# Chapter 10

# The self-pronoun in Mehweb

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This study deals with the phenomenon of the pronominal multifunctionality in Mehweb. The pronominal stem glossed as 'self' has four functions (reflexive, logophoric, intensifier, and resumptive) which are described in some detail.

*Keywords*: logophoricity, reflexivization, long-distance reflexives

## 1 Introduction

In many typologically distinct languages, a formal relationship between reflexive pronouns, logophoric pronouns and intensifiers is attested (see König et al. 2013). In Mehweb these functions are fulfilled by the pronominal stem *sa‹CL›i*, 'self', which can also be used as a resumptive.

In this paper I will describe the formal and functional aspects of the pronoun *sa‹CL›i*, starting with a description of the structure of the relevant forms in §2. In §3 I will discuss their reflexive and logophoric usages, followed by a description of free logophors in §4. §5 is dedicated to the usage of *sa‹CL›i* as an intensifier and in §6 some examples of the resumptive function will be discussed.

## 2 Morphology

The pronoun *sa‹CL›i* can appear in the form of what I refer to as a "bare pronoun", consisting of a pronominal stem inflected for number and case. A "complex pronoun" can be formed by adding the suffix *-al* to the bare pronoun. Both forms are described below.

## 2.1 Bare stem

Mehweb employs the bare pronoun to refer to the antecedents in the long-distance domain (see §3.3) and possessive domain (see §3.2). The pronoun *sa‹CL›i* agrees in number, person and gender with the antecedent and can attach case suffixes (see Table 1).

Table 1: The paradigm of the bare pronoun

| number | gender[1] | NOM | ERG | DAT | GEN | INTER-LAT | COMIT |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | M | *sa‹w›i* | | | | | |
| SG | F | *sa‹r›i* | *sune-jni* | *sune-s* | *sune-la* | *sune-ze* | *sune-ču* |
| | N | *sa‹b›i* | | | | | |
| PL | HPL | *sa‹b›i* | *ču-ni* | *ču-s* | *ču-la* | *ču-ze* | *ču-ču* |
| | NPL | *sa‹r›i* | | | | | |

The bare pronoun has three suppletive allomorphs. The first, *sa‹CL›i*, is the nominative stem, which is the same in the singular and in the plural and carries a gender marker infix, agreeing with the antecedent of the pronoun. The second, *sune-*, is the oblique stem of the third person singular and can attach case suffixes. The third, *ču-*, is the oblique stem of the third person plural and can attach case suffixes.

## 2.2 Complex pronouns

The stem *sa‹CL›i* may attach the particle *-al*. The particle functions as emphatic when attached to nominal stems and demonstratives[2]:

(1)  *it   dursi-li-če=l*                *ħule  w-iz-ur.*
     this  girl-OBL-SUPER(LAT)=EMPH  look   M-LV:PFV-AOR
     'He looked only at this girl.'

(2)  *urši iti-če=l*                *ħule  w-iz-ur.*
     boy  this-SUPER(LAT)=EMPH  look   M-LV:PFV-AOR
     'The boy$_i$ looked only at him$_y$/her$_y$.'

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[1]In Table 1 the genders are given as abbreviations as follows: M – masculine, F – feminine, N – neutral (i.e. all inanimate and animate non-human entities), HPL – human plural entities, NPL – non-human plural entities.

[2]Suffix *-al* also marks cardinal numerals (Magometov 1982: 58).

A partial paradigm of the complex pronoun is given in Table 2. For the sake of comparison, inflected forms of the first and second person pronouns are also presented.

Table 2: The paradigm of the complex pronoun

| number | person | gender | NOM | ERG | DAT | GEN | INTER-LAT | COMIT |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| SG | 1 | – | *nu-wal* | *nu-ni-jal* | *nab-al* | *di-la-l* | *di-ze-l* | *di-ču-wal* |
| | 2 | – | *ħu-wal* | *ħu-ni-jal* | *ħ* | *ħu-la-l* | *ħu-ze-l* | *ħu-ču-wal* |
| | 3 | M | *sa‹w›i-jal* | *sune-jni-jal* | *sune-s-al* | *sune-la-l* | *sune-ze-l* | *sune-ču-wal* |
| | | F | *sa‹r›i-jal* | | | | | |
| | | N | *sa‹b›i-jal* | | | | | |
| PL | 1 | – | *nuša-l* | *nuša-jni-jal* | *nušab-al* | *nuša-la-l* | *nuša-ze-l* | *nuša-ču-wal* |
| | 2 | – | *ħuša-l* | *ħuša-jni-jal* | *ħušad-al* | *ħuša-la-l* | *ħuša-ze-l* | *ħuša-ču-wal* |
| | 3 | HPL | *sa‹b›i-jal* | *ču-ni-jal* | *ču-s-al* | *ču-la-l* | *ču-ze-l* | *ču-ču-wal* |
| | | NPL | *sa‹r›i-jal* | | | | | |

The suffix *-al* is preceded by an epenthetic consonant or deletion of the vowel in the suffix. If the last vowel of the stem is *-u-*, the epenthetic consonant is *-w-* (e.g. *nuwal*). If the last vowel of the stem is *-i-*, the epenthetic consonant is *-j-* (e.g. *sawijal*). If *-al* follows *-e-* or *-a-* then the vowel in the suffix is dropped (e.g. *ħušal* and *sunezel*). In the dative case, *-al* is simply attached to the case suffix. The distribution of these forms is discussed in the following sections.

## 3 Logophoric and reflexive contexts

In this section, I will discuss the reflexive and logophoric functions of the pronominal stem.

Reflexives are typically used to show the coreference of the non-subject argument of the clause to another clause-mate argument (König et al. 2013). Testelets & Toldova (1998) argue that reflexives may be bound by a higher syntactic priority position (i.e. subject) which occurs in the same sentence. Logophoric pronouns are used to indicate "coreferenciality or conjoint reference with the argument of a higher predicate of communication or mental experience" (Sells 1987).

## 3.1 Local domain

The reflexive is bound within the local domain if it occurs within the same clause as its antecedent. Mehweb demonstrates no constraints on the syntactic position a reflexive can take in the clause. It can occupy the position of P as in (3) and (6), the indirect object position as in (4), or it can fulfill the role of adjunct (5). The antecedent, however, has to be the subject (cf. infelicitous (7)). This means it requires ergative marking with a transitive predicate, nominative for intransitive, and dative, inter-lative or inter-elative for experiential predicates (cf. examples (3), (4) and (6)). Within the local domain, the form of the pronoun is constrained: a bare pronoun with an antecedent in the local domain is considered ungrammatical and can only be interpreted as having logophoric meaning (compare (3) and (8)).

(3)  *rasuj-ni         sa‹w›i-jal      w-it-ib.*
     Rasul. OBL-ERG  ‹M›self-EMPH  M-beat:PFV-AOR

     'Rasul$_i$ beat himself$_i$.'

(4)  *rasul  sune-če-l                    ħule  w-iz-ur.*
     Rasul  self.OBL-SUPER(LAT)-EMPH  look  M-LV:PFV-AOR

     'Rasul$_i$ looked at himself$_i$.'

(5)  *rasul  sune-če-w-al               duč'i-rq'-uwe            le-w.*
     Rasul  self.OBL-SUPER-M(ESS)-EMPH  laugh-LV:IPFV-CVB.IPFV  AUX-M

     'Rasul$_i$ laughed at himself$_i$.'

(6)  *rasuj-ze                   sa‹w›i-jal      da ˤнmic'aj-ħe-w  gu-b.*
     Rasul.OBL-INTER(LAT)  ‹M›self-EMPH  mirror-IN-M(ESS)  see:PFV-AOR

     'Rasul$_i$ saw himself$_i$ in the mirror.'

(7)  a.  *\*sune-jni-jal         rasul  w-it-ib.*
         self.OBL-ERG-EMPH  Rasul  M-beat:PFV-AOR

         'Rasul$_i$ beat himself$_i$.' (lit. 'Himself$_i$ beat Rasul$_i$.')

     b.  *\*sune-ze-l            rasul            gu-b.*
         self.OBL-INTER(LAT)  Rasul.OBL-ERG  see:PFV-AOR

         'Rasul saw himself.' (lit. 'Himself$_i$ saw Rasul$_i$.')

(8)  *\*rasuj-ni        sa‹w›i      w-it-ib.*
     Rasul.OBL-ERG  ‹M›self  ‹M›-beat:PFV-AOR

     'Rasul$_i$ beat himself$_i$.'

Because Mehweb is a pro-drop language, the reflexive can get a zero-antecedent, which is obligatorily in the subject position, as in (9).

(9)    a.   *it-ini*      *sune-s-al*        *jaʕbu*   *as-ib.*
           that-ERG   self.OBL-DAT-EMPH   horse   take:PFV-AOR

       b.   *sune-s-al*          *jaʕbu*   *as-ib.*
           self.OBL-DAT-EMPH   horse   take:PFV-AOR

           '(He$_i$) bought himself$_i$ a horse.'

The reflexive pronoun can be bound by a quantified NP.

(10)   *har-il*     *urši-li-ni*     *sune-s-al*        *jaʕbu*   *as-ib.*
       each-ATR   boy-OBL-ERG   self.OBL-DAT-EMPH   horse   take:PFV-AOR

       'Each boy$_i$ bought himself$_i$ a horse.'

Subordinate clauses work the same way. In a subordinate clause, the bare pronoun cannot be bound within the subordinate clause (11), while the complex pronoun has to be bound within it (12).

(11)   *rasuj-s*      *dig-uwe*          *le-w*    *adaj-ze*          *sa‹w›i*
       Rasul.OBL-DAT   want:IPFV-CVB.IPFV   AUX-M   father-INTER(LAT)   ‹M›self
       *daʕʰmic'aj-ħe-w*   *gʷ-es.*
       mirror-IN-M(ESS)   see:PFV-INF

       'Rasul$_i$ wants his father$_y$ to see him$_i$ in the mirror.'

(12)   *rasuj-s*      *dig-uwe*          *le-w*    *adaj-ze*
       Rasul.OBL-DAT   want:IPFV-CVB.IPFV   AUX-M   father-INTER(LAT)
       *sa‹w›i-jal*      *daʕʰmic'aj-ħe-w*   *gʷ-es.*
       ‹M›self-EMPH   mirror-IN-M(ESS)   see:PFV-INF

       'Rasul$_i$ wants his father$_y$ to see himself$_y$ in the mirror.'

In example (12) the antecedent of the reflexive is within the local domain, whereas in (11) it is located in the distant domain (the latter will be discussed further in §3.3). The two domains differ as to which pronoun is used: the local domain employs the complex pronoun, whereas for an antecedent in the distant domain the bare pronoun is used.

## 3.2 Possessive domain

The possessive domain contains contexts where a genitive reflexive occurs in an NP within the same clause as its antecedent. In Mehweb, this domain is distin-

guished from the local domain in that both bare pronouns and complex pronouns can be employed[3], as in (13).

(13)  a.  *sune-la     quli-w     ħa-jz-ur.*
         self.OBL-GEN  house-M(ESS)  NEG-live-AOR

         '(He_i) did not live in his_i house.'

     b.  *sune-la-l       quli-w     ħa-jz-ur.*
         self.OBL-GEN-EMPH  house-M(ESS)  NEG-live-AOR

         '(He_i) did not live in his_i house.'

(14)  *sune-la     xunul  quli-r     r-aq'-a.*
      self.OBL-GEN  woman  house-F(ESS)  F-leave:PFV-IMP

      'Leave your wife at home.' (corpus, Brother and Sister: 1.34 (Magometov 1982))

(15)  *hel-di  zamaj-ze-b         ib            urši-li-ni*
      this-PL  time-INTER-N(ESS)  say:PFV.AOR  boy-OBL-ERG
      *sune-la-l         gurda-li-ze.*
      self.OBL-GEN-EMPH  fox-OBL-INTER(LAT)

      'Then the boy_i said to his_i fox.' (corpus, Two Sons: 1.86 (Magometov 1982))

Consider also the following examples where the complex and the bare pronoun are used in similar contexts by the same speaker:

(16)  *sunela      ħalmic'ir-t-iču‹w›ijal urši helle      w-erχ-ur.*
      self.OBL-GEN  animal-PL-COMIT‹M›  boy here(LAT)  M-enter:PFV-AOR

      'The boy_i entered with his_i animals.' (corpus, Two Sons: 1.126 (Magometov 1982))

(17)  *habala-habal sune-la-l         ħalmic'ir-t d-aχ-un.*
      start-start  self.OBL-GEN-EMPH  animal-PL  NPL-feed:PFV-AOR

      'First he_i fed all his_i animals.' (corpus, Two Sons: 1.198 (Magometov 1982))

Examples (14) to (17) prove that in natural texts the bare pronoun is available in possessive contexts. Consultants provide contradictory grammaticality judgements of constructed stimuli with the reflexive genitive. The majority consider

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[3]This fact may serve as evidence for the idea that the possessive domain is a transition point between the local domain and the distant domain.

(13a) and (13b) to have the same meaning and to be fully grammatical. Some consultants suggest that *sunelal* adds emphatic meaning ('his own'), whereas *sunela* simply indicates possession. Other consultants suggest that the bare pronoun *sunela* is not bound within the sentence (for further discussion see §4), i.e. (13a) can be translated as 'He is living in his (someone else's) house'. Finally, some consultants consider *sunela* to be ungrammatical, apparently extending the constraints on the occurrence of bare pronouns in the same clause as their antecedents to possessive NPs.

## 3.3 Distant domain

Distant domain contexts are sentences in which the pronoun and its antecedent occur in different clauses. In Mehweb, the order of the antecedent and the pronoun is relevant within the local domain. The pronoun cannot precede its antecedent, otherwise it gets the free logophoric reading (more on free logophors in §4). The distant domain requires using the bare pronoun (see (18)).

(18)   *sune-s        dig-uwe            le-w   adaj-ze          rasul*
       self.OBL-DAT  want:IPFV-CVB.IPFV  AUX-M  father-INTER(LAT)  Rasul
       *daˤнmic'aj-ħe-w  gʷ-es.*
       mirror-IN-M(ESS)  see:PFV-INF

       'Rasul$_i$ wants his father$_y$ to see him$_i$ in the mirror.'
       lit. 'Himself$_i$ wants his father$_y$ to see Rasul$_i$ in the mirror.'

The bare stem can take subject and non-subject positions (P, IO, adjunct) in the subordinate or main clause and can be used in both finite and non-finite subordinate clauses, as shown in the following section.

### 3.3.1 Finite subordinate clauses

Mehweb employs finite subordinate clauses with predicates of speech and thought. Finite subordinate clauses in Mehweb may or may not be followed by the converb *ile* 'having said' and utilize either personal pronouns or a bare pronoun.

(19)   *adaj-ni       ib            sune-ze               žanawar  gu-b*
       father-ERG    say:PFV.AOR   self.OBL-INTER(LAT)   wolf     see:PFV-AOR
       *(ile).*
       say:PFV.CVB

       'Father$_i$ said he$_i$ saw a wolf.'

(20)  *adaj-ni      ib          sune-ze              žanawar*
      father-ERG  say:PFV.AOR  self.OBL-INTER(LAT)  wolf
      *gu-b-ra            (ile).*
      see:PFV-AOR-EGO  say:PFV.CVB
      'Father<sub>i</sub> said he<sub>i</sub> saw a wolf.'

Considering Chechen and Ingush, Nichols (2000) refers to contexts such as (20) as semi-direct speech. In semi-direct speech "quoted matter is identical to the reported speech act except that coreferents to the speaker are reflexivized and the clause is marked with a quotative particle" (Nichols 2000). According to Nichols, Chechen uses reflexives to refer to the speaker, i.e. the subject of the main clause, only if subordinate finite clauses are marked by the quotation clitic *eanna*, while direct speech contexts use personal pronouns (1SG pronouns) and do not use the clitic.

In Mehweb, the quotative converb *ile* is optional with both types of reference. Compare the pronouns in (19) and (20) to those in (21) and (22); in all of these cases, the use of *ile* is optional.

(21)  *adaj-ni      ib          di-ze              žanawar gu-b*
      father-ERG  say:PFV.AOR  I.OBL-INTER(LAT)  wolf    see:PFV-AOR
      *(ile).*
      say:PFV.CVB
      'Father<sub>i</sub> said he<sub>i</sub> saw a wolf.'

(22)  *adaj-ni      ib          di-ze              žanawar gu-b-ra*
      father-ERG  say:PFV.AOR  I.OBL-INTER(LAT)  wolf    see:PFV-AOR-EGO
      *(ile).*
      say:PFV.CVB
      'Father<sub>i</sub> said he<sub>i</sub> saw a wolf.'

Table 3 provides a summary of options for a pronoun used in a subordinate finite clause. It shows that *dize* behaves as a personal pronoun, since it can change

Table 3: Summary on the stimuli and antecedents

| stimulus | antecedent of the pronoun |
| --- | --- |
| *adajni ib dize žanawar gub* | actual speaker |
| *adajni ib dize žanawar gubra* | subject of the main clause |
| *adajni ib suneze žanawar gub* | subject of the main clause |
| *adajni ib suneze žanawar gubra* | subject of the main clause |

its antecedent between the actual and the reported speaker. The pronoun *suneze* on the other hand, behaves as a logophoric pronoun and always refers to the subject of the main clause; cf. the following examples:

(23)  *adaj-ni*    *ib*      *rasuj-ze*         *di-ze*
   father-ERG say:PFV.AOR Rasul.OBL-INTER(LAT) I.OBL-INTER(LAT)
   *žanawar* *gu-b*      *(ile).*
   wolf     see:PFV-AOR say:PFV.CVB
   'Father$_i$ said to Rasul that he$_i$ saw a wolf.'

(24)  *adaj-ni*    *ib*      *rasuj-ze*         *di-ze*
   father-ERG say:PFV.AOR Rasul.OBL-INTER(LAT) I.OBL-INTER(LAT)
   *žanawar* *gu-b-ra*      *(ile).*
   wolf     see:PFV-AOR-EGO say:PFV.CVB
   'Father$_i$ said to Rasul that he$_i$ saw a wolf.'

(25)  *adaj-ni*    *ib*      *rasuj-ze*         *sune-ze*
   father-ERG say:PFV.AOR Rasul.ERG-INTER(LAT) self.OBL-INTER(LAT)
   *žanawar* *gu-b-ra*      *(ile).*
   wolf     see:PFV-AOR-EGO say:PFV.CVB
   'Father$_i$ said to Rasul that he$_i$ saw a wolf.'

Examples (26) and (27) additionally show subordinate clauses headed by different matrix predicates.

(26)  *it-ini*    *pikri*   *b-aq-ib*      *sa‹w›i* *q'am* *uh-ub-le*
   that-ERG thought N-do:PFV-AOR ‹M›self late   become:PFV-AOR-CVB
   *le-w*    *(ile).*
   AUX-M say:PFV-CVB
   'He$_i$ had a thought that he$_i$ was late.'

(27)  *iti-s*     *b-ik-ib*      *sa‹w›i* *q'am* *uh-ub-le*        *le-w*
   that-DAT N-think:PFV-AOR ‹M›self late   become:PFV-AOR-CVB AUX-M
   *(ile).*
   say:PFV-CVB
   'He$_i$ thought that he$_i$ was late.'

### 3.3.2 Non-finite subordinate clauses

Non-finite subordinate clauses in Mehweb can employ converbs, nominalizations or infinitives, depending on the predicate of the matrix clause. Non-finite

clauses can occur with a bare pronoun or with a zero pronoun in the subject position. Grammaticality of first person personal pronouns referring to the subject of the main clause in non-finite subordinate clauses is a matter of variation among the consultants (cf. 28 and 31). In non-finite subordinate clauses, the self-pronoun can occupy subject and non-subject positions (cf. 32).

Examples (28) and (29) demonstrate the use of the self-pronoun in subject and non-subject position in a subordinate clause headed by an infinitive.

(28)  *it      uruχ      k'-uwe                    le-w      sa‹w›i  (ˀnu)   ʁaˁm-le*
      this    be.afraid  LV:IPFV-CVB.IPFV  AUX-M  ‹M›self  (ˀI)    wrong-ADVZ

      *w-ik-es                    (ile).*
      M-become:PFV-INF  say:PFV-CVB

      'He is afraid of making a mistake.'

(29)  *rasuj-s              dig-uwe                    le-b      adaj*
      Rasul.OBL-DAT  want:IPFV-CVB.IPFV  AUX-N  father

      *sune-če-l                          ħule    w-iz-es.*
      self.OBL-SUPER(LAT)-EMPH  look    M-LV:PFV-INF

      'Rasul$_i$ wants his father$_y$ to look at himself$_y$.'

Subordinate clauses with an infinitive in Mehweb are employed as a strategy for marking sentential arguments, and can also express an aim (see (30–32)). In (31), the personal pronoun *nu* 'I' is grammatical.

(30)  *ʔali-ni    g-ib                    rasuj-ze                        arc        il*
      Ali-ERG  give:PFV-AOR  Rasul.OBL-INTER(LAT)  money  that

      *armi-li-ze                      uˁq'-es.*
      army-OBL-INTER(LAT)  M.go:PFV-INF

      'Ali bribed Rasul so that he (Rasul or another person) go to the army.' (lit. 'Ali gave money to Rasul in order that Rasul (or another person) went to the army.')

(31)  *ʔali-ni    g-ib                    rasuj-ze                        arc        nu*
      Ali-ERG  give:PFV-AOR  Rasul.OBL-INTER(LAT)  money  I

      *armi-li-ze                      uˁq'-es.*
      army-OBL-INTER(LAT)  M.go:PFV-INF

      'Ali bribed Rasul to go the army.' (lit. 'Ali gave money to Rasul in order Ali went to the army.')

(32)  ʔali-ni    g-ib       rasuj-ze              arc    sa‹w›i
      Ali-ERG give:PFV-AOR Rasul.OBL-INTER(LAT) money ‹M›self
      *armi-li-ze*            *uˤq'-es.*
      army-OBL-INTER(LAT) M.go:PFV-INF
      'Ali bribed Rasul to go the army.'
      lit. 'Ali gave money to Rasul in order Ali went to the army.'

Examples (33) and (34) demonstrate the self-pronoun in a subordinate clause headed by a specialized converb.

(33)  *abaj-ni*     *g-ib*       *dursi ruzi-li-ze*           *sune-s*
      mother-ERG give:PFV-AOR girl   sister-OBL-INTER(LAT) self.OBL-DAT
      *ʔaˤχ-le  b-uʔ-alis.*
      good    N-be:PFV-PURP
      'Mother$_i$ gave her$_i$ daughter$_y$ to her$_i$ sister$_z$ in order she$_i$ felt good.'

(34)  *baba*          *uruχ*    *k'-uwe*            *le-r*    *sa‹r›i*
      grandmother  be.afraid LV:IPFV-CVB.IPFV AUX-F ‹F›self
      *ar-d-ik-ala*        *(ile).*
      PV-F1-fall:IPFV-APPR say:PFV.CVB
      'Grandmother$_i$ is afraid of falling down.'

Examples (35–37) show the use of the bare pronoun in a subordinate clause headed by an action nominal (masdar). In Mehweb there are two suffixes available for the derivation of action nominals: *-ri* and *-deš*. In most cases, these suffixes are interchangeable.

(35)  *ʔali-ze*         *b-ah-ur*        *rasuj-ze-la*     *sune-s*       *premia*
      Ali-INTER(LAT) N-know:PFV-AOR Rasul-INTER-EL self.OBL-DAT prize
      *b-ak'-ri.*
      N-come:PFV-NMLZ
      'Ali$_i$ found out from Rasul that he$_i$ got money.'

(36)  *iti-ze-la*        *b-ah-ur-ra*             *sune-jni*      *maza*
      that-INTER-EL N-know:PFV-AOR-EGO self.OBL-ERG ram
      *b-erh-un-deš*              /  *b-erh-ri.*
      N-slaughter:PFV-AOR-NMLZ / N-slaughter:PFV-NMLZ
      '(He$_i$) found out from him$_y$ that he$_i$ killed a ram.'

(37) *it-ini    pikri    b-aq-ib        sa‹w›i  q'am  uh-ub-le*
     that-ERG thought N-do:PFV-AOR ‹M›self late   become:PFV-AOR-CVB
     *le-w-deš    (ile).*
     AUX-M-NMLZ say:PFV.CVB
     'He<sub>i</sub> thought that he<sub>i</sub> was late.'

The purpose of the examples above is to show that bare pronouns can be used in non-finite subordinate clauses. This fact blurs the distinction between the two functions the bare pronoun fulfills – that of the long-distant reflexive and the logophoric pronoun.

### 3.3.3 Subject orientedness of the self-pronoun

In a finite subordinate clause, the bare pronoun occurring in subject position is subject oriented. This means it is co-referent to the subject of the main clause, as in (25). Non-finite subordinate clauses on the other hand, show variation in what is interpreted to be the referent of the pronoun, depending on the presence of the suffix *-al.*

Most consultants interpret the self-pronoun with the suffix *-al* as subject oriented as well (see §3.3). In the case of two embedded predications, both the bare pronoun and the personal pronoun *nu* choose the subject of the embedded matrix clause; cf. (38–40).

(38) *ʔali-ni   ib         rasuj-ni       ib         sune-jni    eža*
     Ali-ERG say:PFV.AOR Rasul.OBL-ERG say:PFV.AOR self.OBL-ERG goat
     *as-i-ra.*
     take:PFV-AOR-EGO
     'Ali<sub>y</sub> said that Rasul<sub>i</sub> said that he<sub>i</sub> bought a goat.'

(39) *ʔali-ni   ib         rasuj-ni       ib         nu-ni eža*
     Ali-ERG say:PFV.AOR Rasul.OBL-ERG say:PFV.AOR I-ERG goat
     *as-i-ra.*
     take:PFV-AOR-EGO
     'Ali<sub>y</sub> said that Rasul<sub>i</sub> said that he<sub>i</sub> bought a goat.'

(40) *ʔali-ni   ib         rasuj-ni       ib         sune-jni-jal*
     Ali-ERG say:PFV.AOR Rasul.OBL-ERG say:PFV.AOR self.OBL-ERG-EMPH
     *eža   as-i-ra.*
     goat take:PFV-AOR-EGO
     'Ali<sub>y</sub> said that Rasul<sub>i</sub> said that he<sub>i</sub> bought a goat.'

If a demonstrative is used instead of the self-pronoun or a personal pronoun, it does not take an antecedent in the same sentence:

(41)  *ʕali-ni*   *ib*       *rasuj-ni*        *ib*       *il-ini=jal*       *eža*
      Ali-ERG  say:PFV.AOR  Rasul.OBL-ERG  say:PFV.AOR  this-ERG=EMPH  goat
      *as-i-ra.*
      take:PFV-AOR-EGO
      'Ali$_i$ said that Rasul$_y$ said that he$_z$ bought a goat.'

The subject of the external embedded clause can be the antecedent of the logophoric pronoun if and only if the subject of the first embedded clause does not agree in person and/or number with the logophoric pronoun.

(42)  *ʕali-ni*   *ib*       *nu-ni* *ib*       *sune-jni*          *eža*
      Ali-ERG  say:PFV.AOR  I-ERG  say:PFV.AOR  self.OBL-ERG-EMPH  goat
      *asi-ra.*
      take:PFV-EGO
      'Ali$_i$ said that I said that he$_i$ bought a goat.'

### 3.3.4 Non-subject orientedness: a hypothesis

A bare pronoun in subject position in a subordinate clause, whether it is finite or non-finite, is always 'subject oriented'. This means it is coreferent to the subject of the closest embedded clause (unless there is a mismatch in person or number properties).

In some speakers, the complex pronoun behaves in the same way. In other speakers, however, the complex pronoun has to be coreferent to the non-subject argument of the matrix clause (when present) (cf. 43–46).

(43)  *ʕali-ni*   *ib*          *rasuj-ze*            *sa‹w›i-jal*       *q'ar*
      Ali-ERG  say:PFV.AOR  Rasul.OBL-INTER(LAT)  ‹M›self(-EMPH)  grass
      *iˤšq-es*        *uˤq'-es-i.*
      mow:PFV-INF  M.go:PFV-INF-ATR
      'Ali$_i$ said to Rasul$_y$ that he$_y$ should go mow the grass.'

(44)  *ʕali-ze*           *b-ah-ur*           *rasuj-ze-la*
      Ali-INTER(LAT)  N-know:PFV-AOR  Rasul.OBL-INTER-EL
      *sune-s-al*           *premia* *b-aq'-ri.*
      self.OBL-DAT(-EMPH)  money  N-do:PFV-NMLZ
      'Ali$_i$ found out from Rasul$_y$ that he$_y$ got money.'

(45) *ʔali-ni    g-ib          rasuj-ze          arc      sa‹w›i-jal*
     Ali-ᴇʀɢ give:ᴘꜰᴠ-ᴀᴏʀ Rasul-ɪɴᴛᴇʀ(ʟᴀᴛ) money ‹ᴍ›self(-ᴇᴍᴘʜ)
     *armi-li-ze            uˤq'-es.*
     army-ᴏʙʟ-ɪɴᴛᴇʀ(ʟᴀᴛ) ᴍ.go:ᴘꜰᴠ-ɪɴꜰ

     'Ali_i gave Rasul_y money for him_y to go to the army.'

(46) *abaj-ni       g-ib          dursi     ruzi-li-ze*
     mother-ᴇʀɢ give:ᴘꜰᴠ-ᴀᴏʀ daughter sister-ᴏʙʟ-ɪɴᴛᴇʀ(ʟᴀᴛ)
     *sune-s-al         ʔaˤχ-le      b-uʔ-alis.*
     self.ᴏʙʟ-ᴅᴀᴛ-ᴇᴍᴘʜ good-ᴀᴅᴠᴢ ɴ-be:ᴘꜰᴠ-ᴘᴜʀᴘ

     'Mother_i gave her_i daughter_y to her_i sister_z in order for her_y to feel good.'

In the four examples above, the self-pronoun takes the non-subject argument of the main clause as its antecedent. The referent of the embedded subject shifts from the subject to the non-subject argument of the embedding clause if the main clause contains more than one argument that can serve as an antecedent for the self-pronoun and matches it in person and number.

If all these conditions are satisfied, then the bare pronoun takes its reference from the subject of the main clause, whereas the complex pronoun takes its reference from another argument of the main clause. These rules apply to all complementation strategies and all predicates of the main clause that allow a second argument or adjunct as a potential antecedent. If the main clause lacks other arguments, or if the arguments of the main clause do not match the self-pronoun in person and number, the subject-to-non-subject shift does not occur.

The complex pronoun cannot take an argument outside the clause as its antecedent. The non-subject argument of the main clause thus may not be an immediate antecedent of the complex pronoun inside the subordinate clause. Examples (43) to (46) can be explained by introducing a zero pronoun in the subject position of the subordinate clause. This zero pronoun is non-subject-oriented (see Schema 1). On the other hand, the reference of the bare pronoun combined with an intensifier (*sunejni sunejnijal),* is always subject-oriented (that is, whenever the nearest subject matches the self-pronoun in person and/or number) – see (49).

Schema 1: Non-subject-oriented zero pronoun

[S intransitive predicate IO][self non-finite predicate]
[S intransitive predicate IO][∅ self-ᴇᴍᴘʜ non-finite predicate]
[S intransitive predicate IO][self self-ᴇᴍᴘʜ non-finite predicate]

(47)  *ʕali-ze*          *b-ah-ur*        *rasuj-ze-la*          *sune-s*
      Ali-INTER(LAT) N-know:PFV-AOR Rasul.OBL-INTER-EL self.OBL-DAT
      *premia  b-aq'-ri.*
      money   N-get:PFV-NMLZ
      'Ali$_i$ found out from Rasul that he$_i$ got money.'

(48)  *ʕali-ze*          *b-ah-ur*        *rasuj-ze-la*          ∅
      Ali-INTER(LAT) N-know:PFV-AOR Rasul.OBL-INTER-EL ∅
      *sune-s-al*          *premia  b-aq'-ri.*
      self.OBL-DAT-EMPH money   N-get:PFV-NMLZ
      'Ali$_i$ found out from Rasul$_y$ that he$_y$ got money.'

(49)  *ʕali-ze*          *b-ah-ur*        *rasuj-ze-la*          *sune-s*
      Ali-INTER(LAT) N-know:PFV-AOR Rasul.OBL-INTER-EL self.OBL-DAT
      *sune-s-al*          *premia  b-aq'-ri.*
      self.OBL-DAT-EMPH money   N-get:PFV-NMLZ
      'Ali$_i$ found out from Rasul$_y$ that he$_y$ got money.'

An alternative explanation is that the complex pronoun in the subject position in the subordinate clause serves as the real subject of the clause and, unable to be bound within the local domain, takes the closest argument outside its clause as an antecedent. However, there is no evidence that an intensifier can serve as a subject of the clause.

# 4 Discourse usage

In discourse the bare pronoun[4] can be used to refer to the narrator of a story. In the following contexts, the bare pronoun is used in various syntactic positions and does not have an antecedent within the sentence[5].

(50)  *sa‹r›i   duc'  d-uq-un-na*        *k'ʷan ʕaj      illi-šu.*
      ‹F›self  run   F1-lv:PFV-AOR-EGO QUOT perhaps  that-AD(LAT)
      'I$_i$ (the narrator) ran to her$_y$.' (corpus, Poisoning: 1.20)

---

[4]There is evidence that the bare pronoun in its free logophoric function can be intensified with the suffix *-al* without changing the reference of the pronoun. The corpus, however, does not provide appropriate examples.

[5]It can also be hypothesized that the bare pronoun in its free logophoric function may refer to other participants of the narrative. The texts from the corpus do not provide any evidence in support of this, however, and the topic thus requires further investigation.

(51) *sune-jni      i-ra        k'ʷan abaj-la      heš dursi=ra*
self.OBL-ERG say:PFV-EGO QUOT mother-GEN this girl=and
*d-aχ-uwe                  d-uʔ-a-k'a        ħu      d-u-es*
F1-look.after:PFV-AOR.CVB F1-be-IRR-COND you.sg F1-be:PFV-INF
*ʔaj.*
perhars
'She_i (the narrator) said that, my_y daughter, you_y better take care of her daughter.' (corpus, Poisoning: 1.8)

(52) *sune-jni      i-ra        k'ʷan marijan ħad*
self.OBL-ERG say:PFV-EGO QUOT marijan you.sg.DAT
*d-ig-a-k'a               d-uh-e               ʔaj      ħad*
F1-want:PFV-IRR-COND F1-become.pfv-IMP perhaps you.sg.DAT
*ʔaˤχ-le       b-uʔ-a-re.*
good-ADVZ  N-be:PFV-IRR-PST
'She_i (the narrator) said: Marijam_y, if you_y want (to do this) marry him, maybe it would be good for you_y.' (corpus, Poisoning: 1.17)

(53) *sune-s        k'ʷan ʔaj      urče          c'a  aq'-ur.*
self.OBL-DAT QUOT perhaps in.heart(LAT) fire pour:PFV-AOR
'She (the narrator) felt bad.' (corpus, Poisoning: 1.32)

(54) *hanna raχkʷar r-uh-ub-le            umma r-uk'-uwe*
now    man     F-become:PFV-AOR-CVB kiss    F-LV:IPFV-CVB.IPFV
*gʷa  k'ʷan ʔaj      sune-če         hel       xunul.*
PTCL QUOT perhaps self.OBL-SUPER(LAT) this.here woman
'Then the woman started to kiss him (the narrator).' (corpus, Speaking Lak: 1.14)

# 5 Intensifier

The complex pronoun in Mehweb can be used as an intensifier. The intensifier is used in adposition to its head, which it emphasizes (cf. 55). This pronoun is formally identical to the reflexive pronoun[6]. The bare pronoun alone cannot be used as an intensifier (see 56).

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[6]The functions of intensification and reflexivization are similarly combined in personal pronouns followed by the suffix *-al*; also cf. Table 2.

(55) *it-ini       sune-jni-jal        d-erk-un       χinč'-e.*
this-ERG self.OBL-ERG-EMPH N-eat:PFV-AOR khinkal-PL

'He$_i$ himself$_i$ ate all khinkals.'

(56) *di-ze          iti-ze-la       b-ah-ur-ra        ʔali-ni   cula*
I.OBL-INTER(LAT) this-INTER-EL N-know:PFV-AOR-EGO Ali-ERG only

*aħin-i      it-ini    sune-jni-jal=ra        maza*
be:NEG-ATR this-ERG self.OBL-ERG-EMPH=and ram

*b-erh-ri.*
N-slaughter:PFV-NMLZ

'I found out from him$_i$ that not only Ali$_y$ but he$_i$ himself$_i$ slaughtered the ram.'

(57) **di-ze          iti-ze-la       b-ah-ur-ra        ʔali-ni   cula*
I.OBL-INTER(LAT) this-INTER-EL N-know:PFV-AOR-EGO Ali-ERG only

*aħin-i      it-ini    sune-jni=ra        maza b-erh-ri.*
be:NEG-ATR this-ERG self.OBL-ERG=and ram   N-slaughter:PFV-NMLZ

Intended: 'I found out from him$_i$ that not only Ali$_y$ but he$_i$ himself$_i$ slaughtered the ram.'

The complex pronoun may intensify an overt NP (cf. 58), demonstratives (cf. 59), as well as pro-dropped pronouns in the subject position (cf. 60). The intensifier agrees in number, case and gender with its head. It can be used in all syntactic positions, including subject, P and other positions.

(58) *rasuj-ni        sune-s-al        muħammadi-s   eža*
Rasul.OBL-ERG self.OBL-DAT-EMPH muhammad-DAT goat

*as-ib.*
take:PFV-AOR

'Rasul$_i$ bougth to Muhammad$_y$ himself$_y$ a goat.'

(59) *it-ini       sune-jni-jal        d-erk-un       χinč'-e.*
this-ERG self.OBL-ERG-EMPH N-eat:PFV-AOR khinkal-PL

'He$_i$ himself$_i$ ate all khinkals.'

(60) *sune-jni-jal        d-erk-un       χinč'-e.*
self.OBL-ERG-EMPH N-eat:PFV-AOR khinkal-PL

'(He) himself ate the khinkals.'

Some speakers are reluctant to accept intensification of NPs with low animacy:

(61)  *ʔrasuj-ni*      *muħammad-i-s*      *sa‹b›i-jal*   *eža*  *as-ib.*
     Rasul.ᴏʙʟ-ᴇʀɢ  muhammad-ᴏʙʟ-ᴅᴀᴛ  ‹ɴ›self-ᴇᴍᴘʜ  goat  take:ᴘꜰᴠ-ᴀᴏʀ
     'Rasul bought to Muhammad this the very goat.'

The intensifier may be preposed to its antecedent:

(62)  *sa‹w›i-jal*      *wazil-li*       *b-arg-ib*        *k'ʷan*   *ʔilla=ra.*
     ‹ᴍ›self-ᴇᴍᴘʜ  chief-ᴏʙʟ(ᴇʀɢ)  ɴ-find:ᴘꜰᴠ-ᴀᴏʀ  ǫᴜᴏᴛ  reason=and
     'The chiefᵢ himselfᵢ found the reason.' (corpus, The story of Akula Ali: 1.7
     (Magometov 1982))

The intensifier can co-occur with complex pronouns used as reflexives, as in
(63) and (64). In such contexts, they seem to show a free relative order. However,
(65) shows that the compound consisting of two complex pronouns cannot be
split.

(63)  *rasuj-ze*              *sune-ze-l*                    *sa‹w›i-jal*
     Rasul.ᴏʙʟ-ɪɴᴛᴇʀ(ʟᴀᴛ)  self.ᴏʙʟ-ɪɴᴛᴇʀ(ʟᴀᴛ)-ᴇᴍᴘʜ  ‹ᴍ›self-ᴇᴍᴘʜ
     *gu-b.*
     see:ᴘꜰᴠ-ᴀᴏʀ
     'Rasulᵢ saw himselfᵢ.'

(64)  *rasuj-ze*              *sa‹w›i-jal*      *sune-ze-l*
     Rasul.ᴏʙʟ-ɪɴᴛᴇʀ(ʟᴀᴛ)  ‹ᴍ›self-ᴇᴍᴘʜ  self.ᴏʙʟ-ɪɴᴛᴇʀ(ʟᴀᴛ)-ᴇᴍᴘʜ
     *gu-b.*
     see:ᴘꜰᴠ-ᴀᴏʀ
     'Rasulᵢ saw himselfᵢ.'

(65)  *\*rasuj-ze*             *sune-ze-l*                    *gu-b*
     Rasul.ᴏʙʟ-ɪɴᴛᴇʀ(ʟᴀᴛ)  self.ᴏʙʟ-ɪɴᴛᴇʀ(ʟᴀᴛ)-ᴇᴍᴘʜ  see:ᴘꜰᴠ-ᴀᴏʀ
     *sa‹w›i-jal.*
     ‹ᴍ›self-ᴇᴍᴘʜ
     'Rasulᵢ saw himselfᵢ.'

The intensifier can also be combined with a bare pronoun and can either pre-
cede or follow it, with no semantic contrast (cf. 66 and 67).

(66)  *rasuj-s*        *dig-uwe*               *le-b*   *sawi*
     Rasul.ᴏʙʟ-ᴅᴀᴛ  want:ɪᴘꜰᴠ-ᴄᴠʙ.ɪᴘꜰᴠ  ᴀᴜx-ɴ  ‹ᴍ›self
     *sune-če-l*                   *ħule*  *w-iz-es.*
     self.ᴏʙʟ-ꜱᴜᴘᴇʀ(ʟᴀᴛ)-ᴇᴍᴘʜ  look  ᴍ-ʟᴠ:ᴘꜰᴠ-ɪɴꜰ
     'Rasulᵢ wants to look at himselfᵢ.'

(67)  *rasuj-s*        *dig-uwe*                *le-b*  *sune-če-l*
      Rasul.ᴏʙʟ-ᴅᴀᴛ want:ɪᴘꜰᴠ-ᴄᴠʙ.ɪᴘꜰᴠ ᴀᴜx-ɴ self.ᴏʙʟ-sᴜᴘᴇʀ(ʟᴀᴛ)-ᴇᴍᴘʜ
      *sa‹w›i*  *ħule*  *w-iz-es.*
      ‹ᴍ›self  look  ᴍ-ʟᴠ:ᴘꜰᴠ-ɪɴꜰ

      'Rasulᵢ wants to look at himselfᵢ.'

The intensifier can take the subject position in the subordinate clause since subject pro-drop is also acceptable in subordinate clauses (cf. 43–46 above). The reference of the intensifier in subject position is discussed in §3.3.4.

# 6 Resumptive

The resumptive function of the self-pronoun is discussed in Lander & Kozhukhar (2015). Resumptive pronouns are optionally used in the position that is relativized (cf. 68, 69).

(68)  *nu-ni*  *ču-s*              *kung*  *gib-i*          *ule*  *b-aˤq'-un*
      I-ᴇʀɢ self.ᴘʟ.ᴏʙʟ-ᴅᴀᴛ book  give:ᴘꜰᴠ-ᴀᴛʀ child.ᴘʟ ʜᴘʟ-go:ᴘꜰᴠ-ᴀᴏʀ
      *uškuj-ħe.*
      school-ɪɴ(ʟᴀᴛ)

      'The childrenᵢ to whomᵢ I gave a book went to school.'

(69)  *šejtan*  *ču-ze*                  *gu-b-i*          *buk'unu-me*  *uruχ*
      demon  self.ᴘʟ.ᴏʙʟ-ɪɴᴛᴇʀ(ʟᴀᴛ) see:ᴘꜰᴠ-ᴀᴏʀ-ᴀᴛʀ shepherd-ᴘʟ be.afraid
      *b-aˤq-ib.*
      ʜᴘʟ-ʟᴠ:ᴘꜰᴠ-ᴀᴏʀ

      'The shepherdsᵢ whoᵢ saw a demon were scared.'

In resumptive contexts, the self-pronoun may also attach the suffix *-al*. As a result, the relativized argument is emphasized (cf. 70 and 71).

(70)  *nu-ni*  *sune-ze*              *arc*  *g-ib-i*            *insaj-ni*
      I-ᴇʀɢ self.ᴏʙʟ-ɪɴᴛᴇʀ(ʟᴀᴛ) money give:ᴘꜰᴠ-ᴀᴏʀ-ᴀᴛʀ man.ᴏʙʟ-ᴇʀɢ
      *nab*  *arc*  *ħa-lug-an.*
      I.ᴅᴀᴛ money ɴᴇɢ-give:ɪᴘꜰᴠ-ʜᴀʙ

      'The manᵢ to whomᵢ I gave the money doesn't give it back to me.'

(71) *nu-ni sune-ze-l*       *arc*    *g-ib-i*       *insaj-ni*
      I-ERG self.OBL-INTER(LAT) money give:PFV-AOR-ATR man.OBL-ERG
      *nab*    *arc*       *ħa-lug-an.*
      I.DAT money NEG-give:IPFV-HAB
      'This very man$_i$ to whom$_i$ I gave money doesn't give me them back.'

Some consultants tend to use resumptives only with animate relative heads (72 and 73).

(72) *$^?$sune-s*       *ʔadidi ħark'ʷ b-aš-uwe*       *le-b-i*       *qali*
      self.OBL-DAT behind river N-go:IPFV-CVB.IPFV AUX-N-ATR house
      *le-b*    *rasuj-ja.*
      be-N Rasul.OBL-GEN
      'The house$_i$ behind which$_i$ the river flows belongs to Rasul.'

(73) *ʔadidi ħark'ʷ b-aš-uwe*       *le-b-i*       *qali le-b*
      behind river N-flow:IPFV-CVB.IPFV AUX-N-ATR house AUX-N
      *rasuj-ja.*
      Rasul.OBL-GEN
      'The house$_i$ behind which$_i$ there is a river belongs to Rasul.'

For further discussion on resumptives see Lander & Kozhukhar (2015).

# 7 Conclusion

In this paper, I have considered the form and functions of the pronominal stem *sa‹CL›i* in Mehweb. This stem has at least the following functions: reflexive and long-distant reflexive, logophoric (including free logophoric), intensifier and resumptive. These functions, which are distinct from both syntactic and semantic perspectives, show different constraints on their antecedents.

The complex pronoun functions as a locally bound reflexive and may occupy any non-subject slots. The intensifier pronoun is homophonous to the reflexive and receives the same case, number and gender values as its head. The possible antecedents of an intensifier include locally bound reflexives, long-distance reflexives and logophoric pronouns; it can also be pro-dropped.

According to Reuland (2011) and Sells (1987), logophoric pronouns are pronouns used in finite subordinate clauses embedded under predicates of speech and mental experience. For Clements (1975) and Toldova (1999), the main function of the logophoric pronoun is to define the point of view. There are no typologically universal constraints on the syntactic position the logophoric pronoun, but

there is a strong tendency for the antecedent to be in the subject position of the embedded clause. Cole et al. (2000) however, discussing long-distance reflexives, argue that these take either subject or non-subject position within non-finite subordinate clauses. They also argue that long-distance reflexives manifest subject orientation: their antecedents have to be subjects of the main clause.

The pronoun *sa‹CL›i* covers both functions and fits both the description of the logophoric pronoun and that of the long-distance reflexive. Therefore, I suggest that in Mehweb, there is neither a morphological nor a (sharp) syntactic distinction between logophorics and long-distance reflexives.

## List of abbreviations

| | |
|---|---|
| AD | spatial domain near the landmark |
| ADVZ | adverbializer |
| AOR | aorist |
| APPR | apprehensive |
| ATR | attributivizer |
| AUX | auxiliary |
| CL | gender (class) agreement slot |
| COMIT | comitative |
| COND | conditional |
| CVB | converb |
| DAT | dative |
| EGO | egophoric |
| EL | motion from a spatial domain |
| EMPH | emphasis (particle) |
| ERG | ergative |
| ESS | static location in a spatial domain |
| F | feminine (gender agreement) |
| F1 | feminine (unmarried and young women gender prefix) |
| GEN | genitive |
| HAB | habitual (durative for verbs denoting states) |
| HPL | human plural (gender agreement) |
| IMP | imperative |
| IN | spatial domain inside a (hollow) landmark |
| INF | infinitive |
| INTER | spatial domain between multiple landmarks |
| IPFV | imperfective (derivational base) |

| | |
|---|---|
| IRR | irrealis (derivational base) |
| LAT | motion into a spatial domain |
| LV | light verb |
| M | masculine (gender agreement) |
| N | neuter (gender agreement) |
| NEG | negation (verbal prefix) |
| NMLZ | nominalizer |
| NOM | nominative |
| NPL | non-human plural (gender agreement) |
| OBL | oblique (nominal stem suffix) |
| PFV | perfective (derivational base) |
| PL | plural |
| PST | past |
| PTCL | particle |
| PURP | purposive converb |
| PV | preverb (verbal prefix) |
| QUOT | quotative (particle) |
| SUPER | spatial domain on the horizontal surface of the landmark |

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