

# Some remarks on the Greek long-distance anaphor *ton idhio*

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## 1. The Greek Anaphoric/Pronominal System and *ton idhio* as a ‘Principle D’ element

Greek has two expressions that need to be bound, a local and a long-distance one, *ton eafto mu* (‘the self my’) and *ton idhio* (‘the same’), respectively (data from Iatridou 1986):

- (1) O Janis<sub>j</sub> theli [o Vasilis<sub>k</sub> na voithisi ton eafto tu<sub>\*j/k</sub>]  
the Janis wants the Vasilis-NOM SUBJ<sup>1</sup> helps the self his  
‘John wants Bill to help himself’
- (2) O Janis<sub>j</sub> theli [o Vasilis<sub>k</sub> na voithisi ton idhio<sub>j/\*k</sub>]  
the Janis wants the Vasilis-NOM SUBJ helps the same  
‘John wants Bill to help him’

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\*This paper expands on material contained in a joint publication with Martin Everaert (2013) ‘Identifying Anaphoric Dependencies’ (in Cheng & Corver eds. *Diagnosing Syntax* OUP) and contains observations included in section 17.5 (358–368). However, the properties of *o idhios* are discussed here in much greater detail, and there is discussion of the logophoric properties of *o idhios* in the context of a typology of logophors missing from that publication. I wrote this paper quite some time ago and always wanted it to be published. I am glad I have the opportunity to do this in honor of Gereon, a colleague I very much respect and admire for his work; one of the people from my generation that I have known for a long time and has always been supportive to me and interesting to interact with when we met.

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<sup>1</sup>SUBJ = subjunctive marker, *na* marks subjunctives in Greek. Greek subjunctives subsume many uses of infinitives (Greek doesn’t have infinitives) and differ from Romance and Germanic subjunctives in a number of important respects. See Philippaki-Warbuton & Veloudis 1984, Iatridou 1988/1993, Varlokosta 1994, Terzi 1992, Tsoulas 1993, Philippaki & Catsimali 1999, Alexiadou & Anagnostopoulou 1999, Roussou 2009, Alexiadou et al. 2012, among others.

Greek also has two distinct series of pronouns. (i) Personal pronoun clitics occurring as objects, possessives and complements of certain prepositions. They fall under Principle B:

- (3) *O Janis<sub>j</sub> theli [o Vasilis<sub>k</sub> na ton<sub>j/\*k</sub> voithisi ]*  
 the Janis wants the Vasilis-NOM SUBJ him helps  
 ‘John wants Bill to help him’

(ii) The strong pronoun *aftos-i-o* is deictic, but can also be construed as a regular personal pronoun falling under Principle B (see e.g. Varlokosta 2000):

- (4) *O Janis<sub>k</sub> dhiavase [ena vivlio gia afton<sub>k</sub>]*  
 the John read a book about him  
 ‘John read a book about him’

The short-distance anaphor *o eaftos tu* is generally well-behaved, falling under Principle A of Binding Theory.<sup>2</sup> Iatridou (1986), who was the first to observe the contrast between (1) & (2), proposed that *o idhios* falls under what she called Principle D:

- (5) *Principle D*  
*O idhios* should be bound in the whole sentence but free in the governing category

Unlike ordinary pronouns which can be free, as in (7), *ton idhio* requires a sentence-internal antecedent, as shown in (6), patterning with regular anaphors:

- (6) *\*O Janis<sub>j</sub> theli [o Vasilis<sub>k</sub> na voithisi tin idhia<sub>i</sub> ]*  
 the Janis wants the Vasilis-NOM SUBJ helps the same-FEM  
 ‘John wants Bill to help her’
- (7) *O Janis<sub>j</sub> theli [o Vasilis<sub>k</sub> na tin<sub>i</sub> voithisi ]*  
 the Janis wants the Vasilis-NOM SUBJ her helps  
 ‘John wants Bill to help her’

<sup>2</sup>A striking property of *o eaftos tu* is that it can surface as a nominative theme bound by the experiencer in object experiencer constructions (Anagnostopoulou 1999). To account for this, Anagnostopoulou & Everaert (1999) propose that *o eaftos tu* is a [+SELF, +R] element in Reinhart & Reuland’s (1993) sense. Cf. Iatridou (1988) for a similar core intuition expressed in standard BT terms based on a different argument. See Spathas (2010) for a very interesting comparison of *ton eaftos tu* as opposed to English *himself*.

## 2. Zooming into the properties of *ton idhio*

### 2.1. Morphosyntactic make-up/ emphatic uses

*Ton idhio* consists of a definite determiner and a nominal adjectival element co-varying with its antecedent in gender and number. It is strictly 3<sup>rd</sup> person, i.e. it cannot co-refer with a 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> person antecedent:<sup>3</sup>

(8) \**Ego<sub>j</sub> thelo* [o *Vasilis<sub>k</sub> na voithisi tin idhia<sub>j</sub>* ]  
 I want-1SG the Vasilis-NOM SUBJ helps the same-FEM

(9) \**Esi<sub>j</sub> thelis* [o *Vasilis<sub>k</sub> na voithisi tin idhia<sub>j</sub>* ]  
 you want-2SG the Vasilis-NOM SUBJ helps the same-FEM

*O idhios* can be used as an emphatic modifier corresponding to *he/John himself*. In this case, it can modify 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> person pronouns:

(10) *O Janis<sub>j</sub> theli* [o *Vasilis<sub>k</sub> na voithisi afton ton idhio<sub>j/\*k</sub>*]  
 the Janis wants the Vasilis-NOM SUBJ helps him himself  
 ke kanenan allo]  
 and noone else  
 ‘John wants Bill to help him and noone else’

(11) *Ego<sub>j</sub> thelo* [o *Vasilis<sub>k</sub> na voithisi emena tin idhia<sub>j</sub>*] ke  
 I want-1SG the Vasilis-NOM SUBJ helps me myself and  
 kanenan allo  
 noone else  
 ‘I want Bill to help me and noone else’

Note that the Greek local anaphor *o eaftos tu*, never admits emphatic uses, unlike English *himself*:

- (12) a. *O Janis o idhios elise to provlima*  
 the Janis-NOM the same-NOM solved the problem-ACC  
 ‘John himself solved the problem’  
 b. \**O Janis o eaftos tu elise to provlima*  
 The Janis-NOM the self-NOM his solved the problem-ACC

<sup>3</sup>It might be the case that this relates to the fact that *o idhios* also qualifies as a logophor, as will be seen later on. It seems that there is a restriction on logophors ‘correfering’ with a matrix element in the 1st person (Schlenker 1999: 32).

The Greek anaphor system thus has two elements, a short distance one (*o eaftos tu*) which behaves similarly to *himself* w.r.t. locality and a long distance one (*o idhios*) which behaves similarly to *himself* w.r.t. to emphatic uses.

### 2.1.1. Bare *o idhios*: three functions

Bare non-modifying *o idhios* has three functions (see Iatridou 1986, Varlokosta 1994: 11 fn 3):

- a) It can function as a *long-distance anaphor* when it is used non-emphatically. Recall from that it requires a sentence-internal antecedent.
- b) As an emphatic element, it modifies a discourse topic and does not need an antecedent in the sentence. Iatridou (1986) provides the following example illustrating this usage:

- (13) A: Thelis na dhis ton jatro i tin nosokoma tu?  
 want-2SG SUBJ see-2SG the doctor or the nurse his  
 ‘Do you want to see the doctor or his nurse?’  
 Thelo na dho TON IDHIO  
 want-1SG SUBJ see-1SG THE SAME  
 ‘I want to see him himself’

- c) Finally, as an adjective, *o idhios* occurs in examples like the following:

- (14) To kratiko laxio epese ston idhio gia triti fora  
 the state lottery fell on the same for third time  
 ‘The state lottery fell on the same person for the third time’

### 2.2. Bare *o idhios*: three grammatical functions

Hornstein & Varlokosta (1992), Varlokosta & Hornstein (1993) and Varlokosta (1994) argue that *o idhios* has different properties depending on whether it occurs as (a) an object (examples have been provided above), (b) a subject (as in (15) below) or (c) an accusative object of stative experiencer-object predicates, prototypically with the verb *afora* ‘concern’ (illustrated in (16); from now on psych-*o idhios*).

- (15) O Janis<sub>k</sub> nomizi oti *o idhios*<sub>k</sub> ine o kaliteros ipopsifios  
 the Janis thinks that the same is the best candidate  
 ‘John thinks that he is the best candidate’
- (16) O Janis<sub>k</sub> diedose oti to provlima afora *ton idhio*<sub>k</sub>  
 the Janis-NOM spread the rumor that the problem-NOM  
 concerns the same  
 ‘John spread the rumor that the problem concerns him’

Varlokosta & Hornstein argue that object vs. subject/psych *o idhios* consistently show a different behavior w.r.t. the following diagnostics:

- (i) Requirement for a sentence-internal antecedent (‘yes’ for object *o idhios*, ‘no’ for subject and psych *o idhios*).
- (ii) C-command (‘yes’ for object *o idhios*, ‘no’ for subject and psych *o idhios*)
- (iii) Split-antecedents (‘no’ for object *o idhios*, ‘yes’ for subject and psych *o idhios*)
- (iv) Strict readings (‘no’ for object *o idhios*, ‘yes’ for subject and psych *o idhios*)
- (v) Sensitivity to the type of sentential complement they occur in; supposedly linked to the operator-binding analysis (‘yes’ for object *o idhios*, ‘no’ for subject and psych *o idhios*).

On the basis of this evidence, they argue that the Principle D description is correct only for object *o idhios*, not for subject and psych-*o idhios*. They furthermore propose that object *o idhios* is A'-bound by a zero operator in Comp along the lines of Koopman & Sportiche's (1989) analysis of logophoric pronouns in Abe. On the other hand, subject *o idhios* qualifies as a regular pronoun, perhaps because it is emphatic and carries a focused interpretation. Finally, psych *o idhios* behaves like subject *o idhios*, providing evidence for a subject-analysis of accusative experiencer objects of stative psych-predicates.

While I agree on the basic distinction they draw between subject and non-subject *o idhios*, I disagree on some properties they ascribe to non-subject *o idhios*, partly because I am disagreeing with their data. It seems that non-subject *ton idhio* shows a more mixed behavior with respect to whether it

qualifies as an anaphor/bound variable or not than assumed by Varlokosta and Hornstein. In this respect, it patterns with e.g. the Icelandic long-distance anaphor *sig*, as described by Thráinsson (1991). I furthermore attempt to classify non-subject *o idhios* w.r.t existing typologies of long-distance anaphors, showing that it also seems to differ from typical long-distance anaphors/logophors.

### 3. Revisiting Varlokosta & Hornstein

#### 3.1. Varlokosta & Hornstein's diagnostics, data and analysis

I concentrate here on the distinction between subject and object *o idhios* and do not discuss psych *o idhios* which basically behaves like subject *o idhios* (see Hornstein & Varlokosta 1992 for the details). According to Varlokosta & Hornstein, object and subject *o idhios* show a consistently different behavior w.r.t. diagnostics (i) – (iv) above which distinguish anaphors from pronouns. Specifically:

(i) *Requirement for a sentence-internal antecedent*. Recall that *tin idhia* in (6), here repeated, requires an antecedent:

(6) \*O Janis<sub>j</sub> theli [o Vasilis<sub>k</sub> na voithisi tin idhia<sub>i</sub> ]  
 the Janis wants the Vasilis-NOM SUBJ helps the same-FEM  
 'John wants Bill to help her'

By contrast, subject *o idhios* does not require an antecedent within the clause (Varlokosta's (1994): 32, ex. (42)):

(17) Den itan eki *o idhios*, alla me eksipiretise i grammateas  
 not was there the same but me-ACC helped the secretary  
 tu  
 his  
 'He wasn't there, but his secretary helped me'

(ii) *C-command*. Varlokosta (1994: 15) uses the following example to argue that *o idhios* must have a c-commanding antecedent (her (10)):

(18) \*[DP Mia photographia tu Jani<sub>k</sub> ] athoose ton idhio<sub>k</sub>  
 a picture the Janis-GEN exonerated the same  
 'A picture of John exonerated him'

By contrast, subject *o idhios* easily tolerates a non c-commanding antecedent (Varlokosta's (43) p. 32):

- (19) [DP *Mia fotografia tu Jani<sub>k</sub>* ] *apedikse oti o idhios<sub>k</sub>*  
 a picture the Janis-GEN proved that the same  
*zouse me tin Maria*  
 was living with the Mary  
 'A picture of John proved that he was living together with Mary'

(iii) *Split-antecedents*. Object *ton idhio* cannot take split antecedents (Varlokosta 1994: 16 ex. (13b)):

- (20) \**O Janis<sub>k</sub> ipe ston Vasili<sub>j</sub> oti i Maria agapai tus idhius<sub>k+j</sub>*  
 the Janis told to-the Vasilis that the Mary loves the same-PL  
 'John told Vasilis that Mary loves them'

By contrast, subject *o idhios* can support split antecedents (Varlokosta's (46) p. 33):

- (21) *O Janis<sub>k</sub> ipe ston Vasili oti i idhii<sub>k+j</sub> eprepe na*  
 the Janis told to-the Vasilis that the same-PL must-3SG.PAST SUBJ  
*figun*  
 leave-3PL  
 'John told Vasilis that they should leave'

(iv) *Availability of strict readings*. Finally, according to Varlokosta and Hornstein, object *o idhios* allows for sloppy readings in ellipsis contexts (Varlokosta 1994: 36, ex. (54)):

- (22) *O Janis nomizi oti i Maria tha voithisi ton idhio ke o*  
 the Janis thinks that the Mary FUT help-3SG the same and the  
*Vasilis episis*  
 Bill too  
 'John thinks that Mary will help him and so does Bill'

- a. John thinks that Mary will help John and Bill thinks that Mary will help Bill (*sloppy ok*)
- b. \*John thinks that Mary will help John and Bill thinks that Mary will help John (*strict unavailable*)

On the other hand, subject *o idhios* is ambiguous, like pronouns (Varlokosta's (53) p. 36):

- (23) *O Janis<sub>k</sub> pistevi oti o idhios<sub>k</sub> ine o kaliteros iposifios ke o the Janis thinks that the same is the best candidate and the Vasilis episis Vasilis too 'Janis believes that he is the best candidate and so does Vasilis'*
- a. John thinks that John is the best candidate and Vasilis thinks that Vasilis is the best candidate. (*sloppy ok*)
  - b. John thinks that John is the best candidate and Vasilis thinks that John is the best candidate. (*strict ok*)

On the basis of the above data, Varlokosta & Hornstein conclude that object *ton idhio* is an anaphor while subject *o idhios* is a pronoun. They furthermore propose that object *ton idhio* is *A'* bound by a 0-operator residing in Spec,CP extending Koopman & Sportiche's (1989) analysis of logophoric pronouns in Abe to Greek (see Varlokosta 1994: 16, (19b)):

- (24) *O Janis<sub>j</sub> pistevi [<sub>CP</sub> 0<sub>j</sub> oti [<sub>IP</sub> o Vasilis<sub>k</sub> tha voithisi ton idhio<sub>j</sub> ]]*  
 the Janis thinks that the Vasilis fut helps the same

The zero operator in (24) must be identified by being bound by *o Janis*, which explains why object *ton idhio* requires obligatorily a sentence internal c-commanding antecedent.

The null operator analysis predicts that *ton idhio* will be licensed whenever the Spec,CP position is free to be occupied by the 0-operator. It will not be licensed whenever this position is occupied by some other element. They claim that this prediction is borne out on the basis of their diagnostic (v):

- (v) *Sensitivity to the type of sentential complement ton idhio occurs in.* They claim that *ton idhio* is not licensed in relative clauses and embedded questions where Spec,CP is occupied, while it is possible within adjuncts, noun-complements and factive complements introduced by the comple-



mentizer pu. In the latter category, Spec,CP is empty and can host the 0-operator. Their examples are listed in (25)–(29) below:

- (25) *Relative clause* (Varlokosta 1994: 14, ex. (5b))  
 \**O Janis*<sub>j</sub> sinandise ton anthropo pu filakise *ton idhio*<sub>j</sub>  
 the Janis met the man that imprisoned the same  
 ‘John met the man that imprisoned him’
- (26) *Question* (p. 14, ex. (6b))  
 \**O Janis*<sub>j</sub> dhen kseri pjos agapai *ton idhio*<sub>j</sub>  
 the Janis not knows who loves the same  
 ‘Janis doesn’t know who loves him’
- (27) *Adjunct* (p.14, ex. (7a), (7b))  
 a. *O Janis*<sub>j</sub> charike otan i Maria filise *ton idhio*<sub>j</sub>  
 the Janis was pleased when the Mary kissed the same  
 ‘Janis was pleased when Mary kissed him’  
 b. *O Janis*<sub>j</sub> charike epidhi i Maria voithise *ton idhio*<sub>j</sub>  
 the Janis was pleased because the Mary helped the same  
 ‘Janis was pleased because Mary helped him’
- (28) *Noun complement* (p. 14, ex. (8))  
*O Janis*<sub>j</sub> arnithike to gegonos oti i Maria agapai *ton idhio*<sub>j</sub>  
 the Janis denied the fact that the Mary loves the same  
 ‘Janis denied the fact that Mary loves him’
- (29) *Factive complement* (p. 14, ex. (9))  
*O Janis*<sub>j</sub> charike pu i Maria filise *ton idhio*<sub>j</sub>  
 the Janis was pleased that the Mary kissed the same  
 ‘Janis was pleased that Mary helped him’

Crucially, in contrast to Abe, any COMP, not just those under verbs of saying can be the locus of a zero operator in Greek, provided that Spec,CP is empty.

### 3.2. Revisiting the bound pronoun data

Even though the judgments reported above are adopted as correct in the dissertation of Chiou (2007), I have difficulty to accept examples like (27)–(29) and do not have a contrast between them and ill-formed examples like (25)–(26). I think that the ungrammaticality of the above is an artifact of a restriction in the distribution of non-subject, non-emphatic *o idhios*, namely

that *ton idhio* is deviant when it occurs as an unstressed direct object accusative long distance anaphor, except when combined with very few verbs (*voithao* ‘help’ being one of them).<sup>4</sup> As an unstressed complement anaphor, *ton idhio* is well-formed (i) as part of a co-ordination of two direct objects and (ii) as an object of a preposition. The following examples are perfect:

- (30) *O Janis<sub>j</sub> theli [o Vasilis<sub>k</sub> na xeretisi [&P ton idhio<sub>j/\*k</sub> kai tin ikogenia tu ]]*  
 the Janis wants the Vasilis-NOM SUBJ greets the same and  
 his family  
 ‘John wants Bill to greet him and his family’
- (31) *O Janis<sub>j</sub> pistevi oti i Maria tha milisi [PP me ton idhio<sub>j</sub> ]*  
 the Janis believes that the Maria will talk with the same  
 otan tha exi nea  
 when FUT has news  
 ‘Janis believes that Mary will talk to him when he has news’

By contrast, the ones below are not (with non-emphatic/contrastive *ton idhio*):

- (32) *?\*O Janis<sub>j</sub> theli [o Vasilis<sub>k</sub> na xeretisi ton idhio<sub>j/\*k</sub> ]*  
 the Janis wants the Vasilis-NOM SUBJ greets the same  
 ‘John wants Bill to greet him’
- (33) *?\*O Janis<sub>j</sub> pistevi oti i Maria agapai ton idhio<sub>j</sub> apo tin proti stigmi*  
 the Janis believes that the Maria loves the same from the first  
 moment  
 ‘Janis believes that Mary loves him from the moment she saw him’

Apparently, *ton idhio* is not unique in showing this restriction. The Romanian bare reflexive *sine* does not occur as a direct argument of the verb and must always occur as an object of a preposition (Sevcenco 2006: 37-38):

<sup>4</sup>It is interesting that the verb ‘help’ is prototypically a verb selecting for a single dative object in languages like e.g. German, Ancient Greek, Icelandic where monotransitive verbs can take objects with cases other than accusative, for example dative or genitive. This might suggest that even in cases where accusative *ton idhio* is acceptable, such as (6a), this is actually a hidden oblique *ton idhio* rather than a structural accusative *ton idhio*. More research into this topic is required.

- (34) a. \**Amantul ascunde sine în dulap*  
 lover the hides SELF in wardrobe  
 ‘The lover is hiding himself in the wardrobe’  
 b. *George contează pe sine*  
 George counts on SELF  
 ‘George counts on himself’

In addition, as pointed out by Alexis Dimitradis (p.c.), Faltz (1977) recognizes a distinct category of reflexives that are restricted to oblique argument positions, which he calls “*secondary reflexives*”.

Once this factor is controlled for, the judgments of the above sentences change. All of the sentential complement cases discussed by Varlokosta & Hornstein become grammatical:

- (35) Relative clause:  
*O politikos<sub>j</sub> sinantise telika ton dimosiografo pu ixe*  
 the politician met finally the journalist that had  
*epikinonisi me ton idhio<sub>j</sub> prin apo merikes meres jia to*  
 communicated with the same before from some days about the  
 skandalo  
 scandal  
 ‘The politician finally met the journalist who had communicated with  
 him several days ago about the scandal’
- (36) Question:  
*O politikos<sub>j</sub> anarotithike pjos dimosiografos ixe epikinonisi*  
 the politician wondered which journalist had communicated  
*me ton idhio<sub>j</sub> gia to skandalo*  
 with the same about the scandal  
 ‘The politician wondered which journalist got in touch with him about  
 the scandal’
- (37) Adjunct:  
*O Janis<sub>j</sub> charike otan i Maria milise me ton idhio<sub>j</sub> gia to*  
 the Janis was pleased when the Mary talked with the same for the  
 thema  
 issue  
 ‘Janis was pleased when Mary talked to him about the issue’

(38) Noun complement:

*O Janis<sub>j</sub> arnithike to gegonos oti i Maria exi sinapsi erotikes*  
 the Janis denied the fact that the Mary has created love  
*sxisis me ton idhio<sub>j</sub> to kalokairi*  
 relationships with the same the summer  
 ‘Janis denied the fact that Mary had a love affair with him in the  
 summer’

(39) Factive complement:

*O Janis<sub>j</sub> charike pu i Maria milise me ton idhio<sub>j</sub> gia to*  
 the Janis was pleased that the Mary talked with the same for the  
 thema  
 issue  
 ‘John was pleased that Mary talked to him about the issue’

I do not find that there is a contrast between (35–36) and (37–39). This casts doubt on Varlokosta & Hornstein’s *diagnostic* (v) (sensitivity to the type of sentential complement), and hence the 0-operator analysis. Moreover, the fact that direct object *ton idhio* is generally degraded, potentially obscures the intuitions of native speakers concerning diagnostics (i)–(v). Only if the right type of non-subject *ton idhio* is tested we will be able to draw safe conclusions on its pronominal/anaphoric nature.

3.3. Testing again the anaphor vs. pronoun properties of non-subject *ton idhio*

In this section, I re-apply the anaphora diagnostics (i)–(iv), using more uncontroversial examples with oblique *ton idhio*, specifically:

(i) *Requirement for a sentence-internal antecedent.* As shown in (40), oblique *ton idhio* under a non emphatic/contrastive construal cannot be free:

(40) \**O Janis<sub>j</sub> theli [o Vasilis<sub>k</sub> na milisi me tin idhia ]*  
 the Janis wants the Vasilis-NOM SUBJ talks with the same-FEM  
 ‘John wants Bill to talk with her’

According to this test, *ton idhio* qualifies as an anaphor.

(ii) *Requirement for a c-commanding antecedent.* (Recall that there is no such requirement for subject/psych *ton idhio*). With respect to this test, I think that it is necessary to distinguish between two cases:

- (a) When the antecedent is embedded within the subject DP, judgments are uncertain. My consultants consistently felt that there is a contrast between the cases where the antecedent c-commands *ton idhio* (e.g. 41a) and when it doesn't (e.g. 41b), but they also commented that the constructions lacking c-command are 'not that bad' or 'not as bad as they should be':

- (41) a. *O Janis<sub>k</sub> elpizi oti i Maria tha epikinonisi me ton*  
 the Janis hopes that the Mary FUT communicate-3SG with the  
*idhio<sub>k</sub> otan exi nea*  
 same when has-3SG news  
 'John hopes that Mary will communicate with him when she has  
 some news'
- b. ??<sub>[DP I mitera tu Janik ] elpizi oti i Maria tha</sub>  
 the mother-NOM the Janis-GEN hopes that the Mary FUT  
*epikinonisi me ton idhiok otan exi nea*  
 communicates with the same when has-3SG news  
 'John's mother hopes that Mary will communicate with him when  
 she has some news'

- (b) On the other hand, when the antecedent is embedded inside a CP, lack of c-command leads to sharp ungrammaticality:

- (42) \*<sub>[CP To oti i Maria aghapa ton Jani<sub>k</sub>] me epise oti boro</sub>  
 the that the Mary loves the John me convinced that can-1SG  
*na basizome ston idhio<sub>k</sub>*  
 SUBJ base myself to the same  
 'That Mary loves John convinced me that I can depend on him'

One can conclude, especially on the basis of examples like (42),<sup>5</sup> that non-subject *ton idhio* qualifies as anaphor in that it requires a c-commanding antecedent.

- (iii) *Split antecedents*. (Recall that this is possible for subject and psych *o idhios*). As shown in (43), this is impossible for oblique *ton idhio* under a non emphatic/contrastive construal:

<sup>5</sup>It might be the case that *ton idhio* can be marginally licensed in examples like (41b) as a non-command logophor, explaining why they are not as ungrammatical as one would expect.

- (43) \**O vasilias<sub>j</sub> ipe ston prothipurgo<sub>k</sub> oti o proedros tha*  
 the king said to the prime-minister that the president FUT  
*epikinonisi me tus idhiou<sub>j+k</sub>*  
 communicates with the same-PL  
 ‘The king told the prime-minister that the president will communicate  
 with them’

Once again, *ton idhio* qualifies as an anaphor w.r.t. this diagnostic.

- (iv) *Availability of strict readings in ellipsis.* Contra Varlokosta & Hornstein,  
 all my consultants agreed that strict readings are possible for complement  
 (oblique) *ton idhio*:

- (44) *O Janis<sub>j</sub> nomizi oti i Maria tha milisi me ton idhio<sub>j</sub> ke o*  
 the Janis thinks that the Mary fut talks with the same and the  
 Vasilis episis  
 Vasilis too  
 ‘John thinks that Mary will talk to him and so does Vasilis’  
*Sloppy*: John thinks that Mary will talk to John and Vasilis thinks that  
 Mary will talk to Vasilis  
*Strict*: John thinks that Mary will talk to John and Vasilis thinks that  
 Mary will talk to John

*Ton idhio* qualifies as a pronoun w.r.t. this ambiguity.

It thus seems that non-subject *ton idhio* shows a mixed behavior. It qualifies  
 as an anaphor w.r.t. requiring a sentence internal c-commanding antecedent  
 and not tolerating split antecedents but as a pronoun w.r.t. strict readings.  
 Note, though, that *ton idhio* is not unique in allowing strict readings while  
 qualifying as an anaphor w.r.t. all other tests, as described here. The Icelandic  
 long-distance reflexive *sig*, shows a comparable behavior. On the one hand,  
 speakers accept both strict and sloppy readings in ellipsis contexts (Thráinsson  
 1991: 60, ex. (31c):

- (45) *Jón<sub>i</sub> sagði [að þú hefðir svikið sig<sub>i</sub>] og Pétur gerði það líka*  
 John said that you had betrayed him and Peter did so too  
 a. Peter said that you had betrayed Peter (*sloppy*)  
 b. Peter said that you had betrayed John (*strict*)

On the other hand, *sig* does not allow split antecedents, unlike ordinary pronouns (Thráinsson 1991: 61, ex. (33)):

- (46) a. *Jón<sub>i</sub> sagði Maríu<sub>j</sub> [að þú hefðir svikið þau<sub>i+j</sub> ]*  
 John told Mary that you had betrayed them  
 b. \**Jón<sub>i</sub> sagði Maríu<sub>j</sub> [að þú hefðir svikið sig<sub>i+j</sub> ]*  
 John told Mary that you had betrayed SELF

A crucial property of *idhios* shares with *sig* is the fact that their antecedent can be arbitrarily far away:

- (47) a. *Jón<sub>j</sub> segir [að María telji [að Haraldur vilji [að Billi*  
 John says that Mary believes that Harold wants that Bill  
*heimsæki sig<sub>j</sub> ]]]*  
 visits SELF  
 (Thráinsson 1991: 55 ex. (17))  
 b. *O Janis<sub>j</sub> lei oti i Maria pistevi oti o Vasilis tha milisi*  
 the Janis says that the Mary believes that the Vasilis fut talk  
*me ton idhio<sub>j</sub> prin ipograpsi*  
 with the same before signs  
 ‘John says that Mary believes that Vasilis will talk with him before  
 he signs’

And it turns out that the availability of strict readings under VP-ellipsis/anaphora of *ton idhio* and *sig* can be traced to the fact that they are not locally bound. As is discussed in the literature (Hellan 1988, Hestvik (1990), Reuland & Sigurjónsdóttir 1997, Kiparsky 2002, Safir 2004 among others),<sup>6</sup> sloppy identity with anaphors is forced only when their antecedent is a co-argument. Elsewhere there is an ambiguity between sloppy and strict readings. This can be seen with *sig* which does not allow a strict reading when it is locally bound, while it is ambiguous in long-distance contexts, as we saw (compare (48) below to (45)):

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<sup>6</sup>See Hestvik (1995) for discussion of a further factor relevant to the availability of strict and sloppy readings in VP-ellipsis: subordination of the elided clause relative to the antecedent clause facilitates strict interpretation, while coordination disfavors it.

- (48) *Jón rakaði sig og Pétur gerði það líka*  
 ‘John shaved himself and Peter did so too’  
 = John shaved John and Peter shaved Peter/\*John.

And the following data (taken from Kiparsky 2002: 6) illustrate the same generalization for English *himself* in *do so* VP anaphora:

- (49) John hates himself, and so does Fred  
 a.  $\neq$  Fred hates John, too  
 b. Fred hates himself, too
- (50) John considers himself competent, and so does Fred (*ambiguous*)  
 a. Fred considers John competent, too (*strict*)  
 b. Fred considers himself competent, too (*sloppy*)

Whatever the explanation for the coargument vs. non-coargument asymmetry may be (see Reuland & Sigurjónsdóttir 1997, Kiparsky 2002, Safir 2004 for some proposals), the ambiguity of the non-locally bound *ton idhio* in (44) is now expected and does not undermine its status as an anaphor. Let me now turn to the question of how *ton idhio* compares to other non-locally bound anaphors.

#### 4. *Ton idhio* and other long-distance anaphors

##### 4.1. Some background

The typology of long distance anaphors is highly complex, and it is impossible to review it here in full detail. Buring (2005: 58, 60) draws a distinction between (a) long-distance *reflexives* or *command anaphors* that need to be bound by a linguistic antecedent and (b) *logophors* which are oriented towards a semantically or pragmatically determined class of antecedents. The former fall under the general definition (51) (Buring’s 3.35, p.60) which incorporates the notions of subject orientation and domain specification (root domain, tense domain, subject domain, co-argument domain) in the form of parameters:

- (51) An NP of *class* must (not) be coindexed with a *commanding* {NP / Subject} within its domain.

The domain relevant for long distance reflexives is the root, i.e. they must



be bound in the domain of the sentence, though not necessarily locally.<sup>7</sup> Logophors are defined as in (52) (Büring's 3.42, p.63):

- (53) A logophoric pronoun can be used if it is embedded in a constituent *c* such that (i) *c* is embedded, (ii) *c* denotes a proposition *p*, which (iii) can be paraphrased as a mental state or reported utterance of the pronoun's antecedent such that the paraphrase contains a first person pronoun in place of the pronoun.

Originally, the term 'logophor' (the term due to Hagège 1974) was employed for special series of pronouns that occur in African languages and refer exclusively to the source of an embedded statement, as in the following examples from Ewe (Kwa, Niger-Kordofanian; Clements 1975, Sells 1987, Kuno 1987, Büring 2005, ex. 3.36):

- (54) a. kofi<sub>1</sub> be yè<sub>1/2/\*s</sub> -dzo  
         Kofi say LOG -left  
       b. kofi<sub>1</sub> be e\*<sub>1/2/\*s</sub> -dzo  
         Kofi say he -left  
       c. kofi<sub>1</sub> be me\*<sub>1/\*2/s</sub> -dzo  
         Kofi say I -left  
         'Kofi said that he/I left'

\**s* = not the speaker

2 = a person that is not the speaker  
 or the addressee

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<sup>7</sup>Büring (2005: 66) mentions the following elements as having the root as their domain: Chinese *ziji*, Fula *Dum*, Greek *o idhios* and *ton idhio*, Icelandic *sig*, Italian *sè* and *proprio*, Japanese *zibun*, Kannada *ta-nu*, Latin *se*, Malayalam *swa* and *tanne*, Marathi *aapan* and Yoruba *ó*. He furthermore points out that it is not clear that the antecedent needs to c-command or command these elements (for example, this is not the case in Chinese and Fula; see Büring 2005, 66 fn. 25). A further distinction can be drawn between elements that can be bound within any domain up to the root, like Korean *caki* (Büring's example 3.54) and elements, like *o idhios* which must be free in their tense domain and can be bound by any antecedent outside their tense domain. But note that examples like (i) (based on Kiparsky's 2002 ex. (38)) provide evidence that *ton idhio* does not have to be free in its tense domain:

- (52) *O Petros*<sub>k</sub> milise gia *ton idhio*<sub>k</sub> ke tin Maria  
 the Peter talked about the same and the Mary  
 'Peter talked about himself and Mary'

In (53) *e* and *me* are pronouns of the usual type: *e* ‘he’ refers to a non-speaker, non-addressee person and, moreover, it cannot relate anaphorically to the matrix subject, while *me* must be the speaker. On the other hand, *yè* is a logophor: it can only refer to the subject of ‘say’. Buring proposes two diagnostics, in order to distinguish long-distance subject-oriented anaphors from logophors. First, true subject-oriented long distance anaphors are strictly subject-oriented while logophoric pronouns are not; rather, they take the source of the embedded proposition as their antecedent. On the basis of this criterion, Japanese *zibun* is a logophoric pronoun because its antecedent must be the source of the embedded proposition, regardless of whether this is realized as a subject and topic, as in (54a), or an oblique, as in (54b) (from Sells 1987: 453 via Buring 2005: 61, ex. 3.39):<sup>8</sup>

- (55) a. Takashi<sub>j</sub> wa Taroo<sub>k</sub> ni [Yosiko ga zibun<sub>j/\*k</sub> o  
Takashi Top Taroo DAT Yosiko NOM self ACC  
nikundeiru koto] o hanasita  
be-hating COMP ACC told  
'Takashi told Taroo that Yosiko hated him (Takashi)'
- b. Taroo<sub>k</sub> wa Takashi<sub>j</sub> kara [Yosiko ga zibun<sub>j/\*k</sub> o  
Takashi TOP Taroo from Yosiko NOM SELF ACC  
nikundeiru to] kiita  
be-hating COMP heard  
'Taroo heard from Takashi that Yosiko hated him (Takashi)'

The same applies to Icelandic *síg* which is ruled out in environments where the corresponding direct speech paraphrases of the embedded sentences wouldn't admit a first person pronoun in place of *síg* (Buring's example 3.70):

- (56) a. Hann<sub>2</sub> sagði [að sig<sub>2</sub> vantaði hæfileika]  
he said that self lacked ability  
'He said that he lacked ability'. He said: 'I lack ability'
- b. \*Honum<sub>2</sub> var sagt [að sig<sub>2</sub> vantaði hæfileika]  
he was said that self lacked ability  
'He was told that he lacked ability'.  
He was told: 'You/#I lack ability'

<sup>8</sup>Buring (2005: 58–59) takes Chinese *ziji* to be an example of a true long-distance subject oriented anaphor.

Second, logophors can occur without a sentence internal antecedent under certain conditions. On the basis of this diagnostic, *síg* once again qualifies as a logophor (Maling 1984; Sells 1987; Thráinsson 1992), as shown by example (56) with *sér*, the dative of *síg* (Büring’s example 3.40/ 3.72; see also see Thráinsson 1991: 58):

- (57) *Formaðurinn varð óskaplega reiður. Tillagan væri*  
 the chairman became furiously angry. the proposal was  
*avívirðileg. Væri henni beint gegn sér persónulega?*  
 outrageous. Was-SUBJ it aimed against self personally?  
 ‘The chairman became furiously angry. The proposal was outrageous.  
 Was it aimed at him personally?’

A related property of *síg* which can be linked to its logophoric nature is the fact that it typically occurs in subjunctive complements of verbs of saying, thinking etc. (Thráinsson 1991: 55-56), i.e. verbs introducing embedded statements.<sup>9</sup>

Schlenker (1999: 31–35) introduces a further distinction between true logophoric pronouns, which can only be used in the scope of attitude operators (because they must be interpreted *de se*)<sup>10</sup> and pronouns which are not logophoric in the strict sense, since they can occur outside the scope of an attitude operator, e.g. in a relative clause. According to this classification, the pronoun *yè* in Ewe (see (53) above) and the logophoric agreement marker in Gokana (Hyman & Comrie 1981) are true logophors, and they are excluded, for example, from relative clauses. On the other hand, the Japanese long-distance anaphor *zibun* is not a logophor in a strict sense since it can occur in relative clauses. Note, though, that even though *zibun* does not qualify as a strict logophor w.r.t. the criterion of embedding under attitude verbs it does qualify as one w.r.t. referring to the source of an embedded statement. This has been shown by the examples in (54) above where *zibun* must refer to Takasi,

<sup>9</sup>Logophoric pronouns are not restricted to verbs of saying. In Ewe the subject of *be happy*, *know* and *see* can antecede logophors (Büring 2005: 61, citing Clements 1975; Sells 1987 and Kuno 146). It seems that the correct characterization of the verbs licensing logophors are attitude verbs (see Schlenker 1999: 31-35 and below; see Anand 2006 for further refinements).

<sup>10</sup>Because they must be interpreted *de se* (see Schlenker 1999 for discussion). See Chierchia (1989) and Reinhart (1990) for discussion of obligatory *de se* expressions (PRO and logophors) in natural language. See Schlenker (1999) and Anand (2006) for a semantic and typological discussion of logophoricity in this context.

regardless of whether this is the subject and topic (as in 54a) or an oblique (as in 54b).<sup>11</sup>

There is a final distinction that needs to be mentioned before we proceed to a classification of *ton idhio*. Logophoric pronouns can be either author denoting, as all the cases discussed so far, or addressee/ hearer denoting (Schlenker 1999: 31, 110-111; Anand 2006: 16 calls them ‘de te’ logophors). While the former are used in reported speech to refer to whoever would in direct discourse be referred to as ‘I’, the latter would crucially involve the indexical ‘you’. Object control PRO is obligatorily interpreted *de te*, as shown by the following examples (see Anand 2006: 16, ex. 25):

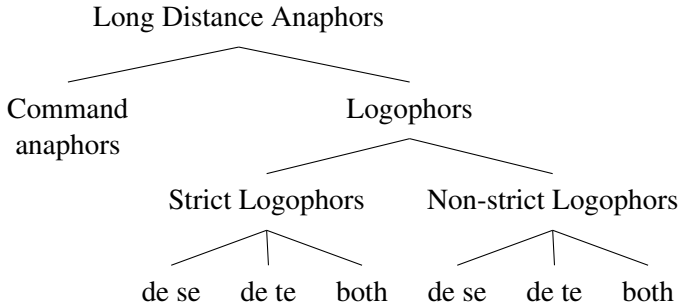
- (58) John is hosting a party. He hears that a certain waiter named Bill is being a nuisance  
 S1: John tells the nearest waiter, “Bill has to go.” Unbeknownst to him, he’s talking to Bill.  
 S2: John tells Bill, “You have to go.”  
 a. John told Bill<sub>i</sub> that he<sub>i</sub> had to leave. [<sup>ok</sup> S1, / <sup>ok</sup> S2]  
 b. John told Bill<sub>i</sub> to PRO<sub>i</sub> leave. [#S1, / <sup>ok</sup> S2 ]

While the finite clause (57a) is acceptable in the first scenario, (57b) is not, a fact indicating object control PRO must necessarily be hearer-denoting (just as subject control PRO must be author-denoting). Hearer-denoting logophoric pronouns seem to exist in Mapun (Frayzingier 1985; cited in Schlenker 1999: 110–111) and Yoruba (Sells 1987; see Anand 2006: 60<sup>12</sup>). In conclusion, the typology of long-distance anaphors contains the following types of elements:

<sup>11</sup>See Kusumoto (1998) cited in Schlenker (1999: 110, ex. (43)) for evidence that *zibun* is unambiguously *de se*. See fn 15 for discussion and references.

<sup>12</sup>Anand 2006: 157 claims that Japanese *zibun* and Icelandic *sig* can also be interpreted *de te*.

(59)



Let us now see how *ton idhio* can be classified according to this typology.

#### 4.2. *Ton idhio* as a 'non-strict, de se and de te' logophor

According to Büring (2005: 58–63), the proper characterization of non-locally bound expressions necessitates drawing a distinction between long-distance binding and logophoricity. This is stated explicitly, as follows: “*It is important to keep the option of logophoricity in mind when attempting to describe Binding Conditions in a given language, precisely because it can so easily be mistaken for something else, e.g. long-distance subject-oriented anaphors*”. (Büring op. cit. p. 63). Recall that, for Büring, one crucial diagnostic for logophoricity is whether a long-distance anaphor can ever occur without an antecedent.

If we adopt the position that an expression is either a command anaphor or a logophor, then we are forced to the conclusion that *ton idhio* is a logophor rather than a true command anaphor because it can occur violating all its usual requirements (no need for an antecedent within the clause, no need for c-command) in typical logophoric contexts. More specifically:

##### a) *Point of view narratives*

Similarly to the English short-distance anaphor *himself*, *ton idhio* can be used as a perspective logophor in written narrative discourse. The examples below are Greek translations of English texts discussed by Zribi-Hertz (1989):

- (60) Ksafnika ekinos ipe dinata: H ktitikotita ine diaboliki.  
 Suddenly he said aloud: Possessiveness is the devil  
*H Maggie ton kitakse: Ennouse tin idhia ke to pedhi?*  
 Maggie him looked meant-3sg the same and the child?

‘Maggie looked at him. Did he mean herself and the baby?’

(Zribi–Hertz, quoted from Y. Woolf)

- (61) *Ekinos* [o Sapp] kathise sto grafio tu ke anikse ta sirtaria.  
 He the Sapp sat in-the desk his and opened the drawers.  
 Sto pano deksia ipirxe enas fakelos pu apefthinotan  
 In the above right existed-3sg an envelope that addressed-3sg  
*ston idhio*  
 to-the same

‘He sat down at the desk and opened the drawers. In the top right-hand one there was an envelope addressed to himself’

(Zribi–Hertz, quoted from Lodge).

In both (59) and (60), there is no antecedent in the clause and yet *ton idhio* is licensed without contrast or emphasis.

b) *Belief-contexts*

In cases of intra-sentential logophoricity which includes a belief predicate not c-commanding the clause in which a logophor occurs (see Reinhart 1990 for discussion), *ton idhio* can be licensed without contrast or emphasis:

- (62) *Oti kanenas den bori na magirepsi kala ektos apo ton idhio* ine  
 that noone not can SUBJ cook-3SG well except from the same is  
 mia apo tis pio prospis/emmones tu Jani  
 one of the most recent opinions/fixed ideas the Janis-GEN  
 ‘That noone can cook well apart of himself is one of the most recent beliefs of John’

Note that when *ton idhio* is used in contexts not c-commanded by its antecedent it admits only strict readings, which indicates that it is not interpreted as a bound variable:

- (63) [I gnomi tu Jani<sub>k</sub>] ine oti prepi na milisis me  
 the opinion the Janis-GEN is that must-3SG SUBJ talk-2SG with  
*ton idhio<sub>k</sub>* ke i gnomi tu Petru eptis  
 the same and the opinion-NOM the Peter-GEN too  
 ‘John’s opinion is that you have to talk to him and that is Peter’s opinion too’  
 (= it is Peter’s opinion that you have to talk to John; *strict only*)

The same is noted by Thráinsson (1991: 60 ex. (32)) for Icelandic *sig*:

- (64) Skoðun Jóns<sub>k</sub> er [að þú hafir svikið sig<sub>k</sub>] og það er skoðun  
 opinion John's is that you have betrayed self and that is opinion  
 Péturs líka  
 Peter's too  
 'It is John's opinion that you have betrayed him and that is Peter's  
 opinion too'  
 (= It is Peter's opinion that you have betrayed John)

If *ton idhio* is a logophor, then it is predicted to be interpreted *de se* obligatorily. It is generally agreed upon in the literature that logophors and PRO are systematically employed in natural language as *de se* expressions (see fn 15 above for discussion and references). Indeed, as illustrated by (64a) (Chierchia's 1989 examples), a sentence containing *ton idhio* is only acceptable as a report of Pavarotti's belief 'my students can learn a lot from me' (unlike the pronoun *afton* which is ambiguous, as shown by (64b)).

- (65) S1: Pavarotti is listening to himself singing *La donna e mobile* and is impressed by his own skill. He thinks, "I have to admit it: I really am a genius! My students can learn a lot from me."  
 S2: Pavarotti is listening to himself singing *La donna e mobile* and is impressed by his artistry. He thinks, "This performer is a genius! My students can learn a lot from him." Unbeknownst to him, he is the performer he is listening to.
- a. *O Pavarotti* pistevì oti i mathites tu borun na mathun  
 the Pavarotti believes that the students his can-PL SUBJ learn  
 polla apo ton idhio  
 many-PL from the same  
 'Pavarotti believes, "my students can learn a lot from me".'  
[<sup>ok</sup> S1, #S2]
- b. *O Pavarotti* pistevì oti i mathites tu borun na mathun  
 the Pavarotti believes that the students his can-pl SUBJ learn  
 polla apo afton  
 many-pl from him  
 'Pavarotti believes that his students can learn a lot from him.'  
[<sup>ok</sup> S1, <sup>ok</sup> S2]

Even though *ton idhio* can be claimed to be a logophor with respect to the two properties mentioned so far, i.e. not always requiring an antecedent and being interpreted *de se*, there are also two crucial properties which differentiate it from typical logophors. First, as has been seen, there are no restrictions on the types of embedded clauses *ton idhio* occurs in. It can be licensed in any embedded clause and has even been shown to occur in relative clauses (example (42) here repeated) patterning with Japanese *zibun* and differing from e.g. Icelandic *sig*.

- (66) *O politikos<sub>j</sub> sinantise telika ton dimosiografo pu ixe*  
 the politician met finally the journalist that had  
*epikinonisi me ton idhio<sub>j</sub> prin apo merikes meres jia to*  
 communicated with the same before from some days about the  
*skandalo*  
 scandal  
 ‘The politician finally met the journalist who had communicated with  
 him several days ago about the scandal’

Second, as originally pointed out by Varlokosta and Hornstein, *ton idhio* is not subject-oriented, i.e. it doesn’t take as an antecedent the source of the embedded proposition (unlike *sig* and *zibun*):

- (67) *O Janis<sub>k</sub> ipe ston Vasili<sub>j</sub> oti i Maria tha*  
 the Janis-NOM said to-the Vasilis-ACC that the Mary-NOM FUT  
*milisi me ton idhio<sub>kj</sub> otan tha iparxun nea*  
 talk-3SG with the same when FUT exist-3PL news  
 ‘Janis told Vasilis that Mary will talk to him when there are news’

This raises the question of whether *ton idhio* can be read both *de se* and *de te*, similarly to PRO (see the discussion of this distinction made in Schlenker 1999 and Anand 2006). And indeed, it turns out that *ton idhio* must be hearer-denoting in sentences like (66b) (based on Anand 2006: 16) where you is crucially involved in the direct discourse:



(68) Mary is hosting a party. She hears that a certain waiter named John is being a nuisance.

S1: Mary tells the nearest waiter: “I will talk to John at the end of the party about his horrible behavior”. Unbeknownst to her, she is talking to John

S2: “I will talk to you at the end of the party about your horrible behavior”

- a. I Maria ipe *ston Janni* oti tha milisi *me afton* gia aftin  
 the Maria told to-the John that FUT talks with him for this  
 tin frixti *simberifora sto telos tu parti*  
 the terrible behavior in the end of the party  
 ’Mary told John that she will talk with him about this horrible  
 behavior at the end of the party’ [<sup>ok</sup> S1, <sup>ok</sup> S2]
- b. I Maria ipe *ston Janni* oti tha milisi *me ton idhio* gia  
 the Maria told to-the John that FUT talks with the same for  
 aftin tin frixti *simberifora sto telos tu parti*  
 this the terrible behavior in the end of the party  
 ’Mary told John that she will talk with him about this horrible  
 behavior at the end of the party’ [#S1, <sup>ok</sup> S2]

(66b) is unacceptable in S1 which involves a non *de te* attitude towards John, indicating that non-subject ’bound’ *ton idhio* must be interpreted *de te*.

Summing up, even though *ton idhio* can be claimed to be a logophor it is not a typical logophoric pronoun in two important respects. It is not embedded exclusively under attitude verbs and does not show orientation towards the source of an embedded proposition, unlike other logophors. It can nevertheless be classified as a logophor once the richer typology of logophoric elements in (58) is taken into consideration.

## 5. Concluding remarks

In the preceding sections I argued that non-subject, non-emphatic *ton idhio* can be licensed in one of two ways:

- (a) As a long-distance anaphor bound by a c-commanding antecedent (subject or object). Except for requiring a sentence-internal c-commanding antecedent, *ton idhio* qualifies as an anaphor with respect to not tolerating

split antecedents. At first sight, it seems to differ from anaphors in allowing strict readings in *do so* VP anaphora, but it turns out that this is a general property of anaphors not bound by co-arguments including English *himself*, Norwegian *seg* and Icelandic *sig*, i.e. regardless of whether they are bound by non-co-arguments short-distance (like *himself*), medium-distance (like *seg*) or long-distance (like *sig*).

- (b) As a logophor not requiring a sentence-internal antecedent or a c-commanding antecedent in written narrative discourse and belief contexts. Except for admitting the possibility of certain logophoric uses, *ton idhio* is necessarily interpreted *de se*, a typical logophoric property. Unlike other logophors, though, *ton idhio* need not be in the scope of an attitude operator and need not be subject oriented. We saw that these two properties can be accommodated if we resort to some further distinctions introduced in the literature on logophoricity, namely between (i) strict and non strict logophors (Schlenker 1999) and (ii) *de se* vs. *de te* vs. both *de se* and *de te* logophors (Schlenker 1999, Anand 2006). *Ton idhio* can then be characterized as a ‘non-strict, both *de se* and *de te*’ logophor.

This raises the question of how usage (a) of *ton idhio* (anaphoric) relates to usage (b) (logophoricity). One possibility might be to assume that an element can be classified as either a command long-distance anaphor or a logophor but not both. In such an approach, *ton idhio* must be classified as a logophor given the existence of examples like (59)–(61). Its ‘anaphoric’ uses must then be analyzed as instances of intra-sentential logophoricity. Alternatively, it can be proposed that an expression is an anaphor, which has the option of being licensed as a logophor in certain contexts. Reinhart & Reuland (1993) adopt this position for English *himself*. Choosing between the alternatives is the topic of a different paper.

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