

**De De Se**  
by  
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**Abstract**

In this dissertation, I argue against a unitary treatment of individual *de se* ascription. Based on consideration of Yoruba logophors and English dream-report pronouns, I show that one mechanism is best analyzed as binding by an operator, which is sensitive to binding locality requirements. In contrast, I argue that cases of indexical shift (whereby token-reflexive elements such as *I* and *tomorrow* may be dependent on the context of an attitude predicate), which do not show local binding effects, are instances of overwriting of elements of the sequence of evaluation. As pronouns that are not obligatorily read *de se* show neither of the conditions for shifted indexicals nor West-African logophors, I argue that *de se* readings of these items must arise as special cases of *de re* ascription. Cross-linguistic instances of anti-logophoricity (i.e., the obligatory non-*de se* ascription of pronouns in certain contexts) are correspondingly treated as environments imposing a non-*de se* demand on *de re* ascription. Finally, I demonstrate that binding and overwriting mechanisms may both be found within the territory of *de se* long-distance anaphora, based largely on a systematic split in interpretation amongst Mandarin speakers on licensing and interpretative constraints on long-distance *ziji*.

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