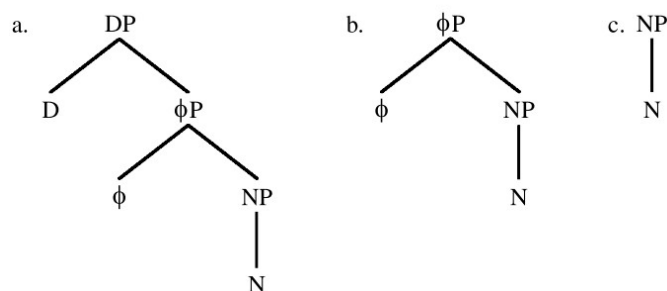


- Déchaine, Rose-Marie, and Martina Wiltschko. 2002. Decomposing pronouns. *Linguistic Inquiry* 33/3. 409-442.
- Déchaine, Rose-Marie, and Martina Wiltschko. 2012. The Heterogeneity of Reflexives. Ms.
- Déchaine, Rose-Marie, and Martina Wiltschko. 2017. A formal typology of reflexives. *Studia Linguistica*. 71:60–106.

Déchaine and Wiltschko (D&W) first propose to distinguish between three classes of **personal pronouns**, based on their internal structural properties: Pro-NP, Pro- ϕ P, Pro-DP (D&W 2002).

(1)



(2)

Nominal proform typology

	Pro-DP	Pro- ϕ P	Pro-NP
Internal syntax	D syntax; morphologically complex	neither D syntax nor N syntax	N syntax
Distribution	argument	argument or predicate	predicate
Semantics	definite	—	constant
Binding-theoretic status	R-expression	variable	—

Examples:

Pro-DPs – Halkomelem Independent Pronouns (a determiner + features)

- (3) Tl'o'-cha-l-su qwemciwe-t [*thu'-tl'o'* *q'ami*]_{ARG}
 then-FUT-1SG-so hug-TRANS **DET.FEM-3SG** girl
 'Then I'm going to hug that girl.' (Galloway 1993:174)

Pro- ϕ Ps – Shuswap Independent Pronouns

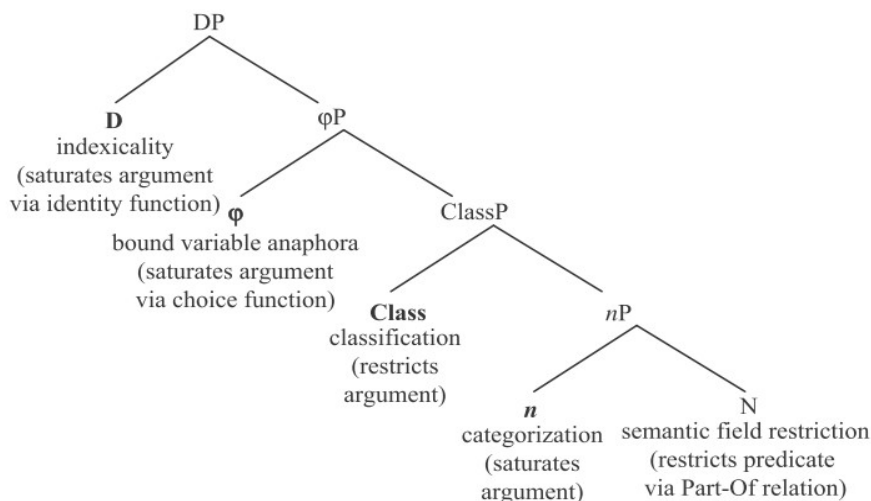
Pro-NP – Japanese *kare* (not a bound variable; coreference based on [MALE], [MARRIAGEABLE AGE])

D&W proceed by suggesting a similar classification for **reflexives** (D&W 2012, 2017): D-reflexives, φ -reflexives, Class-reflexives, n-reflexives, and N-reflexives.

(4) Formal typology of reflexives

Category (example)	Distribution	Syntactic parallel	Other functions	Syntactic integration	Semantic composition
D (English <i>X-self</i>)	DP	Possessor	logophor, emphatic pronoun	DP	$\lambda x \lambda y [R(x,y)], y = x$
φ (French <i>se</i>)	clitic	Case	recip, middle, inch, appl, imp. subject	Voice head	$\lambda x \lambda y [R(x,y)], y = f(x)$
Class (Shona <i>zvi-</i>)	agreement	Classifier	agreement, evaluative, adverb	adjunct to <i>vP</i>	$\lambda y \lambda x [R(x,y) \& \text{CLASS}(y)]$
little <i>n</i> (Cree <i>-iso</i>)	intransitivizer	Valency	medio-reflexive inchoative	complement to V	$\lambda x [R(x,x)]$
BIG N (Hk. lex. suff.)	bound noun	Inalienable Possession	N-compound, numeral classifier, applicative	root compound	$\lambda y \lambda x [R(x,y) \& \text{PART-OF}(y,z)]$

(5) Five types of reflexives and the functions of nominal layers



Examples:

D-reflexives – English *X-self*

φ -reflexives – French *se*

Class-reflexives – Shona *zvi*

n-reflexives – Plains Cree *-iso*

N-reflexives – Halkomelem lexical suffixes, which denote inalienable nouns

**We will focus on D-reflexives and φ -reflexives.*

D-reflexives vs. φ -reflexives

(6) Criterial diagnostics

	D-reflexive < κ_D < π, Σ_{REFL} >>	φ -reflexive < κ_φ < π, Σ_{REFL} >>
IDENTIFYING DIAGNOSTIC	equative	no theta-linking
PERSON SENSITIVE	yes	yes
PARALLELS	possessor	case
ALSO FUNCTIONS AS		
• logophor	✓	✗
• focus	✓	✗
• reciprocal	✗	✓
• middle	✗	✓
• inchoative	✗	✓
• applicative	✗	✓
• impersonal subject	✗	✓

Diagnostics:

- Equative constructions

- (7) a. Lucy is the boss. a'. The boss is Lucy. ← equative onstruction
 b. Lucy is boss. b'. *Boss is Lucy. ← predication
 c. You are not yourself. ← equative construction
- Theta-linking
 - Person-sensitivity
 - Case-sensitivity (for French clitics)
 - Logophoric and emphatic uses (see, for example, English D-reflexives = intensifiers, logophors)

φ-reflexives vs. Class-reflexives

- (8) Shona (Bantu)
 Ndà-kà-zvì-pìs-à.
 1SG.SUBJ-REM.PST-REFL-burn-FV
 ‘I burned myself.’

zvì is also used as a classifying prefix and an Object agreement marker (for inanimate plural nouns)

- (9) Criterial diagnostics

	φ-reflexive < κ _φ < π, Σ _{REFL} >>	Class-reflexive < κ _{CLASS} < π, Σ _{REFL} >>
IDENTIFYING DIAGNOSTIC	pro-argument	noun class
PERSON SENSITIVE	yes	no
PARALLELS	case	classifier
ALSO FUNCTIONS AS		
• reciprocal	✓	✗
• middle	✓	✗
• inchoative	✓	✗
• applicative	✓	✗
• impersonal subject	✓	✗
• concordial agreement	✗	✓
• default agreement	✗	✓
• diminutivizer	✗	✓
• adverbializer	✗	✓

Diagnostics:

- (In)sensitivity to person
- Parallel with agreement