

Developing the suggestion in Den Dikken and Giannakidou (2002: 43) regarding the negative attitude of *wh-the-hell*, I advance a formal mechanism of the point of view anchoring of the attitudinal adverb *daodi* ‘the hell’ and the logophor *ziji* ‘self’ in Chinese. The *wh-the-hell* question in Chinese is formed by the Q-operator, *daodi*, and the *wh*-associate that form a successive c-command relation as in (1). Note that *daodi* and the *wh*-associate do not need to form a continuous constituent in Chinese, and both stay in situ in overt syntax:

- (1) Q_{wh} Zhangsan daodi xihuan shei ne?
 ZS the-hell like who Q
 ‘Who the hell does John like?’

Also, *daodi* can take matrix scope while staying in the embedded clause as in (2); however, this occurrence of *daodi* is restricted by the person feature of the matrix subject as in (3) – the matrix subject can only be of second person:

- (2) Ni renwei [Lisi daodi xihuan shei] ne?
 you think LS the-hell like who Q
 ‘Who the hell do you think LS like?’
 (3) *Zhangsan renwei [Lisi daodi xihuan shei] ne?
 ‘Who the hell does ZS think LS like?’

This person feature constraint reminds one of the blocking effects of the logophor *ziji* in Chinese in (4):

- (4) Zhangsan_i renwei [*wo/*ni/Lisi kanbuqi ziji_i]
 ZS think I/you/LS look-down-on self
 ‘Zhangsan thinks that *I/*you/LS looks down on him.’

Huang and Liu’s account of (4) is based on the pragmatic strategy of avoiding perspective conflicts. That is, the logophor *ziji* corresponds to *wo* ‘I’ anchored to the third person internal speaker *Zhangsan* in the direct discourse complement as in (5)/(6), while the first/second person pronoun *wo/ni* in the embedded clause in (4) is anchored to the external speaker of the whole utterance. This results in perspective conflict in the direct discourse complement in (6):

- (5) Zhangsan renwei, “Lisi kanbuqi wo.”
 ZS thinks, “Lisi looks down on me.”
 (6) #Zhangsan renwei, “wo/ni kanbuqi wo.”
 ZS thinks, “I/you look down on me.”

This pragmatic explanation fails to predict the ungrammaticality of (7) with the discourse representation complement (8). The underlying *wo* ‘I’ of *ziji* in (8) is anchored to the first person matrix subject, which denotes the external speaker of the whole utterance. This anchoring should not have any perspective conflict with the second person pronoun *ni* ‘you’, which is also anchored to the external speaker.

- (7) *Wo_i renwei [ni kanbuqi ziji_i]
 I think you look-down-on self
 ‘I think you look down on me.’

(8) Wo_i renwei, “ni kanbuqi wo”

I think, “you look down on me.”

I propose that at the periphery of each phase, there is a Point of View operator responsible for binding the Point of View variable within *daodi* and *ziji*. *Daodi* is unspecified for the value of [\pm discourse participant], while *ziji* is, according to Huang and Tang (1991), “doubly anaphoric” in lacking the values of [\pm discourse participant] and [\pm addresser]. The agreement between the Point of View operators of each phase can derive all the phenomena mentioned above.