyễn think c Tân not should vote for self
 ‘Nguyễn_i thinks that Tân_j should not vote for self_{i/j}.’

Second, Ivan & Bui (2019:52) and Doan (2022:225) (see also Bui 2019) note that *mình* exhibits subject-orientation, as exemplified by the interpretative possibilities of *mình* in (3) and (4): *mình* can only refer to the subject *Ginny*, not the object *Luna*.

- (3) Subject orientation of local *mình*:
*Ginny_i nói với Luna_j về mình_{i/*j}.*
 Ginny talk with Luna about self
 ‘Ginny_i talked with Luna_j about self_{i/*j}.’ (Ivan & Bui 2019: 52)

1. The data reported in this paper were collected by means of direct elicitation from ten native informants who speak the northern and southern dialects of Vietnamese. The elicitation was done with each informant individually. Nine of the ten informants were based in Vietnam at the time of the elicitation. We avoid the confirmation bias by asking informants to choose possible readings of different sentences (multiple choices being acceptable).

2. Literally, *mình* means ‘body’ (see Tran 2009), and it can also refer to the speaker of an utterance (see Ivan & Bui 2019; Doan 2022). For expository convenience, we disregard the speaker reading in this introductory section. We shall come back to this interpretation in §4.5.

(4) Subject orientation of LD *mình*:

- a. *Ginny_i bảo Luna_j [là Mai_k bầu cho mình_{i/*j/k}].*
 Ginny tell Luna c Mai vote for self
 ‘Ginny_i told Luna_j that Mai_k voted for self_{i/*j/k}’
- b. *Ginny_i nghe từ Luna_j [là Mai_k bầu cho mình_{i/*j/k}].*
 Ginny hear from Luna c Mai vote for self
 ‘Ginny_i heard from Luna_j that Mai_k voted for self_{i/*j/k}’

(adapted from Doan 2022: 141, 225)

Third, local *mình* seeks a c-commanding antecedent as shown in (5), where *mình* cannot be bound by *Ginny* embedded in the c-commanding animate subject DP.

(5) C-command requirement of local *mình*:

- [*Mẹ của Ginny_j*]_i nói với Luna_k về *mình_{i/*j/*k}*.
 mother POSS Ginny talk with Luna about self
 ‘Ginny_j’s mother_i talked with Luna_k about self_{i/*j/*k}’

Unlike local *mình*, LD *mình* can be anteceded by a non-c-commanding nominal in limited discourse contexts, as illustrated by (6).³

(6) LD *mình* can refer to a non-commanding antecedent:

- a. [*Việc Nguyễn không hài lòng với mình_i*] làm Nam_i buồn.
 matter Nguyễn not satisfied with self make Nam sad
 ‘That Nguyễn was not satisfied with self_i made Nam_i sad.’
- b. *Khi Mai đến thăm mình_p, Nam_i đang lau nhà.*
 when Mai come visit self Nam PROG clean house
 ‘When Mai came to visit self_p, Nam_i was cleaning the house.’
- c. *Mỗi khi có người đến thăm mình_p, Rosemary_i như ở trên thiên đường.*⁴
 every time have person come visit self Rosemary like at on heaven
 ‘Whenever someone paid self_i a visit, it was as if Rosemary_i was in heaven.’

3. (6b) is adapted from Doan (2022: 201). The felicitous antecedence by *Nam* in (6b) indicates that c-command is not a necessary condition for non-local antecedents of LD *mình* because *mình* is in a clause outside the c-command domain of *Nam* (see Huang & Liu 2001: 17 for a similar example in Mandarin Chinese; see also Huang & Liu 2001: Footnote 31; Sundaresan 2012; Giorgi 2006; Jayaseelan 1997 for discussions). Note that a reviewer points out to us that only one of his/her four consultants (two from Northern Vietnam and two from Southern Vietnam) accepted (6b). We added a naturally occurring sentence in (6c) to corroborate the grammaticality of LD binding of *mình* in such a configuration. We shall discuss the discourse requirement licensing antecedents of LD *mình* in § 3.

4. <https://baobinhduong.vn/bi-mat-cua-dong-ho-kennedy-a126968.html>

Relatedly, unlike Chinese *ziji* in (7) (see Tang 1989; Huang & Liu 2001: Footnote 18), Vietnamese *mình* cannot take a sub-commanding antecedent embedded in a c-commanding inanimate subject DP, as evidenced by (8).

(7) Chinese *ziji* allows a sub-commanding antecedent:

- a. [Ginny_i de baogao] hai-le ziji_i.
Ginny MOD report hurt-PERF self
'Ginny_i's report hurt self_i.'
- b. [Ginny_i de baogao] biaoshi [ziji_i shi wugude].
Ginny MOD report indicate self is innocent
'Ginny_i's report indicates that self_i is innocent.'
- c. [Ginny_i de baogao] biaoshi [Lisi hai-le ziji_i].
Ginny MOD report indicate Lisi hurt-PERF self
'Ginny_i's report indicates that Lisi hurt self_i.'

(8) Vietnamese *mình* does not allow a sub-commanding antecedent:

- a. **[Bức thư của Ginny_i] đã hại mình_i*.
CL letter POSS Ginny ANT hurt self
Intended: 'Ginny_i's letter hurt self_i.'
- b. **[Bức thư của Ginny_i] chứng tỏ [là mình_i vô tội]*.
CL letter POSS Ginny prove c self innocent
Intended: 'Ginny_i's letter has proven that self_i is innocent.'
- c. **[Bức thư của Ginny_i] chứng tỏ [Luna là người đã hại mình_i]*.
CL letter POSS Ginny prove Luna be person ANT hurt self
Intended: 'Ginny_i's letter has proven that Luna was the one who hurt self_i.'

This paper has four goals, as follows. (1) We argue that the non-local antecedent of *mình* is either an attitude holder bearing a *de se* belief, or an empathy locus in the event/state that the utterance speaker identifies with (Kuno & Kaburaki 1977; Kuno 1987; Huang & Liu 2001; Wang & Pan 2015; Charnavel 2019b). (2) We show that Huang & Liu's (2001) analysis, based on direct discourse representations, fares better than the generalized discourse requirement in Cole et al. (2006) in characterizing the distribution of the blocking effect of *mình*, given that first/second-person pronouns induce blocking only when they occur within the relevant direct discourse representation for the intended long-distance interpretation of *mình*. (3) We propose that the blocking effect of *mình* can be lifted with proper contextual support, invoking the Topic Empathy Hierarchy (Kuno & Kaburaki 1977; Kuno 1987) to override the Speech-Act Empathy Hierarchy and neutralize the perspective conflicts induced by a first/second-person pronoun. (4) We posit that the dependency between *mình* and its non-local antecedent is mediated by an implicit logophoric operator/pronoun in Charnavel's (2019b) two-stage model of binding of long-distance anaphora (see also Sundaesan 2018;

Ikawa 2024; Baker & Ikawa 2024). We show that the existence of the implicit logophoric operator/pronoun not only captures the hybrid syntactico-pragmatic properties of Vietnamese *mình*, but also plays a pivotal role in explicating the interpretative possibilities of multiple occurrences of *mình*.

This paper is structured as follows. In §2, we compare Vietnamese *mình* with Chinese *ziji* with respect to the blocking effects of their long-distance interpretations. We conclude that the analysis of the blocking effects of Chinese *ziji* by Cole et al. (2006) and Charnavel et al. (2017) cannot be extended to characterize the computation of the long-distance interpretations of *mình*. In §3, we discuss the proper discourse conditions governing the felicitous use of LD *mình*. The discussion leads us to conclude that the long-distance antecedent of LD *mình* must be either an attitude holder of a *de se* belief toward the predication containing *mình* or an empathy locus (i.e., the utterance speaker's identification with an individual that participates in the event or state that s/he describes in a sentence). The goal of §4 is three-fold. (1) We explain how Huang & Liu's (2001) perspective-based account based on direct discourse representations works in tandem with Wang & Pan's (2015: 318) characterization of long-distance anaphora to deduce the discourse properties of the antecedent of LD *mình* and the (disruption of) long-distance reading of LD *mình*. (2) We show how the blocking effect of *mình* is lifted by the Topic Empathy Hierarchy in Kuno & Kaburaki (1977) and Kuno (1989). (3) We posit that Wang & Pan's (2015) characterization of long-distance anaphora can be syntactically represented by Charnavel's (2019b) two-stage model of binding of long-distance anaphora mediated by an implicit logophoric operator/pronoun. We explain how this hypothesis captures the interpretative pattern of multiple occurrences of anaphoric and pronominal *mình*. §5 offers a comparison of our proposal with the agreement-based analysis of the blocking effect of *mình* in Doan (2022) and Doan et al. (2024). §6 concludes this paper.

2. Blocking effects: A comparison between Vietnamese *mình* and Chinese *ziji*

The long-distance interpretation of *mình* in (2) is constrained such that a local first/second-person subject DP blocks the higher subject DP from binding *mình* as illustrated by (9a–b) (=the blocking effect; BE henceforth).⁵

5. Local *mình* does not display BE, as evidenced by (i): *mình* can refer to the subject *Ginny* in spite of the presence of a first/second-person pronoun in the object position.

(i) *Ginny*_i *nói* *với* *tao*_j / *mày*_j *về* *mình*_{i/*j}
 Ginny talk with I you about self
 'Ginny_i talked with me_j / you_j about self_{i/*j}.'

(9) BE of Vietnamese LD *mình*:

- a. *Nguyễn_i nghĩ [tao_j không nên bầu cho mình_{*i/j}].*
 Nguyễn think I not should vote for self
 ‘Nguyễn_i thinks that I_j should not vote for self_{*i/j}’
- b. *Nguyễn_i nghĩ [mày_j không nên bầu cho mình_{*i/j}].*
 Nguyễn think you not should vote for self
 ‘Nguyễn_i thinks that you_j should not vote for self_{*i/j}’

One clarification is in order before we proceed. Doan et al. (2024: Footnote 9) state that blocking by a second-person pronoun does not apply to “the varieties of Vietnamese” that they are familiar with; they state that they only consulted with informants from the Central region. Our informants of both Northern and Southern dialects however generally confirm the BE induced by the second-person *mày*, showing that the judgment in (9b) is widely accepted. Furthermore, Vietnamese has a rich inventory of addressing terms, so the choice of pronouns for the demonstration of BE deserves attention. While literature relevant to the discussion of reflexive *mình* typically represents the first- and second-person pronouns with *tôi* ‘I’ and *bạn* ‘you’, we prefer to use *tao* ‘I’ and *mày* ‘you’ in this study based on the following consideration. *Tôi* ‘I’ best fits in formal settings, and *bạn* ‘you’ (lit. ‘friend’ or ‘peer’) is rarely used, typically confined to polite contexts where the speech participants are of the same age, or if the speaker is older but wants to be respectful towards the hearer; both are perceived as rather distant. Importantly, the lexical ambiguity of *bạn* ‘you’ as both a second-person pronoun and a noun meaning ‘friend’ potentially causes unnecessary confusion for the informants, and therefore might tamper with their judgment. On the contrary, *tao* ‘I’ and *mày* ‘you’ are casual, frequently found in informal registers where the speech participants are close and expressing courtesy is unnecessary. Through our discussions and surveys with native speakers, we find that the intimate/casual pair *tao-mày* leads to a clearer pattern of BE and LD binding compared to the courteous/distant pair *tôi-bạn*.

In addition, the second-person pronoun induces BE only when it is meant to be directly deictic (i.e., directly ‘pointing’ at the participants of the current speech event). The deicticity of the second-person pronoun could be made less salient, in which case the BE of (9b) might not be observed (as reported in Doan 2022: 248). When the deixis is indirect, the pronoun is in fact not anchored to the conversational participants. The choice between direct deixis and indirect deixis of a second-person pronoun is pertinent to how long-distance binding in sentences like (9b) is perceived by native speakers. That is, if they see these sentences as simple reports of Nguyễn’s state of mind, and no special attempt is made to “pin” the second-person pronoun onto the participants of the current speech event, then the grammaticality of (9b) is improved with a long-distance interpretation of *mình*.

The pattern of BE of LD *mình* appears strikingly similar to the non-local construal of Chinese bare reflexive *ziji* exemplified in (10b–c) (see Battistella 1989; Cole et al. 1990; Cole & Sung 1994; Cole & Wang 1996).

(10) BE of Chinese *ziji*:

- a. *Akiu_i zhidao [Lisi_j bu xihuan ziji_{i/j}]*.
Akiu know Lisi not like self
'Akiu_i knows that Lisi_j does not like self_{i/j}'
- b. *Akiu_i zhidao [wo_j bu xihuan ziji_{*i/j}]*.
Akiu know I not like self
'Akiu_i knows that I_j do not like self_{*i/j}'
- c. *Akiu_i zhidao [ni_j bu xihuan ziji_{*i/j}]*.
Akiu know you not like self
'Akiu_i knows that you_j do not like self_{*i/j}'

In spite of the identical pattern of BE in (9) and (10), one key difference between LD *mình* and LD *ziji* with respect to BE concerns the blocking induced by non-local objects. Specifically, while the long-distance construal of *mình* in (11b–c) is not blocked by a first/second-person pronoun in this position, the long-distance interpretation of *ziji* is disrupted in this configuration as in (12b–c).⁶

(11) 1st/2nd pronouns in a non-local object position do not induce BE of *mình*:

- a. *Nguyễn_i {nói với / thuyết phục} Tân_j [Bình_k đã bầu cho mình_{i/*j/k}]*.
Nguyễn talk with convince Tân Bình ANT vote for self
'Nguyễn_i told/convinced Tân_j that Bình_k voted for self_{i/*j/k}'
- b. *Nguyễn_i {nói với / thuyết phục} tao_j [Bình_k đã bầu cho mình_{i/*j/k}]*.
Nguyễn talk with convince I Bình ANT vote for self
'Nguyễn_i told / convinced me_j that Bình_k voted for self_{i/*j/k}'
- c. *Nguyễn_i {nói với / thuyết phục} mày_j [Bình_k đã bầu cho mình_{i/*j/k}]*.
Nguyễn talk with convince you Bình ANT vote for self
'Nguyễn_i told/convinced you_j that Bình_k voted for self_{i/*j/k}'

(12) 1st/2nd pronouns in a non-local object position induces BE of *ziji*:

- a. *Akiu_i gaosu Lisi_j [Bier_k chang piping ziji_{i/*j/k}]*.
Akiu tell Lisi Bill often criticize self
'Akiu_i told Lisi_j that Bill_k often criticizes self_{i/*j/k}'
- b. *Akiu_i gaosu wo_j [Bier_k chang piping ziji_{*i/*j/k}]*.
Akiu tell I Bill often criticize self
'Akiu_i told me_j that Bill_k often criticizes self_{*i/*j/k}'

6. Three of our informants state that the long-distance reading in (11b) is acceptable, but not as clear as it is for the local binder (= *Bình*). It also took them longer to process the long-distance reading in (11b).

- c. *Akiu_i gaosu ni_j [Bier_k chang piping ziji_{i/*j/k}].*
 Akiu tell you Bill often criticize self
 'Akiu_i told you_j that Bill_k often criticizes self_{i/*j/k}'

The BE induced by the first/second-person pronouns at the matrix object position in (12b–c) leads Cole et al. (2006) to propose the discourse requirement in (13a) to regulate the long-distance construal of *ziji*. More specifically, although *ziji* cannot refer to the matrix object in (12a), first/second-person pronouns, located at this position as a non-potential antecedent, still block the long-distance construal of *ziji* in (12b–c) due to (13b).

- (13) Discourse requirement in Chinese: (Cole et al. 2006: 61; see also Charnavel et al. 2017: 54)
- The antecedent for a long-distance reflexive must be a PIVOT.
 - The presence of a PIVOT (external or internal) in a sentence prevents a reflexive from taking any other distinct DP as a long-distance antecedent.

However, the lack of BE in (11b–c) is not predicted by the discourse requirement in (13) since the occurrence of a first/second-person pronoun invariably introduces a PIVOT anchored to the external speaker, which should block *mình* from referring to the matrix subject, regardless of where the first/second-person pronouns occur in the sentence. Therefore, we argue that the discourse requirement in (13) cannot be fully adopted to properly characterize the computation of the long-distance construal of Vietnamese LD *mình*.

Importantly, note that the lack of BE in (11b–c) cannot be taken to suggest that the computation of BE of *mình* is completed within the minimal clause containing *mình*. In particular, the occurrence of BE induced by a non-local first/second-person antecedent in (14) indicates that first/second-person pronouns do not induce BE in (11b–c) for two reasons: (i) they are not potential antecedents for LD *mình*, and (ii) they are not included in the relevant direct discourse representation for the intended long-distance construal of *mình* (corresponding to the complement clause subcategorized by the attitudinal predicate; see Huang 1984; Huang & Liu 2001).

- (14) BE induced by a non-local 1st/2nd antecedent:
John_i nghĩ [tao_j /mày_j tin [Nguyễn_k đã bầu cho mình_{i/j/k}]].
 John think I you believe Nguyễn ANT vote for self
 'John_i thinks that I_j /you_j believe that Nguyễn_k voted for self_{i/j/k}'

We would like to show one set of controversial data to end this section. Although a sub-commanding first/second-person pronoun induces BE in Chinese as in (15), our native informants reported different judgments of the Vietnamese counterparts in (16). In our survey with ten native informants, all of them reported that

mình cannot refer to the sub-commanding *Nam/tao/mày* in (16). More importantly, while all of them accepted the long-distance reading of *mình* in (16a), five of them either rejected or disfavored the long-distance interpretation of *mình* referring to the matrix subject *Nguyễn* in (16b–c) (indicated by %). For those who rejected the long-distance interpretation in (16b–c), the only reading available is for *mình* to be bound by the local subject DP.

(15) BE of *ziji* induced by sub-commanding 1st/2nd pronouns: (Xu 1993)

- a. *Akiu_i renwei* [[*Lisi_k de mama*]_j *hai-le ziji_{i/j/*k}*].
 Akiu think Lisi MOD mother hurt-PERF self
 ‘Akiu_i thinks Lisi_k’s mother_j hurt self_{i/j/*k}’
- b. *Akiu_i renwei* [[{*wo / ni*]_k *de mama*]_j *hai-le ziji_{*i/j/*k}*].
 Akiu think I you MOD mother hurt-PERF self
 ‘Akiu_i thinks {my/your}_k mother_j hurt self_{*i/j/*k}’

(16) BE of *mình* induced by sub-commanding 1st/2nd pronouns:

- a. *Nguyễn_i nghĩ* [*là [mẹ của Nam_k]*]_j *sẽ bầu cho mình_{i/j/*k}*.
 Nguyễn think c mother POSS Nam FUT vote for self
 ‘Nguyễn_i thinks that [Nam_k’s mother]_j will vote for self_{i/j/*k}’
- b. *Nguyễn_i nghĩ* [*là [mẹ của tao_k]*]_j *sẽ bầu cho mình_{%i/j/*k}*.
 Nguyễn think c mother POSS I FUT vote for self
 ‘Nguyễn_i thinks that [my_k mother]_j will vote for self_{%i/j/*k}’
- c. *Nguyễn_i nghĩ* [*là [mẹ của mày_k]*]_j *sẽ bầu cho mình_{%i/j/*k}*.
 Nguyễn think c mother POSS you FUT vote for self
 ‘Nguyễn_i thinks that [your_k mother]_j will vote for self_{%i/j/*k}’

In the next section, we argue that the key factor licensing the long-distance antecedent of *mình* in all the data reviewed in this section (including (16)) is the notion of the attitude holder of a *de se* belief (Chierchia 1989; Huang & Liu 2001) and the empathy locus that the utterance speaker identifies with (Oshima 2006; Wang & Pan 2015). Sentences like (16b–c), in the absence of relevant contextual cues, would leave much to the informants’ imagination as to where the attitude holder/empathy locus is meant to be (hence the judgment disparity in the survey). Thus, in principle contexts could be devised to skew the judgment. If the sub-commanding first- and second-person pronouns (representing the utterance speaker and the addressee, respectively) are meant to be the attitude holder/empathy locus, then BE obtains since the matrix third-person subject cannot also be the attitude holder/empathy locus. By contrast, if they are not understood as the attitude holder/empathy locus, then no BE is detected (see § 4.2 for details). In the next section, as preliminaries to our analysis of the computation of the (disruption of) long-distance interpretation of LD *mình* along this line of analysis,

we discuss the discourse condition licensing the long-distance antecedent of LD *mình*.

3. Logophoric conditions licensing LD *mình*

In this section, we discuss the discourse conditions licensing the non-local antecedent of LD *mình*. Based on Huang & Liu's (2001), Wang & Pan's (2015), and Charnavel's (2019b) discussions, we argue that the non-local antecedent of LD *mình* must be either an attitude holder bearing attitude *de se* or an empathy locus.

3.1 Attitude *de se*

Huang & Liu (2001) propose that Chierchia's (1989) concept of attitude *de se* is a more precise discourse characterization of the antecedent of LDAs, at least for *ziji* in the Chinese dialect (as spoken in Taiwan) they discuss. In short, attitude *de se* concerns the self-consciousness of the antecedent. Chierchia's (1989) classic example illustrating attitude *de se* concerns the distinction between LDA *proprio* and pronoun *suoi* in Italian, as shown by the contrast in (17) and (18).

- (17) #*Pavarotti crede che i propri pantaloni siano in fiamme. Ma non Pavarotti believes that the self pants are in flame but not si e' accorto che i pantaloni sono i propri. realize that the pants are the own*
 Intended: 'Pavarotti believes that self's pants are on fire, but he hasn't realized that the pants are his own.'
- (18) *Pavarotti crede che i suoi pantaloni siano in fiamme. Ma non si e' accorto Pavarotti believes that the his pants are in flame but not realize che i pantaloni sono i propri. that the pants are the own*
 'Pavarotti believes that self's pants are on fire, but he hasn't realized that the pants are his own.'

The infelicitous use of *proprio* in (17) results from Pavarotti's unawareness of the fact that it is his own pants that are on fire. That is, to function as the remote antecedent of *proprio*, Pavarotti has to hold attitude *de se*, consciously ascribing the property denoted by the predicate containing *proprio* to himself. By contrast, the use of the personal pronoun *suoi* in (18) is not subject to this constraint — Pavarotti only has to note that someone's pants are on fire, not necessarily identifying that observation with himself.

With attitude *de se* as the more adequate characterization of the discourse requirement on the antecedent of LDAs, we examine how attitude *de se* licenses the long-distance construal of *minh* in attitudinal contexts. We find that a *de se* restriction similar to (17) applies to the use of LD *minh* in Vietnamese as well, as shown in (19), which is felicitous only in the context in which Nguyễn is aware that his own wallet was stolen.

- (19) *Nguyễn_i nói kẻ móc túi đã trộm ví của mình_i.* (de se only)
 Nguyễn say CL pick pocket ANT steal wallet POSS self
 ‘Nguyễn_i said that the pickpocket stole his_i wallet.’

By contrast, suppose that Nguyễn sees a pickpocket running away with his wallet without realizing it is his own wallet; he may report the theft to the police. The speaker, who knows that the wallet actually belongs to Nguyễn, can report on Nguyễn’s deed as in (20).⁷ In other words, (20) under the co-reference interpretation can be true as expressing a *de re* belief of Nguyễn’s that his wallet was stolen.

- (20) *Nguyễn_i nói kẻ móc túi đã trộm ví của anh ấy_i/cậu ấy_i/nó_i.* (de re/de se)
 Nguyễn say CL pick pocket ANT steal wallet POSS
 anh ấy_i/cậu ấy_i/nó_i
 him
 ‘Nguyễn_i said that the pickpocket stole his_i wallet.’

Furthermore, the clearest test Charnavel (2019b) provides to support the logophoric interpretation of LDAs is the inanimacy test. More specifically, Charnavel (2019b) reasons that only animate beings can take perspective and bear attitude to function as the logophoric center to license LDAs (see also Charnavel & Sportiche 2016). Therefore, we predict that LD *minh* cannot take an inanimate antecedent. This prediction is borne out, as evidenced by (21): only a pronoun like *nó*, not LD *minh*, can be used in these two sentences to refer to the inanimate antecedents.⁸

7. Vietnamese employs a wide range of pronouns and kinship terms in daily communication for different registers and varied relations between discourse participants. While *anh ấy* is used to address those who are senior to/older than the speaker, *cậu ấy* addresses those who are of the same age as or younger than the speaker. Although *nó* is also used to address those who are junior to/younger than the speaker, it is an informal pronoun used among close friends or people of equal socioeconomic status.

8. (21a) and (21b) are based on the original English data from Minkoff (2004: 486) and Charnavel (2019b: 93), respectively. By contrast, local *minh* is not subject to this animacy constraint as illustrated by (i).

(i) *Trái Đất_i tự quay quanh mình_i.*
 Earth EMP spin around self
 ‘The Earth spins around itself.’

- (21) LD *mình* cannot refer to an inanimate antecedent:
- a. *Câu chuyện về chính nó_i / *mình_i đã khiến Chiến tranh và Hòa bình_i trở nên nổi tiếng.*
 story about EMP it self ANT cause war and
 peace become famous
 ‘[That story about it_i] caused *War and Peace*_i to become famous.’
 - b. *Máy ATM_i không cho phép người dùng rút tiền từ nó_i / *mình_i.*
 machine ATM not permit person use withdraw money from it
 self
 ‘The ATM_i did not permit the user to withdraw money from it.’

3.2 Attitude holders and empathy foci

Based on novel data from French, Charnavel (2019b) argues that attitude holders and empathy loci are the only two relevant subtypes of perspectives/logophoric centers (intellectual and sensory perspectives, respectively) licensing LDAs. In this section, we apply her tests to Vietnamese *mình* to further identify the proper discourse condition licensing LD *mình*.

First of all, following Dubinsky & Hamilton’s (1998) claim that epithets like *that fool* are anti-logophoric, Charnavel (2019b: 145–146) employs (22) and (23) as a test to detect the attitude holder in attitude contexts.

- (22) Anti-attitudinality of epithets:
 Regardless of who evaluates its contents, an epithet occurring in an attitude clause cannot refer to the attitude holder of that clause unless it is read non-*de se*.
- (23) Epithet test for detecting attitude holders in their attitude contexts:
 To simultaneously check whether a given DP is in an attitude context and what the relevant attitude holder is, replace this DP with an epithet and determine its referential possibilities in unmarked situations (i.e., without using non-*de se* scenarios).
 If there is a non-locally c-commanding antecedent that the epithet cannot take, the DP is contained in an attitude context and the referent of that antecedent is the attitude holder of that context.

For instance, with the use of *according to*, the contents of (24a) is evaluated by *John* as the attitude holder. Consequently, the pronoun *he* in (24a) cannot be replaced by the epithet *the idiot* referring to *John* in (24b) precisely because an epithet occurring in an attitude clause cannot refer to the attitude holder of that clause (cf. Dubinsky & Hamilton 1998: 688).

- (24) a. According to John_i, he_i is married to a genius.
 b. #According to John_i, **the idiot**_i is married to a genius.

By contrast, with the use of *speaking of*, the contents of (25a) is evaluated by the utterance speaker as the attitude holder. Given that *John* is not the attitude holder in (25a), the pronoun *he* in (25a) can be replaced by the epithet referring to *John* in (25b).

- (25) a. Speaking of John_i, he_i is married to a genius.
 b. Speaking of John_i, **the idiot**_i is married to a genius.

Now, note that the epithet test can be fully applied to Vietnamese. First, since (26a) is evaluated from the speaker's viewpoint, the pronoun *anh ấy* can be replaced by the epithet *thằng ngốc đớ* 'that fool' referring to *Nam* as in (26b).⁹

- (26) a. Nói về Nam_p, anh ấy_i kết hôn với một thiên tài.
 speaking about Nam he marry with one genius
 'Speaking of Nam_p, he_i is married to a genius.'
 b. Nói về thằng Nam_p, [thằng ngốc đớ]_i kết hôn với một thiên tài.
 speaking about CL Nam CL fool that marry with one genius
 'Speaking of Nam_p, that fool_i is married to a genius.'

Next, because (27a) is evaluated by *Nam* as the attitude holder, the pronoun cannot be replaced by the epithet referring to *Nam* in (27b).

- (27) a. Theo Nam_p, anh ấy_i kết hôn với một thiên tài.
 according.to Nam he marry with one genius
 'According to Nam_p, he_i is married to a genius.'
 b. #Theo thằng Nam_p, [thằng ngốc đớ]_i kết hôn với một thiên tài.
 according.to CL Nam CL fool that marry with one genius
 Intended: 'According to Nam_p, that fool_i is married to a genius.'

Finally, we apply the epithet test to (4a), replacing *mình* with an epithet as in (28b). Given Charnavel's reasoning based on (22–23), the fact that the epithet in (28b) cannot refer to Ginny indicates that *mình* in (28) is contained in an attitude context; moreover, Ginny is the attitude holder of the attitude context (because the epithet is not allowed to refer to Ginny).

9. *Nam* is prefixed with a classifier *thằng* in (26b) for compatibility with the informal register expressed by the epithet *thằng ngốc đớ* 'that fool.' The female equivalent of *thằng* is the classifier *con*.

- (28) a. *Ginny_i bảo Luna_j [là Mai_k bầu cho mình_{i/*j/k}].* (= (4a))
 Ginny tell Luna c Mai vote for self
 ‘Ginny_i told Luna_j that Mai_k voted for self_{i/*j/k}.’
 b. #*Thằng Ginny_i bảo Luna [là Mai bầu cho [thằng ngốc đố]_i].*
 CL Ginny tell Luna c Mai vote for CL fool that
 Intended: ‘Ginny_i told Luna that Mai voted for that fool_i.’

The notion of attitude holders also licenses the felicitous use of LD *mình* in (6a), repeated here in (29a). Note that LD *mình* in (29a) cannot be replaced by an epithet referring to *Nam* as in (29b), suggesting that *mình* is contained in an attitude context in (29a) and the nominals at the syntactic position occupied by *Nam* in this sentence are eligible for carrying attitude *de se* to antecede LD *mình* (because the epithet cannot take them as antecedents).

- (29) a. [*Việc Nguyên không hài lòng với mình_i] làm Nam_i buồn.* (= (6a))
 matter Nguyên not satisfied with self make Nam sad
 ‘That Nguyên was not satisfied with self_i made Nam_i sad.’
 b. #[*Việc Nguyên không hài lòng với [thằng ngốc đố]_i] làm thằng Nam_i*
 matter Nguyên not satisfied with CL fool that make CL Nam
buồn.
 sad
 Intended: ‘That Nguyên was not satisfied with that fool_i made Nam_i sad.’

Next, note that the occurrence of LD *mình* is not limited to an intensional attitudinal context, as demonstrated by (6b), repeated here as (30).

- (30) *Khi Mai đến thăm mình_i, Nam_i đang lau nhà.* (= (6b))
 when Mai come visit self Nam PROG clean house
 ‘When Mai came to visit self_i, Nam_i was cleaning the house.’

Similar use of LD *mình* in extensional contexts can be exemplified by (31) and (32).

- (31) LD *mình* in an extensional context:
 Diving scenario: Zhangsan is watching a video of the dives with some acquaintances. He likes one diver the best, but notices some people in the back snickering at the diver’s form.
 He leans over and tells his neighbor, “I don’t like those people who criticized that diver.”
 Unbeknownst to him, he himself is the diver.
Zhangsan_i không thích những người phê bình mình_i.
 Zhangsan not like PL person criticize self
 ‘Zhangsan_i does not like those who criticize him_i.’ (from Huang & Tang 1991)

(32) LD *mình* in an extensional context:

Scenario: Zhangsan is trapped in a burning building and faints. When he wakes up, he is safely outside. He thinks he was lucky, but in fact was saved by a passerby.

Zhangsan_i đã không gặp lại người đã cứu mạng mình_i.

Zhangsan ANT not meet again person ANT save life self

‘Zhangsan_i did not see again the person who saved his_i life.’

(from Pollard & Xue 2001)

Importantly, the use of LD *mình* in (31) and (32) is acceptable even if Zhangsan does not know that he is speaking about himself. Simply put, the felicitous use of LD *mình* in extensional contexts shows that the antecedent of LD *mình* needs not be an attitude holder of a *de se* belief. For these extensional contexts, we argue that the relevant logophoric center licensing LD *mình* is the notion of empathy loci defined by Kuno (1987:206) in (33) (see also Oshima 2006; Nishigauchi 2014; Wang & Pan 2015).

(33) Empathy is the speaker’s identification, which may vary in degree, with a person/thing that participates in the event or state that he describes in a sentence.

To verify that the notion of empathy loci is needed in addition to attitude holders as logophoric centers licensing LD *mình* in Vietnamese, we employ the possessive *thân mến* ‘dear’ test in (34) (adapted from Charnavel 2019b: 167–170) to detect the empathy locus in a Vietnamese sentence.

(34) Vietnamese possessive *thân mến* ‘dear’ test for detecting empathy loci:

To identify the possible empathy loci in a context containing a given DP, replace this DP with a possessive DP containing *thân mến* ‘dear’ and determine its referential possibilities.

The referent(s) of the possessive DP containing *thân mến* can be construed as the empathy locus of the context of the DP. Otherwise, only the speaker can be interpreted as the empathy locus.

Now, applying the possessive *thân mến* ‘dear’ test to (30–32) as in (35–37) shows that the long-distance antecedents of LD *mình* in these extensional contexts are the empathy loci because the pronoun *nó* within the *thân mến* DP can refer to the intended long-distance antecedents.

(35) *Khi Mai đến thăm [đứa bạn thân mến của nó_i], Nam_i đang lau nhà.*

when Mai come visit CL friend dear POSS he Nam PROG clean

house

‘When Mai came to visit his_i dear friend, Nam_i was cleaning the house.’

- (36) *Zhangsan_i không thích những người phê bình [đứa bạn thân mến của nó_i].*
 Zhangsan not like PL person criticize CL friend dear POSS he
 ‘Zhangsan_i does not like those who criticize his_i dear friend.’
- (37) *Zhangsan_i đã không gặp lại người đã cứu mạng của [đứa bạn thân mến của nó_i].*
 Zhangsan ANT not meet again person ANT save life POSS CL friend
 dear POSS he
 ‘Zhangsan_i did not see again the person who saved his_i dear friend’s life.’

In addition, the attitude holder antecedent LD *mình* in (28)/(29) are also the empathy loci, as evidenced by the referential possibilities of the possessive DP containing *thân mến* in (38) and (39). Thus, being an attitude holder entails being the empathy locus for an utterance, but not necessarily the other way around.

- (38) *Ginny_i bảo Luna [là Mai bầu cho đứa bạn thân mến của nó_i].*
 Ginny tell Luna c Mai vote for CL friend dear POSS she
 ‘Ginny_i told Luna that Mai voted for her_i dear friend.’
- (39) *[Việc Nguyễn không hài lòng với đứa bạn thân mến của nó_i] làm Nam_i buồn.*
 matter Nguyễn not satisfied with CL friend dear POSS he make
 Nam sad
 ‘That Nguyễn was not satisfied with his_i dear friend made Nam_i sad.’

After discussing the proper discourse condition licensing the antecedent of LD *mình* in both intensional and extensional contexts, it is crucial to note that the discourse condition cannot run afoul of a syntactic constraint on LD *mình*: the subject orientation exemplified in (4). For instance, recall that LD *mình* cannot refer to the sub-commanding *Ginny* in (8b–c), repeated below.

- (40) a. **[Bức thư của Ginny_i] chứng tỏ [là mình_i vô tội].*
 CL letter POSS Ginny prove c self innocent
 Intended: ‘Ginny_i’s letter has proved that self_i is innocent.’
- b. **[Bức thư của Ginny_i] chứng tỏ [Luna là người đã hại mình_i].*
 CL letter POSS Ginny prove Luna be person ANT hurt self
 Intended: ‘Ginny_i’s letter has proved that Luna was the one who hurt self_i.’

Note that the possessive *thân mến* ‘dear’ test in (41) shows that *Ginny* can be the empathy locus because the possessive in the *thân mến* phrase can refer to *Ginny*. However, being the empathy locus is not a sufficient condition to license *Ginny* to antecede LD *mình* because *Ginny* is not the subject in (40).

- (41) a. [*Bức thư của Ginny_i*] chứng tỏ [là [*đứa bạn thân mến của nó_i*]
 CL letter POSS Ginny prove C CL friend dear POSS she
vô tội].
 innocent
 ‘Ginny_i’s letter has proven that her_i dear friend is innocent.’
- b. [*Bức thư của Ginny_i*] chứng tỏ Luna là người đã hại [*đứa bạn
 thân mến của nó_i*].
 CL letter POSS Ginny prove Luna be person ANT hurt CL friend
 dear POSS she
 ‘Ginny_i’s letter has shown that Luna was the one who hurt her_i dear
 friend.’

A further supporting evidence for the primacy of subject orientation of LD *mình* concerns the use of LD *mình* in (42a) (see also Doan 2022: 141, (32b) for a similar example). Although *Tân* can be the empathy locus, as shown by the possessive *thân mến* ‘dear’ test in (42b), being the empathy locus alone cannot license *Tân* as an antecedent for LD *mình*, as evidenced by the interpretative possibilities shown in (42a).

- (42) Being the empathy locus is not a sufficient condition:
- a. [*Từ nơi của Tân_j*] Nguyên_i nghe nói [*Bình_k không bầu cho
 from place POSS Tân Nguyên listen speak Bình not vote for
 mình_{i/*j/k}*].
 self
 ‘Nguyên_i heard from Tân_j that Bình_k did not vote for self_{i/*j/k}.’
- b. [*Từ nơi của Tân_j*] Nguyên_i nghe nói [*Bình_k không bầu cho [đứa
 from place POSS Tân Nguyên listen speak Bình not vote for CL
 bạn thân mến của nó_{i/j/k}]]].
 friend dear POSS he
 ‘Nguyên_i heard from Tân_j that Bình_k did not vote for his_{i/j/k} dear friend.’*

We can extend this line of analysis to nominals occupying the matrix object position to show that possessing an empathy locus is insufficient to qualify a nominal as a suitable antecedent for LD *mình*. In particular, *Tân* at the matrix object position in (43) can be the empathy locus, as evidenced by the referential possibilities of the possessive pronoun in (43).

- (43) Nguyên_i {nói với / thuyết phục} Tân_j [là Bình_k muốn gặp [*đứa bạn
 Nguyên talk with convince Tân C Bình want meet CL friend
 thân mến của nó_{i/j/k}]].
 dear POSS he
 ‘Nguyên_i told / convinced Tân_j that Bình_k wants to meet his_{i/j/k} dear friend.’*

If being the empathy locus is a sufficient condition to license a long-distance antecedent for LD *mình*, we expect *Tân* in the context of (43) to be able to antecede LD *mình*. However, this prediction is not borne out, as evidenced by (44).

(44) Being the empathy locus is not a sufficient condition:

*Nguyễn_i {nói với / thuyết phục} Tân_j [là Bình_k muốn gặp mình_{i/*j/k}].*

Nguyễn talk with convince Tân c Bình want meet self

'Nguyễn_i told / convinced Tân_j that Bình_k wants to meet self_{i/*j/k}'

Summing up, in this section we argue that (i) a nominal is able to antecede LD *mình* only if the referent of the nominal is either an attitude holder bearing attitude *de se* or an empathy locus as defined in (33), and (ii) the discourse condition needs to go hand in hand with the subject orientation of LD *mình*. In the next section, we explain how Huang & Liu's (2001) account based on direct discourse representations works in tandem with Wang & Pan's (2015: 318) characterization of LDA to deduce the discourse properties of the antecedent of LD *mình* and the (disruption of) long-distance reading of LD *mình*.

4. Deducing the (disruption of) long-distance reading of LD *mình*

In this section, we show how Huang & Liu's (2001) perspective-based account based on direct discourse representations works in tandem with Wang & Pan's (2015: 318) characterization of LDA in (45) to deduce the discourse properties of the antecedent of LD *mình* and the (disruption of) long-distance reading of LD *mình*.

(45) Binding principle for an LDA:

- a. An LDA is the spell-out of an unsaturated position.
- b. It can be saturated either by a co-argument,
- c. by the bearer of the attitude, or
- d. by the empathy locus.

§4.1 and 4.2 spell out the details of how to deduce and lift the BE of the long-distance interpretation of *mình*. In §4.3, we show that the BE of Chinese *ziji* cannot be easily lifted by contextual support. In §4.4, we propose that (45) can be syntactically represented by Charnavel's (2019b) two-stage model of binding for the long-distance interpretation of LDA mediated by an implicit logophoric operator/pronoun (see also Sundaresan 2018; Ikawa 2024; Baker & Ikawa 2024). In §4.5, we discuss the speaker reading of *mình* and show that the interpretative possibilities of multiple occurrences of *mình* can be properly handled by the assumption of an implicit logophoric operator/pronoun.

4.1 Deriving BE

Let us apply (45) to the interpretations of *mình* in (46) as a demonstration. *Mình* in (46) can be saturated either by the co-argument *Tân* or the attitude holder/empathy locus, the matrix subject *Nguyễn*.

- (46) *Nguyễn_i nghĩ [Tân_j không nên bầu cho mình_{i/j}].*
 Nguyễn think Tân not should vote for self
 ‘Nguyễn_i thinks that Tân_j should not vote for self_{i/j}.’

Next, the non-local reading of *mình* is blocked in (47) due to the local first-person subject representing the utterance speaker.

- (47) *Nguyễn_i nghĩ [tao_j không nên bầu cho mình_{i/j}].* (=9a)
 Nguyễn think I not should vote for self
 ‘Nguyễn_i thinks that I_j should not vote for self_{i/j}.’

Following Wang & Pan’s (2015) binding principle in (45), to obtain the long-distance interpretation, *mình* may be saturated by either the attitude holder or the empathy locus. However, we show below that without additional contextual support, the external speaker (represented by the local first-person antecedent) has to be the antecedent that saturates *mình* in this case. First, the local first-person antecedent *tao* ‘I’, denoting the external speaker, is the default empathy locus according to Kuno & Kaburaki’s (1977) Speech-Act Participant Empathy Hierarchy in (48) (see also Kuno 1987: 212). Thus, for the option of saturation by the empathy locus, *mình* has to refer to *tao* ‘I’.

- (48) Speech-Act Participant Empathy Hierarchy:
 It is easiest for the speaker to empathize with himself; it is next easiest for him to empathize with the hearer; it is most difficult for him to express more empathy with third persons than with himself or with the hearer.

Second, for the option of saturation by the attitude holder, we contend that *Nguyễn* in (47) can be excluded as an attitude holder under Huang & Liu’s (2001) account for BE. Huang & Liu (2001) advance an analysis of BE based on a pragmatic strategy of avoiding perspectival conflicts suggested in Huang (1984), which is based on Kuno’s (1972) direct discourse representation hypothesis of certain English pronouns. For instance, the long-distance bound *mình* in (46) is equivalent to the first-person pronoun *tao* ‘I/me’ anchored to the matrix subject *Nguyễn* that denotes the internal speaker of the embedded clause in the direct discourse representation as in (49).

(49) Direct discourse representation of (46):

Nguyễn nghĩ, “Tân không nên bầu cho tao_{internal}.”
 ‘Nguyễn thinks, “Tân should not vote for me_{internal}.”’

On the other hand, a first-person pronoun has an intrinsic perspectival orientation anchored to the external/utterance speaker of the entire utterance. This produces a perspectival conflict in the direct discourse representation of the clausal complement in (50) because *minh* would need to be anchored to the internal speaker (=the matrix subject) for the long-distance construal, whereas the embedded subject is anchored to the external speaker, a situation Huang & Liu (2001) claim is difficult to sort out perceptually. More specifically, they state that “thus two instances of ‘I’ occurring in the same clause would be used to refer to two separate individuals [i.e., the speaker of the entire sentence, and the ‘speaker’ of the embedded discourse]. Under such a situation the hearer is apt to be confused, and communication cannot be effective...” (Huang & Liu 2001: 149). As a result, neither saturation by the attitude holder nor saturation by the empathy locus makes the matrix subject *Nguyễn* a viable antecedent for LD *minh* in (47).

(50) Direct discourse representation of (47):

#Nguyễn nghĩ, “tao_{external} không nên bầu cho tao_{internal}”
 Intended: #‘Nguyễn thinks, “I_{external} should not vote for me_{internal}.”’

Similarly, the local second-person antecedent (representing the hearer) in (51) blocks the long-distance construal of LD *minh* because the hearer ranks higher than other nominals as the empathy focus in this sentence according to Kuno & Kaburaki’s (1977) Speech-Act Participant Empathy Hierarchy in (48). In addition, the matrix subject *Nguyễn* cannot antecede LD *minh* as an attitude holder due to the perspectival conflict shown in the direct discourse presentation in (52).

(51) *Nguyễn_i nghĩ [mày_j không nên bầu cho mình_{*i/j}].* (= (9b))

Nguyễn think you not should vote for self
 ‘Nguyễn_i thinks that you_j should not vote for self_{*i/j}.’

(52) Direct discourse representation of (51):

#Nguyễn nghĩ, “mày_{external} không nên bầu cho mình_{internal}”
 Intended: #‘Nguyễn thinks, “you_{external} should not vote for me_{internal}.”’

Importantly, the perspectival conflicts in (50) and (52) cannot be taken to suggest that the computation of perspectival conflicts is completed within the minimal clause containing *minh*. Specifically, recall that BE of LD *minh* is also induced by a non-local first/second-person antecedent in (14), repeated here as (53).

(53) BE induced by a non-local 1st/2nd-person antecedent:

John_i nghĩ [tao_j / mày_j tin [Nguyễn_k đã bầu cho mình_{i/j/k}]].
 John think I you believe Nguyễn ANT vote for self
 ‘John_i thinks that I_j/you_j believe that Nguyễn_k voted for self_{i/j/k}’

That is, for a particular long-distance antecedent of *minh*, the correct direct discourse representation for the computation of perspectival conflicts is not the minimal clause containing *minh*. Instead, it should be the clausal complement immediately below the long-distance antecedent in question. Therefore, the direct discourse representation for *John* as the intended long-distance antecedent in (53) should be (54) with the same type of perspectival conflicts seen in (50) and (52).

(54) Direct discourse representation of (53):

#*John nghĩ, “tao_{external} / mày_{external} tin Nguyễn đã bầu cho mình_{internal}”.*
 Intended: #‘John thinks, “I_{external} / you_{external} believe that Nguyễn voted for me_{internal}”’

Now we turn to the critical difference between Vietnamese *minh* and Chinese *ziji* with respect to BE noted in §2: first/second-person nominals do not induce BE in (55) where they do not serve as a potential antecedent of LD *minh*.

(55) 1st/2nd-person pronouns at a non-local object position do not induce BE:

(=(11b/c))

- a. *Nguyễn_i thuyết phục tao_j [Bình_k đã bầu cho mình_{i/*j/k}].*
 Nguyễn convince me Bình ANT vote for self
 ‘Nguyễn_i convinced me_j that Bình_k voted for self_{i/*j/k}’
- b. *Nguyễn_i thuyết phục mày_j [Bình_k đã bầu cho mình_{i/*j/k}].*
 Nguyễn convince you Bình ANT vote for self
 ‘Nguyễn_i convinced you_j that Bình_k voted for self_{i/*j/k}’

Although first/second-person nominals rank higher than *Nguyễn* in Kuno & Kaburaki’s (1977) Speech-Act Participant Empathy Hierarchy in (48), they cannot antecede LD *minh* in (55) since that would violate the subject-orientation of *minh*, which is deducible from the Surface Structure Empathy Hierarchy in (56). That (56) precludes first/second-person objects from anteceding LD *minh* indicates that the consideration of one empathy hierarchy may override that of another empathy hierarchy.^{10, 11}

10. That *Tân* in unable to antecede *minh* in (42a) also follows from (56). Although *Tân* can be the empathy locus in (42a), taking *Tân* as the antecedent of *minh* does not conform to (56).

11. A reviewer asks if the *Nam* in (6a) is a subject. First, note that there is no eligible “surface subject” as a long-distance antecedent of *minh* in (6a). Thus, *Nam*, as the experiencer object, is the only eligible long-distance antecedent that is outside of the local binding domain of *minh*

- (56) Surface Structure Empathy Hierarchy: (Kuno & Kaburaki 1977: 647–648)
 It is easiest for the speaker to empathize with the referent of the subject; it is next easiest for him to empathize with the referent of the object; ... It is next to impossible for the speaker to empathize with the referent of the *by*-passive Agentive: Subject \geq Object \geq ... \geq *By*-passive Agentive.

Additionally, saturating *minh* by *Nguyễn* as an attitude holder is also acceptable because it does not yield a direct discourse presentation with perspectival conflicts, as shown in (57). Therefore, LD *minh* is able to take the matrix subject as an accessible antecedent in spite of the occurrence of a first/second-person pronoun at the matrix object position in (55).

- (57) Direct discourse representation of (55):
*Nguyễn thuyết phục tao*_{external} / *mày*_{external} “*Bình đã bầu cho mình*_{internal}”
 ‘Nguyễn convinced *me*_{external} / *you*_{external}, “Bình voted for *me*_{internal}’

The availability of the long-distance interpretation of *minh* in (55) marks a stark contrast with the BE of Chinese *ziji* which can be induced by a first/second-person object as in (12b–c). Note that these two LDAs are subject to two different sets of principles in the computation of BE. While the long-distance interpretation of Chinese *ziji* is regulated by the generalized discourse requirement in (13), the non-local reading of Vietnamese *minh* is conditioned by Kuno & Kaburaki’s (1977) Empathy Hierarchies in (48), (56) as well as Huang & Liu’s (2001) insight of perspectival conflicts in direct discourse representations.

Importantly, according to Kuno & Kaburaki (1977) and Kuno (1987), the participant that receives the highest degree of empathy within a clause is the empathy locus, and the empathy relation among participants is correlated with various factors, such as person, topicality, animacy, and social situation. Therefore, an empathy locus within a clause is a relative and flexible notion. The speaker/hearer does

in this sentence, as evidenced by the epithet test shown in (29b). Second, following Belletti & Rizzi’s (1988) unaccusative analysis of experiencer psych verbs such as *infuriate* and *annoy*, we assume that the surface subject in the experiencer construction like (i) raises from a position structurally lower than the experiencer DP, as evidenced by backward binding of *each other* in (i). The backward binding property of psych verbs shown in (i) is found cross-linguistically, for example, in Italian and Mandarin Chinese (see also Pesetsky 1995; Cheung & Larson 2015). In view of the fact that the backward binding property of experiencer psych verbs is shared by counterpart causatives involving “make + a psych adjective” in (ii), which parallels the structure of (6a), we assume that Belletti & Rizzi’s (1988) unaccusative analysis can be extended to (6a) in Vietnamese. Whether such underlying structure of psych verbs renders the experiencer an underlying “subject” of the experiencer construction is beyond the scope of this paper.

- (i) *Pictures of each other*_i annoyed the students_i. (Pesetsky 1995: 43)
 (ii) *Pictures of each other*_i made the students_i annoyed. (Pesetsky 1995: 43)

not have to be the absolute and rigid empathy locus in all sentences containing a first/second-person pronoun when contextual information favors other individuals as the participant that receives the highest degree of empathy. Accordingly, our account for the occurrence of BE of Vietnamese *mình* that is partially based on the identification of empathy loci predicts that the BE of Vietnamese *mình* can be lifted with sufficient contextual support. In the next section, we show that this prediction is validated.

4.2 Lifting BE

Note that the BE induced by *tao/mày* in (59) can be lifted if (59) is uttered as a reply to a question like (58).

- (58) *Nguyễn nghĩ gì?*
 Nguyễn think what
 ‘What does Nguyễn think?’
- (59) *Nguyễn_i nghĩ [tao_j / mày_j không nên bầu cho mình_{i/j}].*
 Nguyễn think I you not should vote for self
 ‘Nguyễn_i thinks that I_j/you_j should not vote for self_{i/j}.’

Under this context, *Nguyễn* is construed as the discourse topic (cf. discourse topic manipulation in Lyu & Kaiser 2021) and *mình* is able to refer to *Nguyễn*, disregarding the intervening first/second-person subject. What is clear is that the presence of a local first/second-person antecedent does not necessarily block the long-distance construal of LD *mình* if sufficient contextual support can be provided. In this connection, consider another significant factor that affects the identification of empathy loci within a sentence discussed by Kuno & Kaburaki (1977) and Kuno (1987) in (60).

- (60) Topic Empathy Hierarchy:
 Given an event or state that involves A and B such that A is coreferential with the topic of the present discourse and B is not, it is easier for the speaker to empathize with A than with B. (Kuno 1987: 210)

Armed with (60), we propose that the Topic Empathy Hierarchy may outweigh the Speech-Act Participant Empathy Hierarchy in Vietnamese such that the speaker/hearer does not have to be the rigid empathy locus in a clause containing a first/second-person pronoun because topicality serves to “frame” the intended long-distance antecedent as the empathy locus. Contextual support of a preceding question like (58) makes it easier for the utterance speaker to empathize with the topic *Nguyễn*, making *Nguyễn* an accessible antecedent of LD *mình*. Note that this interpretative possibility of (59) is close to Wang & Pan’s (2014) idea of extending Kuno & Kaburaki’s (1977) theory of empathy to explain the notion of ‘indirect

de se’ where “the utterance speaker empathizes with the attitude holder, helping the latter to do self-reference” (Wang & Pan 2014:746). Accordingly, the utterance speaker’s empathy with the attitude holder/internal speaker may “neutralize” the perspectival conflicts in the direct discourse representation in (50) and (52). Similarly, *Nguyễn* in (59) can be made salient as the empathy locus when (59) is embedded inside a causal clause as in (61) (*à la* Charnavel 2019a). Again, no BE is detected in (61): *mình* is able to refer to the non-local antecedent in spite of the intervening first/second-person subject.

- (61) *Nguyễn_i phản đối [vì nó_i nghĩ tao / mày không nên bầu cho mình_i].*
 Nguyễn protest because he think I you not should vote for self
 ‘Nguyễn_i protests because he_i thinks that I/you should not vote for self_i.’

In light of the fluidity of BE affected by (60), we argue that the force of different Empathy Hierarchies may be a major cause of dialectal variation of the occurrence of BE of LD *mình*. For instance, recall that five of the ten native informants in our own survey either rejected or disfavored the long-distance interpretation of *mình* referring to the matrix subject *Nguyễn* in (16) (indicated by %), repeated here as (62).

- (62) a. *Nguyễn_i nghĩ [là [mẹ của tao_k]_j sẽ bầu cho mình_{%i/j/*k}].* (=16b)
 Nguyễn think c mother POSS I FUT vote for self
 ‘Nguyễn_i thinks that [my_k mother]_j will vote for self_{%i/j/*k}’
 b. *Nguyễn_i nghĩ [là [mẹ của mày_k]_j sẽ bầu cho mình_{%i/j/*k}].* (=16c)
 Nguyễn think c mother POSS you FUT vote for self
 ‘Nguyễn_i thinks that [your_k mother]_j will vote for self_{%i/j/*k}’

In the absence of additional contextual cues, (62) would leave much to the informant’s imagination as to where the empathy locus is meant to be (hence the judgment disparity in the survey). In particular, we assume that for those informants rejecting the long-distance interpretation in (62), the factors enumerated in (63) outweigh the Surface Structure Empathy Hierarchy such that the long-distance reading referring to *Nguyễn* is precluded.

- (63) Factors banning the long-distance interpretation in (62):
 a. The perspectival conflict induced by a first/second-person pronoun in the direct discourse representation
 b. The Speech-Act Participant Empathy Hierarchy

Importantly, contexts could be devised to skew the judgment so that the first/second-person pronoun is not understood as the default empathy locus. For instance, in (64), the third-person *Nguyễn* has been previously introduced as a

discourse topic and is contextually salient for *mình* to refer to it in the subsequent utterance in spite of the first/second-person pronoun (cf. Han 2020).^{12,13}

(64) Context: A and B are talking about who votes for whom in the upcoming ballot. A asks B about what Nguyễn has in mind about Mrs. Mai (who happens to be the mother of either A or B):

A: *Nguyễn nghĩ bà sẽ bầu cho ai?*

Nguyễn think she FUT vote for who

‘Who does Nguyễn think she will vote for?’

B: *Nguyễn_i nghĩ [mẹ của tao_k /mày_k] sẽ bầu cho mình_{i/j/*k}.*

Nguyễn think mother POSS I you FUT vote for self

‘Nguyễn_i thinks my_k/your_k mother_j will vote for self_{i/j/*k}.’

More specifically, with sufficient contextual support such as a preceding question in (64), factors that allow for the long-distance interpretation in (62) enumerated in (65) join forces to outweigh the considerations shown in (63) such that the long-distance interpretation of (62) becomes accessible.

(65) Factors allowing for the long-distance interpretation in (62) with contextual support:

- a. The Surface Structure Empathy Hierarchy
- b. The Topic Empathy Hierarchy

In conclusion, considering the fluidity of BE as a result of the contextual flexibility conditioned by (60), we conclude that the concept of BE does not actually exist as a “hard constraint” for LD *mình*. The disruption of the long-distance interpretation of LD *mình*, as reported in Doan (2022), Doan et al. (2024) and previous sections, is simply a result of the lack of contextual support for the utterances demonstrating BE (see § 5 for further comments on the agreement-based analysis

12. This is reminiscent of Anand’s (2006) finding that for some native speakers of Chinese, the first-person pronoun does not always trigger BE of *ziji* as in (i), which could also be read as ‘John_i said my mother hit him_i.’

(i) *John_i shuo [wo_k de mama]_i da-le ziji_{i/j/*k}.*

John say I MOD mother hit-PERF self

‘John_i said that my_k mother_j hit self_{i/j/*k}.’

(Anand 2006: 130, (382))

13. Alternatively, we can embed (62) as in (i) where Nguyễn corefers with an experiencer of the psych predicate *vui* ‘happy’, which is an attitude holder/empathy locus according to the tests shown in (29b) and (39). As a result, LD *mình* is allowed to refer to Nguyễn in spite of the occurrence of a first/second-person pronoun in the same clause.

(i) [*Việc Nguyễn_i nghĩ [mẹ của tao_k /mày] sẽ bầu cho mình_i*] làm nó_i vui.

matter Nguyễn think mother POSS I you FUT vote for self make he happy

‘That Nguyễn_i thinks my/your mother will vote for self_i make him_i very happy.’

of BE of LD *minh* in Doan (2022) and Doan et al. (2024)). In the next section, we examine the contextual flexibility of the BE of Chinese *ziji*, and the discussion will lead us to suggest a novel theory of language variations in the pragmatic constraints that derive the differences in BE in Vietnamese and Chinese.

4.3 The contextual flexibility of the BE of Chinese *ziji*

Although Anand (2006) notes that for some native speakers of Chinese, the first-person pronoun does not always trigger BE of *ziji* (see Footnote 12), we find that lifting the BE of Chinese *ziji* is not as easy as it is for that of Vietnamese *minh*. For instance, even with contextual support provided by a question such as (66), (67) – as a reply to (66) – does not allow *ziji* to refer to the long-distance antecedent *Lisi*.

(66) *Lisi zenme xiang?*

Lisi how think

‘What does *Lisi* think?’

(67) *Lisi_i renwei [wo_j / ni_j bu gai piping ziji_{*i/j}].* (cf. (59))

Lisi think I you not should criticize self

‘*Lisi_i* thinks that *I_j/you_j* should not criticize self_{*i/j}.’

Furthermore, embedding within a causal clause, as exemplified in (68), fails to facilitate the long-distance interpretation of *ziji*.

(68) *Lisi_i bu kaixin [yinwei ta_i renwei wo_j / ni_j bu gai piping* (cf. (61))

Lisi not happy because he think I you not should criticize

*ziji_{*i/j}].*

self

‘*Lisi_i* is unhappy because he_i thinks that *I_j/you_j* should not criticize self_{*i/j}.’

Considering the (relative) difficulty of lifting BE of Chinese *ziji*, we propose that the BE in Chinese and Vietnamese can be attributed to distinct yet interconnected pragmatic concepts. On the one hand, the overarching constraint on conflicting perspectives/PIVOTs outlined in (13) operates to account for the occurrence of BE of Chinese *ziji*. On the other hand, the determination of the attitude holder/empathy locus underlies the interpretative possibility of Vietnamese *minh*. To be more specific, even though a first/second-person pronoun does not invariably represent the attitude holder/empathy locus (Anand 2006: 133–134; von Stechow 1982; Boer & Lycan 1986), the presence of such pronouns inevitably introduces a perspective/PIVOT, thereby precluding an LDA from referring to any other distinct DP as its remote antecedent. This characteristic underpins the rigidity of the BE of Chinese *ziji* under the aforementioned contextual cues. In contrast,

the identity of the attitude holder/empathy locus is more adaptable, allowing Vietnamese *mình* to select any eligible nominal as its non-local antecedent. One important prediction arising from this line of reasoning is that the presence of a perspective/PIVOT (whether an attitude holder/empathy locus or not) in a sentence induces BE for Chinese *ziji*, but not necessarily for Vietnamese *mình*. This prediction is borne out by the contrast between (69a) and (69b) concerning the BE induced by a deictic third-person pronoun (Huang & Liu 2001). On the one hand, the deictic third-person pronoun (anchored to the external speaker) introduces a perspective/PIVOT distinct from that of the matrix subject (internal speaker), so *ziji* cannot refer to the matrix subject in accordance with (13). On the other hand, the long-distance interpretation of *mình* is not blocked in (69b) because a deictic third-person is not necessarily an attitude holder/empathy locus (see also Pham et al. 2024 for an experimental study on the BE of Vietnamese *mình* and its difference from that of Chinese *ziji*). In summary, considering the BE patterns of Chinese *ziji* and Vietnamese *mình*, we can discern two different origins of BE: firstly, the presence of a PIVOT distinct from the intended long-distance antecedent (a more stringent condition), and secondly, a disparity between the attitude holder/empathy locus and the intended long-distance antecedent (a less rigid condition).

- (69) a. *Akiu_i renwei* [─ *ta_j bu xihuan ziji_{i/j}*].
 Akiu think he not like self
 ‘Akiu_i thinks he_j does not like self_{i/j}.’
- b. *Tân_i nghi* [─ *anh ấy đã trách mình_{i/j}*].
 Tân think he ANT criticize self
 ‘Tân_i thinks he_j criticized self_{i/j}.’

An anonymous reviewer however points out that it is not ideal to have different notions to explain language variations, since it is hard to see how one can predict when a language uses PIVOT and when a language uses empathy locus to implement the computation of BE. Thus, the reviewer suggests using different rankings of the Empathy Hierarchies to explain the cross-linguistic variations of BE, as detailed in (70).

- (70) Rankings of Empathy Hierarchies to capture the removal of BE in Vietnamese and Chinese:
- Vietnamese: Topic Empathy Hierarchy > Surface Structure Empathy Hierarchy > Speech-Act Participant Empathy Hierarchy
 - Chinese: Speech-Act Participant Empathy Hierarchy > Surface Structure Empathy Hierarchy > Topic Empathy Hierarchy

According to (70a), the highest ranking of the Topic Empathy Hierarchy allows for the fluidity of BE of LD *minh* when the intended long-distance antecedent is framed as the topic of the discourse as seen in the previous section. In addition, the higher ranking of the Surface Structure Hierarchy than the Speech-Act Participant Empathy Hierarchy predicts the lack of BE in (55) and (62) (for some speakers) where the first/second-person pronouns are not at the subject position. On the other hand, in Chinese, first/second-person pronouns, intrinsically anchored to the speech-act participants, are always the empathy loci because of the highest ranking of the Speech-Act Participant Empathy Hierarchy in Chinese. As a result, BE of *ziji* can be induced by a first/second-person pronoun even when the first/second-person pronouns are not at the subject position, and the induced BE cannot be lifted via contextual support as easily as that of *minh*.¹⁴ According to the reviewer, the characterization of BE in terms of rankings of Empathy Hierarchies as in (70) would predict a range of possible and impossible languages in terms of BE. This is a novel perspective, contributing to the language typology of logophoric binding, given that previous proposals predict no variations in BE. An extensive and systematic comparison between our analysis and the alternative suggested by the reviewer goes beyond the scope of this paper, so we leave to future research to explore how these two analyses could potentially be extended to elucidate BE in French and English, as documented by Sportiche et al. (2013: 435), Charnavel (2018: 30–31), and Charnavel (2019b: 35).

In the next section, we show that the pragmatic notion of attitude holders/empathy loci can be syntactically represented by an implicit logophoric operator/pronoun in a two-stage model of binding for the long-distance interpretation of LDA assumed in Charnavel (2019b) (see also Nishigauchi 2014 and Sundaresan 2018).

4.4 An implicit logophoric pronoun

Following Sundaresan (2018), Charnavel (2019b) and Baker & Ikawa (2024), we assume that the long-distance interpretation of *minh* is mediated by a silent logophoric operator/pronoun merged at the specifier of a Logophoric Phrase at the minimal CP phase edge where *minh* is introduced into the derivation as in (71) (see also Nishigauchi 2014 and Ikawa 2024 for similar proposals for LDAs in Japanese).¹⁵

14. Note that the relative ranking of Surface Structure Empathy Hierarchy and the Topic Empathy Hierarchy in (70b) is provisional and should be considered tentative. Further research is necessary to better understand and refine the relationship between these two Empathy Hierarchies in Chinese.

There are at least two conceptual advantages of adopting the model in (71). First, as pointed out by Nishigauchi (2014: 168), assuming the mediating implicit logophoric pronoun makes it possible to keep the *c*-command requirement as a general syntactic condition on the antecedent of an anaphor. Particularly, recall that LD *mình* can be anteceded by a non-commanding antecedent as in (6), while local *mình* cannot as shown in (5). Without the mediating implicit logophoric pronoun, we have to acknowledge exceptional cases of binding that do not need to be built on *c*-command. Adopting the model in (71) enables us to leave this syntactic condition intact in Vietnamese since the long-distance interpretation of *mình* still depends on its *c*-command relation with the implicit logophoric pronoun. Second, assuming the implicit logophoric pronoun makes it possible to reduce all LDAs to local anaphors. That is, the “long-distance” binding of LDAs is only apparent – the referential dependency between an LDA and its long-distance antecedent is actually mediated by the local logophoric pronoun merged at the edge of the minimal CP where the anaphor is introduced into the derivation. In other words, the long-distance interpretation of LDAs does not violate the classical Binding Principle A; rather, both local and LD anaphors are locally A-bound, and the true difference between them boils down to the identity of the local binder – the local thematic DP or the silent logophoric pronoun at the edge of CP as in (71).

Given that the reference of the implicit logophoric pronoun is characterized as an instance of non-obligatory control (NOC; see Hornstein 2003 for details) by either the attitude holder or the empathy locus, we show below that the reference of the implicit logophoric pronoun is indeed associated with the relevant NOC properties enumerated in (73).

- (73) NOC properties of the implicit logophoric pronoun:
- a. *C*-command is not required in NOC.
 - b. NOC needs not be local.
 - c. NOC may be inter-sentential.

and *mình* is not subject to perspectival conflicts because it is a case of anaphoric binding, which is not regulated by such control relations. An alternative explanation without invoking such control relations is that local binding of *ziji* and *mình* does not invoke the direct discourse representation where the computation of perspectival conflicts takes place.

- (i) *ZS_i gaosu wo ziji_i de fenshu.*
ZS tell me self MOD grade
 ‘*ZS* told me about his own grade.’ (adapted from Huang & Liu 2001: 167, (66))
- (ii) *Ginny_i nói với tao về mình_i.*
Ginny talk with I about self
 ‘*Ginny_i* talked with me about himself.’

- d. The antecedent does not need to be uniquely determined.
- e. Non-*de se* interpretation is possible.

First, (73a–b) can be illustrated by the long-distance interpretation of *mình* in (74) (= (6b) and (6c)).

(74) Non-c-commanding and non-local antecedent of *mình*:¹⁷

- a. *Khi Mai đến thăm mình_p, Nam_i đang lau nhà.*
when Mai come visit self Nam PROG clean house
'When Mai came to visit self_p, Nam_i was cleaning the house.'
- b. *Mỗi khi có người đến thăm mình_p, Rosemary_i như ở trên thiên đường.*
every time have person come visit self Rosemary like at on heaven
'Whenever someone paid self_i a visit, it was as if Rosemary_i was in heaven.'

Next, (73c) can be demonstrated by (75), inspired by Pollard & Xue (2001: 319).

(75) Inter-sentential NOC of *mình*:

- Mai_i biết chuyện đó thì vô cùng tức giận. Rõ ràng Nam nói như vậy là có ý chống đối mình_p. càng nghĩ Mai càng tức.*
Mai know matter that then extremely angry clearly Nam say like so be have intention oppose self more think Mai more angry
'When Mai_i found out about it, she was extremely angry. It was clear that Nam said that with the intention of opposing her_p. The more Mai thought about it, the angrier she got.'

Third, the long-distance interpretation of *mình* referring to either *Tân* or *Nguyễn* in (76) instantiates (73d).

- (76) *Tân_i tưởng [Nguyễn_j biết [Nam_k bầu cho mình_{i/j/k}]].*
Tân assume Nguyễn know Nam vote for self
'Tân_i assumes that Nguyễn_j knows that Nam_k voted for self_{i/j/k}.'

As for (73e), while obligatory control yields only a *de se* interpretation (see Chierchia 1989), NOC is not subject to this restriction. As shown by (30–32), *mình* may obtain a non-*de se* reading in extensional contexts where the notion of

17. A reviewer suggests that the adverbial clauses in (74) can be analyzed as moving from somewhere lower than the main clause subject, and binding is achieved by reconstruction. C-command could still be involved. Although we do not pursue this line of analysis of (74) in the text, the grammaticality of (74) indicates that c-command is not a necessary condition on long-distance antecedents at least at the surface structure. See Huang & Liu (2001: 17) for a similar example in Mandarin Chinese (see also Huang & Liu 2001: Footnote 31; Sundaresan 2012; Giorgi 2006; Jayaseelan 1997 for discussions).

empathy locus is responsible for licensing the long-distance antecedents. To sum up, the properties shown in (73) follow from the control relation between the attitude holder/empathy locus and the implicit logophoric pronoun in (71).

We would like to end this section with a brief note on split antecedents of LDAs (Lebeaux 1985). Charnavel (2019b) argues that her approach is supported by the fact that LDAs in English and French allow split antecedents, as illustrated by (77).

(77) Split antecedents of English/French LDAs:

- a. *Roger_i emailed Peggy_k some pictures of themselves_{i+k} from their recent vacation.*
- b. *Lise_i a convaincu Luc_k que l'avenir de leur fils ne dépendait pas d'eux-mêmes_{i+k} mais de son comportement.*

‘Liz convinced Luke that their son’s future did not depend on themselves, but on his behavior.’ (Charnavel 2019b: 51)

However, Doan (2022: 142) notes that split antecedents are not allowed for LD *minh*. While the plural pronoun *họ* ‘they’ is able to refer to the split antecedents in (78a), LD *minh* does not exhibit such freedom in coreference, as shown by (78b) and (78c).

(78) No split antecedents for LD *minh*:

- a. [*Một đứa trẻ_i hỏi [ông cù_j liệu họ_{i+j} nên đi.*
one CL child ask kin.grandfather old if they MOD leave
‘A child_i asked the old man_j if they_{i+j} had to leave.’
- b. *Mai_i thấy Nam_j đặt một bông hồng bên cạnh mình_{i/j/*i+j}.*
Mai see Nam put one CL rose beside self
‘Mai_i saw Nam_j put a rose beside self_{i/j/*i+j}.’

- c. *Mai_i bảo Nam_j [rằng Hằng yêu mình_{i/*j/*i+j}].*
Mai tell Nam c Hằng love self

‘Mai told Nam that Hằng loved self_{i/*j/*i+j}.’ (adapted from Doan 2022: 142)

In this connection, Huang & Liu (2001: 146) discuss a similar constraint of *ziji*. *Ziji* cannot take a plural antecedent as shown in (79). In view of this constraint, Huang & Liu (2001: 165) argue and “a LD antecedent of *ziji* must be semantically singular [...] this arises because *de se* attitudes typically represent the inner feelings of individuals, and groups are not individuals with inner feelings.” Consequently, Chinese *ziji* cannot take split antecedents as in (80).

(79) *Tamen_j zhīdao Lisi_i cháng pīpíng ziji_{i/*j}.*

they know Lisi often criticize self

‘They_j know that Lisi_i often criticizes himself_{i/*them_j}.’

- (80) *Zhangsan_j gaoshu Lisi_i Akiu chang piping ziji_{i/*i+j}*
 Zhangsan tell Lisi Akiu often criticize self
 ‘Zhangsan_j told Lisi_i that Akiu often criticizes self_{i/*i+j}.’

Building upon Huang & Liu’s (2001) analysis, we posit that LD *mình* cannot take split antecedents due to the singularity requirement of attitude holders in a direct discourse representation and the empathy locus the utterance speaker is able to identify with in one single utterance. More specifically, there cannot be more than one attitude holder for a given direct discourse representation, and the utterance speaker is unable to identify with more than one empathy locus in one single utterance. As a result, split antecedents consisting of two individuals in (78b) and (78c) cannot antecede LD *mình* because they cannot both be the attitude holders of the relevant direct discourse representation, and the utterance speaker cannot identify with both individuals as the empathy loci of the utterances in (78b) and (78c).¹⁸

In the next section, we discuss cases involving multiple occurrences of *mình* to elaborate on how the logophoric operator in (71) conditions the interpretative possibilities of such cases.

4.5 The speaker reading of *mình* and multiple occurrences of *mình*

4.5.1 The speaker reading of *mình* and register clash

Note that *mình* in (81) is actually three-way ambiguous: it can refer to the local subject, the matrix subject, or the utterance speaker (indicated by the “sp” subscript in the examples below). Thus, *mình* can function either as a local/LD anaphor (yielding the readings referring to the local and the matrix subjects, respectively) or as a first-person pronoun to refer to the utterance speaker. Following traditional descriptions of Vietnamese *mình*, we maintain that the two functions of *mình* (as a local/LD anaphor or as the first-person pronoun) are homophonous.¹⁹

18. Note that this singularity requirement is imposed on the implicit logophoric pronoun in Vietnamese, rather than on LD *mình* itself. Explaining why the LDA in (77) is not subject to this constraint is beyond the scope of this paper.

19. Note that the interpretation of pronominal *mình* is sensitive towards the registers and the relation between the speech participants. Thus, *mình* as a pronoun allows several other interpretations in addition to a first-person “I/me”. For instance, it may be used as an indefinite personal pronoun “one” as in (i), “you” (referring to one’s spouse) as in (ii), and “inclusive we” as in (iii).

- (i) *Mình muốn giàu thì mình phải chịu khó.*
 one want rich then one must endure difficult
 ‘If one wants to be rich, one has to work hard.’

- (81) *Nguyễn_i nghĩ [Tân_j không nên bầu cho mình_{i/j/sp}].*
 Nguyễn think Tân not should vote for self_{i/j/sp}.
 ‘Nguyễn_i thinks that Tân_j should not vote for self_{i/j}/me.’

A clarification is in order before we proceed. Different registers require different forms of first-person pronouns in Vietnamese. Specifically, pronominal *mình* referring to the utterance speaker is not allowed to co-occur with first-person pronouns *tôi* and *tao* due to register incompatibility. *Tôi* is distant and formal and *tao* is casual, while *mình* is generally found in less formal settings between friends/peers, signaling intimacy while keeping the conversation polite and not too casual.²⁰ Therefore, it is not the case that the speaker reading of *mình* is avail-

-
- (ii) *Mình về rồi à?*
 you return already SFP
 ‘You’re home already (honey)?’
- (iii) *Mình không chú ý đến nó là được.*
 we not notice to him/her be alright
 ‘That we don’t take a notice of him/her is all right.’ (adapted from Doan et al. 2024: 178)

20. Other than contexts where these pragmatic nuances affect the appropriateness of an utterance, *mình* and *tôi/tao* are interchangeable in most syntactic positions – as the subject in (i), as the object in (ii), or as the embedded subject in (iii).

- (i) *Tôi/tao/mình thích ngôn ngữ học.*
 I like language study
 ‘I like linguistics.’
- (ii) *Tân thích tôi/tao/mình.*
 Tân like me
 ‘Tân likes me.’
- (iii) *Tân tin tôi/tao/mình là kẻ giết người.*
 Tân believe me be CL kill person
 ‘Tân believes me to be the murderer.’

However, unlike the dual function of *mình*, *tôi/tao* cannot function as a local/LD anaphor, as evidenced by the interpretations of the sentences in (iv).

- (iv) a. *Tân bầu cho tôi/tao.*
 Tân vote for me
 ‘Tân voted for me/*himself.’
- b. *Tân gửi cho tôi/tao một cuốn sách.*
 Tân send for me one CL book
 ‘Tân sent me/*himself a book.’
- c. *Tân_i nói [tôi/tao thích Bill].*
 Tân say I like Bill
 ‘Tân_i said that I/*he_i like Bill.’

able in all the data discussed in this paper. For example, *mình* cannot refer to the utterance speaker in (11b) and (16b), repeated here as (82). We argue that the speaker reading of *mình* in (82) is unavailable because *mình* and *tao*, as first-person pronouns, are incompatible in terms of registers, so they cannot co-occur in the same sentence and both refer to the speaker.

- (82) a. *Nguyễn_i {nói với / thuyết phục} tao_j [Bình_k đã bầu cho mình_{i/*j/k}].*
 Nguyễn talk with convince me Bình ANT vote for self
 ‘Nguyễn_i told / convinced me that Bình_k voted for self_{i/k} / *me.’ (= (11b))
- b. *Nguyễn_i nghĩ [là [mẹ của tao_k]_j đã bầu cho mình_{i/j/*k}].* (= (16b))
 Nguyễn think C mother POSS me ANT vote for self
 ‘Nguyễn_i thinks that [my mother]_j voted for self_{i/j} / *me.’

One empirical challenge confronting this line of reasoning based on register compatibility between two first-person pronouns is the speaker reading of *mình* in (83). Specifically, *mình* and *tao* co-occur in (83), yet the speaker reading of *mình* is not blocked by the presence of *tao*.

- (83) *Nguyễn_i nghĩ [tao_j không nên bầu cho mình_{i/j}].* (= (9a))
 Nguyễn think I not should vote for self
 ‘Nguyễn_i thinks that I_j should not vote for self_{i/j}.’

The crucial contrast between (82) and (83) with respect to the (un)availability of the speaker reading of *mình* lies in the anaphoric dependency between *tao* and *mình* in (83) and the two-way lexical ambiguity of *mình*. In particular, *mình* refers to the speaker in (83) not because it is being used as a first-person pronoun; rather, it is a local anaphor that acquires the first-person interpretation via binding by the c-commanding local first-person subject pronoun *tao*. That is, the speaker reading of *mình* in (83) is a licit derivative product based on binding. In contrast, *mình* cannot refer to *tao* in (82) because: as an anaphor, such interpretation would violate the subject orientation of *mình*; as a first-person pronominal, the co-occurrence with *tao* induces a register clash.²¹

- d. *Tân_i nghĩ [Nguyễn_j không nên bầu cho tôi/tao].*
 Tân think Nguyễn not should vote for me
 ‘Tân_i thinks that Nguyễn_j should not vote for me / *him_i / *himself.’

21. One may wonder if *mình* and other first-person pronouns may co-occur as direct and indirect objects in the same clause as in (i). Leaving aside reading (ia) that is irrelevant to the present purpose, the acceptable speaker reading of *mình* in (ib) can be treated as an instance of local anaphoric binding on a par with (83).

- (i) *Mary_i đưa tao_j [cái túi của mình_{i/j}].*
 Mary give I CL bag POSS self/I

Finally, as pointed out by an anonymous reviewer, an important prediction of the lexical ambiguity analysis of *mình* is that while LD *mình* must be read *de se* in attitudinal contexts, first-person pronominal *mình* needs not. This prediction is borne out. For instance, (84) can be felicitously uttered in a non *de se* context where the speaker does not recognize himself because both occurrences of *mình* can be used as a first-person pronoun without inducing register clash. By contrast, *de re* reading is not allowed if the matrix *mình* is replaced by *tao* as in (85). This is because register clash with *tao* renders necessary the logophoric use of the embedded *mình*, which forces the *de se* interpretation of (85) (i.e., the speaker had to be aware at the time of saying/thinking that the potential winner was himself).²²

(84) *Lúc đó mình_i nói / nghĩ [là mình_i sẽ thắng].* (de se/de re)
 time that I say think c I FUT win
 ‘At that time I said/thought that I would win.’

(85) *Lúc đó tao_i nói / nghĩ [là mình_i sẽ thắng].* (de se/#de re)
 time that I say think c self FUT win
 ‘At that time I said/thought that I would win.’

-
- a. ‘Mary_i gave me her_i bag.’ (=anaphoric binding by Mary)
 b. ‘Mary_i gave me my bag.’ (=anaphoric binding by me)

Importantly, the local anaphoric interpretation of *mình* is unavailable if we swap the positions of *mình* and *tao* as in (ii) because *tao* does not c-command *mình* in (ii). As a result, for *mình* to refer to the utterance speaker, *mình* can only function as a pronoun, which induces register clash with *tao*.

(ii) #*Mary đưa mình_i [cái túi của tao_i].*
 Mary give I CL bag POSS I
 Intended: ‘Mary gave me my bag.’

22. The occurrence of anaphoric *mình* as an embedded subject in (85) is also subject to the *de se* requirement. For instance, under the context in (i) where Ginny was not aware that she was actually the champion in 1990, it is infelicitous to report this incident with (ii). For *mình* to felicitously referring to Ginny in (i), Ginny must be aware of her own achievement in 1990. Given the parallel pattern with anaphoric *mình* at the embedded object position with respect to the *de se* requirement in attitudinal contexts, we treat *mình* at the embedded subject position as LD *mình* as well.

- (i) *Ginny has won many gold medals in different games, and she forgot that she also won one in 1990. One day, she told Luna that someone played very well and won the gold medal in 1990, not realizing that she was actually the champion that year.*
- (ii) *Ginny_i kể với Luna [là mình_i đã giành được huy chương vàng năm 1990].*
 Ginny tell with Luna c self ANT attain gain medal golden year 1990
 ‘Ginny_i told Luna that self_i has won the gold medal in 1990.’

4.5.2 The logophoric operator regulates perspectival conflicts

Under the hypothesis that *mình* exhibits a two-way lexical ambiguity between a local/LD anaphor and a first-person pronoun, (86), with two occurrences of *mình* in the embedded clause, is logically predicted to allow for four different interpretations shown in (86a–d). More specifically, if *mình* can function as an inherent first-person pronoun, it should be able to denote “I/me” independently of the interpretation of the other occurrence of *mình* as in (86c–d). However, this prediction is not borne out. (86a–b) are the only possible interpretations: both occurrences of *mình* must refer to the same antecedent, either the matrix subject or the utterance speaker.

- (86) *Nguyễn_i nghĩ [là mình_{i/sp} không nên bầu cho mình_{i/sp}].*
 Nguyễn think c self/I not should vote for self/I
- ‘Nguyễn_i thinks that I should not vote for myself.’
 - ‘Nguyễn_i thinks that he_i should not vote for himself.’
 - *‘Nguyễn_i thinks that I should not vote for him.’
 - *‘Nguyễn_i thinks that he_i should not vote for me.’

Note that the unavailability of readings (86c) and (86d) illustrates an instance of BE with a first-person pronominal *mình* blocking the LD *mình* from referring to the intended long-distance antecedent. That is, when there are multiple occurrences of *mình* in the same clause, their interpretations must not cause perspectival confusions that are difficult to sort out. For example, (86a–b) are acceptable because their interpretations display consistent perspectival orientations: both occurrences of *mình* refer to the external speaker in (86a), and the internal speaker (= matrix subject) is the common antecedent of both in (86b). On the other hand, (86c) and (86d) are banned precisely because these interpretations run afoul of this pragmatic strategy – one occurrence refers to the external speaker while the other is anchored to the internal speaker, a situation that is difficult to sort out perceptually.²³

This pragmatic constraint may be formalized under the proposal of the implicit logophoric operator in (71). In particular, we assume that multiple occurrences of *mình* under the scope of the same implicit logophoric operator must display a consistent perspectival orientation. That is, they have to refer to the same antecedent as shown by (87a–b).²⁴

23. Note that like the cases of BE discussed in §4.2, the BE (caused by perspectival conflicts in (86c) and (86d) can be lifted with sufficient contextual support (e.g., discourse salience of *Nguyễn*).

24. In this connection, see also Pan (1997: 167), Huang & Liu (2001: 163–165) and Charnavel (2019b: 159–161; 221–222) for discussions of cases with multiple occurrences of LD anaphors referring to the same logophoric center in a given domain.

- (87) a. [_{LogP} pro OP_{LOG} [_{CP} *mình*_{pron}... *mình*_{pron}]] (=86a)
 b. [_{LogP} pro OP_{LOG} [_{CP} *mình*_{LD}... *mình*_{LD}]] (=86b)
 c. * [_{LogP} pro OP_{LOG} [_{CP} *mình*_{pron}... *mình*_{LD}]] (=86c)
 d. * [_{LogP} pro OP_{LOG} [_{CP} *mình*_{LD}... *mình*_{pron}]] (=86d)

One important prediction of our account for the interpretative pattern in (86) is that two occurrences of *mình* in two different clauses may exhibit different perspectival orientations because they are not under the scope of the same logophoric operator. This prediction is validated by the interpretative possibilities of (88) and (89), whose relevant structures are shown in (90).

- (88) *Nguyễn_i thuyết phục mình_{i/sp} [là Bình không nên bầu cho mình_{i/sp}].*
 Nguyễn convince self/I c Bình not should vote for self/I
 a. ‘Nguyễn_i convinces self_i that Bình should not vote for self_i.’
 (matrix *mình* = local *mình*; embedded *mình* = LD *mình*)
 b. ‘Nguyễn convinces me that Bình should not vote for me.’
 (matrix *mình* = pronominal *mình*; embedded *mình* = pronominal *mình*)
 c. ‘Nguyễn_i convinces self_i that Bình should not vote for me.’
 (matrix *mình* = local *mình*; embedded *mình* = pronominal *mình*)
 d. ‘Nguyễn_i convinces me that Bình should not vote for self_i.’
 (matrix *mình* = pronominal *mình*; embedded *mình* = LD *mình*)
- (89) *Nguyễn_i thuyết phục mình_{i/sp} [là mình_{i/sp} không nên bầu cho Bình].*
 Nguyễn convince self/I c self/I not should vote for Bình
 a. ‘Nguyễn_i convinces self_i that self_i should not vote for Bình.’
 (matrix *mình* = local *mình*; embedded *mình* = LD *mình*)
 b. ‘Nguyễn convinces me that I should not vote for Bình.’
 (matrix *mình* = pronominal *mình*; embedded *mình* = pronominal *mình*)
 c. ‘Nguyễn_i convinces self_i that I should not vote for Bình.’
 (matrix *mình* = local *mình*; embedded *mình* = pronominal *mình*)
 d. ‘Nguyễn_i convinces me that self_i should not vote for Bình.’
 (matrix *mình* = pronominal *mình*; embedded *mình* = LD *mình*)

(90) The two occurrences of *mình* in (88–89) are not under the scope of the same logophoric op:

- a. ...*mình*_{local} [_{LogP} pro OP_{LOG}.....*mình*_{LD}] (=88a)/(89a)
 b. ...*mình*_{pron} [_{LogP} pro OP_{LOG}.....*mình*_{pron}] (=88b)/(89b)
 c. ...*mình*_{local} [_{LogP} pro OP_{LOG}.....*mình*_{pron}] (=88c)/(89c)
 d. ...*mình*_{pron} [_{LogP} pro OP_{LOG}.....*mình*_{LD}] (=88d)/(89d)

Finally, the contrast between (86c–d) and (88d) and (89d) lends further credence to our conclusion reached in § 2. To wit, the generalized discourse requirement

(13) is not at work in the computation of the BE of LD *mình*. Specifically, (13) predicts that the first-person pronominal *mình* representing the utterance speaker should prevent LD *mình* from taking the matrix subject *Nguyễn* (the internal speaker) as a long-distance antecedent, regardless of whether the two occurrences of *mình* are within the same clause. However, this line of analysis would wrongly exclude (88d) and (89d). By contrast, Huang & Liu's (2001) perspective-based account appealing to direct discourse representations correctly predicts that two occurrences of *mình* may exhibit different perspectival orientations if they are not within the same direct discourse representation. The marker that serves to demarcate the boundary of a discourse representation is syntactically represented by the merger of an implicit logophoric operator under the proposal of this paper.

5. Remarks on Doan (2022) and Doan et al. (2024)

In this section, we provide a critical review of the analysis of the interpretations of *mình* in Doan (2022) and Doan et al. (2024). Our review focuses on three main divergencies between our discussion and Doan (2022) and Doan et al. (2024): (i) the grammaticality of local binding of *mình*, (ii) the analysis of BE, and (iii) the analysis of the speaker reading of *mình*.

5.1 The (un)grammaticality of local binding

Doan (2022) and Doan et al. (2024) report that co-argument/local binding of *mình* as in (91) is possible only in the presence of the pre-verbal emphatic marker *tự* in the dialect they investigate. However, Simpson & Pham's (2025) study shows no evidence for such a restriction in the Middle/Central dialect, corroborating the judgment reported in Bui (2019) and Ivan & Bui (2019).

- (91) Local binding of *mình*:
Ginny_i (tự) trách mình_i.
 Ginny EMP criticize self
 'Ginny_i criticize self.'

Although this dialectal disparity is not our main concern in this article, we would like to point out that it is not hard to find attested examples of local binding without the presence of the emphatic marker *tự* like (92).

- (92) *Nó_i trách mình_i lắm.²⁵*
 he blame self a.lot
 'He blamed himself a lot.'

In addition, one may assume that the grammaticality of local binding of *mình* is conditioned by the types of predicates featured in the sentence. However, even for the predicate *trừng phạt* ‘punish’ that Doan et al. (2024) take to illustrate the local binding restriction as in (93), we can still find attested counterexamples, as shown in (94) and (95).

- (93) *Lan_i trừng phạt mình_{*i}.*
 Lan punish self
 Intended: ‘Lan_i punished herself_i.’ (adapted from Doan et al. 2024: 155)
- (94) *Cô_i muốn trừng phạt mình_i bằng cách cứ ngồi yên làm mồi cho lũ muỗi trong bóng tối.²⁶*
 she want punish self by way keep sit still do bait for swamp
 mosquito in shadow dark
 ‘She_i wanted to punish herself_i by sitting still, offering herself as food for the swamp of mosquitoes in the dark.’
- (95) *Đây là cách tôi_i trừng phạt mình_i.*
 this be way I punish self
 ‘This is how I punish myself.’

Furthermore, it is unclear what Doan (2022: 118) means by “*tự* in a presubject position, only licenses, but does not enforce reflexivity,” as illustrated in (96).

- (96) *Tự người đàn ông_i đã khen mình_{i/sp}.*
 EMP CL man ANT praise self
 ‘The man_i himself praised himself_i /me.’ (adapted from Doan 2022: 117, (4))

Note that the presubject *tự* in (96) does not have the same effect as *tự* in an immediately pre-verbal position in (91): the former conveys that the subject performs his action on his own accord, without other people forcing him to (an anti-causal reading *à la* Tsai 2015). It is unclear how *tự* in both positions could induce local binding given their distinct functions. Notably, *khen* ‘praise’ (96) is categorized as a predicate that does not need *tự* to express the reflexive reading in the presence of supporting context according to Simpson & Pham (2025) (see their ‘admire’ class). In other words, *tự* in (96) has nothing to do with the reflexive reading of *mình*, which is able to refer to the local subject simply because there is no constraint on local binding in this context.

25. <https://www.nguoiduatin.vn/bo-o-dau-a378839.html>

26. <https://nld.com.vn/cong-doan/bai-hoc-2009112911048979.htm>

Last but not least, confronted by the grammatical local binding without *tự* in (97), Doan et al. (2024: Footnote 2) suggest that *chỉ* ‘only’, via focus association with *mình*, has the same effect as *tự* in licensing local binding.

- (97) *Anh ấy_i chỉ có thể trách mình_i chứ không thể trách người khác.*
 he only can blame self but not can blame people other
 ‘He_i can blame himself_i rather than the others.’ (Ngô 2021: 43)

The claim that *chỉ* behaves like *tự* to license local binding is questionable. *Chỉ* is a focus-sensitive element and can be associated with any of its clause-mates as long as they are within its domain (Erlewine 2017). For instance, *chỉ* can also be associated with the predicate *trách* ‘blame’ as in (98). Importantly, *mình* in (98) can still refer to the local subject *anh ấy* in the absence of *tự*, casting doubt on the assumption that *chỉ* and *tự* licenses local reflexivity.²⁷

- (98) *Anh ấy_i chỉ có thể [trách]_F mình_i chứ không thể [đánh]_F mình_i.*
 he only can blame self but not can beat self
 ‘He_i can only [blame]_F himself_i but cannot [beat]_F himself_i.’

5.2 The analysis of BE

Doan (2022) and Doan et al. (2024) propose a syntactic/agreement analysis based on the hypothesis that matrix C in Vietnamese is endowed with some relevant unvalued φ features that initiate relativized Multiple Agree in (99) with multiple relevant goals in its c-command domain (Hiraiwa 2002, 2005; Nevins 2007).

- (99) Multiple Agree (Multiple feature checking) with a single probe is a single simultaneous syntactic operation;
 Agree applies to all the matched Goals at the same derivational point simultaneously.

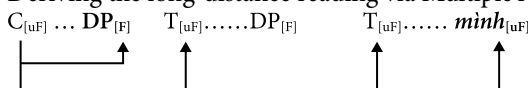
27. In her discussion of how *chỉ* enforces local binding of *mình*, Doan (2022: 117, Footnote 10) states that *mình* in (i) cannot refer to the utterance speaker. This appears to be imprecise. To sharpen the intuition with *mình* referring to the utterance speaker, we can place (i) in a context where the previous lines are something like ‘*He/she is crazily in love with me. Whatever he/she does, he/she only longs for me.*’ The semantic properties of *chỉ* and how they affect local binding of *mình* are beyond the scope of this paper (see Erlewine 2017 for discussion of *chỉ*).

- (i) *Nó_i chỉ nghĩ cho mình_{i/sp}.*
 s/he only think for self/I
 ‘He/she only thinks for himself/herself/me.’

(adapted from Doan 2022: 117, Footnote 10)

More specifically, they contend that the long-distance interpretation of LD *mình* is a derivative product of Multiple Agree initiated by matrix C in Vietnamese. As a result of the simultaneity and multiplicity of Multiple Agree, matrix C gets its relevant ϕ -features valued by the matrix subject DP, and consequently the matrix Tense head, all embedded Tense heads and *mình* receive the same feature value, indirectly from the matrix subject DP, as in (100). Therefore, the reference of LD *mình* to the remote antecedent does not result from direct binding by the remote antecedent; rather, it is C's simultaneous Multiple Agree in (100) that referentially associates the remote antecedent and *mình*. BE of LD *mình* arises when there is an intervening DP inducing a violation of Contiguous Agree (Nevins 2007).

(100) Deriving the long-distance reading via Multiple Agree:



Technical details aside, there are at least three empirical problems with this line of analysis. First, a hallmark feature of LD *mình* in attitudinal contexts is that its non-local antecedent bears attitude *de se*, but this discourse property is not encoded in the Multiple Agree mechanics, which is unable to guarantee that the antecedent C finds in its probing path bears attitude *de se*. Second, the relativized Multiple Agree account fails to predict the lack of BE in cases like (11) where the first/second-person pronoun appears at the matrix object position. To solve this problem, Doan (2022: 271) is forced to postulate that oblique marked arguments are embedded in a covert functional projection which renders them inaccessible from probing by the matrix C (see also Doan et al. 2024: 184). Relatedly, as mentioned in our discussion of (62), some speakers report BE triggered by a sub-commanding first/second-person pronoun. Doan's stipulation of the inaccessibility of a first/second-person pronoun within a functional projection is unable to predict the BE for these speakers since the sub-commanding first/second-person pronouns in (62) are clearly embedded in a functional projection (either the subject DP or a projection headed by the possessive *của* within the subject DP). By contrast, our pragmatics-based approach drawing on empathy hierarchies readily accommodates the speaker variation regarding (62). Last but not least, a syntactic analysis of BE based on (Multiple) Agree is too rigid and deterministic to allow for the fluidity of BE regulated by discourse factors since the result of agreement (the source of the BE under the agreement-based analysis) cannot be altered in later stages of syntactic derivation (cf. No-Tampering Condition in Chomsky 2005; 2007; 2008) to lift BE.

5.3 The speaker reading of *mình* and the performative hypothesis

Another difference between our proposal and Doan (2022) and Doan et al. (2024) concerns the speaker interpretation of *mình*. As mentioned in §4.5, *mình* can function either as an anaphor or as a first-person pronoun. Following traditional descriptions of Vietnamese *mình*, we assume that the two functions of *mình* are homophonous. Doan (2022) and Doan et al. (2024) are against this lexical ambiguity analysis, positing that the speaker reading of *mình* is derived from Ross' (1970) performative hypothesis. Specifically, Doan et al. (2024:176) state that “every sentence in Vietnamese optionally contains a syntactically-expressed, but silent, first-person pronoun as the subject of a silent verb of saying or thinking”. For instance, under the performative hypothesis, the speaker reading of *mình* in (101a) follows from the covert structure in (101b), where *mình* obtains a speaker value from the silent first-person subject *tôi* ‘I’ based on the Multiple Agree mechanics in (99)/(100).

- (101) a. *Tân_i bầu cho mình_{i/sp}*
 Tân vote for self
 ‘Tân_i voted for himself_i / me.’
- b. (*Tôi_{sp} kể*) *Tân_i bầu cho mình_{i/sp}*
 I tell Tân vote for self
 ‘(I am telling that) Tân_i voted for himself_i / me.’

If we adopt Ross’s postulation of a covert superordinate structure encoding illocutionary act, then it should follow that this structure is present in all utterances, given that every utterance must be associated with a speech act. The optionality of “a syntactically-expressed, but silent, first-person pronoun” as the subject of a performative verb in effect weakens the proposal conceptually. If the performative structure, alongside its verb, is always present, it is unclear how the subject of the performative verb could be optional.²⁸

28. The analysis based on the performative structure leads to other dubious instances of optionality. In particular, Doan et al. (2024: 178) states that “Vietnamese lacks an obligatory C⁰ introducing subordinate clauses” and that *rằng*, commonly assumed to be a complementizer in Vietnamese, does not realize/prove the existence of a C⁰ head, without presenting any argument for the latter claim. However, Doan et al. (2024: 179) also assume that a predicate “may optionally select for a CP” to allow for binding by an intermediate subject as exemplified in (i). It is unclear how one would know whether a C⁰ is present in an embedded clause, and what it means for an embedded finite clause to lack C⁰.

(i) *Nam_i nghĩ (rằng) Hùng_j biết (rằng) Thu thích mình_{i/j}*
 Nam think c Hùng know c Thu like self
 ‘Nam_i thinks that Hùng_j knows Thu likes self_{i/j}.’ (adapted from Doan et al. 2024: 177)

Aside from the conceptual issue, the deduction of the speaker reading of *mình* from the performative hypothesis also faces three empirical challenges. The first empirical problem is related to the suppression of the speaker reading of *mình* in (102).

- (102) *Nam_i nghĩ mà_j biết Mai tấn công mình_{i/j/*sp}.* (Doan et al. 2024: 184 (62))
 Nam think you know Mai attack self
 ‘Nam thinks you know Mai attacks him/you/*(me).’

Doan et al. (2024: 184) claim that *mình* cannot refer to the utterance speaker in (102) because “the high degree of informality expressed by *mà* does not match with the degree of esteem a speaker is supposed to have for herself,” implying that the second-person *mà* and the first-person *tôi* (as part of the alleged covert performative structure) do not belong to the same register. There are two problems with this. First, it is unclear what it means by “the degree of esteem a speaker is supposed to have for herself.” By using a more casual/impolite form *tao*, the speaker does not in any sense lower her self-esteem: *tao-mà* as a pair of addressing terms simply sounds casual and is fitting in casual contexts. Second, Doan et al. (2024) assume that the specifier position of the performative frame is filled by *tôi*, which presumably does not match the high degree of informality expressed by *mà*. We do not see why *tôi* has to be the only candidate for the specifier position of the performative frame assumed in Doan et al. (2024). Given that Vietnamese always use different pairs of addressing terms depending on the conversational context and the relation between speaker and addressee, one might as well fill the specifier position of the performative frame with other first-person pronouns like *tao*, which is often paired with *mà*. By contrast, our analysis of the speaker reading of *mình* as an independent pronoun is able to exclude the speaker reading in (102) straightforwardly in terms of register clash between the second-person *mà* (casual/impolite) clashes and the first-person pronoun *mình* (always polite).

The second empirical challenge concerns the plural interpretation of *mình*. Doan et al. (2024: 178, Footnote 20), in responding to a reviewer’s comment that *mình* can also be interpreted as ‘we’ in (103), are forced to postulate that “the frame may optionally contain a silent inclusive ‘we’ as the subject rather than a silent first-person pronoun ‘I.’”

- (103) *Mình không chú ý đến nó là được.*
 we not notice to him/her be alright
 ‘That we don’t take notice of him/her is alright.’
 (adapted from Doan et al. 2024: 178)

If it were true that there was something like “We tell/say” above the utterance in (103), then the utterance should have read as follows: “We tell/say... that we don’t take any notice...” However, this reading of (103) is bizarre, as in reality the utterance, as advice to the addressee, should read, “I say/tell that we (= speaker + addressee) do not take any notice of him/her.” That is, the (singular) utterance speaker is still the only one telling the addressee that they need not take any notice of some third person, not that the utterance speaker and the addressee jointly do so. By contrast, for our analysis, in addition to functioning as an anaphor, *mình* is also a pronoun whose interpretation is sensitive towards the registers and the relation between the speech participants, and “inclusive *we*” is one of possible readings (see Footnote 19).

Last but not least, as a pronoun, it is not surprising that *mình* behaves just like other regular pronouns in its ability to combine with plural markers like *bọn* and *chúng*, as demonstrated by (104a–c).

(104) Pronominal *mình* is compatible with the plural marker:

- a. *Nam khen bọn mình*_{sp}.
Nam praise PL I
‘Nam praises us.’
- b. *Nam khen bọn tôi / tao*.
Nam praise PL I I
‘Nam praises us.’
- c. *Nam khen bọn nó*.
Nam praise PL he/she
‘Nam praises them.’

Intriguingly, this modificational possibility is not available for anaphoric *mình*, as evidenced by the contrast between (105a) and (105b). Note that *mình* refers to the plural local antecedent only when *bọn* is absent (105a), and with the plural marker, *bọn mình* in (105b) can only refer to the utterance speaker and his/her peers (which might include the addressee, but needn’t do so).

(105) Anaphoric *mình* is not compatible with the plural marker:

- a. [*John và Bill*]_i *khen (*bọn) mình*_i.
John and Bill praise PL self
‘John and Bill praised themselves.’
- b. [*John và Bill*]_i *khen bọn mình*_{*i/sp}.
John and Bill praise PL self/we
‘John and Bill praised *themselves / us.’

If the pronominal use and the anaphoric use of *mình* are deducible from one single lexical item in different syntactic contexts (as in Doan 2022 and Doan et al. 2024), it would be difficult to explain why one derivative product (anaphoric *mình*

in (105a)) cannot be modified by the plural marker, while the other (pronominal *mình* in (105b)) is free from such constraint. In contrast, if these two uses of *mình* reflect two homophones that are semantically independent from each other, it is not surprising that they behave differently with respect to the modification by plural markers (see also Nguyễn 1996 for a similar line of analysis).

6. Concluding remarks

This paper presents two empirical findings about the long-distance interpretation of Vietnamese *mình*. (1) The non-local antecedent of LD *mình* must be either an attitude holder bearing a *de se* belief or the empathy locus in the event/state, as described by the utterance speaker. (2) The generalized discourse requirement in (13a) proposed by Cole et al. (2006) falls short in comprehensively delineating the BE pattern of LD *mình* because: (i) first/second-person pronouns do not induce BE when they occur outside the relevant direct discourse representation for the intended long-distance interpretation (e.g., when they are the matrix object in (11b–c)), and (ii) BE can be lifted with sufficient contextual support exemplified by (58–59).

We propose that the interpretation of LD *mình* can be characterized by Wang & Pan's (2015) proposal in (45), and the occurrence of BE of LD *mình* is conditioned by two factors. (1) Huang & Liu's (2001) consideration of perspectival conflicts within the relevant direct discourse representation for the intended long-distance construal is effective to induce BE. (2) The second factor, the Topic Empathy Hierarchy (Kuno 1987:210) is able to frame the intended long-distance antecedent as the participant that receives the highest degree of empathy from the utterance speaker, thereby lifting BE induced by a first/second-person pronoun. Furthermore, we argue that the dependency between *mình* and its non-local antecedent is mediated by Charnavel's (2019b) implicit logophoric operator/pronoun whose reference to the attitude holder/empathy locus displays NOC properties enumerated in (73). The presence of this implicit logophoric operator/pronoun not only precisely characterizes the hybrid syntactico-pragmatic properties of Vietnamese *mình* but also assumes a pivotal role in elucidating the interpretative possibilities of multiple occurrences of *mình*.

We would like to end this paper with some brief notes on the typological argument for the agreement theory of BE (see Cole et al. 2006 for an overview). Cole et al. (2006) note that crosslinguistically, BE is not necessarily associated with LDAs. That is, not all languages with LDAs display BE: Chinese and Malayalam (Jayaseelan 2000) have been shown to display BE on the long-distance construal of their reflexives, whereas other languages like Italian, Hind-Urdu and Icelandic

do not manifest this constraint. One prominent difference between Chinese/Malayalam and other languages with LDAs lies in the lack of verbal agreement in the former. Chinese and Malayalam do not display any verbal agreement. This cross-linguistic variation with respect to the distribution of BE leads researchers to explore a typological correlation between the lack of vestigial verbal agreement and the occurrence of BE in languages with LDAs. However, as pointed out by Cole et al. (2006: 48), this correlation has only been empirically supported by Chinese and Malayalam, so further examination of other relevant languages is necessary to corroborate the agreement theory of BE. The novel Vietnamese data reported in this paper seem to lend empirical support to the typological correlation between BE and vestigial verbal agreement in languages with LDAs because Vietnamese also lacks verbal agreement. Relatedly, given Rizzi's (1990) anaphor agreement effect in (106) (see also the substantial cross-linguistic evidence in Woolford 1999), the grammatical occurrence of *mình* as the subject of an embedded clause as in (107) suggests that Vietnamese lacks (abstract) subject-T agreement commonly observed in European languages.

(106) The anaphor agreement effect:

Anaphors do not occur in syntactic positions construed with agreement.

(107) *Tân_i nói [mình_i thích Nam].*

Tân say self like Nam

'*Tân_i* said that self_i likes Nam.'

However, in our proposal, the computation of BE of LD *mình* has nothing to do with the lack of vestigial verbal agreement in Vietnamese; rather, it is Huang & Liu's (2001) consideration of perspectival conflicts at work to give rise to the disruption of the long-distance interpretation of LD *mình*. In addition, as noted by Sportiche et al. (2013: 435) and Charnavel (2018: 30–31), the correlation between the lack of vestigial verbal agreement and the occurrence of BE does not hold – *soi* ('oneself') in French, a language with verbal agreement, also exhibits BE (see also Charnavel 2019b: 35 for evidence of BE of English LDAs). Therefore, we conclude that the occurrence of BE of Vietnamese *mình* cannot be interpreted as lending credence to the typological correlation between the lack of vestigial verbal agreement and BE.

Funding

The first author gratefully acknowledges the research grant MOST 110-2410-H-A49-013-MY2, and the second author acknowledges research grant MOST 111-2410-H-007-013-MY2, both provided by the National Science and Technology Council in Taiwan.







Acknowledgements

We are very grateful to the anonymous reviewers for their constructive comments, which greatly improved our work. We also extend our sincere appreciation to Prof. Chen-Sheng Luther Liu and Prof. Tzong-Hong Jonah Lin, whose encouragement and inspiration led us to embark on this collaborative journey. Parts of this paper have been presented at the Workshop on Theoretical East Asian Linguistics 13 (TEAL-13) and the 15th Workshop on Formal Syntax and Semantics (FOSS-15). We would like to thank the audiences for their questions and suggestions. All errors of judgment, theory, and transcription are the sole responsibility of the authors.

List of abbreviations


ANT	anterior marker	LDA	long-distance bound anaphor
BE	the blocking effect	MOD	modification marker
CONJ	conjunction	PART	particle
CL	classifier	PERF	perfective marker
C	complementizer	PL	plural marker
EMP	emphatic marker	POSS	possessive marker
FUT	future marker	SFP	sentence-final particle
LD	long-distance	SG	singular

References


- Anand, Pranav. 2006. *De de se*. Cambridge: MIT. (Doctoral dissertation.)
-  Baker, Mark C. & Ikawa, Shiori. 2024. Control theory and the relationship between logophoric pronouns and logophoric uses of anaphors. *Natural Language and Linguistic Theory* 42(3). 897–954.
-  Battistella, Edwin. 1989. Chinese reflexivization: A movement to INFL approach. *Linguistics* 27(6). 987–1012.
-  Belletti, Adriana & Rizzi, Luigi. 1988. Psych-verbs and θ -Theory. *Natural Language & Linguistic Theory* 6(3). 291–352.
- Boër, Steven E. & Lycan, William G. 1986. *Knowing who*. Cambridge: The MIT Press.
- Bui, Thuy. 2019. *Binding and coreference in Vietnamese*. Amherst: University of Massachusetts Amherst. (Doctoral dissertation.)
-  Charnavel, Isabelle. 2018. Long distance binding of French reflexive *soi*: First-person oriented logophoricity. In Repetti, Lori & Ordóñez, Francisco (eds.), *Romance languages and linguistic theory 14: Selected papers from the 46th Linguistic Symposium on Romance Languages (LSRL)*, Stony Brook, NY, 21–34. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
-  Charnavel, Isabelle. 2019a. Perspective in causal clauses. *Natural Language & Linguistic Theory* 37(2). 389–424.
-  Charnavel, Isabelle. 2019b. *Locality and logophoricity: A theory of exempt anaphora*. New York: Oxford University Press.

- [doi](#) Charnavel, Isabelle & Sportiche, Dominique. 2016. Anaphor binding: What French inanimate anaphors show. *Linguistic Inquiry* 47(1). 35–87.
- [doi](#) Charnavel, Isabelle & Huang, C.-T. James & Cole, Peter & Hermon, Gabriella. 2017. Long-distance anaphora: Syntax and discourse. In Everaert, Martin & van Riemsdijk, Henk C. (eds.), *The Wiley Blackwell companion to syntax*, 2nd edn, vol. 4, 2321–2402. Hoboken: John Wiley & Sons, Inc.
- [doi](#) Cheung, Candice Chi-Hang & Larson, Richard K. 2015. Psych verbs in English and Mandarin. *Natural Language & Linguistic Theory* 33(1). 127–189.
- [doi](#) Chierchia, Gennaro. 1989. Anaphora and attitudes *de se*. In Bartsch, Renate & van Benthem, Johan & van Emde Boas, Peter (eds.), *Semantics and contextual expression*, 1–32. Dordrecht: Foris Publications.
- [doi](#) Chomsky, Noam. 2005. Three factors in language design. *Linguistic Inquiry* 36(1). 1–22.
- [doi](#) Chomsky, Noam. 2007. Approaching UG from below. In Sauerland, Uli & Gärtner, Hans-Martin (eds.), *Interfaces + recursion = language?: Chomsky's minimalism and the view from syntax-semantics*, 1–30. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.
- [doi](#) Chomsky, Noam. 2008. On phases. In Freidin, Robert & Otero, Carlos P. & Zubizarreta, Maria Luisa (eds.), *Foundational issues in linguistic theory. Essays in honor of Jean-Roger Vergnaud*, 133–166. Cambridge: The MIT Press.
- Cole, Peter & Sung, Li-May. 1994. Head movement and long-distance reflexives. *Linguistic Inquiry* 25(3). 355–406.
- Cole, Peter & Wang, Chengchi. 1996. Antecedents and blockers of long-distance reflexives: The case of Chinese *ziji*. *Linguistic Inquiry* 27(3). 357–390.
- [doi](#) Cole, Peter & Hermon, Gabriella & Huang, C.-T. James. 2006. Long-distance binding in Asian languages. In Everaert, Martin & van Riemsdijk, Henk C. (eds.), *The Blackwell companion to syntax*, vol.3, 21–84. Malden: Blackwell Publishing.
- Cole, Peter & Hermon, Gabriella & Sung, Li-May. 1990. Principles and parameters of long-distance reflexives. *Linguistics Inquiry* 21(1). 1–22.
- Doan, Quy Ngoc Thi. 2022. *Anaphoric dependencies in Vietnamese: A syntactic approach*. Amsterdam: LOT publication.
- [doi](#) Doan, Quy Ngoc Thi & Reuland, Eric & Everaert, Martin. 2024. The blocking effect in Vietnamese. *Journal of East Asian Linguistics* 33(2). 153–189.
- [doi](#) Dubinsky, Stanley & Hamilton, Robert. 1998. Epithets as antilogophoric pronouns. *Linguistic Inquiry* 29(4). 685–693.
- [doi](#) Erlewine, Michael Yoshitaka. 2017. Vietnamese focus particles and derivation by phase. *Journal of East Asian Linguistics* 26(4). 325–349.
- [doi](#) Giorgi, Alessandra. 2006. From temporal anchoring to long distance anaphors. *Natural Language & Linguistic Theory* 24(4). 1009–1047.
- Han, Peng. 2020. *Investigating extra-sentential factors' roles in interpreting Mandarin ziji: The interaction of extra-sentential (co)reference and intra-sentential coreference*. Calgary: University of Calgary. (Doctoral dissertation.)
- Hiraiwa, Ken. 2002. Multiple agree. (Talk presented at 25th GLOW Colloquium: Tools in Linguistic Theory Workshop (TiLT), Utrecht, 7–10 April 2002.)
- Hiraiwa, Ken. 2005. *Dimensions of symmetry in syntax: Agreement and clausal architecture*. Cambridge: MIT. (Doctoral dissertation.)


- doi** Hornstein, Norbert. 2003. On control. In Hendrick, Randall (ed.), *Minimalist syntax*, 6–81. Malden: Blackwell.
- Huang, C.-T. James & Liu, C.-S. Luther. 2001. Logophoricity, attitudes, and *ziji* at the interface. In Cole, Peter & Hermon, Gabriella & Huang, C.-T. James (eds.), *Syntax and semantics vol. 33: Long-distance reflexives*, 141–195. New York: Academic Press.
- doi** Huang, C.-T. James & Tang, C.-C. Jane. 1991. The local nature of the long-distance reflexive in Chinese. In Koster, Jan & Reuland, Eric (eds.), *Long-distance anaphora*, 263–282. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Huang, Yun-Hua. 1984. Reflexives in Chinese. *Studies in English Literature and Linguistics* 10. 163–188.
- Ikawa, Shiori. 2024. Revisiting anaphor complexity in Japanese. *Glossa: a journal of general linguistics* 9(1). 1–44.
- Ivan, Rodica & Bui, Thuy. 2019. Vietnamese anaphora: Binding principles and the lack thereof. In Bochnak, M. Ryan & Butt, Miriam & Meertens, Erlinde & Zymla, Mark-Matthias (eds.), *Proceedings of TripleA 5: Fieldwork perspectives on the semantics of African, Asian, and Austronesian languages*, 47–61. Tübingen: University of Tübingen.
- doi** Jayaseelan, K.A. 1997. Anaphors as pronouns. *Studia Linguistica* 51(2). 186–234.
- Jayaseelan, K.A. 2000. Lexical anaphora in Malayalam. In Lust, Barbara C. & Wali, Kashi & Gair, James W. & Subbarao, K.V. (eds.), *Lexical anaphors and pronouns in selected South Asian languages: A principled typology*, 113–168. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Kuno, Susumu. 1972. Pronominalization, reflexivization, and direct discourse. *Linguistic Inquiry* 3(2). 161–195.
- Kuno, Susumu. 1987. *Functional syntax: Anaphora, discourse and empathy*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Kuno, Susumu & Kaburaki, Etsuko. 1977. Empathy and syntax. *Linguistic Inquiry* 8(4). 625–672.
- doi** Lebeaux, David. 1985. Locality and anaphoric binding. *The Linguistic Review* 4(4). 343–363.
- doi** Lyu, Jun & Kaiser, Elsi. 2021. Unpacking the blocking effect: Syntactic prominence and perspective-taking in antecedent retrieval in Mandarin Chinese. *Glossa: a journal of general linguistics* 6(1). 1–41. (Article 136.)
- doi** Minkoff, Setha A. 2004. Consciousness, backward coreference, and logophoricity. *Linguistic Inquiry* 35(3). 485–494.
- doi** Nevins, Andrew. 2007. The representation of third person and its consequences for person-case effects. *Natural Language & Linguistic Theory* 25(2). 273–313.
- Ngô, Binh. 2021. *Vietnamese: An essential grammar*. New York: Routledge.
- Nguyễn Phú Trọng. 1996. Personal pronouns and pluralizations in Vietnamese. *Mon-Khmer Studies* 25. 7–14.
- doi** Nishigauchi, Taisuke. 2014. Reflexive binding: Awareness and empathy from a syntactic point of view. *Journal of East Asian Linguistics* 23(2). 157–206.
- Oshima, David Yoshikazu. 2006. *Perspectives in reported discourse*. Stanford: Stanford University. (Doctoral dissertation.)
- Pan, Haihua. 1997. *Constraints on reflexivization in Mandarin Chinese*. New York: Garland.

- Pan, Haihua. 2000. Why the blocking effect? In Cole, Peter & Hermon, Gabriella & Huang, C.-T. James (eds.), *Syntax and semantics vol. 33: Long-distance reflexives*, 279–316. New York: Academic Press.
- Pesetsky, David. 1995. *Zero syntax: Experiencers and cascades*. Cambridge: The MIT Press.
- Pham, Linh & Bui, Thuy & Goebel, Alexander & Kaiser, Elsi. 2024. Exempt reflexive *minh* in Vietnamese: Effects of person features and verb type. (Poster presented at Human Sentence Processing Conference 2024, Ann Arbor, 16–18 May 2024.)
- Pollard, Carl, & Xue, Ping. 2001. Syntactic and nonsyntactic Constraints on long-distance reflexives. In Cole, Peter & Hermon, Gabriella & Huang, C.-T. James (eds.), *Long-distance reflexives*, 317–342. New York: Academic Press.
- Rizzi, Luigi. 1990. On the anaphor-agreement effect. *Rivista di Linguistica* 2(1). 27–42.
- Ross, John Robert. 1970. On declarative sentences. In Jacobs, Roderick A. & Rosenbaum, Peter S. (eds.), *Readings in English transformational grammar*, 222–272. Waltham: Ginn.
- Simpson, Andrew & Pham, Linh. 2025. Reflexivization and *minh*-Exceptional local binding by a monomorphemic anaphor? *Languages* 10(3). 44.
- von Stechow, Arnim. 1982. *Structured propositions* (Sonderforschungsbereich 99 Linguistik, Universität Konstanz 59). Konstanz: Universität Konstanz. (Technical report.)
- Sportiche, Dominique & Koopman, Hilda & Stabler, Edward. 2013. *An introduction to syntactic analysis and theory*. Hoboken: John Wiley & Sons.
- Sundaresan, Sandhya. 2012. *Context and (co)reference in the syntax and its interfaces*. Stuttgart: University of Stuttgart & Tromsø: University of Tromsø. (Doctoral dissertation.)
- Sundaresan, Sandhya. 2018. Perspective is syntactic: evidence from anaphora. *Glossa: a journal of general linguistics* 3(1). 1–40. (Article 128.)
-  Tang, C.-C. Jane. 1989. Chinese reflexives. *Natural Language & Linguistic Theory* 7. 93–121.
- Tran, Thuan. 2009. *Wh-quantification in Vietnamese*. Newark: University of Delaware. (Doctoral dissertation.)
- Tsai, Wei-Tien Dylan. 2015. A tale of two peripheries: Evidence from Chinese adverbials, light verbs, applicatives and object fronting. In Wei-Tien Dylan Tsai (ed.), *The cartography of Chinese syntax*, 1–32. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
-  Wang, Yingying & Pan, Haihua. 2014. A note on the non-*de se* interpretation of attitude reports. *Language* 90(3). 746–754.
-  Wang, Yingying & Pan, Haihua. 2015. Empathy and Chinese long distance reflexive *ziji* – Remarks on Giorgi (2006, 2007). *Natural Language & Linguistic Theory* 33. 307–322.
-  Woolford, Ellen. 1999. More on the anaphor agreement effect. *Linguistic Inquiry* 30(2). 257–287.
- Xu, Liejiang. 1993. The long-distance binding of *ziji*. *Journal of Chinese Linguistics* 21(1). 123–141.

Address for correspondence

C.-T. Tim Chou
Department of Foreign Languages and Literatures
National Yang Ming Chiao Tung University
1001 Daxue Rd.
Hsinchu 30010
Taiwan
ctchou@nycu.edu.tw
 <https://orcid.org/0000-0002-5919-4650>

Co-author information

Trần Phan
Graduate Institute of Linguistics
National Tsing Hua University
phantran2511@gmail.com
 <https://orcid.org/0000-0002-2295-314X>

Publication history

Date received: 15 February 2024
Date accepted: 31 December 2024
Published online: 2 October 2025