

Why Turkish *kendisi* is a pronominal*

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Abstract

This paper is concerned with the syntax and semantics of the Turkish pronominal element *kendisi* ‘self.3SG’ that has so far received very little attention in the literature on anaphoric relations. We start out by examining the properties of this pronoun proceeding next to discuss the few existing proposals highlighting their inadequacies when confronted with novel data. We argue that despite its reflexive root, *kendisi* should be treated as a pronominal for the purposes of the Binding Theory, and should be sensitive to Condition B.

1 Introduction

This paper is concerned with the syntax and semantics of one Turkish pronoun, the inflected reflexive *kendisi* ‘self.3SG’, which, despite the surge of interest in long-distance anaphora, has so far received very little attention from either typologists or theoretical linguists of any other persuasion. It has to be noted that the pronoun in question is exciting for a number of reasons: it seems to violate the existing generalisations and postulates of most accounts by virtue of (allegedly) not being subject to locality constraints of any sort; besides, to the best of my knowledge, Turkish is the only Turkic language to have an anaphoric element of this kind.

This contribution aims to review and bring to the foreground of the linguistic community the syntactic and semantic properties of the Turkish inflected reflexive *kendisi* ‘self.3SG’, and, after critically reviewing extant accounts, to introduce new data¹ that will prove those existing proposals to be on the wrong track. Then, using the newly

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¹Unless noted otherwise, the data featuring here comes from elicitation sessions and correspondence with 15 Turkish speakers of various educational and professional backgrounds (mostly graduate students specialising in the humanities). A note on the methodology of data collection: during elicitation the subjects were asked to read a simple description of a scenario. Afterwards they had to judge a sentence as acceptable/unacceptable with respect to the given scenario, and whenever the subjects found a sentence unacceptable, they were asked to correct them. In addition to the stimuli, a number of fillers were used to prevent early saturation. Some of the stimuli and fillers were examples of natural discourse which were sometimes artificially modified to induce ungrammaticality, whereas others have been taken from the extant literature and again modified in various ways in order to adjust them to the particular tests implemented in this work.

introduced data, this article will situate *kendisi* in the existing typology of anaphoric elements and put forth a tentative proposal to account for the newly discovered data.

The paper is structured as follows: in the remainder of the introduction properties of *kendisi* as outlined in the literature are summarised; §2 constitutes an overview of previous approaches proceeding, in §3, to present the new data from semantic binding, *donkey*-anaphora, resumption, *de re/de se* readings in intensional contexts, and discourse uses and intensification. The tentative proposal and its possible extensions and implications occupy the whole of §4, and §5 concludes.

1.1 Properties of *kendisi*

Turkish has two distinct forms of reflexive pronouns: *kendi* ‘self’, which is assumed to be a strictly local anaphor (1a–b), and its inflected form *kendisi* ‘self.3SG’² displaying significantly different properties, (3)–(6).

- (1) a. Ali kendine kızdı.
 Ali.NOM self.DAT get.angry.PAST
 ‘Ali got angry at himself’
 b. Ali Ayşe’nin kendine kızmasına şaşırıldı.
 Ali.NOM Ayşe.GEN self.DAT get.angry.MSD.ACC be.surprised.AOR
 ‘Ali₁ was surprised at Ayşe₂ getting angry at herself₂/*him_{1/3}’
 (Enç 1989)

As the two sentences above illustrate, the uninflected, morphologically simplex anaphor *kendi* demands a local c-commanding antecedent and is thus subject to Condition A of the Binding Theory. We can see that from the unavailability of non-reflexive readings of (1b). Moreover, it has been argued elsewhere in the literature (cf. Kornfilt 1997, 2001) that the locality requirements on its use are even stricter: *kendi* must have a *coargument* antecedent (i.e. the antecedent and the pronoun have to be arguments of the same predicate, and not, for instance, an argument and an adjunct).

- (2) *Dün arkadaşım kendinden bir mektup aldı.
 yesterday my.friend self.3SG.ABL one letter get.PAST
 ‘A friend of mine got a letter from himself yesterday’

The inflected form of the reflexive pronoun, *kendisi*, despite sharing some of the properties of the simplex form (such as the ability to take local antecedents, (3)), also displays a very different behaviour: it can be used in subject position (4), it can look for antecedents at a longer distance (5) as well as refer to entities in salient discourse, i.e. be used with no linguistic antecedent in the sentence, as in (6).

- (3) Ali kendisine kızdı.
 Ali.NOM self.3SG.DAT get.angry.PAST
 ‘Ali₁ got angry at himself₁/him₂/her₃’

²In addition to these two, relatively simplex anaphoric elements, Turkish has a reduplicated anaphor *kendi kendisi* that is strictly local, in accordance with most approaches to anaphoric relations. For the purposes of this paper I ignore the intriguing question of what exactly the internal structure of this reduplicated reflexive looks like — it suffices to say that syntactically it behaves like *kendi* but its semantic-pragmatics seems somewhat different, possibly because reduplication in these contexts serves the purpose of intensification.

- (4) Kendisi geldi.
self.3SG.NOM come.PAST
'He/she/it came'
- (5) Ali Ayşe'nin kendisine kızmasına şaşırıldı.
Ali.NOM Ayşe.GEN self.3SG.DAT get.angry.MSD.ACC be.surprised.AOR
'Ali₁ was surprised at Ayşe₂ getting angry at herself₂/him_{1/3}/her₄'
- (6) a. Ali hakkında Ahmet ne düşünüyor?
Ali about Ahmet what think.3.PRES
'What does Ahmet think of Ali?'
b. Ahmet kendisini çok beğeniyormuş.
Ahmet self.3SG.ACC very admire.PROGR.REP.PAST
'(They say) Ahmet admires him (i.e. Ali) very much'
- (Kornfilt 2001: 200)

In the mini-dialogue above, the most natural referent for *kendisi* in the answer is Ali. It has to be noted that *kendisi* is not the only possible pronoun here — a usual 3rd person pronoun *o* 'he/she/it' (*pronominal*, in the terms of Chomsky 1981, 1982) can be used in its stead, just like in English.

At this point we are confronted with a problem of characterising the distribution of *kendi*, *kendisi* and *o*, very much so because of the properties of the inflected reflexive. Let us proceed to review the existing proposals that have been put forward in the literature.

2 Existing proposals

It so happened that the few (theoretically-oriented) accounts of the peculiar properties of *kendisi* and similar pronouns have been developed within the contemporary generative grammar. These approaches can be roughly split into the following three groups:

- *kendisi* as a long-distance reflexive
- *kendisi* has peculiar featural make-up which makes it different from other pronouns
- *kendisi* is a syntactic phrase in disguise

In this section we discuss each of these in turn.

2.1 *kendisi* as LDR

Indeed, the possibility of interpreting *kendisi* as coreferential with a non-local antecedent should immediately remind us of the so-called *long-distance reflexives* prevalent in many languages, and we might be tempted to try and extend an existing analysis put forth for long-distance anaphors to account for the peculiar behaviour of *kendisi*.

Crosslinguistically, long-distance reflexives demonstrate a cluster of core properties: (i) they are mostly monomorphemic (as opposed to morphologically complex ones, which usually demand local antecedents, (8)); (ii) they display a strong preference for the subject even when other options are available (9); (iii) they prefer, or even require, non-local antecedents (10).

- | | simplex long-distance | complex local |
|------|---|--|
| (7) | Russian <i>sebja</i>
Japanese <i>zibun</i>
Mandarin <i>ziji</i> | <i>sam sebja</i>
<i>zibun-zisin</i>
<i>ta-ziji</i> |
| (8) | Jon hørte oss [snakke om seg//*seg selv].
Jon heard us speak about self//self self
'John ₁ heard us speaking about him ₁ ' | [Norwegian, Hellan (1980)] |
| (9) | Chelswu ₁ -nun Swunmi ₂ -eykey [Hakswu ₃ -ka caki _{1/*2/3} -lul
Chelswu-TOP Swunmi-LAT Hakswu-NOM self-ACC
cohaha-Ø-nta-ko] seltukhay-ss-ta.
love-PRES-INDIC-COMP convince-PST-INDIC
'Chelswu ₁ convinced Swunmi ₂ that Hakswu ₃ loves him ₁ /*her ₂ /herself ₃ ' | [Korean, Rudnitskaya (2001): 86] |
| (10) | a. Peter ₁ hørte Anne omtale sig ₁
Peter heard Anne mention self
b. *Peter ₁ fortalte Michael om sig ₁
Peter told Michael about self | [Danish, Büring (2005)] |

It has, however, already been noted in the literature (see Kornfilt 2001) that the inflected form *kendisi* does not share any of these properties: (i) it is not monomorphemic (*kendi-si*), (ii) it is not subject-oriented, and (iii) it can take coargument antecedents. As the lack of (i) and (iii) have already been demonstrated, we have to prove (ii), which is easy enough given the data below:

- (11) a. Oya'nın kendisini beğenmesi Ahmet'in hoşuna
Oya.GEN self.3SG.ACC admire.MSD.3SG Ahmet.GEN liking.3SG.DAT
gitti.
go.PAST
'Oya's admiring him₁ was to Ahmet's₁ liking'
b. Oya'nın kendisini beğendiği Ahmet'çe
Oya.GEN self.3SG.ACC admire.MSD.3SG by.Ahmet
biliniyordu.
know.PASS.PROGR.PAST
'Oya's admiring him₁ was known to Ahmet₁' [Kornfilt (2001): 204]

In neither of the sentences above is the antecedent for *kendisi* (i.e. Ahmet) the subject of the sentence. Instead, the pronoun is itself situated within the gerundival that serves the function of the subject.

Based on the data above we have to conclude that although intuitively very attractive, the identification of *kendisi* with long-distance reflexives is empirically untenable.

2.2 Feature-based accounts

Many researchers, regardless of their theoretical persuasion, have exploited the notion of *features* to gain a better insight into the nature of linguistic phenomena; anaphoric relations are no exception to this methodology, and in spite of there being ample theoretical proposals as to the ways that anaphoric relations are featurally encoded, in this

subsection I concentrate exclusively on those that have been put forward in connection with the pronoun in question, i.e. *kendisi*.

2.2.1 Enç (1989)

In her 1989 paper, Mürvet Enç attempted to derive the existing variation in anaphoric systems across the world's languages by proposing that all attested pronoun types arise as a result of interaction of 3 formal binary features, [\pm Licenser], [\pm B(inder)], [\pm ID], as defined below.

If a pronoun is specified as [+B], it requires a sentence-internal antecedent to establish the semantic binding dependency; when specified as [-B], the pronoun may but does not have to be semantically bound.

- (12) a. Binding
 A binds B iff
 (i) A c-commands B, and
 (ii) A and B are coindexed
 b. Licensing
 A licenses B iff
 (i) A c-commands B, and
 (ii) A is contained in the local domain of B

As we can see from the definitions above, licensing is distinct from binding, and is required for Enç's system to be able to extend to cases of *obviative* pronouns, which would otherwise be impossible. Obviative pronouns are special in that there always is a noun phrase in the sentence or discourse with which they cannot be coindexed and anaphorically linked. Such pronouns would obligatorily be specified as [+L]. Interestingly, locally bound reflexives are also endowed with a [+L] feature.

Now, unlike the definitions of binding and licensing, that of [\pm ID] is significantly more complex, and makes recourse to the two above:

- (13) a. If a pronoun bears [+ID], its binder and licenser must be coindexed.
 b. If a pronoun bears [-ID], its licenser and its binder cannot be coindexed.

Here is how this proposal should derive the near-free distribution of *kendisi*: According to Enç, *kendisi* is specified as [-L, -B], and whenever this is the case, the pronoun in question will exhibit considerable freedom with respect to the choice of antecedent. This follows logically from the (informal) feature definitions given above: *kendisi* does not need a licenser or a binder, although it might have either or both.

2.2.2 Cole & Hermon (1998)

Cole & Hermon (1998) develop a theory to account for the behaviour of a Singapore Malay pronoun *dirinya*, which is remarkably similar to *kendisi*, both morphologically (it is also a simplex reflexive inflected for 3rd person) and syntactically (it is as much unrestricted). Cole and Hermon claim that this behaviour of *dirinya* follows straightforwardly from the assumption that it has underdetermined features [α anaphoric, α pronominal] which take on different values depending on the syntactic environment: whenever it occurred with a local antecedent, it would take on [+anaphor, -pronominal], whereas the opposite would happen had *dirinya* occurred in a non-local binding configuration.

- (14) Ahmad_i tahu Salmah_j akan membeli baju untuk dirinya_{i/j}.
 Ahmad know Salmah will buy clothes for self.3SG
 ‘Ahmad knows Salmah will buy clothes for him/herself’
 (Cole & Hermon 1998: 61)

In this sentence *dirinya* may refer either to the subject of the matrix clause (i.e. Ahmad) or to that of the embedded clause (i.e. Salmah); in fact, it can also refer to a discourse antecedent, just like *kendisi* in Turkish.

In addition, and exactly like *kendisi*, it is not subject-oriented:

- (15) a. Ali_i memberitahu Fatimah_j yang kamu menyukai dirinya_{i/j}.
 Ali tell Fatimah that you like self.3SG
 ‘Ali told Fatimah that you like him/her.’
 b. Siti_i mengingatkan Mohamed_j yang saya tahu dirinya_{i/j} seorang
 Siti remind Mohamed that I know self.3SG one
 penjenayah.
 criminal
 ‘Siti reminded Mohamed that I know that she/he is a criminal’
 [Cole & Hermon (1998): 62]

It could be argued that this same approach could be extended to account for the distributional properties of *kendisi*, but I suspect that there are independent reasons to believe that this approach is on the wrong track, independent of the theoretical framework one assumes. In a DB-style generative grammar, nothing would prevent *dirinya* to be specified as [–anaphoric, –pronominal], as has indeed been proposed for PRO, but it is not easy to determine to what extent the properties of *dirinya* (or *kendisi*, for that matter) overlap with those of PRO. Besides, endowing a syntactic element with two (or more) conflicting *category* features as opposed to, for instance, morphosyntactic features, is theoretically unsavoury. Moreover, this flexibility of feature values and its sensitivity to the syntactic environment, being at best descriptively adequate, is on the verge of being theoretically unfalsifiable.

2.3 *kendisi* is phrasal

Kornfilt (2001) observes the parallelism between the morphological form of *kendisi* and the morphosyntax of Turkic possessor phrases. In Turkish and many other related languages the following structures are very common:

- (16) a. Ali'nin arabası
 Ali.GEN car.3SG
 ‘Ali’s car’
 b. onun arabası
 he.GEN car.3SG
 ‘his/her car’
 c. *pro* arabası
pro.GEN car.3SG
 ‘his/her car’

As many other related languages, Turkish is a *pro*-drop language allowing arguments to be freely dropped. By the same token, *kendisi* could be analysed as a variety of noun

phrase, an Agreement Phrase (AgrP):

- (17) a. *pro* kendisi
 pro.GEN self.3SG
 ‘his/her self’
 b. [AgrP *pro* [Agr’ Agr [NP kendi]]]
 c. [AgrP *pro* [Agr’ -si [NP kendi-]]]

The crux of Kornfilt’s analysis is then the claim that contrary to appearances, *kendisi* is completely well-behaved with respect to the Binding Conditions: the reflexive, *kendi*, is locally bound within the AgrP by the phonologically null ‘subject’/specifier of that phrase, as per Condition A. This subject (i.e. *pro*), in turn, is locally free within this same AgrP, completely in accordance with condition B.

We see that in addition to accounting for all the (so far) observed data, Kornfilt’s proposal demonstrates theoretical elegance in not making recourse to any additional features and mechanisms and relying solely on the independently motivated notions.

In the following section, however, I shall demonstrate that it nevertheless overgenerates and cannot be straightforwardly extended to explain certain pieces of data; but first the data itself.

3 New data

The data in this section will be concerned with a variety of semantic and syntactic aspects of anaphoric relations, and the general aim here will be to establish the distributional patterning of *kendisi* in different environments. In §3.1 we are concerned with the phenomenon of semantic binding, §3.2 deals with a similar but distinct phenomenon of *donkey*-anaphora. Then in §3.3 we demonstrate another function of *kendisi* that has been largely unnoticed, proceeding next to examine one more aspect of the semantics, namely the interpretation of *kendisi* in intensional contexts (§3.4). The final aspect to consider is the use of *kendisi* as an intensifier. The section concludes with the summary of facts.

3.1 Semantic binding

When discussing different varieties of anaphoric relations, it has become customary in contemporary linguistics to discriminate between *semantic binding* and *coreference* (Reinhart 1983, Heim & Kratzer 1998, Buring 2005). The former relation is an asymmetrical relation between an operator and a variable³, whereas the latter is arguably a more symmetrical relation of two NPs referring to one and the same individual in the salient discourse.

- (18) Every student walks.
 $\forall x[\text{student}(x) \rightarrow \text{walk}(x)]$

In (18), the variable x is within the scope of the universal quantifier \forall and is therefore bound by it. For the sake of simplicity let us suppose in what follows that the operator

³We think of this relation as asymmetrical in terms of the acquisition of value: in cases of binding the variable essentially depends on the operator to get a value.

is realised as the antecedent, and the variable is identified with the pronoun⁴.

Now consider (19): imagine that both *Ron* and *his* accidentally refer to one and the same individual in the real world, Ron. Clearly, the anaphoric dependency here is established in a completely different manner, although the relation may be argued not to be fully symmetrical, since *his* still needs an antecedent to be interpretable.

- (19) Ron loves his mother.
= Ron₁ loves Ron's mother
= Ron₁ loves some singular male individual's mother

To test whether we are dealing with semantic binding or coreference, three tests have been devised, of which we shall exploit the first two in this paper: (i) interpretation of elliptical sentences; (ii) quantificational antecedents, and (iii) interpretation of focus constructions with focus particles like *only*. They work as follows.

In ellipsis constructions the elided structure has to be identical to the non-elided antecedent part; let us call this fairly standard (cf. [Hardt 2008](#)) constraint on ellipsis *Predicate Identity*.

- (20) John loves his wife and so does Bill [~~love his wife~~].
= John loves John's wife; Bill loves Bill's wife
= John loves John's wife; Bill loves John's wife
= John loves Max's wife; Bill loves Max's wife
≠ John loves Max's wife; Bill loves Bill's wife
≠ John loves Max's wife; Bill loves John's wife
≠ John loves John's wife; Bill loves Max's wife

The elliptical sentence in (19) may be understood as asserting that Bill loves either his own wife, or John's wife, or indeed someone else's wife (provided that someone else is male and salient in the preceding discourse). The first reading is traditionally referred to as *sloppy* and is associated with bound variable interpretations whilst the other two are usually called *strict* and signal coreference. Observe that in accordance with *Predicate Identity*, certain potentially plausible interpretations like the last three above are unavailable.

The quantificational antecedents test is different from (VP-)ellipsis⁵ at least in that it tests the overall availability of bound variable interpretations; it does not tell us whether a certain pronoun is *obligatorily* interpreted as a bound variable. This becomes possible due to a peculiar property of quantificational phrases: they cannot refer ([Reinhart 1983](#), [Padučeva 1985](#), [Büring 2005](#), [Abbott 2010](#), [Szabolcsi 2010](#)).

3.1.1 Constraints on binding and coreference

It has been argued many times in the literature that constraints on semantic binding are much stricter than those on coreference and are purely structural — assuming a

⁴As opposed to a more technical view that the only elements that can do the binding are real mathematical operators like λ -abstractors, ι -operators etc. The difference is immaterial for the purposes of this paper and can safely be ignored.

⁵Yakov Testeleets notes that it is incorrect to call any instance of ellipsis VP-ellipsis, a convention which has become traditional in discussions of anaphoric relations, at least because it remains to be proved that the language in question has VP as a unit. I fully agree with this and do not offer any arguments for or against VP in Turkish, hence the bracketed VP.

correlation between c-command and scope, the operator must c-command the variable in order for the binding relation to obtain.

- (21) a. [Every tenor]₁ believes he₁ is a genius.
 b. *He₁ believes [every tenor]₁ is a genius.

In the two sentences above the indexing is identical; however, the structural relation between the pronoun and its antecedent is not — in (21a) the operator c-commands the variable and the semantic binding relation obtains. In (21b), on the other hand, the configuration is reverse; consequently, it is ungrammatical on the desired interpretation. Note that this ungrammaticality cannot be coerced, pragmatically, into a legitimate interpretation.

3.1.2 VP-ellipsis

Let us take the by now familiar sentence from §1.1 and modify it slightly by adding a postposed elliptical continuation:

- (22) Ali Ayşe'nin kendisine kızmasına şaşırđı, Mustafa da.
 Ali Ayşe.GEN self.3SG.DAT get.angry.MSD.ACC be.surprised.AOR Mustafa too
 'Ali₁ was surprised that Ayşe₂ got angry at him₁/herself₂/him/her₃, and Mustafa did too'

The whole sentence is now multiply ambiguous, and, given *Predicate Identity*, it is logical to expect the number of existing readings to double. However, this expectation is not fulfilled because the local bound variable interpretation (i.e. when both Ali and Mustafa are surprised the Ayşe got angry at herself) is unavailable. My consultants insist that for it to become available, *kendi* has to be used instead of *kendisi*. Given the nearly free distribution of *kendisi*, this is unexpected. Interestingly, as far as semantic binding is concerned, *kendisi* seems to be in free variation with the pronominal *o* 'he':

- (23) Ali Ayşe'nin ona kızmasına şaşırđı, Mustafa da.
 Ali Ayşe.GEN he.3SG.DAT get.angry.MSD.ACC be.surprised.AOR Mustafa too
 'Ali₁ was surprised that Ayşe₂ got angry at him₁/*herself₂/him/her₃, and Mustafa did too'

As with the previous version of this sentence, all interpretations except for the properly reflexive one are available.

At this point we might be tempted to interpret the absence of the bound variable reading in the coargumental configuration as following from some sort of competition amongst potential antecedents with the most local one ranking the lowest. Another possibility would be to assume an essentially (neo-)Gricean pragmatic approach and claim that using *kendisi* creates an implicature that rules out Ayşe as a potential antecedent (given that *kendi* is preferred in such contexts). Be that as it may, there is an easy way to test these two hypotheses, namely to add an elliptical continuation to a monoclausal sentence, as in (24) below.

- (24) Mustafa kendisine kızdı, Ali de.
 Mustafa self.3SG.DAT get.angry.PAST Ali too
 'Mustafa got angry at him(self), and so did Ali'

It appears that this sentence can only be acceptable on a reading whereby both Mustafa and Ali get angry at some third party that may have become salient in the preceding discourse (say, Ahmet), and I believe this to be a knock-down argument against an analysis of *kendisi* in terms of competition or optimality; as for pragmatic approaches, I know none that would unambiguously derive and predict the distribution of strict and sloppy readings for any language.

A preliminary conclusion is thus that *kendisi* can be interpreted as a bound variable with the exception of very local, coargumental, anaphoric dependencies with its antecedent.

3.1.3 Quantificational antecedents

We started out by observing that the inflected reflexive *kendisi* in Turkish allowed both long-distance and local antecedents, as in (25).

- (25) Ali kendisine kızdı.
 Ali.NOM self.3SG.DAT get.angry.PAST
 ‘Ali₁ got angry at himself₁/him₂/her₃’

Let us exploit another test on variable binding, namely quantificational binding. This test crucially rules out coreferential interpretations by virtue of quantificational noun phrases being unable to refer in principle.

- (26) Her Bakan kendisine kızdı.
 every minister.NOM self.3SG.DAT get.angry.PAST
 ‘*Every minister got angry at himself₁/him₂/her₃’
 ‘^{OK}Every minister got angry at him/her’

Indeed, as expected, the local bound-variable interpretation of *kendisi* in (26) is unavailable (i.e. this sentence cannot be used to describe a prototypical reflexive situation of every minister getting angry at himself/herself); the only one that is available is the one whereby *kendisi* is bound by or coreferential with an antecedent in the preceding discourse.

Now, recall a mini-discourse in (6), repeated here as (27) for ease of reference.

- (27) a. Ali hakkında Ahmet ne düşünüyor?
 Ali about Ahmet what think.3.PRES
 ‘What does Ahmet think of Ali?’
 b. Ahmet kendisini çok beğeniyormuş.
 Ahmet self.3SG.ACC very admire.PROGR.REP.PAST
 ‘(They say) Ahmet admires him (i.e. Ali) very much’

(Kornfilt 2001: 200)

This discourse was there to show that *kendisi* could take discourse antecedents but did not answer the question whether it was then interpreted as a bound variable. As will become obvious from the slightly modified version of this dialogue given in (28), the answer to this question should be negative.

- (28) a. Her Bakan hakkında Ahmet ne düşünüyor?
 every minister about Ahmet what think.3.PRES
 ‘What does Ahmet think of every minister?’

- b. *Ahmet kendisini çok beğeniyormuş.
 Ahmet self.3SG.ACC very admire.PROGR.REP.PAST
 ‘(They say) Ahmet admires him (i.e. every minister) very much’

Of course, hypothetically a different interpretation of the response is available (i.e. whereby *kendisi* refers to another discourse antecedent) but it is pragmatically very inappropriate. This, of course, reminds us of the similar pattern with English pronominals, where the sentence is ungrammatical when the pronoun is outside the scope of the noun phrase headed by a strong quantifier.

- (29) a. I met a man. He was nice.
 b. I met every man. *He was nice.
 c. I met every man. ?They were nice.

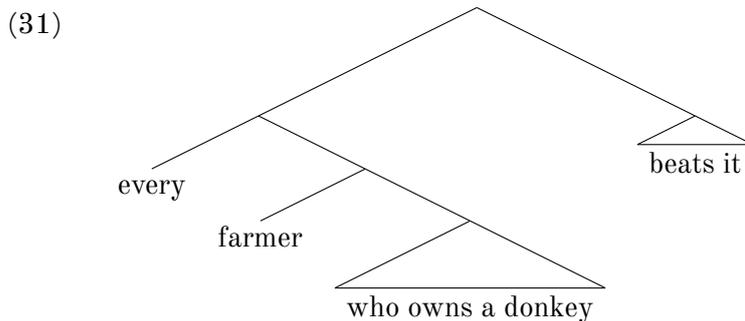
3.1.4 Implications for existing proposals

Let us briefly review the implications of the data from semantic binding for the existing analyses briefly summarised in §2. All these analyses relied crucially on the unrestricted distribution of *kendisi*, which I hope to have shown is much more restricted than previously claimed. Theoretical considerations notwithstanding, neither of the feature-based accounts outlined above makes correct empirical predictions for the local anaphoric dependencies between *kendisi* and its antecedent. The phrasal analysis as proposed by Kornfilt (2001) also cannot explain the ill behaviour of *kendisi* with respect to Condition A as far as semantic binding is concerned. I take it that a new account is in order, which I will sketch in §4, after introducing more data to support it.

3.2 Donkey-anaphora

Donkey-anaphora is a configuration where a pronoun depends for its interpretation on an indefinite that does not c-command it (Geach 1962, Evans 1980, Heim 1982). Crucially, in such environments the value of pronoun co-varies with its antecedent.

- (30) a. Every farmer who owns a donkey beats it.
 b. If a man is in Athens, he cannot be in Rhodes.



In sentences (30) above the pronouns (*it* in (30a) and *he* in (30b)) are outside the scope (or c-command domain) of their antecedents — we can appreciate that from the structure in (31)— but ‘covary’ with them, just like the cases of semantic binding that we have considered in the preceding section.

It has to be emphasised that neither proposing a treatment for donkey-anaphora nor extending an existing account to cover the Turkish data presented here is the purpose

of this article. Instead, we note the differences in behaviour between traditional long-distance anaphors and *kendisi* and only use *donkey*-contexts as a supplementary test to delve deeper into the properties of *kendisi*; nothing similar has been done so far, to the best of my knowledge.

Despite the fact that Turkish conditional embedded clauses are characterised by subject *pro*-drop whenever the matrix and embedded subjects corefer (32), there still are environments where *kendisi*, as well as the usual pronominal, *o*, can be used as an overt subject/object *donkey*-pronoun.

- (32) a. (Eğer) bir çiftçinin bir eşegi varsa, (çiftçi) onu her
if one farmer.GEN one donkey be.PRES.COND farmer it.ACC all
zaman döver.
time beat.PRES.3
'If a farmer owns a donkey, he always beats it.'
- b. Bir çiftçi bir eşegi (eğer) kendisininse döver.
one farmer one donkey if self.3SG.GEN.COND beat.PRES.3
'A farmer beats a donkey if he owns it.'

Sentences (32a) and (32b) differ with respect to the positions of *donkey*-pronouns and their antecedents: in the former, full noun phrases are located inside the antecedent of the conditional with the pronoun in the consequent; in the latter case the situation is reverse. Despite the structural difference, these sentences are very close to the prototypical instances of *donkey*-anaphora, primarily because the value of the pronoun changes whenever the antecedent changes. In other words, neither in (32a) nor in (32b) could we be meaning a specific donkey that a certain (perhaps also specific) farmer owns, nor a donkey that is in the collective property of several farmers, or indeed several distinct donkeys in the property of one specific farmer.

- (33) a. Eğer Başkan₁ [benim şahsen tanıdığım bir yazarı]₂
if president my personally known.to.me one writer.3SG
seviyorsa, onu₂ kendisiyle₁ tanıştıırım.
like.PRES.COND he.ACC self.3SG.WITH introduce.FUT.1SG
'If the President likes a writer whom I know personally, I will introduce him to him.'
- b. Eğer Başkan benim şahsen tanıdığım bir yazarı
if president my personally known.to.me one writer.3SG
seviyorsa, kendisini₁ onunla₂ tanıştıırım.
like.PRES.COND self.3SG.ACC with.him introduce.FUT.1SG
'If the President likes a writer whom I know personally, I will introduce him to him.'
- (34) Unlu bir yazarı₂ tanıyorsan(ız), onu₂ kendisiyle₁
famous one writer.ACC know.PRES.2SG.COND he.ACC self.3SG-WITH
mutlaka tanıştırmalıyız.
necessarily introduce.MOD.2PL
'If you know a famous writer, you have to introduce him to him'

It is interesting to note that *kendisi* can also be used *donkey-cataphorically*, i.e. when it linearly precedes and is not c-commanded by its indefinite antecedent:

- (35) Bir yabancı kendisine yol sorarsa, bir Milanolu
 one foreigner self.3SG.DAT road ask.PRES.3SG.COND one person.from.Milan
 ona yardımcı olur.
 he.DAT helper become.PRES.3
 ‘If a foreigner asks him the way, a person from Milan will help him.’

This pattern is identical to the one observed for English, and the example itself was in fact modelled on the one in [Elbourne \(2009\)](#):

- (36) If a foreigner_i asks him_j for directions, [a person from Milan]_j replies to him_i with courtesy.

Summing up this subsection, we have seen one more piece of empirical evidence against treating *kendisi* as a reflexive pronoun of any kind since it clearly patterns with pronominals with respect to the availability of *donkey*-anaphoric readings.

3.3 Resumption

Crosslinguistically, resumptive pronouns are pronouns that are related to relativised noun phrases ([Haegeman 2001](#)). More concretely, these are the pronouns that are usually situated inside the relative clause and are coreferential with/bound by an antecedent in the matrix clause.

- (37) An scríbeoir aN molann na mic léinn é
 the writer C-RES praised the students him
 ‘the writer that the students praised’ [Irish, [McCloskey \(2002\)](#)]

Detailed analyses of resumption within the Minimalist programme and LFG have been provided by, amongst others, [Adger \(2008\)](#), [Asudeh \(2004, 2005\)](#). In this paper we are only concerned with the empirical side of the phenomenon and its realisation in Turkish.

As mentioned in [Meral \(2004\)](#), resumptive pronouns in Turkish are mostly optional in that they are in free variation with the gap; however, there are environments where they are obligatory (in objects of postpositions or in certain types of adjuncts). Curiously, when the resumptive is present, it is spelled out as *kendisi*:

- (38) a. [CP OP_i [C' [IP *pro*_j [I' kendisi-yle_i / t_i dans et-tiğ-im_j]]] kadın_i
 self.3SG-COM dance-DIK-AGR woman
 ‘the woman I danced with’
 b. [CP OP_i [C' [IP *pro*_j [I' kendisi-yle_i /*t_i arkadaş-ımız-a hediye
 self.3SG-COM friend-POSS-DAT gift
 aldığ-ımız_j]]]] kadın_i.
 take-DIK-AGR woman
 ‘the woman with whom we bought a gift for our friend’

The two noun phrases in (38) are different in that only the (a) structure allows for the optionality of the resumptive pronoun – relativisation with a gap (*dans ettiğim kadın*) is also perfectly fine. The same, however, is not true of (38b), where the resumptive pronoun is obligatory.

To the best of my knowledge, reflexive resumptives have not been attested⁶, and the behaviour of Turkish *kendisi* once again resembles that of Binding-Theory-style pronominals.

3.4 Interpretation in intensional contexts

It has often been argued, especially in the philosophical literature, that noun phrase interpretation is sensitive to a multitude of factors, amongst which are possible worlds. To see why this should be the case, consider two scenarios, 1 and 2 (from Chierchia 1989).

Scenario 1 *Pavarotti is listening to a recording where he is performing La donna è mobile and feels very impressed by his own performance. He thinks, ‘I have to admit, I am a genius!’*

In this scenario, there is a self-acquaintance relation between Pavarotti and whoever is performing the song in question; thus, if we were to report Pavarotti’s belief, we would have to make sure that this aspect of meaning is also conveyed.

Scenario 2 *Pavarotti is listening to a recording where a tenor voice is performing La donna è mobile and is very impressed by the performer’s skill. He thinks, ‘This tenor is a genius!’. Unbeknownst to Pavarotti, it is he himself that he believes to be a genius.*

Unlike in the previous scenario, in this there is no self-acquaintance relation between Pavarotti and the performer of *La donna è mobile*. In fact, there is a contradictory belief on Pavarotti’s part, namely that the performer is not him, Pavarotti. Again, this aspect of meaning has to be somehow conveyed when we report Pavarotti’s belief.

Let us now consider the actual expressions from natural language, in this instance Italian; let us also follow the literature and call the reading *without* the self-identity relation the *de re* reading (from Latin ‘of the thing’), and the one *with* this relation the *de se* reading (from Latin ‘about self’).

- (39) a. Pavarotti crede di PRO essere un genio.
 Pavarotti believes COMP be.INF DET genius
 ‘Pavarotti believes to be a genius.’ [✓S1; *S2] — *de se*
- b. Pavarotti crede che gli è un genio.
 Pavarotti believes that he is DET genius
 ‘Pavarotti believes that he is a genius’ [✓S1; ✓S2] — *de re*

As the sentences above demonstrate, natural language elements may differ with respect to what kind of interpretation they prefer; in fact, it has become a default assumption that a number of pronouns (PRO, logophoric pronouns and many of the long-distance reflexives, cf. Anand & Nevins 2004, Anand 2006) are always interpreted *de se*, whereas no such requirement is valid for usual 3rd person pronouns.

Now let us go on to see how *kendisi* will fare in mistaken identity scenarios similar to the ones we have just discussed.

⁶In fact, this is not strictly true: in certain languages, like Old English or modern Frisian (Huang 2000), there are no dedicated reflexive forms and pronominals are used for the purposes of reflexivisation. As far as I am aware, these languages also demonstrate resumptive strategies, and the very same pronouns are used there as elsewhere.

Scenario 3 *Ali and Ayşe are good friends and know each other extremely well. Amongst other things, Ali knows that you have to work extremely hard to make Ayşe angry. At the moment Ali is at home watching a video recording of Ayşe talking to a man. Suddenly he sees all the indications of Ayşe getting angry at the man without that man having done anything to provoke her anger. Unbeknownst to him, the man in the recording is his real-world self.*

As is obvious from the description of the scenario, we are dealing here with a case of mistaken identity. If *kendisi* is akin to long-distance reflexives or PRO, we are expecting it to be unacceptable in an utterance reporting this belief of Ali’s.

Scenario 4 *Ali and Ayşe are good friends and know each other extremely well. Amongst other things, Ali knows that you have to work extremely hard to make Ayşe angry. At the moment Ali is at home watching a video recording of Ayşe talking to a man. Suddenly he sees all the indications of Ayşe getting angry at the man without that man having done anything to provoke her anger. In addition, he manages to make out that the man in the recording is actually himself.*

- (40) Ali Ayşe’nin kendisine kızmasına şaşırdı.
 Ali Ayşe.GEN self.3SG.DAT get.angry.MSD.ACC be.surprised.AOR
 ‘Ali₁ was surprised at Ayşe getting angry at him₁’ [\checkmark S3 (*de re*), \checkmark S4 (*de se*)]

It is apparent from the acceptability of (40) as an attitude report of either one of the scenarios (3 or 4) that *kendisi* is semantically very different from PRO, logophoric pronouns and run-of-the mill long-distance reflexives in that it can in principle be interpreted *de re*. This is another aspect of its semantics that it has in common with traditional Binding-Theory-style pronominals like English *he*, Italian *gli* and so on.

3.5 Discourse and intensification

So far we have only seen one instance of discourse-conditioned functioning of *kendisi*, namely in environments where it could take discourse antecedents. However, it has long been known that reflexive-like elements may fulfil at least one more function — intensification (Faltz 1985, König & Siemund 2000, Lyutikova 2002, Gast 2006).

- (41) As Elizabeth Brinker cares for her mother, she knows she herself_F is [at risk of inheriting]_F Alzheimer’s disease. [Sæbø 2009: 118]
- (42) Glahn elsker drømmen om Edvarda mer enn han elsker henne selv.
 Glahn loves the.dream of Edvarda more than he loves her self
 [Sæbø 2009: 119]

However, despite their morphological identity with reflexives, intensifiers have been claimed to be sensitive to constraints of a different kind, and I consider it a fact that unified accounts of reflexivisation and intensification (cf. Reinhart & Reuland 1993, Safir 2004) are on the wrong track (for details and discussion, see Sæbø 2009 and references there).

In Turkish, it is usually *kendi* (and not *kendisi*) that is used as an intensifier:

- (43) Evlâd-ın-ı döv-me-yen (kişi) kendin-i döv-er
 child-3SG-ACC spank-NEG-REL.PRT person self-ACC hit-PRES
 ‘He who doesn’t hit his child hits himself’ [Kornfilt 2001: 215]

However, a reduplicated form, *kendi kendisi*, also exists and is likewise used to convey emphatic aspects of meaning.

3.6 Excursus: *kendisi* vs. *o*

As may have become evident, in this section I have been highlighting the largely pronominal behaviour of the Turkish inflected reflexive *kendisi* (as opposed to its reflexive-like properties that we may have been expecting given the generally reflexive morphology of this pronoun). We have seen that it demonstrates Condition B effects with respect to semantic binding and that it can be used as a *donkey*-pronoun. Besides, it shares with pronominals the ability to be interpreted *de re* in intensional contexts. Unlike reflexives, it is not used as an intensifier, and like a pronominal, it is used for the purposes of resumption.

However, I am not the first to make out that *kendisi* looks more like a pronoun: consider the relevant passage from Kornfilt (2001).

“Summarizing the facts considered here, the differences in use between the overt pronoun and the inflected reflexive with respect to their use in nonlocal domains are really differences in preference, as to be expected, if they are interpreted as resulting from pragmatic and functional principles like the topic-switch principle and the Avoid Pronoun Principle.” [Kornfilt 2001: 214–215]

Exactly the same point, albeit in a different framework, is made in Nilsson (1978), where the author is trying to derive the distinction between *o* and *kendisi* from general pragmatic principles governing cooperative communication whilst also emphasising the nearly free variation between the two pronouns.⁷

So, what is it that motivates the speaker confronted with two alternatives, *kendisi* and *o*, to choose, in a given pragmatic setting, one over the other? We have seen that both pronouns have only one negative syntactic condition on their use — they must not be in a local binding configuration with their antecedents — and unlike *bona fide* reflexives and reciprocals, are sensitive to a plethora of pragmatic factors. I agree with Nilsson (1978) in identifying the following factors as of an utmost importance:⁸

- information structure
- deictic perspective
- point of view/empathy

Since the aim of this paper is to provide empirical and theoretical arguments for considering *kendisi* a pronominal, and the syntactic, semantic and pragmatic differences between *kendisi* and *o* are outside its immediate scope and merit a separate research article, I would nevertheless like to note, as a first approximation, that the information-structural conditions governing the use of either pronoun are rather similar to those

⁷I thank Anna V. Dybo for drawing my attention to the data in Nilsson (1978) and for supplying me with a copy of that article.

⁸In addition to these, Nilsson briefly discusses politeness as another pragmatic factor underlying the use of *kendisi*. Since I have not been able to get any judgements from my consultants regarding this aspect of the pragmatics associated with *kendisi*, I leave this issue for future research.

that are behind the distribution of *on* ‘he’ and *tot* ‘that’ in Russian [Kreydlin & Chekhov (1988)].

Put concisely, the syntactic difference between *on* and *tot* is that the latter does not tolerate an immediately c-commanding antecedent:

- (44) Učitel’ rasskazal direktoru, čto oxrannik sčitaet togo durakom.
 teacher.NOM told headmaster.DAT that guard.NOM considers that.ACC fool.INS
 ‘The/A teacher told the headmaster₇ that the security guard considers him₇ a fool.’

In (44) above, the demonstrative pronoun *tot* can only be coreferential with the indirect object of the matrix clause. It is usually assumed that as far as information structure is concerned, this pronoun is used to encode the focus switch from the rheme (focus, new information etc.) once that rheme becomes the theme (topic, given information etc.). To analogise, it could turn out that a similar pattern holds with the *o*–*kendisi* dichotomy.

As for the perspective-sensitivity of *kendisi*, let us briefly consider a minimal pair of sentences in (45), where (45a) has a deictic predicate COME and (45b) involves its deictic opposite, GO:

- (45) a. Ayşe’nin arkadaş-ı kendi-sin-e // ?on-a gel-di.
 Ayşe-GEN friend-3SG self-3SG-DAT // he-DAT come-PAST
 ‘Ayşe₁’s friend came to her₁’
 b. Ayşe’nin arkadaş-ı ?kendi-sin-e // on-a git-ti.
 Ayşe-GEN friend-3SG self-3SG-DAT // he-DAT go-PAST
 ‘Ayşe₁’s friend went to her₁’ [Nilsson (1978), through Nilsson (1987): 447]

According to the judgements in Nilsson (1978), only (45a) licenses the use of *kendisi* whereas in (45b) only the demonstrative *o* is judged acceptable, which leads Nilsson to conclude that *kendisi* must be sensitive to the linguistic perspective of the utterance.

All its many merits notwithstanding, it seems to me that Nilsson’s paper makes a potentially dangerous move in an attempt to draw parallels between *kendisi* and the Japanese long-distance reflexive *zibun* based on the insight that both of these anaphoric elements are sensitive to perspective or point of view. She fails to notice, however, a number of vital differences between the two, namely that unlike *kendisi*:

- *zibun* is subject-oriented
- *zibun* cannot itself be used in subject position
- *zibun* is not used as a donkey pronoun
- *zibun* is obligatorily interpreted as a bound variable
- *zibun* under intensional predicates is obligatorily interpreted *de se*

One last comment on Nilsson (1978, 1987) is empirical in nature and concerns her observation regarding the possibility of anaphoric (and cataphoric) dependencies with different types of antecedents for both *o* and *kendisi*: according to Nilsson, binding of *kendisi* is deemed unacceptable if the antecedent is indefinite:

- (46) a. *Adam kendisini/onu görünce, bir kız pencereden atladı.
 man self/she-DAT see.CNV one girl window-ABL jump-PAST
 ‘(When the man saw her₁, a girl₁ jumped out of the window)’
 b. Adam kendisini görünce, Ayşe pencereden atladı.
 man self.DAT see.CNV Ayşe window-ABL jump-PAST
 ‘(When the man saw her₁, Ayşe₁ jumped out of the window)’

Contrary to what Nilsson claims, however, anaphora and cataphora between *kendisi* and an indefinite antecedent are far from unacceptable, and we have seen a few examples of this already in this article. These were the *donkey*-sentences in §3.2, and they were judged perfectly grammatical.

Finally, from the perspective of the present article, it is not surprising that *kendisi* allows long-distance antecedents, as it also possesses a cluster of properties traditionally associated with personal pronouns. What begs an explanation on this view is precisely the converse, that is the few cases where this pronoun can be used with coargument antecedents.

4 Proposal

As mentioned in §3.1.1, semantic binding and coreference are sensitive to constraints of different nature: the former is regulated by purely structural factors whereas the latter is subject to pragmatic factors. I will assume that it is theoretically redundant to consider coreference to be sensitive to syntactic constraints given the presence of an independently motivated phenomenon, and will follow (Büring 2005) in claiming that the Binding Theory is only concerned with *semantic* binding.

It can furthermore be argued that constraints on coreference can be formalised in an essentially neo-Gricean way, i.e. via the notion of *conversational implicature*.

In the preceding section I have been trying to reinforce parallels between the properties of *kendisi* on the one hand and Chomsky-style pronominals (i.e. elements like *he* in English) on the other, and believe that the only puzzle to be explained at this stage is the apparent local anaphoric dependencies between *kendisi* and its coargument antecedent.

We have established that this local dependency cannot be an instance of binding, and are left with one alternative — it must be an instance of coreference. Now, if *kendisi* is a pronominal, then these local instances of coreference must constitute a violation of Condition B, which says that a pronominal must be free within its local domain. The question we should be asking at this point is whether there are, across languages, other instances of Condition B violations (or, as I shall be calling them here, *obviations*).

The answer to this question is definitely positive, and we do not have to go much further than English, as will become apparent below.

Indeed, English provides us with ample examples of such obviations. Consider (47), from Büring (2005) (italics signal coreference).

- (47) a. Everybody hates Max. John hates him. Bill hates him... Even *Max* hates *him*.
 b. What do you mean *John* loves no one? *He* loves *John*.

If taken in isolation, the last sentences in (47a) and (47b) would be ungrammatical due to Condition B and Condition C effects respectively (in the former, a pronominal has an antecedent within its binding domain, and in the latter a pronominal c-commands a core-

ferential noun phrase); however, when embedded in a suitable context, these sentences seem perfectly natural. In fact, had there not been these obviation of the Binding Conditions in these contexts, the unobviated versions of these sentences (i.e. with a reflexive in (47a) and the reverse order of pronoun and antecedent in (47b)) would have been ungrammatical.

Binding theory obviation of the kind illustrated in (47) are typically explained via a version of the so-called *Coreference Rule*:

(48) **The Coreference Rule**

α cannot corefer with β if an indistinguishable interpretation can be generated by replacing α with a variable bound by β . [Büring 2005: 119]

Interestingly, a Turkish counterpart of (47a) has *kendisi* as a preferred pronoun:

- (49) Herkes Ali'den nefret eder. Mustafa ondan nefret eder.
 Everyone Ali-ABL hatred do-PRES.3 Mustafa he-ABL hatred do-PRES.3
 Ahmet ondan nefret eder. Kızkardeşi ondan nefret eder. Ali
 Ahmet he-ABL hatred do-PRES.3 sister-3SG he-ABL hatred do-PRES.3 Ali
 bile kendisinden nefret eder.
 even self-3SG-ABL hatred do-PRES.3
 'Everyone hates Ali. Mustafa hates him. Ahmet hates him. His sister hates him. Even Ali hates him.'

Returning to (48), it is obvious that the key notion there is that of an *indistinguishable interpretation*. Now, what counts as a distinguishable interpretation? One influential proposal (Heim 1993) claims that it is in fact syntactic structures of sorts, called logical forms, that should be compared, and not interpretations in isolation.

(50) **(In)distinguishable interpretations**

Whenever a particular property P is under discussion, and LF and LF' are logical forms such that P is denoted by some part LF but not by any part of LF', the LF should be distinguished from LF', even if both express the same proposition. [Heim (1993)]

It seems that the most plausible candidates for comparison in our case would be pairs of sentences with both *kendi* and *kendisi* taking local, coargument antecedents, as below.

- (51) a. Ali kendine kızdı.
 Ali self.DAT get.angry.PAST
 'Ali got angry at himself'
 b. Ali kendisine kızdı.
 Ali self.3SG.DAT get.angry.PAST
 'Ali got angry at himself'

Note that we exclude other possible readings of (51b) and concentrate on the reflexive one. Now, when confronted with pairs of sentences like that, my consultants could perceive a semantic difference; however, they could not formulate it clearly in English. Therefore I offer a tentative characterisation of it, and since I cannot give full details here, leave the question for future research. Several informants could feel that (51a) and (51b) differed with respect to temporal deixis, or taxis: the sentence with *kendisi* implied for them that a considerable period of time must have elapsed between the event

of Ali getting angry at himself and the utterance time, whilst no such condition was necessary for (51a) to be true⁹.

4.1 Predictions and extensions

Before proceeding to the conclusion, a few remarks on the predictions and extensions of the approach presented above are in order.

First, on the theoretical side, the present proposal does not, strictly speaking, contradict the view suggested by Kornfilt; in actuality, I prefer to remain agnostic as to the precise internal structure of *kendisi* and its counterparts in other languages. It may well be the case that the syntactic decomposition Kornfilt advocates turns out to be correct in the end, and there have indeed been arguments in the literature that 3rd person pronouns (or perhaps all personal pronouns) in English are disguised definite descriptions (Elbourne 2005), which in English cannot be semantically bound in their local domain — precisely what we expect on the present view, *pace* Kornfilt (2001).

Second, identification of *kendisi* with plain pronominals naturally simplifies the typology of long-distance anaphora. By means of example, Cole et al. (2001) establish three classes of long-distance anaphors: (i) true long-distance anaphors, (ii) pragmatically motivated long-distance uses of generally local anaphors (e.g. logophoric uses of English *himself*), and (iii) pronouns that behave like anaphors in local configurations and like pronominals in all others. According to the authors, *kendisi* is a member of the last group, but since I have tried to argue against it having local anaphor-like properties, the category itself becomes redundant.

Third, as has been mentioned in this paper, there is a striking degree of similarity between Turkish *kendisi* and Malay *dirinya*. To recapitulate, they are both reflexive pronouns inflected for 3rd person singular, their distribution is also nearly identical. It would thus be very interesting to see whether the account developed in this contribution extends to account for the Malay phenomena. Sadly, there is not enough data in the literature for us to draw any conclusions.

However, one can find fragments of semantic binding data for Malay in Cole & Hermon (2005), where the authors provide evidence from ellipsis showing that *dirinya* indeed allows both strict and sloppy readings, that is that it can be either bound or referential. Here are the relevant pieces:

- (52) John nampak dirinya di dalam cermin; Frank pun.
John see self.3SG in inside mirror Frank too
'John saw him(self) in the mirror and Frank did too'

According to Cole & Hermon (2005), this sentence can be interpreted as asserting that Frank saw either himself, John or a third party from the preceding discourse. At first glance, this seems to contrast rather starkly with our Turkish data, but I believe that data from quantificational binding would give more conclusive results. As matters stand, we should be expecting bound variable interpretations in these configurations to be unavailable.

⁹It is interesting to see whether an event-based approach to the Binding Conditions of the kind developed by S. Tatevosov and E. Lyutikova for another Turkic language, Karachay-Balkar (Lyutikova & Tatevosov 2005) can be utilised to more precisely characterise this subtle semantic difference and explain it away.

- (53) Mary fikir John nampak dirinya di dalam cermin; Frank pun.
 Mary think John see self.3SG in inside mirror Frank too
 ‘Mary thought that John saw himself/her in the mirror and Frank did too’
Strict: ‘Frank thought that John saw Mary in the mirror’
Sloppy: ‘Frank thought that John saw Frank in the mirror’
 [Cole & Hermon (2005): 636]

In (53), again both strict and sloppy readings of the elliptical continuation are available. It should be noted, however, that the authors only mention the bound-variable long-distance readings, and completely ignore the local one. Again, we would expect the local reflexive interpretation (i.e. when Frank thinks John saw himself in the mirror) to be unavailable.

Besides Singapore Malay, there is also a degree of resemblance between *kendisi* and a reflexive/logophoric pronoun *wuž* in Tsakhur, a Nakh-Daghestanian language spoken in North East Caucasus, as noted in Lyutikova (1997), Testelets & Toldova (1998), Toldova (1999), Lyutikova (2000). This anaphoric element does not seem to have any locality restrictions on its use — precisely what has been argued for *kendisi*, and therefore distributionally overlaps with other anaphoric elements (viz., *pro*, PRO, proper reflexives and anaphoric demonstratives). Again, in none of the sources could I find data on semantic binding (except for two examples with elliptical continuations in Toldova 1999 to illustrate the availability of strict readings of locally bound instances of the reduplicated reflexive), interpretation in intensional contexts, or donkey anaphora. There is, however, ample discussion of the discourse properties of this pronoun and its insensitivity to structural constraints. Until this kind of data is obtained and analysed we cannot claim to have gained full understanding of the nature of anaphoric relations. This, however, is a matter of future research.

5 Conclusion

In this paper I have been characterising the syntactic and semantic behaviour of the Turkish inflected reflexive *kendisi* using a number of tools that have been in use in generative syntax and formal semantics from very early on. I hope to have demonstrated that more attention has to be paid to the semantic interpretation of certain syntactic structures by providing a special case study of *kendisi* and capitalising on its essentially pronominal (as opposed to reflexive) properties.

We have seen that *kendisi*, just like *o*, (i) cannot be variable-bound in its local domain; (ii) allows *de re*, as well as *de se*, readings in intensional contexts; (iii) can be used as a resumptive pronoun, or (iv) as a *donkey*-pronoun, the upshot being that Turkish has a designated pronoun to signal coreference with, and not binding by, a local, especially coargument, antecedent.

I have also proposed that the putative instances of locally bound *kendisi* are to be analysed as cases of asserted coreference and are essentially pragmatically motivated, and used the Coreference Rule of Büring (2005) to capture this motivation. What this means is, of course, that *kendisi* gives rise to an interpretation that is semantically and/or pragmatically distinct from the prototypical situation of reflexivisation, and that the Coreference Rule is present in the grammar.

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