

{Who did Pedro hit?} ‘Pedro hit JUAN.’

- reflexives can occur only in the direct object position
- reflexives prohibit coordination with referential DPs

- (6) a. *Rat x-Ø-a-ch’äy aw-i’ y ri Pedro.
 2S PST-ABS.3S-ERG.2S-hit 2S-REFL and DET Pedro
 b. *Rat x-ix-a-ch’äy aw-i’ y ri Pedro.
 2S PST-ABS.2P-ERG.2S-hit 2S-REFL and DET Pedro
 Intended: ‘You hit yourself and Pedro.’ {a=b}
 c. Rat x-Ø-a-ch’äy ri Juan y ri Pedro.
 2S PST-ABS.3S-ERG.2S-hit DET Juan and DET Pedro
 ‘You hit Juan and Pedro.’

- reflexives cannot be linearly separated from the predicate head

- (7) a. Rat x-Ø-a-tz’ët (iwir) ri Pedro (iwir).
 2S PST-ABS.3S-ERG.2S-see yesterday DET Pedro yesterday
 ‘You saw Pedro yesterday.’
 b. Rat x-a-tz’ët (*iwir) aw-i’ (iwir).
 2S PST-ERG.2S-see yesterday 2S-REFL yesterday
 ‘You saw yourself (in the mirror) yesterday.’

- reflexives are not encoded into a predicate via an absolutive clitic

- (8) a. Rin x-in-tz’ët w-i’ b. Rin x-at-in-tz’ët rat
 1S PST-ERG.1S-see 1S-REFL 1S PST-ABS.2S-ERG.1S-see 2S
 ‘I saw myself (in a mirror).’ ‘I saw you.’

*Reflexives are not uniquely 3 person singular.

- (9) a. (Chpan re wachib’äl) rat x-a-tz’ët aw-i’ y-a-kikot.
 on the picture 2S PST-ERG.2S-see 2S-REFL PRS-ABS.2S-happy
 b. *(Chpan re wachib’äl) rat x-a-tz’ët aw-i’ ni-Ø-kikot.
 on the picture 2S PST-ERG.2S-see 2S-REFL PRS-ABS.3S-happy
 ‘On the picture you saw yourself happy.’ (*You were happy on that picture*) {a=b}

Although reflexivized predicates remain transitive, reflexives differ from referential DPs in argument positions and resemble clitics.

Analysis: In Kaqchikel a reflexive Voice-like head (ReflV⁰) takes a VP with an internal argument (a silent variable), introduces an external argument and defines the object variable via the subject reference. This constituent is then selected by the transitive v₀.

- (10) [_{VP} v⁰ [_{VoiceP} Subject [_{Voice} Reflexive [_{VP} [_V V [Object variable]]]]]]

Kaqchikel is different from French: a reflexivized predicate remains transitive (cf. Labelle (2008) and Bruening (2006) for reciprocals), however, there is no object agreement marker. **My proposal:** the reflexive head agrees with the object, resulting in an overt person-number marked *-i’* clitic. The object becomes invisible for further cliticization and its agreement with the I head fails resulting in the absence of an absolutive clitic (Preminger 2009).

Predictions:

- ReflV⁰ should be in complementary distribution with other Voice-type heads (passive, antipassive) ← YES
- ReflV⁰ should be able to co-occur with functional heads of different types ← YES

- (11) *Passive* – a Voice
 a. *X-Ø-ch’aj-täj r-i’ ri achi.
 PST-ABS.3S-wash-PASS 3S-REFL DET man
 *X-Ø-ch’aj-täj r-i’ r-uma ri achi.
 PST-ABS.3S-wash-PASS 3S-REFL POSS.3S-by DET man
 Intended: ‘The man washed himself.’ (*passive*)
Antipassive – a Voice
 b. *X-i-tz’et-on w-ichin / r-ichin / Ø w-i’

PST-ABS.1S-see-AP POSS.1S-for POSS.3S-for 1S-REFL
 Intended: 'I saw myself.' (*antipassive*)
 c. X-i-tz'et-on aw-ichin (rat)
 PST-ABS.1S-see-AP POSS.2S-for 2S
 'I saw you.'

- (12) *Causative* – not a Voice
 Rije' x-ki-kam-isa-j k-i'.
 3P PST-ERG.3P-die-CAUS-DTV 3P-REFL
 'They killed themselves / each other.'

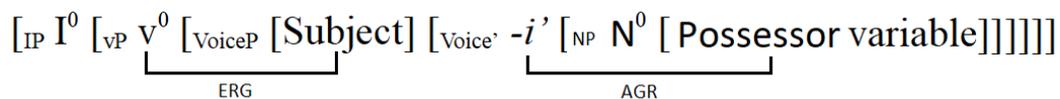
Reflexive Voice and nominal predicates

The puzzle: In Kaqchikel both relational nouns (similar to English *friend*) and non-relational ones (*doctor*) can be used as predicates, however only the former allow an embedded reflexive (for example, 'I am my own friend' but not 'I am my own doctor') and in this case a usually required ABS agreement is prohibited.

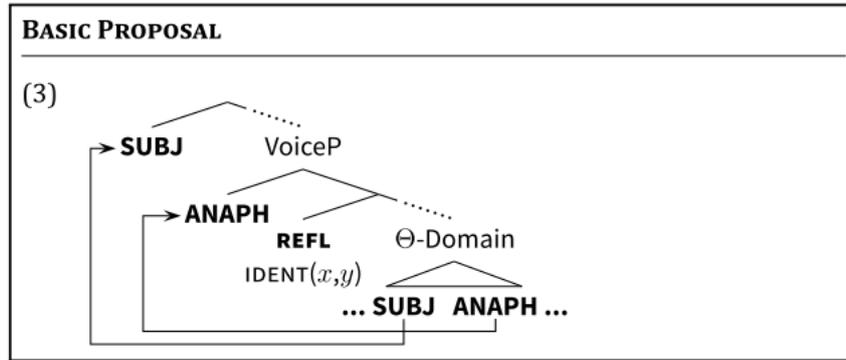
- (13) a. Rat at(-nu-)tijoxel. b. Rïn in-aw-achib'il (rat).
 2S ABS.2S-POSS.1S-student 1S ABS.1S-POSS.2S-friend 2S
 'You are (my) student.' 'I am your friend.'
 c. Rat at-aq'omanel.
 2S ABS.2S-doctor
 'You are a doctor.'
- (14) a. *Rat aw-aq'omanel aw-i'. b. Rat aw-achib'il aw-i'.
 2S POSS.2S-doctor 2S-REFL 2S ERG.2S-friend 2S-REFL
 Intended: 'You are your doctor.' 'You are your (own) friend.'
 c. Rat aw-aq'omaj aw-i'.
 2S ERG.2S-cure 2S-REFL
 'You cure yourself.'
- (15) a. Røj (*oj-)q-achib'il q-i'. b. Røj *(oj-)aw-achib'il (rat).
 1P ABS.1P-POSS.1P-friend 1P-REFL 1P ABS.1P-POSS.2S-friend 2S
 'We are friends (of each other).' 'We are your friends.'

RefIV⁰ analysis: The reflexive functional head can select not only a VP predicate but also an NP predicate, introducing an external argument and linking it with an internal one. (Vergnaud and Zubizarreta 1992), (Alexiadou 2003): only possessors of relational nouns are base-generated as complements. (14b) is syntactically transitive and the subject agreement is manifested via an ERG prefix.

(16)



Byron Ahn's version of the Reflexive Voice analysis



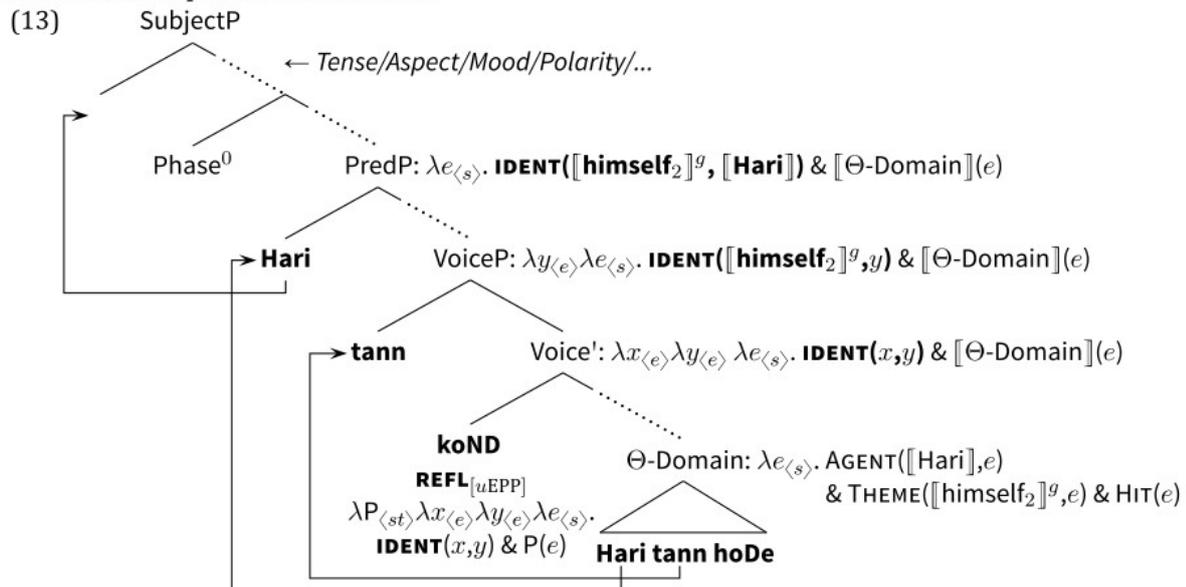
What's the difference from Labelle?

(9a) hari tann-annu hoDe-du-**koND**-a
 Hari self -ACC hit -PP-**LSOR**-3SM
 'Hari hit himself'

[Kannada, Lidz 1996]

- ◆ Recall that **-koND** is the LSOR suffix, and *tann* is the LSOR anaphor, which must be bound by *Hari*

The derivation proceeds as follows:



* Ahn's **Voice0** is not the external-argument-introducer Voice0, as in Kratzer (1996), Alexiadou et al. (2006), etc. His Voice0 is a set of instructions which (partially) derives surface constituency. It is a **vP** that introduces the external argument below Voice0. Ahn assumes that there is an EPP for [+reflexive] on Voice0 and a separate EPP on a higher predicate projection that attracts the highest available argument (the subject).