Typology of anaphoric elements

1. Local reflexives
the same referent as the subject of the minimal clause (or NP)

Nominal reflexives

(1) English
   John, sees himself_i\*j

(2) Turkish (Altaic)
   Ahmet kendin-i çok beğen-iyor-muş
   Ahmet self-ACC very admire-PROGR-EV.PAST
   ‘Ahmet admires himself (*him)’

(3) Kannada (Dravidian)
   Hari tannannutaane hođe-d-a
   Hari self (*him) hit-PST-3SgM
   ‘Hari hit himself’

(4) Mandarin Chinese (Sino-Tibetan)
   Zhangsan kanjian ziji
   Zhangsan looks.RES self
   ‘Zhangsan has been looking at himself (*him)’

(5) Hungarian (Uralic)
   János megölte magót
   Janos kill.3SG.PST self.ACC
   ‘Janos killed himself (*him)’

(6) Arabic (Semitic)
   qatala ahmadun nafs-a-hu
   kill-PRF.3Sg Ahmad soul-ACC-his
   ‘Ahmad killed himself (*him)’

(7) Basque (isolate)
   Aita-k be-re buru-a hil d-u
   father-ERG he-GEN head-ABS kill 3.ABS.PRS-AUX.3ERG
   ‘Father killed himself (*him)’

Verbal reflexive

Adyghe (West Caucasian)

(8) a. rweslan ahmed ə-wəç’ə-ə
    Ruslan Ahmed 3SG-kill-PST
    ‘Ruslan killed Ahmed’

     b. rweslan (jež’)
    Ruslan self RFL-kill-RFC-PST
    ‘Ruslan killed himself’ (ə obligatory reflexive prefix; -ə optional suffix of reductive)
c. ruslan jež’ ə-wəq’-ə-κ
    ruslan self 3SG-kill-PST
* ‘ruslan killed himself’
ok ‘ruslan killed him’

2. Long-distance reflexives

NON-CLAUSE-BOUND, that is, they may have an antecedent outside the minimal clause containing them:

(9) Russian
Oni ne razreša-et mne, [provodi-t’ opyt-y nad sob-oj] he.nom not perm-it-prs.3sg 1.Dat perform-inf experiment-pl.nom on self-instr
‘He doesn’t permit me to perform experiments on myself // him’

(10) Chinese
Zhangsan renwei [Lisi haile ziji] Zhangsan think Lisi injure self
‘Zhangsan thinks that Lisi harmed him // himself’

(11) Italian
Gianni pensava [che quella casa appartenesse ancora alla propria famiglia] Gianni thought that that house belong still to self.poss family
‘Gianni thought that that house still belonged to his family’

Very often, LD-reflexives are morphologically simplex and coexist with strictly local reflexives that are complex, derived from LD-reflexives, e. g.:

(12) LD-reflexive Local reflexive
Russian sebja sam sebja
    self.acc self.nom self.acc
Chinese ziji ta-ziji
    self he-self
Norwegian seg seg selv
    he self
Dutch zich zich-zelf
    se se stesso
Italian se se stesso
    self-self
Japanese zibun zibun-zisin
    self-self
Korean caki caki-casin
    e-w e-w-da
(Bagwalal e-w e-w-da)
(East Caucasian)

3. Logophors

stand for an NP in the subordinate clause embedded under a mental, speech or perceptive matrix predicate and denote the same referent as the subject of the matrix clause, or the otherwise expressed source of the information (=the logocentric trigger):

(13) Efik (Niger-Congo, Africa)
    a. ámá étín étè kè ikódù dó
    3SG.AUX 3SG.say 3SG COMP LOG.MOD.be there
‘He said that he was there’
b. ámá étìŋ étè kè ókodù dó  
3SG.AUX 3SG.say 3SG COMP 3SG.MOD.be there
‘He, said that he was there’

(14) Japanese
Taroo wa Takasi kara [Yosiko ga zibun to nikunde
Taroo TOP Takasi from Yosiko NOM LOG ACC hating
iru to] kiita
be COMP heard
‘Taroo, heard from Takasi that Yosiko hated him,’

4. Lgs that seem to lack reflexive vs. pronominal contrast

- Historical forms of Low West Germanic languages that lost the Proto-
  Germanic reflexive pronoun *sik (Old and Middle Dutch, Old English, Old
  Frisian, Old Saxon):

(15) Old English:
  a. Swa hwa swa eadmedath hine…  
      whoever humbles him-ACC
      ‘Whoever humbles himself’
  b. Forðon ic me on hafu bord  
      henceforth I me on have shield
      ‘Henceforth I’ll have a shield upon myself’

- Many Australian languages:

(16) Gumbaynggir (Pama-Nyungan, Australia)
  gua:-du bu:rwang gula:-na maga-yu  
  he-ERG paint.PAST him-ACC red.paint-INSTR
  ‘He painted him/himself with red paint’

- Many languages of the Austronesian family:

(17) Fijian (Oceanic)
  Sa va’adodonuta’ini ‘ea o Mika  
  ASP correct he.OBJ ART Mike
  ‘Mike corrected him/himself’

- Many Pidgin and Creole languages:

(18) Haitian Creole (French-based)
  Emile dwe ede li  
  Emile should help him
  ‘Emile should help him/himself’

5. Rich systems of reflexives in the East Caucasian languages
Avar, Bagwalal — Avar-Andic group (Republic of Dagestan, Russian Federation)
Tsakhur — Lezgic group (Dagestan and Azerbaydjan)
Bezhta — Tsezic group (Dagestan)
5.1. Morphological types

1) Simplex reflexives (3rd person only)
reflexive root + Class/Number marker which agrees with the antecedent, in the direct stem
in most languages full case & number paradigm (no morphological deficiency)

(i) Avar (I-III are agreement classes: I masculine, II feminine, III nonhuman)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Sg</th>
<th>Pl</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nom</td>
<td>Ži-w (I), Ži-j (II), Ži-b (III)</td>
<td>Ž-al</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Erg</td>
<td>Žin-ča</td>
<td>Žide-ča</td>
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<tr>
<td>Dat</td>
<td>Žindi-je</td>
<td>Žide-je</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gen</td>
<td>Žindi-r</td>
<td>Žide-ča</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Loc 1</td>
<td>Žin-da</td>
<td>Žide-da</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Loc 2</td>
<td>Žindi-q</td>
<td>Žide-q</td>
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(ii) Bagwalal

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<tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nom</td>
<td>e-w (I)</td>
<td>e-ba (I-II) e-r (III)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oblique stem</td>
<td>in-šu-</td>
<td>in-diri-</td>
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(iii) Bezhta : no agreement class distinctions in reflexives

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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nom</td>
<td>Žu</td>
<td>honrol</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oblique stem</td>
<td>hini-</td>
<td>honlo-</td>
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</table>

2) Complex reflexives
Simplex or 1-2 person pronouns+ emphatic particle (Avar. -go, Bagv. -da); none in Bezhta and Tsakhur

3) Double reflexives
A pair consisting of 2 occurrences of a (complex) reflexive, the 1st element being in the case of the antecedent, the 2nd one in the case required in reflexive’s own position.

5.2. Types of behavior

1) Local — double or complex; *simplex

(19) Avar
a. ‘ali-ča (žin-ča-go) Ži-w-go λuq’-ana
   Ali-ERG (self-ERG-PRT) self.NOM-I-PRT wound-AOR
   ‘Ali wounded himself’

b. *‘ali-ča Ži-w λuq’-ana
   Ali-ERG self.NOM-I wound-AOR

c. was (Ži-w-go) Žindi-q-go balah-ana
   boy.NOM self.NOM.-I-PRT self-LOC-PRT look-AOR
   ‘The boy looked at himself’
d. *was žindi-q balah-ana
   boy.NOM self-LOC-PRT look-AOR

With transitive objects, very often, double reflexives only are possible:

(20) Bezhta
   a. hokco *(hini) žu iL’e-jo
      he.ERG self.ERG self.NOM kill-AOR
      ‘He killed himself’
   b. hokco-l (hini-l) žu c’ik’ali-? egā-jo
      he-DAT self-DAT self.NOM mirror-LOC see-AOR
      ‘He saw himself in a mirror’

2) Long-distance — complex reflexives and, sometimes, simplex

(21) Avar
   [ži-w-?(go)i,j w-uk’arab bak’] λazabi-č’o ‘ali-c:ai hes-da;j
   self-I(-PRT) M.SG-being place know-PST.NEG Ali-ERG he-LOC
   ‘Alii didn’t tell him about the place where hei was’

(22) Bagwalal
   jašu-la q’oča-mo ek’[a [ima-šu-r e-j(-da) wešiša]
   daughter-DAT want-PRS AUX father-ERG self-II(-PRT) praise.INF
   ‘Daughteri wants Father to praise heri’

3) Logophoric — simplex only; in non-subject-bound contexts like ‘X heard from Y that Z hated Y’ seem to be impossible.

(23) Avar
   inšu-ča wasas-da ab-una [PRO žindi-r-(go) keč’ c’al-e-jilan]
   father-i-ERG sonj-LOC say-AOR self-GEN(-PRT), poem recite-IMP-QU
   ‘Father, asked (his) sonj to recite hisij poem’

5) In some EC languages, simplex pronouns approach the unrestricted type.

Unrestricted pronouns neither require nor prohibit any antecedent defined in terms of structure.

Turkish kendisi [Enç 1989]
Tsakhur wuţ [Toldova 1999]
Bamana (Mande) a [Vydrin 1999]
Malay dirinya [Cole, Hermon 1998]

The unrestricted pronoun in Tsakhur: the local use of w-uţ (24), its noncoargument occurrence (25); it can be bound by a superordinate subject (26) or “bound” by an antecedent in a subordinate clause (27), it may also have no antecedent at all etc.

(24) rasulī ili’ak-ina ñu-qai,j nāXwär-ênče
    Rasul look-AOR self.LOC mirror-LOC
    ‘Rasul looked at himself/him in the mirror’

(25) gade-jk’le,Gawţ-ejn Xoče ñu-nii,j k’anē
    boy-AFF see-AOR snake self.OBL near
    ‘The boyi saw the snake near himi,j’
(26) [že-si,j,k kumagha’-as] eminan-tæ, jišj qort’ulna
self.II.OBL-DAT help-INF Eminat-ERG daughter call.AOR
‘Eminat, called (her) daughter to help her’

(27) [nä-qajë giř-i malhammad-ini pil] ʒu-k’lei,
where-ALL-QU put-AOR Muhammad-ATR money self-AFF
ac’a wod
know AUX.PRS
‘Where Muhammad’s money are left, he knows’

However, most informants find coargument uses with transitive verbs awkward or unacceptable:

(28) a. rasul-ê (w-uʒ-ê) w-uʒ horRulí
Rasul-ERG (I-self-ERG) I-self.NOM washed
‘Rasul washed himself’

b. *rasul (w-uʒ-ê) w-uʒ horRulí
Rasul.NOM (I-self-ERG) self.NOM washed

5.3. Word order permutations and reflexive pronouns

(29) Avar
a. ‘ali ži-w-go žin-ča-go λuq’-ana
‘Ali wounded himself’

b. ?ži-w-go žin-ča-go ‘ali λuq’-ana

(30) Bagwalal (semantic binding? “focus of empathy” in Ljutikova 2001)

a. inšu-r-da ima w-ešisi
self-ERG-PRT father.NOM I-praised
(Nobody else praised Father) Father praised himself

b. ima-šu-r e-w-da w-ešisi
father-OBL-ERG self-I-PRT I-praised
(Father praised nobody else) Father praised himself.

6. LD-only reflexives

LD-reflexives with a negative (pronominal-like) requirement: no local (subject, or c-commanding) antecedent.

Malayalam (Dravidian) taan [Mohanan 1982]
Dogrib (Athapaskan) ye- [Saxon 1984]
Modern Greek ton idion [Iatridou 1986]
Danish sig [Vikner 1985]

(31) Danish
a. Peteri hørte Anne omtale sig, Peter heard Anne mention self

b. *Peteri fortalte Michael om sig, Peter told Michael about self
(32) Modern Greek
O Yanis_i ipe ston Kosta_j [oti i Maria_k aghapa ton idhio_j /*k/*l]
the Yanis said to-the Kosta that the Maria loves himself
‘Yanis told Kosta that Maria loves him’

7. Long-distance Pronominals
Unlike usual local pronominals that must have disjoint reference with a local subject, long-distance pronominals are disjoint in reference also with superordinate subjects. In this respect they behave like R-expressions (full NPs) and demonstrative pronouns (in anaphoric uses).

Icelandic  
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Pronoun</th>
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Svan (South Caucasian)  
| Pronoun |
| eža     |

Tsakhur (East Caucasian)  
| Pronoun |
| mana    |

Yoruba (Kwa, Niger-Congo)  
| Pronoun |
| ó       |

(33) Icelandic
Pétur, baþ Jens um [að raka hann_k/*j/*i]
Peter, asked Jens to shave him_k/*j/*i

(34) Tsakhur
ajšat-ysi_yk:an-od [jičwčj ma-nGy-sj/*i gurt ališ:-es]
Ayshat-DAT want.PRT-AUX sister-ERG she-OBL.II-DAT dress buy-INF
‘Ayshati wants (her) sister to buy a dress for her_k/*j/*i’

(35) Yoruba [Pulleyblank 1990]:
   a. Şégun_i so pé Túndéj ró pé ók/*i/*j sanra
      Segun say that Tunde think that he fat
      ‘Segun said that Tunde thought that he was fat’
   b. Tolú so fún Şégun pé Dúpé ró pé ó sanra
      Tolu say to Segun that Dupe think that he was fat
      ‘Tolu said Segun that Dupe thought that he was fat’

(36) English
The flowers are too expensive for me to buy *these (OKthem)


