REFLEXIVE PRONOUNS IN TANTI

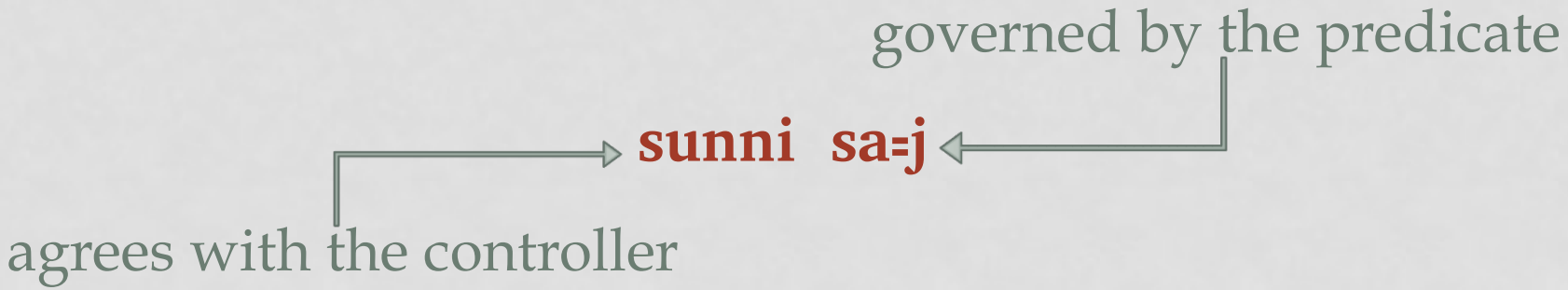
REFLEXIVE PRONOUNS: INVENTORY

- Simple reflexive

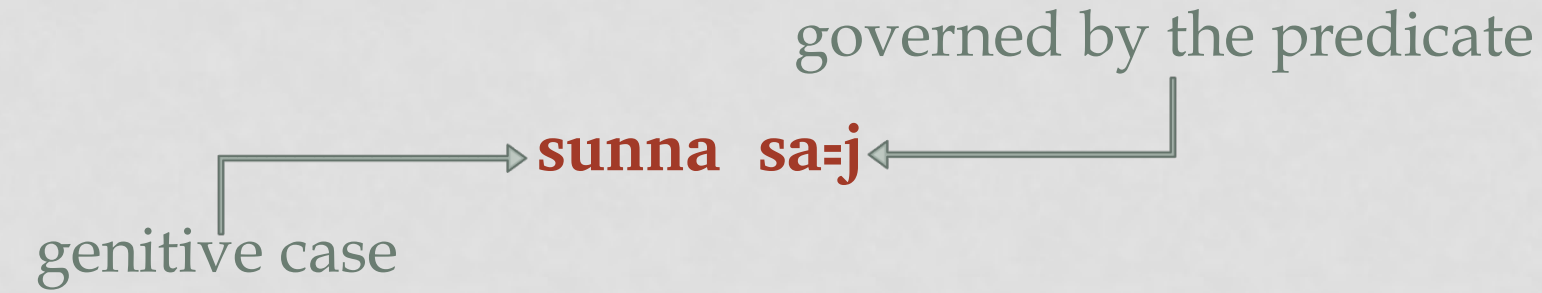
Case	Sg	Pl
ABS	sa=j	sa<b>i
ERG	sun-ni	ču-li
GEN	sun-na	ču-la
DAT	sun-ni-ž	ču-ž
COMIT	sun-ni-c:ele	ču-c:ele
SUPER	sun-ni-ja	ču-ja

REFLEXIVE PRONOUNS: INVENTORY

- Complex reflexive



- Complex intensifyer



BASIC FUNCTIONS

- Complex reflexive pronoun:
  - local reflexive only

musa **sun-ni-ž** **sa=j** raʕħimc'al-li-cːe=w

Musa self-OBL-DAT self=M mirror-li-cːe=w

če-w=až-ib

ON-M=see:PF-PRET

'Musa saw himself in the mirror.'

BASIC FUNCTIONS

- Complex intensifier:
  - intensifier only

musa	**sun-na**	**sa=j**	ag-ur	šahar-li-cːe
Musa	self-GEN	self=M	go:PR-PRET	town-OBL-INTER

‘Musa went to the town himself (alone).’

BASIC FUNCTIONS

- Simple reflexive pronoun:
  - reflexive/anaphoric pronoun
  - logophoric pronoun
  - intensifier
  - resumptive pronoun (in relative clauses)

BASIC FUNCTIONS

- Reflexive/anaphoric pronoun
  - Local reflexive:

hi.t	**sun-na**	quli	ag-ur
that$_i$	self-GEN	house:LOC	go:PF-PRET

'He$_i$ went to his$_{i,j}$ home.'

BASIC FUNCTIONS

- Anaphoric pronoun:

[[**hi.l** ʕaˤ-q’-ri-li-ja šak-iχ-ub-le,]

this NEG-go:IPF-MSD-OBL-SUPER <guess> LS-(M)LV:PF-PRET-CONV

[**sa=j** w=irʕeˤ-w=iq-ri b=aχ-ur-le,]

self=M <deceive> M=LS-M=LV:PF-MSD N=know:PF-PRET-CONV

malla nasrat:in-ni q’adi-c:e

Mullah Nasreddin-ERG qadi-INTER(LAT)

x:ar-b=aʁ-i-le = sa=j] […]

<ask> LS-N=LV:PF-PRET-CONV = COP=M

‘He guessed that that man would not come, he understood that he had been deceived and asked the qadi […]’

BASIC FUNCTIONS

- Logophoric pronoun

[**sun-ni** dam waˀ-se ʕaˀ-b=irq'-i-d] w=ič'-u **hi.t**
self-ERG I:DAT bad-ATR NEG-N=do:IPF-TH-1 M=say:IPF-TH that
'He$_i$ said that he$_i$ would not do any harm to me.'

BASIC FUNCTIONS

- Intensifier

hi.t-i-li **sun-ni** b=arq'-ib hi.t

that-OBL-ERG self-ERG N=do:PF-PRET that

'He did that himself (without any hints).'

- Resumptive pronoun

sun-na ħela=b durħ-ne b=umʔ-uˁ-se **anq**

self-GEN behind=HPL boy-PL HPL=play-PRS-ATR garden

'the garden (such that) the children were playing behind it.'

REFLEXIVE PRONOUNS WITHIN THE CLAUSE

COMPLEX REFLEXIVE

- Complex reflexive pronouns are strictly local.
- Core arguments control non-core arguments.
- In the transitive and affective constructions, the core arguments are symmetrical with respect to the reflexive control: they control each other.

CORE ARGUMENTS OF A TRANSITIVE CLAUSE: SYMMETRY

a. **ruslan-ni** arslan-ni-ž **sun-ni** **sa=j**
Ruslan-ERG Arslan-OBL-DAT self-ERG self=M
surrat-li-cːe=w če-w=až-aq-ib
picture-OBL-IN=M ON-M=see:PF-CAUS-PRET

b. **ruslan** arslan-ni-ž **sun-ni** **sa=j**
Ruslan Arslan-OBL-DAT self-ERG self=M
surrat-li-cːe=w če-w=až-aq-ib
picture-OBL-IN=M ON-M=see:PF-CAUS-PRET

(a = b) 'Ruslan showed himself to Arslan on the photo.'

NO CONTROL FROM THE NON-CORE ARGUMENTS

c. *ruslan-ni **arslan-ni-ž** **sun-ni-ž** **sa=j**
Ruslan-ERG Arslan-OBL-DAT self-OBL-DAT self=M
surrat-li-c:e=w če-w=až-aq-ib
picture-OBL-IN=M ON-M=see:PF-CAUS-PRET
(intended translation:) ‘Ruslan$_i$ showed Arslan$_j$ to himself$_j$ on the photo.’

AFFECTIVE CONSTRUCTION

a. **musa-ž** **sun-ni-ž** **sa=j** w=ič:-aq-u
Musa-DAT self-OBL-DAT self=M M=want-CAUS-PRS

b. **musa** **sun-ni-ž** **sa=j** w=ič:-aq-u
Musa self-OBL-DAT self=M M=want-CAUS-PRS

(a = b) ‘Musa (only) loves himself.’

INTRANSITIVE PREDICATION:

a. **musa-li** χabar=ak:̥ar-le **sun-ni** **sun-ni-ž**
Musa-ERG story=NEG-CONV self-ERG self-OBL-DAT
daʕqi b=arq'-ib
wound N=do:PF-PRET
'Musa accidentally wounded himself.'

b. ***musa-ž** χabar=ak:̥ar-le **sun-ni** **sun-ni-ž**
Musa-DAT story=NEG-CONV self-ERG self-OBL-DAT
daʕqi b=arq'-ib
wound N=do:PF-PRET
(intended translation:) 'Musa accidentally wounded himself.'

INTRANSITIVE PREDICATION

a. **murad** **sun-ni-cːe** **sa=j**
Murad self-OBL-INTER self=M
“ʕuˁ maladec = de” w=ik’-u-le = sa=j
you good.boy = 2SG M=say:IPF-PRS-CONV = COP=M
‘Murad says to himself: «You are great!»’

b. ***murad-li-cːe** **sun-ni-cːe** **sa=j**
Murad-OBL-INTER self-OBL-INTER self=M
“ʕuˁ maladec = de” w=ik’-u-le = sa=j
you good.boy = 2SG M=say:IPF-PRS-CONV = COP=M
(intended translation: the same)

COMPLEX REFLEXIVES: SYNTACTIC RESTRICTIONS

- Core arguments (A, P, S) control non-core arguments and each other
- Non-core arguments do not control core arguments

SIMPLE REFLEXIVES IN A TRANSITIVE CLAUSE

- No obvious restrictions: even the core arguments can be controlled by other NPs and by each other.

a. **ruslan-ni$_i$** arslan-ni-ž$_j$ **sa=j$_i$**
Ruslan-ERG Arslan-OBL-DAT self=M
surrat-li-c:e=w če-w=až-aq-ib
picture-OBL-INTER=M ON-M=see:PF-CAUS-PRET

b. **ruslan$_i$** arslan-ni-ž$_j$ **sun-ni$_i$**
Ruslan Arslan-OBL-DAT self:OBL-ERG
surrat-li-c:e=w če-w=až-aq-ib
picture-OBL-INTER=M ON-M=see:PF-CAUS-PRET
'Ruslan showed himself to Arslan on the photo.'

SIMPLE REFLEXIVES IN A TRANSITIVE CLAUSE

- No obvious restrictions: even the core arguments can be controlled by other NPs and by each other.

a. **ruslan-ni$_i$** arslan-ni-ž$_j$ **sa=j$_{i,j}$**
Ruslan-ERG Arslan-OBL-DAT self=M
surrat-li-c:e=w če-w=až-aq-ib
picture-OBL-INTER=M ON-M=see:PF-CAUS-PRET
'Ruslan showed himself to Arslan/Arslan to himself on the photo.'

b. **ruslan$_i$** arslan-ni-ž$_j$ **sun-ni$_i$**
Ruslan Arslan-OBL-DAT self:OBL-ERG
surrat-li-c:e=w če-w=až-aq-ib
picture-OBL-INTER=M ON-M=see:PF-CAUS-PRET
'Ruslan showed himself to Arslan on the photo.'

SIMPLE REFLEXIVES IN AN INTRANSITIVE CLAUSE

- In an intransitive predication, the absolutive argument can be controlling any other argument, but it cannot be cross-referenced by another NP within the same predication:

a. **pat'imat** umra-c:ele **sun-ni-ja-r-ha**
Patimat neighbour-COMIT self-OBL-SUPER-EL-UP
iχtilat-r=ik'-u-le = sa=r
<speak> LS-F=LV:IPF-PRS-CONV = COP=F
(possible meaning:) 'Patimat is speaking with the neighbour about herself.'

b. (*)**pat'imat-li-ja-r-ha** umra-c:ele **sa<r>i**
Patimat-OBL-SUPER-EL-UP neighbour-COMIT self<F>
iχtilat-rik'ule = sa=r
<speak> LS-F=LV:IPF-PRS-CONV = COP=F
(impossible meaning:) 'Patimat is speaking with the neighbour about herself.'

SIMPLE REFLEXIVES IN AN INTRANSITIVE CLAUSE

a. **murad$_i$** **sun-ni-ja$_i$** raʕħimc'al-li-cːe
Murad self-OBL-SUPER mirror-OBL-INTER
ʕeʕr-urk'-u-le = sa=j
<look> LS-(M)LV:IPF-PRS-CONV-COP=M
'Murad is watching himself in the mirror.'

b. (*)**murad-li-ja$_i$** **sa=j$_i$** raʕħimc'al-li-cːe
Murad-OBL-SUPER self=M mirror-OBL-INTER
ʕeʕr-urk'-u-le = sa=j
<look> LS-(M)LV:IPF-PRS-CONV-COP=M
(impossible translation: 'Murad is watching himself in the mirror.')

SYNTACTIC RESTRICTIONS

- The only attested restriction:
- The absolutive argument of an intransitive verb cannot be controlled by another NP of the same clause

SIMPLE REFLEXIVE PRONOUNS

FREQUENT TEXT FUNCTIONS

FUNCTIONING IN THE TEXTS

- Oral texts in Tanti published in [Sumbatova & Lander 2014]
- Total volume: app. 400 sentences
- 37 reflexives

FUNCTIONING IN THE TEXTS

Local reflexive	11
Distant reflexive	10
“Long distance” pronoun	12

LOCAL REFLEXIVE

- From a core argument to a genitive possessor: 7 cases

he.l.tːu-r-se.le b=ač’-ib-le, **hi.l** **halmaʁ=ra**

here-EL-UP HPL=come:PF-PRET-CONV this bridegroom=ADD

sun-ni-la sːakːa-se xːunul=ra […] hi.l-tːi

self-OBL-GEN new-ATR wife=ADD this-PL

aždah-un-a-lla čːakː̥a-se k’aˤlʕ-n-aˤ-ħaˤ-ke.le

dragon-PL-OBL.PL-GEN beautiful-ATR palace-PL-OBL.PL-IN-DOWN

ka-b=iž-ib-le=sa<b>i

DOWN-HPL=sit:PF-PRET-CONV=COP<HPL>

Having come there, the bridegroom and his new wife settled down in the beautiful dragon’s palace.’

LOCAL REFLEXIVE

- From a core argument to a genitive possessor: 7 cases

walah – w=ik'-u-l=da, dam ʕaˤ-b=alχ-a-d,

wallahi M=say:IPF-PRS-CONV=1 I:DAT NEG-N=know:IPF-TH-1

[**ču-la** b=uħna=b **li<b>il** **buk'n-e**

self.PL-GEN HPL=inside=HPL all<HPL> shepherd-PL

qːuzʁaldi-ha-b=iχ-ub-le=de]

<worry> LS-N=LV:PF-PRET-CONV=PST

«Wallahi, – said I, – I don't know, all the shepherds have been quarrelled».

LOCAL REFLEXIVE

- Right-dislocated coordinate NP

he.l-tːiaždah-un-a-cːe b=ik’-u-le=sa<b>i

this-PLdragon-PL-OBL.PL-INTER N=sayːIPF-PRS-CONV=COP<N>

kːurtːa: «ħaˤna, – b=ik’-u-le=sa<b>i

fox now N=sayːIPF-PRS-CONV=COP<N>

talqan le-w=q’-un-ne te=w,

padishah HITHER-M=goːIPF-PRS-CONV EXST=M

[sun-ni-la χːˤala-se ʕaˤskar=ra sa=j=ra]

self-OBL-GEN big-ATR army=ADD self=M=ADD

The fox says to the dragons: «Now, – it says, – the padishah is coming here with his great army».

LOCAL REFLEXIVE

- Right-dislocated coordinate NP

hi.χ.tːu=d kurt'-d=ik'-u-le

there=NPL(ESS) <swim> LS-NPL=LV:IPF-PRS-CONV

baˁt' **[čːib-ne=ra** **saː=b=ra]**

duck duckling-PL=ADD self=N=ADD

'There is a duck with the ducklings swimming there.'

DISTANT REFLEXIVE

- The controller is a preposed converbal clause, the reflexive pronoun is in a clause on the right of it: 8 cases

[hat'i č'u-jna-lla [meq sa-b=aʁ-ib-se = zamana,]

then two-MULT-GEN wedding HITHER-N=reach:PF-PRET-ATR = time

[ag-ur-le = sa < b > i **hi.l-tːi** čːakːˌa-le

go:PF-PRET-CONV = COP < HPL > this-PL beautiful-ADV

urči-li-ja=b], [če-kaχ-ur-le **Ø$_{ERG}$** paˁrtaˁl],

horse-OBL-SUPER=HPL(ESS) ON-DOWN + put.on:PF-PRET-CONV clothes

sa < b > i ag-ur-le = sa=b talqan-ni-šːu]

self < HPL > go:PF-PRET-CONV = COP=HPL padishah-OBL-AD(LAT)

'Then, when the time for the wedding came, they put on beautiful clothes and rode for the second time to the padishah.'

DISTANT REFLEXIVE

[[**hi.l** ʕaˤ-q’-ri-li-ja šak-iχ-ub-le,]

this NEG-go:IPF-MSD-OBL-SUPER <guess> LS-(M)LV:PF-PRET-CONV

[**sa=j** w=irʕeˤ-w=iq-ri b=aχ-ur-le,]

self=M <deceive> M=LS-M=LV:PF-MSD N=know:PF-PRET-CONV

malla nasrat:in-ni q’adi-c:e

Mullah Nasreddin-ERG qadi-INTER(LAT)

x:ar-b=aʁ-i-le = sa=j] […]

<ask> LS-N=LV:PF-PRET-CONV = COP=M

‘He guessed that that man would not come, he understood that he had been deceived and asked the qadi […]’

ANAPHORIC PRONOUN

- The antecedent is an important object of the discourse (focus of empathy?)
- In a previous sentence it is presented by a phonetically non-zero NP (normally, a core argument)
- In some further predications it can be presented by several coreferential zero NPs
- After that, there is a piece of text where this antecedent is totally absent
- When returning to this antecedent, the speaker encodes it by the simple reflexive

malla **nasrat:in-ni** šit'-ʕaˤq-ib-le
Mullah Nasreddin-ERG <sound> LS-NEG+LV:PF-PRET-CONV
Ø w=it'-ač'-ib-le **Ø** b=aˤq-ib-le
<make.effort> M=LS-LV:PF-PRET-CONV N=hit:PF-PRET-CONV
q'adi-la kˌaˤnt'aˤ, **Ø** w=ik'-u-le=sa=j:
qadi-GEN nape M=say:IPF-PRS-ADV=COP=M
hi.t-i-li q:-ib-se ʕaˤp:aˤsi dam
that-OBL-ERG carry:PF-PRET-ATR abbas I:dat
ʕaˤč:-ib-le, ʕaˤt b=at-e, –
NEG+give:PF-PRET-CONV you:DAT N=leave:PF-IMP
Ø w=ik'-u-le=sa=j
M=say:IPF-PRS-CONV=COP=M
sa=j quli ag-ur-s:a=j
self=M house:LOC(LAT) go:PF-PRET-ATR+COP=M
Silently, Mullah Nasreddin forcefully hit the qadi on his nape and said: "Don't give me the abbas that he will bring, leave it to yourself." And (then) he went home.

χː̥alaba r=ibšː-ib=qːalle,
grandmother F=run.away:PF-PRET=when
χː̥ala.tːatːi=ra urk'-uq-un-ne:
grandfather=ADD <shiver>LS-(M)LV:PF-PRET-CONV
waʕħ, se-li r=ibšː-ib-le=wara hi.t?
wah what-ERG F=run.away:PF-PRET-CONV=RQ that
se-k'al b=it'aʕrg-ur-le b=iχ̥-an-da-le,
what-INDEF N=THITHER+NEG+go:PF-PRET-CONV N=become:PF-TH-PST-COND
hi.t ʕaʕ-r=ibšː-ini=q'ale ible
that NEG-F=run.away:IPF-HAB=ACTL CIT
Ø b=arx-b=at-ur-le žuž=ra, **sa=j**=ra
<leave>N=LS-N=LV:PF-PRET-CONV book=ADD self=M=ADD
hi.l-i-hi-tːi **sa=j**=ra w=ibšː-ib-le=sa=j
that-OBL-POST-TRANS self=M=ADD M=run.away:PF-PRET-CONV=COP=M
When the grandmother ran away, the grandfather shivered too: "Wah, why did she run away? If nothing had happened, she would not run away." He left his book and ran away after her.

ANAPHORIC PRONOUN

- The pronoun is very close to its antecedent, but it is a non-core argument (dative):

baˤz-le-ħe=w **buk'un** χe=w.
enclosure-OBL-IN=M(ESS) shepherd EXST=M
[**sun-ni-ž** duče w=aˤq'̥-iž zamana
self-OBL-DAT herd(LAT) M=go:IPF-INF time
ʕaˤ-d=ič-ib-se=j]
NEG-NPL=fall:PF-PRET-ATR=PQ
[duče ʕaˤ-d=ik-u-se=j] ʕaˤ-b=alχ-a-d…
herd(LAT) NEG-NPL=fall:IPF-TH-ATR=PQ NEG-N=know:IPF-TH-1

'There is a shepherd in the enclosure. I don't know– probably it is not time for him to go herding, or they do not go to the pasture…'

MOST FREQUENT FUNCTIONS OF THE SIMPLE REFLEXIVE

- Local reflexive: coreference of a core argument and a possessive genitive
- Distant reflexive: coreference of two core arguments in a chain: in a preposed converbal clause and in a clause following it
- Anaphoric pronoun: coreference of a NP to the focus of empathy that was temporarily absent in the discourse