

## Typology of anaphoric elements

### 1. Local reflexives

the same referent as the subject of the minimal clause (or NP)

#### Nominal reflexives

##### (1) English

John<sub>i</sub> sees himself<sub>i/\*j</sub>

##### (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* hoḍe-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 aḥmadun *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. rwəslan ahmed ə-wəç'ə-ɸ  
Ruslan Ahmed 3SG-kill-PST  
'Ruslan killed Ahmed'

b. rwəslan (jež') zə-wəç'ə(-žə)-ɸ  
Ruslan self RFL-kill-RFC-PST

'Ruslan killed himself' (zə- obligatory reflexive prefix; -žə optional suffix of reflexive)

- c. *rwəslan jeʒ ə-wəç'ə-ɤ*  
 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

*On<sub>i</sub> ne razreša-et mne<sub>j</sub> [provodi-t' opyt-y nad sob-oi<sub>j</sub>]*  
 he.NOM not permit-PRS.3sg I.DAT perform-INF experiment-PL.NOM on self-INSTR

'He<sub>i</sub> doesn't permit me to perform experiments on myself // him<sub>i</sub>'

### (10) Chinese

*Zhangsan<sub>i</sub> renwei [Lisi<sub>j</sub> haile ziji<sub>i,j</sub>]*  
 Zhangsan think Lisi injure self

'Zhangsan<sub>i</sub> thinks that Lisi<sub>j</sub> harmed him<sub>i</sub> // himself<sub>j</sub>'

### (11) Italian

*Gianni<sub>i</sub> pensava [che quella casa appartenesse ancora alla propria<sub>i</sub> famiglia]*  
 Gianni thought that that house belong still to self.POSS family

'Gianni<sub>i</sub> thought that that house still belonged to his<sub>i</sub> family'

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

| (12)                         | <b>LD-reflexive</b>      | <b>Local reflexive</b>                |
|------------------------------|--------------------------|---------------------------------------|
| Russian                      | <i>sebja</i><br>self.ACC | <i>sam sebja</i><br>self.NOM self.ACC |
| Chinese                      | <i>ziji</i><br>self      | <i>ta-ziji</i><br>he-self             |
| Norwegian                    | <i>seg</i>               | <i>seg selv</i>                       |
| Dutch                        | <i>zich</i>              | <i>zich-zelf</i>                      |
| Italian                      | <i>se</i>                | <i>se stesso</i>                      |
| Japanese                     | <i>zibun</i>             | <i>zibun-zisin</i>                    |
| Korean                       | <i>caki</i>              | <i>caki-casin</i>                     |
| Bagwalal<br>(East Caucasian) | <i>e-w</i>               | <i>e-w-da</i>                         |

## 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 étíŋ étè kè ikódù dó*  
 3SG.AUX 3SG.say 3SG COMP LOG.MOD.be there

'He<sub>i</sub> said that he<sub>i</sub> was there'

b. *ámá*            *étíŋ*            *ètè*    *kè*            *ókodù*            *dó*  
           3SG.AUX    3SG.say    3SG    COMP    3SG.MOD.be    there  
 ‘He<sub>i</sub> said that *he*<sub>j</sub> 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<sub>i</sub> heard from Takasi<sub>j</sub> that Yosiko<sub>k</sub> hated *him*<sub>j</sub>’

#### 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** — Lezgific 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)

|              | Sg                              | Pl      |
|--------------|---------------------------------|---------|
| <b>Nom</b>   | ži-w (I), ži-j (II), ži-b (III) | ž-al    |
| <b>Erg</b>   | žin-čā                          | žide-čā |
| <b>Dat</b>   | žindi-je                        | žide-je |
| <b>Gen</b>   | žindi-r                         | žide-čā |
| <b>Loc 1</b> | žin-da                          | žide-da |
| <b>Loc 2</b> | žindi-q                         | žide-q  |

(ii) Bagwalal

|                     | Sg      |                     | Pl          |           |
|---------------------|---------|---------------------|-------------|-----------|
| <b>Nom</b>          | e-w (I) | e-j (II), e-b (III) | e-ba (I-II) | e-r (III) |
| <b>Oblique stem</b> | in-šū-  | in-ł:i-             | in-diri-    | in-du-    |

(iii) Bezhta : no agreement class distinctions in reflexives

|                     | Sg    | Pl     |
|---------------------|-------|--------|
| <b>Nom</b>          | žu    | honrol |
| <b>Oblique stem</b> | hini- | honlo- |

### 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-čā (žin-čā-go) ži-w-go λuq'-ana  
 Ali-ERG (self-ERG-PRT) self.NOM-I-PRT wound-AOR  
 'Ali wounded himself'
- b. \*'ali-čā 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-ʔ | 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-ʔ(go) <sub>i</sub> /* <sub>j</sub>                                     | w-uk'arab  | bak'ʔ] | lazabi-č'o   | 'ali-c:a <sub>i</sub> | hes-da <sub>j</sub> |
| self-I(-PRT)   | M.SG-being | place  | know-PST.NEG | Ali-ERG               | he-LOC              |
| 'Ali <sub>i</sub> didn't tell him about the place where he <sub>j</sub> was' |            |        |              |                       |                     |

(22) Bagwalal

|  |          |      |            |               |            |
|--|----------|------|------------|---------------|------------|
| jašu-la  | q'oča-mo | ek'a | [ima-šū-r  | e-j(-da)      | wešiša]    |
| daughter-DAT   | want-PRS | AUX  | father-ERG | self-II(-PRT) | praise.INF |
| 'Daughter <sub>i</sub> wants Father to praise her <sub>i</sub> ' |          |      |            |               |            |

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-čā  | wasas-da              | ab-una  | [PRO žindi-r-(go)                         | keč' | c'al-e-jilan] |
| father <sub>i</sub> -ERG   | son <sub>j</sub> -LOC | say-AOR | self-GEN <sub>i</sub> (-PRT) <sub>j</sub> | poem | recite-IMP-QU |
| 'Father <sub>i</sub> asked (his) son <sub>j</sub> to recite his <sub>i,j</sub> 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        | <i>kendisi</i> | [Enç 1989]          |
| Tsakhur        | <i>wuž</i>     | [Toldova 1999]      |
| Bamana (Mande) | <i>a</i>       | [Vydrin 1999]       |
| Malay          | <i>dirinya</i> | [Cole, Hermon 1998] |

The unrestricted pronoun in Tsakhur: the local use of *w-už* (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) | rasul <sub>i</sub>                          | il'aḱ-ina | žu-qa <sub>i,j</sub> | naX <sub>w</sub> ar-ēnče |
|      | Rasul                                       | look-AOR  | self.LOC             | mirror-LOC               |
|      | 'Rasul looked at himself/him in the mirror' |           |                      |                          |

|      |   |          |       |                      |       |
|------|---|----------|-------|----------------------|-------|
| (25) | gade-jk'le <sub>i</sub>                                       | Gawž-ejn | Xoče  | žu-ni <sub>i,j</sub> | k'anē |
|      | boy-AFF   | see-AOR  | snake | self.OBL             | near  |
|      | 'The boy <sub>i</sub> saw the snake near him <sub>i,j</sub> ' |          |       |                      |       |

- (26) [ʒe-s<sub>i,j,k</sub> kumagha'-as] eminat-ē<sub>i</sub> jiš<sub>j</sub> qort'ulna  
 self.II.OBL-DAT help-INF Eminat-ERG daughter call.AOR  
 'Eminat<sub>i</sub> called (her) daughter<sub>j</sub> to help her<sub>i,j,k</sub>'
- (27) [nĵā-qa-jē giġ-i malhammad-in<sub>i</sub> pĵl] žu-k'le<sub>i,j</sub>  
 where-ALL-QU put-AOR Muhammad-ATR money self-AFF  
 ac'a wod  
 know AUX.PRS  
 'Where Muhammad<sub>i</sub>'s money are left, he<sub>i,j</sub> knows'

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

- (28) a. rasul-ē ?(w-už-ē) w-už horRulī  
 Rasul-ERG (I-self-ERG) I-self.NOM washed  
 'Rasul washed himself'
- b. \*rasul (w-už-ē) w-už horRulī  
 Rasul.NOM (I-self-ERG) self.NOM washed

### 5.3. Word order permutations and reflexive pronouns

- (29) Avar  
 a. 'ali ži-w-go žin-ċa-go λuq'-ana  
 Ali.NOM self-I-PRT self-ERG-PRT wound-AOR  
 'Ali wounded himself'
- b. ?ži-w-go žin-ċa-go 'ali λuq'-ana
- (30) Bagwalal (semantic binding? "focus of empathy" in Ljutikova 2001)  
 a. inšū-r-da ima w-ešisi  
 self-ERG-PRT father.NOM I-praised  
 (Nobody else praised Father) Father praised himself
- b. ima-šū-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) | <i>taan</i>      | [Mohan 1982]    |
| Dogrib (Athapaskan)   | <i>ye-</i>       | [Saxon 1984]    |
| Modern Greek          | <i>ton idion</i> | [Iatridou 1986] |
| Danish                | <i>sig</i>       | [Vikner 1985]   |

- (31) Danish  
 a. Peter<sub>i</sub> herte Anne omtale sig<sub>i</sub>  
 Peter heard Anne mention self
- b. \*Peter<sub>i</sub> fortalte Michael om sig<sub>i</sub>  
 Peter told Michael about self

(32) Modern Greek

O Yanis<sub>i</sub> ipe ston Kosta<sub>j</sub> [oti i Maria<sub>k</sub>aghapa ton idhio<sub>i/j/\*k/\*l</sub>]  
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                 | <i>hann</i> |
| Svan (South Caucasian)    | <i>eža</i>  |
| Tsakhur (East Caucasian)  | <i>mana</i> |
| Yoruba (Kwa, Niger-Congo) | <i>ó</i>    |

(33) Icelandic

Pétur<sub>i</sub> bað Jens um [að raka *hann*<sub>k/\*j/\*i</sub>]  
Peter<sub>i</sub> asked Jens<sub>i</sub> to shave him<sub>k/\*j/\*i</sub>

(34) Tsakhur

ajšat-ys<sub>i</sub> yk:an-od [jič<sub>w</sub>ē<sub>j</sub> *ma-nGy-s*<sub>j/\*i</sub> gurt ališ:-es]  
Ayshat-DAT want.PRT-AUX sister-ERG she-OBL.II-DAT dress buy-INF  
'Ayshat<sub>i</sub> wants (her) sister<sub>j</sub> to buy a dress for her<sub>k/\*j/\*i</sub>'

(35) Yoruba [Pulleyblank 1990]:

- a. Šégun<sub>i</sub> so pé Túndé<sub>j</sub> rò pé ó<sub>k/\*i/\*j</sub> sanra  
Segun say that Tunde think that he fat  
'Segun<sub>i</sub> said that Tunde<sub>j</sub> thought that he<sub>k/\*i/\*j</sub> was fat'
- b. Tolú so fún Šégun pé Dúpé rò pé ó sanra  
Tolu<sub>i</sub> say to Segun<sub>j</sub> that Dupe<sub>k</sub> think that he<sub>\*i/j/\*k/l</sub> fat  
'Tolu said Segun that Dupe thought that he was fat'

(36) English

The flowers are too expensive for me to buy \*these (<sup>OK</sup>them)

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