



Of what person are long- distance reflexive pronouns?

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- To show that the reflexive shows symptoms of both third and first person
- To compare *sabi* with the first person singular pronoun *nu* which is also ambiguous
- To make them both meet in the same context and see what happens
- To propose that there are two ways of *sabi* licensing



Sabi: A bit of morphology

In the absolute case, *sabi* has a suffixal/infixal slot hosting gender agreement markers which directly reflect properties of the antecedent



Sabi: A bit of morphology

In the absolutive case, *sabi* has a suffixal/infixal slot hosting gender agreement markers which directly reflect properties of the antecedent

| | | |
|----------------|------------------|------------------|
| sa- j | sa- r(i) | sa- b(i) |
| self- M | self- F | self- N |
| | sa- r(i) | sa- b(i) |
| | self- NPL | self- HPL |



Sabi is third person (1)

- Reflexive (van den Berg 2001: 66)

Urši-ni sune-s džuz as-ib.

boy-ERG self-DAT book(ABS) buy-AOR(3)

'The boy bought himself a book.'



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Urši-ni sune-s džuz as-ib.

boy-ERG self-DAT book(ABS) buy-AOR(3)

'The boy bought himself a book.'

- Intensifier

Ili-ni sune-ni se-lra b-ur-ili ahen.

3-ERG self-ERG what-INDEF N-tell:PF-CONV COP:NEG

'He himself didn't say anything.'



Sabi is third person (1)

- In both functions, it is compatible with only third person antecedents, but never with local person

*Nu-ni sune-s džuz as-i-ra.
I-ERG self-DAT book(ABS) buy-AOR-1
intended: 'I bought myself a book.'



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intended: 'I bought myself a book.'

- Intensifier

*Hu-ni sune-ni se-lra b-ur-ili ahen-ri.
you.sg-ERG self-ERG what-INDEF N-tell:PF-CONV COP:NEG-2
intended: 'You yourself didn't say anything.'



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- *Sabi* is third person for the purposes of person agreement



Nu is first person singular

- By definition of first person: *nu* denotes the person who produces the utterance containing *nu*

Nab Dima b-ik'-ar.

I:DAT Dima(ABS) HPL-say:IPF-3

~ 'The person producing this utterance is called Dima.'



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Nab Dima b-ik'-ar.

I:DAT Dima(ABS) HPL-say:IPF-3

~ 'The person producing this utterance is called Dima.'

- Verbal agreement markers associated with *nu* is first person agreement

Nu-ni gurda čea-i-ra.

I-ERG fox(ABS) <N>see:PF-AOR-1

'I saw a fox.'



Nuša is first person plural

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- *nuša* denotes a group that includes the person who produces the utterance containing *nu*
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- Local personal pronouns also display person agreement parasitic on gender agreement

Gender agreement (controlled by the absolutive NP)

| | | | |
|-------|---------|-------------------------|------------------|
| HPL | b- / -b | rurs-bi b -ak'ib | 'the girls came' |
| NPL | d- / -r | gurd-ni d -ak'ib | 'foxes came' |
| 1/2PL | d- / -r | nuša d -ak'ira | 'we came' |



Finite complements under speech/thought verbs

Finite complements with the complementizer *///*
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predicates of speech and thought



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[Murul quli-w agara **ili**] burili sari ilini.
husband(ABS) home-IN be.NEG COMP told COP.F 3-ERG
'She said that her husband wasn't not home.'



Finite complements under speech/thought verbs

Two modes of person agreement in embedded reports



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Finite complements under speech/thought verbs

Two modes of person agreement in embedded reports

- (i) **Unshifted**: everything is like in independent clauses
- (ii) **Shifted**: person agreement is 'logophoric', only arguments co-valued with the reporter/attitude holder count as first person



Unshifted person agreement

- *Nu* triggers **first** person agreement

ʔali-s hanbik-ib [**nu**_{AS} usu-l-**ra** ili].

Ali-DAT seem-PST I(ABS) sleep-CONV-**1** COMP

'Ali thought that I was sleeping.'



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- *Sabi* triggers **third** person agreement

ʔali-s hanbik-ib [**saj**_{AH} q'an iub-li sa-j ili].

Ali-DAT seem-PST I(ABS) late became-CONV **COP-M(3)** COMP

'Ali thought that he got late.'



Shifted person agreement

'Logophoric' agreement: If an embedded argument is co-valued with the reporter/attitude holder, it triggers **first person** agreement. Otherwise, it counts as **third person**.



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- *Nu* ≠ Attitude holder triggers **third** person agreement

ʔali-s hanbik-ib [**nu**_{AS} us-uli sa-j ili].

Ali-DAT seem-PST I(ABS) sleep-CONV **COP-M(3)** COMP

'Ali thought that I was sleeping.'



Person agreement: summary

| | nu =Actual Speaker | sabi =Attitude Holder |
|---------------------|-----------------------|--------------------------|
| Unshifted agreement | 1 | 3 |
| Shifted agreement | 3 | 1 |



Shifted person agreement: Problem 1

Incomplete shift

Person agreement parasitic on gender visible in plural pronouns shows traces of original person specification



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- *Nuša* ≠ Attitude holder triggers third person agreement, but still shows first person agreement parasitic on gender

ʔali-s hanbik-ib [**nuša**_{AS} d-us-uli sa<r>i ili].
Ali-DAT seem-PST we(ABS) 1/2PL-sleep-CONV COP<1/2PL>(3)
COMP

'Ali thought that we were sleeping.'

Shifted person agreement: Problem 1

Incomplete shift: Person agreement parasitic on gender visible with plural pronouns shows traces of original person specification

- *Sabi* = Attitude holder triggers first person agreement (incl. parasitic person), but never has 1/2PL suffix

dañ-na-s hanbik-ib
child-PL-DAT seem-PST

[**sab**_{AH} q'an d-iub-ra ili]. ***sa-r**
self-HPL(ABS) late 1/2PL-became-CONV-1 COMP self-1/2PL

'The children thought that they got late.'



Shifted person agreement: Problem 1

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In mainstream generative grammar, (incomplete) person shift may be implemented employing standard assumptions about CP-level logophoric operators, Agree, feature sharing, locality (phases), and agreement feature geometry/hierarchy



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Predictions about possibilities of person agreement in embedded reports where the Actual Speaker (= *nu*) and the Attitude Holder (= *sabi*) co-occur and occupy structural positions available to person agreement



Mechanics of person agreement in Dargwa

Person agreement is with the **object**, if the latter is local (1/2 person)

| | 1P | 2P | 3P |
|----|---------------|---------------|-----------|
| 1A | -u- ra | -u- ri | -i-s |
| 2A | -u- ra | -u- ri | -i-d |
| 3A | -u- ra | -u- ri | -u |



Mechanics of person agreement in Dargwa

Otherwise (if the object is third person), person agreement is with the **local subject**

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Mechanics of person agreement in Dargwa

Thematic vowel reflects the direct/inverse distinction

I: the subject outranks the object on the person hierarchy 1, 2 > 3

U: otherwise

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Summarizing predictions

| | nuni _{AS} saj _{AH} | suneni _{AH} nu _{AS} |
|---------------------|--------------------------------------|---------------------------------------|
| Unshifted agreement | -i-s | -u-ra |
| Shifted agreement | -u-ra | -i-s |



Testing the predictions

rasullis hanbikib suneni^{AH} nu^{AS} ... ili

'Rasul thought that he would deceive me.'



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wirʔa^ʕwirg-**u-s** ?



Contribution to morphology

wirʔaʔwirg-**u-s**
deceive-S≤O-1Subj

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--> person agreement is not shifted, since
nu is **first person** (it controls subject agreement)
SELF is **third person** (it gives way to subject agr),
but **nu** ≤ SELF on the hierarchy 1, 2 > 3



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nu is **first person** (it controls subject agreement)
 SELF is **third person** (it gives way to subject agr),
 but **nu** ≤ SELF on the hierarchy 1, 2 > 3

--> Two types of 3rd person: 1, 2, **3'** > **3**



Summarizing data

| | nuni ^{AS} saj ^{AH} | suneni ^{AH} nu ^{AS} |
|----------------------------------|--------------------------------------|---------------------------------------|
| Unshifted agreement | -i-s | -u-ra |
| Shifted agreement | -u-ra | -i-s |
| 1SG shifts SELF doesn't | -u | -u |
| 1SG doesn't shift, SELF is 3' | -u-s | (-u-ra) |



Two modes of SELF licensing

SELF1: 3rd person irrespective of the context of evaluation



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SELF2: co-varies with the context of evaluation (just like first person pronouns)



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Anand (2006): Two ways of long-distance anaphoric binding

Context-overwriting: No intervening binder

Binding by operator: De Re blocking
No intervening binder



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SELF1: 3rd person irrespective of the context of evaluation --> binding by operator

SELF2: co-varies with the context of evaluation
(just like first person pronouns)
sabi is an indexical pronoun [attitude holder]
--> context-overwriting monster

NU: co-varies with the context of evaluation
nu is an indexical pronoun [actual speaker]
--> context-overwriting monster



Conclusions

There are two modes of SELF licensing

- Variable bound by an operator --> always 3rd person *sabi*
 - Indexical pronoun *sabi* [attitude holder] subject to context-overwriting
- +
- Indexical pronoun *nu* [actual speaker] subject to context-overwriting



Conclusions

| | nuni _{AS} saj _{AH} | suneni _{AH} nu _{AS} |
|---------------------|--------------------------------------|---------------------------------------|
| Unshifted agreement | -i-s (NU+SELF1) | -u-ra (NU+SELF1) |
| Shifted agreement | -u-ra (NU+SELF2) | -i-s (NU+SELF2) |
| Shifted agreement | -u (NU+SELF1) | -u (NU+SELF1) |
| Unshifted agreement | -u-s (NU+SELF2) | (-u-ra) (NU+SELF2) |



Thank you!