

LOGOPHORICITY: THE HEBREW PERSPECTIVE*

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1 Introduction

This paper aims for a unified account of certain contrasts in the distribution of the English *self* anaphor (*myself, herself, themselves* etc.) and the Hebrew counterpart *acm* + pronominal suffix (*acm-i* ‘myself’, *acm-a* ‘herself’, *acm-an* ‘themselves’ etc.; henceforth *acmi*).

self-anaphors are typically used to express co-reference with a local preceding NP, in positions that do not enable a co-referential reading of pronouns, as illustrated in (1). The Hebrew *acmi* in (2) exhibits a similar pattern.

- (1) *Mary₁ saw *her₁/herself₁.*
- (2) *miri₁ ra'ata *ota₁ / et acma₁.*
Miri see.3SG.F.PST her ACC herself
'Miri saw *her/herself.'

However, there are cases in which *self*-anaphors appear in pronoun positions, as in the PP in (3) and the DP in (4). These occurrences of *self* are known in the literature as *logophors* (Reinhart and Reuland, 1991) or *exempt anaphors* (Pollard and Sag, 1992).

- (3) *Mary₁ saw a snake next to her₁/herself₁.*
- (4) *Mary₁ saw a picture of hers₁/herself₁.*

In this setting, the distribution of *acmi* is not compatible with *self*: The Hebrew PP in (5) blocks *acmi*, while the DP in (6) can appear with both the pronoun and the anaphor, like its English counterpart.

- (5) *miri₁ ra'ata naxaš leyad -a₁ / *acma₁.*
Miri see.3SG.F.PST snake.SG.M.INDEF next.to her herself

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- ‘Miri saw a snake next to her/*herself.’
- (6) *miri₁ ra’ata tmuna šel -a₁ / acma₁.*
 Miri see.3SG.F.PST picture.SG.F.INDEF of hers herself
 ‘Miri saw a picture of hers/herself.’

While these contrasts seem to imply that Hebrew PPs are subject to independent restrictions, as suggested in Botwinik-Rotem (2008), there can be found cases in which the picture is reversed. In the following data, *self* appears parallel to a pronoun in (7)-(8), while *acmi* is licensed in the PP (9), and blocked in the DP (10).

- (7) [*Kobe Bryant*]₁ *throws the ball over him₁/himself₁.*
- (8) *John₁ was furious. The picture of him₁/himself₁ in the museum was mutilated.*
 (Büring, 2005:(11.14a))
- (9) [*kobi brayent*]₁ *zorek et ha- kadur me’al -av₁ / acmo₁.*
 Kobe Bryant throw.SG.M.PRES ACC the-ball.SG.M over him himself
 ‘Kobe Bryant throws the ball over him/himself.’
- (10) *yoni₁ ka’as. ha-tmuna šel -o₁ / *acmo₁*
 Yoni be.angry.3SG.M.PST the-picture.SG.F of his himself
ba- muze’on hušxet-a.
 in.the-museum.SG.M destroy.PASS.PST-3SG.F
 ‘Yoni was angry. The picture of his/*himself in the museum was destroyed.’

The Hebrew *acmi* is therefore licensed in pronoun positions, but only in a subset of the environments in which *self* is licensed. This can be explained in two ways: Either the logophoric variant of *acmi* is more restricted than that of the English *self*, or there is no logophoric *acmi*, and the observed parallelism between *acmi* and the pronoun in (6) and (9) is enabled by some other mechanism.

In this paper I show that the second option is more tenable. The following section (§2) presents the basic understandings regarding the distribution of the English *self* in generative frameworks. §3 presents the main contrasts between Hebrew and English. §4 presents diagnostics for logophoricity, and shows that certain environments which are assumed to be logophoric in the literature actually fail them. §5 and §6 analyze the distribution of *acmi* in PPs and DPs, respectively. §6 concludes the paper.

2 Three Types of *self*

The linguistic literature divides occurrences of the English *self* form into three types, which are distinct in their typical positions and in their contribution to the meaning of the utterance: The reflexive anaphor, the logophor, and the intensifier.

The reflexive use has been the center of much debate in the literature, since at least Lees and Klima (1963). The distribution of the reflexive anaphor versus the non-reflexive pronoun was captured, among others, by Lees and Klima’s Pronominalization Rules, Reinhart’s Rule I (Reinhart, 1983), and Chomsky’s Conditions A and B of Government and Binding theory (Chomsky, 1981). Each theory defines a local domain in which only a reflexive anaphor can be used for co-reference. A reflexive use of *self* is illustrated in (11).

- (11) *Mary₁ saw/heard/punished *her₁/herself₁.*

The term *logophors*, or *exempt anaphors*, was given to *self*-forms that appear parallel to pronouns. These were discussed in works like Ross (1970), Kuno (1987), Sells (1987), Zribi-Hertz (1989), Pollard and Sag (1992), Reinhart and Reuland (1993), Huang (2000), Reuland (2001), König and Gast (2002), Rooryck and Vanden Wyngaerd (2011), and Charnavel and Sportiche (2016) (among others), who state that *self*-forms can appear with no local antecedents and take on a discursive role. In this case, their contribution is not in terms of co-reference, but rather in expressing the point of view adopted by the speaker, and/or her stance towards the individuals in question. To account for the distribution of these forms, some authors suggest incorporating discursive principles into the syntactic theory of anaphors (e.g., Ross, 1970; Reinhart and Reuland, 1993; Charnavel and Sportiche, 2016), and others prefer theories based on discourse roles, information structure, or typology (e.g., Kuno, 1987; Ariel, 1994; Huang, 2000; Haspelmath, 2008). Representative examples of logophors are given in (12).

- (12) a. *The paper was written by Ann and me/myself.* (Ross, 1970:(21a))
 b. *As for me/myself, I won't be invited.* (Ross, 1970:(32))
 c. *Max₁ rolled the carpet over him₁/himself₁.* (Reinhart and Reuland, 1993:(67a,c))
 d. *The picture of his₁/himself₁ in Newsweek bothered John₁.* (Pollard and Sag, 1992:(60a))

The third and significantly less studied use of *self* is as an intensifier, which is considered as its original use from a diachronic perspective. Works like Edmondson and Plank (1978), König and Siemund (1996), König and Gast (2006), Cohen (1999, 2010), and Charnavel (2010) describe *self*-intensifiers as expressions that appear as adverbial or adnominal adjuncts, draw stress, and can be omitted without affecting the truth conditions. Their semantic contribution is said to be the activation of the set of possible alternatives for the individual they refer to, and/or marking the individual as prominent in this set. In many aspects, these forms are similar to focus particles, like *even*, *also*, and *only*. Typical *self*-intensifiers are given in (13).

- (13) a. *The judge himself may be guilty.* (Cohen, 2009:(1a))
 b. *Mrs. Dalloway said she would buy the flowers herself.*¹

The apparent homophony between intensifiers, reflexives, and logophors is not unique cross-linguistically, leading to several claims that they are semantically or historically related. For example, König and Gast (2006), who find that intensifiers and reflexives also share form in Caucasian languages, Finno-Ugric, Indic languages, Mandarin, Persian, and Turkish, argue for a grammaticalization pattern in which intensifiers evolve into reflexive anaphors; Charnavel (2010) demonstrates synchronic interaction between syntactic binding and intensifiers in French; logophoric readings of reflexives are documented in French (Charnavel and Sportiche, 2016), Icelandic (Maling, 1984), Japanese (Kuroda, 1973; Oshima, 2007), Mandarin (Huang and Liu, 2001), and Turkish (Major and Özkan, 2017); Ross (1970) and Charnavel (2018) suggest unified accounts for reflexives and logophors, under which the former are licensed by overt antecedents, and the latter – by covert ones; Kuno (1987) sees all *self*-forms in argument positions as subjected to a unified system of rules; Baker (1995) suggests reducing logophors to intensifiers;

¹ Quote from: Woolf, Virginia. 1925. *Mrs. Dalloway*. In *Collected Novels of Virginia Woolf*, ed. Stella McNichol, p.33. London: Palgrave Macmillan.

and Reinhart and Reuland (1993) go in the opposite direction with their definition of *focus logophors*.²

The following section shows that the Hebrew anaphor *acmi* follows patterns known from other languages in reflexive and intensive contexts, but exhibits its own pattern in logophoric contexts.

3 The Hebrew puzzle

The Hebrew anaphor is commonly used as an intensifier and as a reflexive, as illustrated in (14)-(15), respectively.

- (14) *ha- malka acma ena ašira kfi še- rabim xošvim.*
 the-queen.SG herself be.NEG.3SG.F.PRES rich.3SG.F as that-many think.3PL.M
 ‘The queen herself is not as rich as many think.’

- (15) *ha- uxlušiya taxpil et acma tox esrim šana.*
 the-population.SG.F double.3SG.F.FUT ACC herself in twenty year.SG.F.INDEF
 ‘The population will double itself in twenty years.’

That these uses have been around for a while, can be shown by the documentation of both an intensifier *acmi* (16) and a reflexive *acmi* (17) in Rabbinic Hebrew, a predecessor of Modern Hebrew from around 1st-3rd centuries CE.

- (16) a. *hu acmo yikrav ola.*³
 he himself sacrifice.3SG.M.FUT offering.SG.F.INDEF
 ‘He himself will make a sacrifice.’
- b. *ha- iša acma mevi’a et gita.*⁴
 the-woman.SG herself bring.PRES 3SG.F. ACC her.divorce.certificate.SG.M
 ‘The woman herself brings her divorce certificate.’
- (17) a. *ha- moxer et acmo ve- et banav*
 that-sell.3SG.M.PRES ACC himself and-ACC his.son.PL
*le-goy, ein podim oto.*⁵
 to-non.jewish.SG.M.INDEF NEG redeem.PRES 3PL.M. him
 ‘He who sells himself and his sons to a foreigner, is not to be redeemed.’
- b. *ilu ani pasakti le-acmi ešev ad še- yalbin*
 if I rule.1SG.PST for-myself sit.1SG.FUT until that-whiten.3SG.M.FUT
*roš-i.*⁶
 my.head.SG.M
 ‘If I was to rule for myself, I would have sat until my head became white.’

² The term relates to *self*-forms which are “used as focus” (Reinhart and Reuland, 1993:675) and can appear in both argument and adjunct positions without a local antecedent, which technically covers *self*-intensifiers.

³ Rabbinic Hebrew; quote taken from: Kdashim VI 3:3.

⁴ Rabbinic Hebrew; quote taken from: Nashim VI 2:7.

⁵ Rabbinic Hebrew; quote taken from: Nashim VI 4:9.

⁶ Rabbinic Hebrew; quote taken from: Nashim II 13:5.

The question of whether a logophoric *acmi* is attested has yet to be confronted directly. Reinhart and Reuland (1992) and Botwinik-Rotem (2008) note that Hebrew is more restrictive than English with respect to logophors, but do not specify to what extent.

Some of the more well-known environments for English logophors block *acmi* across the board, like cases in which *self* appears in conjunctions (18), or with no antecedent at all (19). Note that in the Hebrew counterparts in (20)-(21) only pronouns are available.

- (18) a. *The paper was written by Ann and me/myself.* (Ross, 1970:(21a))
 b. *Max boasted that the queen invited Lucie and himself for a drink.*
 (Reinhart and Reuland, 1993: (26a))
- (19) a. *As for me/myself, I will not be invited.* (Ross, 1970:(32))
 b. *Physicists like you/yourself are a godsend.* (adapted from Ross, 1970:(23))
- (20) a. *ha- ma'amar ha- ze ni-xtav al yedey an ve- al-yaday*
 the-paper.SG.M the-this.M write.3SG.M.PASS.PST by Ann and-by.me
 / *ve- al-yedey *acmi*.
 and by myself
 'This paper was written by Ann and by me/*myself.'
- b. *maks₁ samax še-ha-malka hizmina et liron*
 Max be.glad.3SG.M.PST that-the-queen.SG invite.3SG.F.PST ACC Liron
*ve- oto₁ / *et acmo₁ le-drink.*
 and-him ACC himself to-drink.SG.M.INDEF
 'Max was glad that the queen invited Liron and himself for a drink.'
- (21) a. *be-noge'a elay / *le-acmi, ani lo muzmenet.*
 in-touch.SG.M.PRES to.me to-myself I NEG invite.SG.F.PASS.PRES
 'As for me/*myself, I am not invited.'
- b. *fizika'im kmo -txa / *acmexa hem matat el.*
 physicist.PL.M like you.SG.M yourself.SG.M COP.PL.M.PRES gift.of.SG.F god
 'Physicists like you/*yourself are a god send.'

However, the introduction has shown that environments like PPs of spatial relations and representational nouns block *acmi* in (3) and (7), repeated below as (24a-b), but license it in (4) and (8), repeated as (25a-b).

- (22) a. *Mary₁ saw a snake next to her₁/herself₁.*
 b. *John₁ raged. That picture of him₁/himself₁ in the museum had been mutilated.*
- (23) a. *Mary₁ saw a picture of hers₁/herself₁.*
 b. *[Kobe Bryant]₁ throws the ball over him₁/himself₁.*
- (24) a. *miri₁ ra'ata naxaš leyad -a₁ / *acma₁.*
 Miri see.3SG.F.PST snake.SG.M.INDEF next.to her herself
 'Miri saw a snake next to her/*herself.'
- b. *yoni₁ ka'as. ha-tmuna šel -o₁ / *acmo₁*
 Yoni be.angry.3SG.M.PST the-picture.SG.F of his himself
ba- muze'on hušxeta.
 in.the-museum.SG.M destroyed.3SG.F.PASS.PST
 'Yoni was angry. The picture of his/*himself in the museum was destroyed.'

- (25) a. *miri₁ ra'ata tmuna šel -a₁ / acma₁.*
 Miri see.3SG.F.PST picture.SG.F.INDEF of her / herself
 'Miri saw a picture of hers/herself.'
- b. [*kobi brayent*]₁ *zorek et ha-kadur me'al -av₁ / acmo₁.*
 Kobe Bryant throw.SG.M.PRES ACC the-ball.SG.M over him / himself
 'Kobe Bryant throws the ball over him/himself.'

My goal is to explain what licenses *acmi* in (25) but not in (24). Since *self*-forms vary in the conditions licensing them, it is crucial to understand with which of the meanings of *self* these occurrences of *acmi* correlate.

4 How to Identify Your *self*

§2 has established that different *self*-forms occupy different positions: Reflexive anaphors appear in argument positions in which (co-referential) pronouns are blocked, logophors appear in pronoun positions, and intensifiers – in adjunct positions. The distribution of the Hebrew *acmi* was shown to parallel the English *self* as a reflexive and as an intensifier, but not as a logophor. Since this paper aims to account for contrasts in distribution, I will not define the forms based on their positions, but rather rely on independent diagnostics.

The main indicator of logophors is their sensitivity to changes in perspective: When the perspective of the utterance changes such that the *self*-form does not refer to the point-of-view holder anymore, *self* becomes unavailable. One way to control this is with ϕ -features; for example, Ross (1970) argues that since only first-person *self*-forms normally refer to the speaker, *myself* but not *herself*, is available as a logophor in (26a-b). He further shows that in contexts of reported speech/though, a third-person logophor is possible (27a), but only if it matches the reported entity's gender and number (compare with (27b)).

- (26) a. *As for me/myself, I will not be invited.* (Ross, 1970:(32))
 b. *As for her/*herself, she will not be invited.* (Ross, 1970:(28a-b))
- (27) a. *Glinda_i knows that as for her₁/herself₁, she will not be invited.* (Ross, 1970:(29a))
 b. *Maxwel knows that as for her/*herself, she will not be invited.* (Ross, 1970:(29b))

Similar contrasts are illustrated by Rooryck and Vanden Wyngaerd (2007), who argue that a phrase like *according to* in (28a), which sets its complement as the perspective center, licenses a long-distance *self*-form which would otherwise be blocked (28b). Slogett and Dillon (2017) support this with findings from a processing experiment, showing that speakers accept a feature-matching subject as an antecedent for a CP-embedded *self* with a speech-verb as the main verb, but not with perception-verb ((29a-b), respectively).⁷

- (28) a. *According to Mary₁, John is a little taller than her₁/herself₁.*
 b. *As for Mary₁, John is a little taller than her₁/*herself₁.*
 (Rooryck and Vanden Wyngaerd, 2007:(32a-b))
- (29) a. *The nanny/*butler said that the boys lied about herself.*

⁷ Controlling ϕ -features in English is often based on gender stereotypes. In this case, *nanny* is interpreted as female.

- b. *The nanny/butler heard that the boys lied about herself.
(Sloggett and Dillon, 2017:(6))

As the following examples show, local anaphors are not affected by the switch in perspective from John to Mary in (30), or by the choice of speech verb versus perception verb in (31).

- (30) a. According to John₁, he saw *him₁/himself₁ in the mirror and freaked out.
b. According to Mary, John₁ saw *him₁/himself₁ in the mirror and freaked out.
- (31) a. [The boys]₁ said that they₁ should punish *them₁/themselves₁.
b. [The boys]₁ were told that they₁ should punish *them₁/themselves₁.

Another way to control for perspective is animacy: Charnavel and Sportiche (2016) note that a perspective center has to have perception, and thus using inanimate antecedents should rule out the logophors and enable only local anaphors. This is illustrated below with one of their examples from French: The animate antecedent *Marie* licenses a long distance *elle-même* ‘herself’ in (32a), while the inanimate *la terre* ‘the earth’ fails to do so under similar conditions in (32b).

- (32) a. *Marie s’ inquiète souvent du fait que ses₁*
Mary self-worry.3SG.PRES often of.the.SG.MS fact.SG.MS that her.PL
enfants dépendent d’ elle₁-même.
child.MS.PL depend.3PL.PRES of-her- self
‘Mary is often worried that her children depend on herself.’
(Charnavel and Sportiche, 2016:(29a))
- b. [*La terre*]₁ *est dégradée par les êtres humains même*
the.SG.F earth.F is degraded by the.PL being.MS.PL human.PL even
*si leur avenir ne dépend que d’ elle₁ (*même).*
if their.SG.MS future.MS NEG depend.3SG.PRES but of-her self
‘The earth is degraded by human beings even if their future only depends on it(*self).’
(Charnavel and Sportiche, 2016:fn.28)

Once again, this does not affect local anaphors, which require a reflexive form for co-reference, whether the antecedent is animate or inanimate, as illustrated in (33a-b).

- (33) a. *Mary₁ saw *her₁/herself₁.*
b. *The radar₁ detected *it₁/itself₁.*

Since intensifiers do not indicate a point of view as part of their meaning, they are also expected to be available with inanimate antecedents. The data in (34) confirm that this is the case.

- (34) a. *The engine itself may be out of balance.*⁸
b. *The Basics; When the Table Itself Is a Negotiating Ploy.*⁹

⁸ Quote taken from: Heyn, Ernest V. (ed.). 1967, January 30. *Popular Science* 190.1:16. Popular Science Publishing Company.

⁹ <https://www.nytimes.com/2006/07/30/weekinreview/washington/the-basics-when-the-table-itself-is-a-negotiating.html>.

Finally, distinguishing between intensifiers and reflexives can be done independently of their positions, based on their stress patterns. Without getting into a detailed prosodic analysis, it can be stated that intensifiers generally draw phrasal stress (König and Siemund, 1996), while reflexive anaphors avoid it (Schwarzschild, 1999; Ahn, 2014). Therefore, an inanimate *self*-form which becomes unavailable when another element in the phrase is stressed is likely to be an intensifier. The contrast is illustrated with a reflexive in (35a) and an intensifier in (35b) (SMALL CAPS indicate phrasal stress).

- (35) a. *The radar DETECTED itself.*
 b. **The ENGINE itself may be out of balance.*

Now let us examine the environments in which *acmi* exhibits an inconsistent pattern. The spatial PPs in (22), repeated below as (36), enable both a pronoun and a *self*-form in the same environments in English. If these are logophors, they are expected to become unacceptable when the point of view in the utterance changes.

- (36) a. *Mary₁ saw a snake next to her₁/herself₁.*
 b. *[Kobe Bryant]₁ throws the ball over him₁/himself₁.*

The data in (37) show that this effect is observed for the PP in (36a), but not for the one in (36b). English speakers I consulted with accepted *next to herself* when the point of view was Mary's (37a), and preferred a pronoun when it was John's (37b). In contrast, *over himself* was equally valid whether the point of view was Kobe's (38a) or the commentators' (38b).

- (37) a. *According to Mary₁, she₁ saw a snake next to her₁/herself₁ and ran away.*
 b. *According to John, Mary₁ saw a snake next to her₁?/herself₁ and ran away.*
 (38) a. *According to [Kobe Bryant]₁ he₁ threw the ball over him₁/himself₁.*
 b. *According to the commentators, [Kobe Bryant]₁ threw the ball over him₁/himself₁.*

Applying the animacy test yields a similar pattern: *itself* is blocked in (39a), the inanimate version of (36a), but not in the inanimate version of (36b) in (39b) (the fact that the pronoun is blocked in (39b) is not crucial for our purposes).

- (39) a. *The radar₁ detected a plane next to *it₁/itself₁.*
 b. *The cannon₁ fired a shell over *it₁/itself₁.*

This inconsistency is also found with the representational nouns in (23), repeated in (40). The construction in (40a) licenses *pictures of herself* whether the point-of-view holder is Mary, as in (41a), or John, as in (41b). But in (42), which is based on (40b), shifting the point of view from John to Mary renders the *self*-form unacceptable.

- (40) a. *Mary₁ saw a picture of hers₁/herself₁.*
 b. *John₁ raged. That picture of him₁/himself₁ in the museum had been mutilated.*
 (41) a. *According to Mary₁, she₁ saw a picture of her₁/herself₁ and freaked out.*
 b. *According to John, Mary₁ saw a picture of her₁/herself₁ and freaked out.*
 (42) a. *According to John₁, a picture of him₁/himself₁ was stolen.*
 b. *According to Mary, a picture of him/*himself was stolen.*

Once again, the same split is revealed with animacy tests: The inanimate counterpart of (40a) in (43a) licenses the inanimate anaphor *itself*, while the inanimate version of (40b) blocks the anaphor (43b).

- (43) a. *The radar₁ detected a reflection of *it₁/itself₁.*
 b. *The database₁'s security was breached. Copies of it₁/*itself₁ were distributed across the internet.*

Based on these diagnostics, the PP anaphor in (36b) and the DP anaphor in (40a) are not logophoric after all. This seems to account for the contrasts between *self* and *acmi* straightforwardly, since these are the contexts in which *acmi* is available. This was illustrated in (24)-(25), repeated here as (44)-(45).

- (44) a. *miri₁ ra'ata naxaš leyad -a₁ / *acma₁.*
 Miri see.3SG.F.PST snake.SG.M.INDEF next.to her herself
 'Miri saw a snake next to her/*herself.'
 b. *yoni₁ ka'as. ha-tmuna šel -o₁ / *acmo₁*
 Yoni be.angry.3SG.M.PST the-picture.SG.F of his himself
ba- muze'on hušxeta.
 in.the-museum.SG.M destroyed.3SG.F.PASS.PST
 'Yoni was angry. The picture of his/*himself in the museum was destroyed.'
 (45) a. *miri₁ ra'ata tmuna šel -a₁ / acma₁.*
 Miri see.3SG.F.PST picture.SG.F.INDEF of her herself
 'Miri saw a picture of hers/herself.'
 b. *[kobi brayent]₁ zorek et ha-kadur me'al -av₁ / acmo₁.*
 Kobe Bryant₁ throw.SG.M.PRES ACC the-ball.SG.M over him himself
 'Kobe Bryant throws the ball over him/himself.'

The consistent appearance of *acmi* in environments which fail logophoric tests leads to the following conclusion, which predicts the variation between Hebrew and English in all contexts presented above.

- (46) There is no logophoric *acmi* in Hebrew.

It follows from (46) that environments that license *self* as a local anaphor, or as an intensifier, license *acmi* in Hebrew as well, while environments that license a logophoric *self* in English block *acmi* in Hebrew. This leaves us with the need to explain what enables the appearance of *acmi* in pronoun positions in (45), and what differentiates these cases from the ones in (44).

I will proceed to examine PPs and DPs separately, and show that despite the apparent similarities, they seem to embed different types of *acmi*.

4 *acmi* in PPs

The previous section shows that certain spatial PPs block *acmi* (44a), while others enable it (44b). A logophoric account was ruled out based on point-of-view shifts and animacy, and this raises the need to reconsider an analysis of *acmi* as a local anaphor in these contexts. Since the distance between *acmi* and its antecedent seems to be similar in both cases, I will focus on the prepositions themselves. Consider the contrast in (47).

- (47) a. [*kobi brayent*]₁ *zorek* *et ha-kadur el -av₁ / acmo₁.*
 Kobe Bryant throw.SG.M.PRES ACC the-ball.SG.M to him himself
 ‘Kobe Bryant throws the ball to him/himself.’
- b. [*kobi brayent*]₁ *zorek et ha-kadur leyad -o₁ / acmo₁.*
 Kobe Bryant throw.SG.M.PRES ACC the-ball.SG.M next.to him himself
 ‘Kobe Bryant throws the ball next to him/himself.’
- c. [*kobi brayent*]₁ *zorek et ha-kadur me'al -av₁ / acmo₁.*
 Kobe Bryant throw.SG.M.PRES ACC the-ball.SG.M over him himself
 ‘Kobe Bryant throws the ball over him/himself.’

These sentences are based on the construction in (44b) and differ minimally in the choice of preposition word, revealing three different patterns of distribution for *acmi*: The preposition *el* ‘to’ requires an anaphor for co-reference, *leyad* ‘next to’ blocks the anaphor, and *me'al* ‘over, above’ enables both a pronoun and an anaphor.

I suggest that this contrast has to do with the basic meaning of the preposition: Jackendoff (1973) divides the set of spatial Ps into prepositions that denote paths in space, and prepositions that denote (fixed) locations, or places. In the examples in (47), *el* is strictly a path preposition, *leyad* is a place preposition, and *me'al* is ambiguous between a path and a place reading, as suggested by its possible translation as either ‘over’ or ‘above’. *me'al* can indicate a path going over an individual, or the areal space above an individual, both of which are plausible in the given context.

If we assume that the anaphors here are local anaphors, we can conclude that (47a-c) vary from each other in terms of locality, in accordance with the preposition type.¹⁰

A reflexive analysis of PP-*acmi*, which is based on the path-place distinction, has the following predictions: First, if path prepositions are part of the local domain of the subject, they should block co-referential pronouns in English as well. (48) shows that this prediction is borne out.

- (48) [*Kobe Bryant*]₁ *throws the ball to/toward *him₁/himself₁.*

Second, this analysis predicts that the correlation presented in (47) would be systematic, and that the same patterns will be triggered by inanimate anaphors. The data below seem to follow: The path preposition *lekivun* ‘toward’ requires an anaphor (49), the place preposition *me'axorey* ‘behind’ requires a pronoun (50), and the ambiguous preposition *misaviv* ‘around’ enables both a pronoun and an anaphor (51). The same pattern is obtained with animate antecedents (a-sentences) and inanimate ones (b-sentences).

- (49) a. [*ha-xayal*]₁ *yara pagaz lekivun *-o₁ / acmo₁*
 the-soldier.SG.M fire.3SG.M.PST shell.SG.M.INDEF toward him himself
be-ta'ut ve-nifca kal.
 in-mistake.SG.F and-injure.3SG.M.PST slight.SG.M
 ‘The soldier fired a shell toward *him/himself by mistake and was slightly injured.’
- b. [*ha-totax*]₁ *yara pagaz lekivun *-o₁ / acmo₁*
 the-canon.SG.M fire.3SG.M.PST shell.SG.M.INDEF toward him himself

¹⁰ The actual structure of the PPs is not relevant for the purposes of this paper, but see Bassel (2018) for a thorough discussion.

- biglal takala ve- hitpocec.*
because fault.SG.F.INDEF and-explode.3SG.M.PST
'The canon fired a shell toward *it/itself due to a fault and exploded.'
- (50) a. *dito₁ hetiz me'axor -av₁/*-ey acmo₁ avkat*
Dito spray.3SG.M.PST behind him of himself powder.of.SG.F
šituk ve- hegbi'a et me'of-o.
paralysis.SG.M and-elevate.3SG.M.PST ACC his.flight.SG.M
'Dito sprayed paralysis powder behind him/*himself and flew higher.'
- b. [*ha-matos*]₁ *metiz me'axor -av₁/*-ey acmo₁ xomrei*
the-plane.SG.M spray.3SG.M.PRES behind it of itself material.PL.M.of
hadbara otomatit, axat le-šlošim šniot.
pesticide automatically one to-thirty second.PL.F
'The plain automatically sprays pesticides behind it/*itself, once every 30 seconds.'
- (51) a. *akavišim₁ tovim kurim mis(a)viv -am₁/ le-acmam₁*
spider.PL.M spin.3PL.M.PRES web.PL.M around them to-themselves
kedei lacud / lehitgonen.
in.order.to hunt.INF protect.INF.REFL
'Spiders spin webs around them/themselves in order to hunt/protect themselves.'
- b. [*zramim xašmaliyim*]₁ *yocrim sadot magnetiyim*
stream.PL.M electric.PL.M generate.3PL.M.PRES field.PL.M magnetic.PL.M
mis(a)viv -am₁/ le-acmam₁.
around them to-themselves
'Electric streams generate magnetic fields around them/themselves.'

A third prediction is that ambiguous prepositions will exhibit a correlation between the chosen meaning (path or place) and the chosen pronominal element (anaphor or pronoun). This can be tested by combining the ambiguous PPs with PPs that are restricted to either path or place meaning, which force one of these meanings on the joint phrase. If the parallelism between the pronoun and the anaphor is indeed triggered by two different meanings, disambiguating the preposition should rule out one of the options. The data in (52) confirm that this is the case.

- (52) a. *kobi₁ zorek et ha-kadur me'al ??-av₁ / acmo₁*
Kobe throw.SG.M.PRES ACC the-ball.SG.M over him himself
la-cad ha-šeni šel ha-migraš.
to-side.SG.M the-second.SG.M of the-court.SG.M
'Kobe throws the ball over??him/himself to the other side of the court.'
- b. *kobi₁ zorek et ha-kadur ba-avir me'al -av₁ / ??acmo₁.*
Kobe throw.SG.M.PRES ACC the-ball.SG.M in.the-air.M over him himself
'Kobe throws the ball in the air above him/??himself.'

The prepositional phrase *la-cad ha-šeni* 'to the other side' in (52a) has only a path meaning, which forces the path reading of *meal*. In this case, the pronoun is much more likely to be interpreted as distinct in reference from the subject, and the anaphor becomes more natural for a co-referential reading. In contrast, the place phrase *ba-avir* 'in the air' in (52b) forces a place reading of *me'al*, and the pronoun becomes more appropriate in a co-referential reading, compared to the anaphor. A graphic illustration of the two scenarios is given in Figure 1 below.

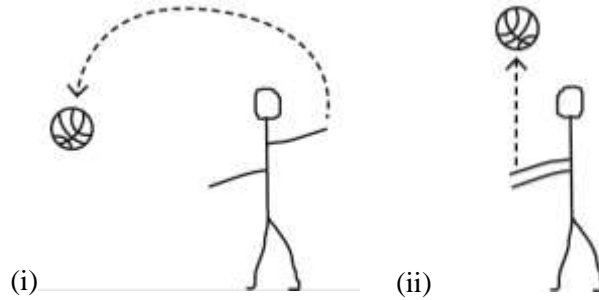


Figure 1. A graphic illustration of the two possible interpretations of the preposition *me'al*:
 (i) path: ‘throws over himself’ (52a), and (ii) place: ‘throws above him’ (52b)

The apparent parallelism of *acmi* and the pronoun with prepositions like *me'al* ‘over/above’ and *misaviv* ‘around’ is therefore misleading, since the pronoun and the anaphor are not in the same position, but rather belong in two different constructions.

I conclude that spatial PPs enable local anaphors in both Hebrew and English when they are headed by path prepositions, and that in addition, English enables logophors in PPs headed by place prepositions (which are not available in Hebrew).

5 *acmi* in DPs

The data in §4 show that *self* and *acmi* are not compatible in DPs: *self* is available in cases like (22b) and (23a), while *acmi* is selective in the Hebrew counterparts ((24b), (25a)). The goal of this section is to understand what differs DPs that enable *acmi* from ones that block it, assuming that logophoricity is not an option. Consider the data below:

- (53) a. *Mary₁ saw a picture of hers₁/herself₁ in the paper.*
 b. *Mary₁ deleted a recording of hers₁/herself₁ from 1980.*
 c. *John₁ raged when the picture of him₁/himself₁ in the museum had been mutilated.*
 d. *The picture of him₁/himself₁ in Newsweek bothered John₁.*
- (54) a. *miri₁ ra'ata tmuna šel -a₁ / acma₁ ba- iton.*
 Miri see.3SG.F.PST picture.SG.F.INDEF of hers herself in.the-paper
 ‘Miri saw a picture of hers/herself in the paper.’
- b. *miri₁ maxka haklata šel -a₁ / acma₁ me- 1980.*
 Miri delete.3SG.F.PST recording.SG.F.INDEF of hers herself from-1980
 ‘Miri deleted a recording of hers/herself from 1980.’
- c. *yoni₁ ka'as kše-ha-tmuna šel -o₁ / *acmo₁*
 Yoni be.angry.3SG.M.PST when-the-picture.SG.F of his himself
ba- muze'on hušxeta.
 in.the-museum.SG.M destroy.3SG.F.PASS.PST
 ‘Yoni was angry when the picture of his/*himself in the museum was destroyed.’
- d. *ha-tmuna šel-o₁ / *acmo₁ be-yedi'ot axronot hetrida et yoni₁.*
 the-picture.SG.F of his himself in-Yediot Ahronot bother.3SG.F.PST ACC Yoni
 ‘The picture of his/*himself in Yediot Ahronot bothered Yoni.’

Again, *self* is available in all four cases in (53), parallel to the pronoun, while *acmi* is licensed in (54)(54a-b) and blocked in (54c-d). An apparent variable in (54) is the position of the antecedent: In sentences (54a-b), *acmi* co-refers with the matrix subject while being embedded in a DP in direct object position; in (54c-d), the antecedent is in a separate clause, or absent. This can be taken to indicate that locality constraints are at play here, as was shown for some of the PPs in the previous section. However, if *acma* were licensed locally in (54a-b), a co-referential pronoun should not have been available in these positions. Another argument against a local analysis of DP-*acmi* is the grammaticality of cases like (55):

- (55) [*ha-nasi*]₁ *daraš* *še- yitlu* *tmunot* *šel*
 the-president.SG.M demand.3SG.M.PST that-hang.3PL.M.FUT picture.PL.F of
 -*o*₁ / *acmo*₁ *be-batey* *sefer*.
 him himself in-house.of.PL book.SG.M.INDEF
 ‘The president demanded that they hang pictures of his/himself in schools.’

This sentence has *acmo* in a separate clause from its antecedent *ha-nasi* ‘the president’, and it is still acceptable. Shifting the point of view from the president in (55) to the prime minister in (56) does not affect the acceptability of *acmi*, nor does co-referring with an inanimate antecedent like *mapaley ha-niagara* ‘the Niagara falls’ in (57).

- (56) *roš* *ha- memšala* *to'en* *še- ha- nasi*₁
 head.of.SG.M the-government.SG.F claim.3SG.M.PRES that-the-president.SG.M
hit-bakeš *litlot* *tmunot* *šel -o*₁ / *acmo*₁ *be-batey*
 ask.3SG.M.PASS.PST hang.INF picture.PL.F of his himself in-house.of.PL
sefer.
 book.SG.M.INDEF
 ‘The prime minister claims that the president was requested to hang pictures of his/himself in schools.’
- (57) [*mapaley ha-ni'agara*]₁ *garmu* *le-hitmotetut* *ha-sexer*
 fall.of.PL.M the-Niagara cause.3PL.M.PST to-collapse.of. .SG.M.DEF the-dam.SG.M
*šel -a'em*₁ / *acmam*₁.
 of -them themselves
 ‘The Niagara Falls caused the collapse of their (own) dam.’

Note that in (57), *acmam* does not translate into *themselves* in English, but into the possessive intensifier *their own*. This fact, together with the relatively free distribution of *acmi* in DPs, and its acceptability with inanimate antecedents, seems to suggest that if *acmi* is not licensed locally in DPs, it is an intensifier rather than a logophor.

Possessive intensifiers, also known as *intensive possessives*, are similar to other intensifiers in that they do not affect truth conditions, but rather activate the set of possible alternatives for the individual they refer to. The main difference is their position, which, as the label suggests, is embedded in possessive adjuncts. Though some languages use designated forms for this function, like the English *own* and the French *son propre*, intensifiers that can be used in both contexts are also attested. The Turkish *kendi*, Mandarin *ziji*, and Persian *xod*, are some of the documented examples (König and Siemund, 2000), alongside the English *x's self* which doubled as a possessive intensifier up until the 17th century (König and Gast, 2006).

In Hebrew, intensive possession can be expressed by the form *šeli acmi* ‘of my own’ (lit. ‘my myself’), in which the reflexive form has its antecedent within the phrase (the possessive pronoun). This form has become somewhat archaic, and is currently quite rare in colloquial Hebrew. The licensing of *acmi* in DPs could then be a re-emergence of the possessive intensifier, without the requirement for a pronoun.

If DP-*acmi* is licensed as an intensifier and not as a logophor, it should be sensitive to contrastive focus, rather than to point-of-view-related factors. It was already shown in (56) that when *acmi* is licensed, it does not become less acceptable as a result of a shift in the perspective center. (58) further shows that when *acmi* is blocked, as in (58a), it is not more acceptable when it refers to an entity whose point of view is adopted (58b).

- (58) a. *legabey miri, kama tmunot šel-a /*acma hušxetu.*
 about Miri several picture.PL.F.INDEF of her herself destroy.3PL.M.PASS.PST
 ‘Regarding Miri, a few pictures of hers/*herself were destroyed.’
- b. *lefī miri, kama tmunot šel -a/ *acma hušxetu.*
 according.to Miri several picture.PL.F.INDEF of her herself
 destroy.3PL.M.PASS.PST
 ‘According to Miri, a few pictures of hers/*herself were destroyed.’

On the other hand, adding focus particles to (54b), (54c), and (58), which originally blocked *acmi*, makes it available. This is shown in (59a-c), respectively, and indicates that DP-*acmi* is more natural in contexts in which the set of possible alternatives is already activated, as expected of an intensifier.

- (59) a. *yoni₁ ka’as še- rak ha-tmuna šel -o₁ / acmo₁*
 Yoni be.angry.3SG.M.PST that-only the-picture.SG.F of his himself
ba- muze’on hušxeta.
 in.the-museum.SG.M destroy.3SG.F.PASS.PST
 ‘Yoni was angry that only his (own) picture in the museum was destroyed.’
- b. *ařilu ha-tmuna šel -o₁ / acmo₁ be-yedi’ot axronot hetrida*
 even the-picture.SG.F of his himself in-Yediot Ahronot bother.3SG.F.PST
et yoni₁.
 ACC Yoni
 ‘Even the picture of his/himself in Yediot Ahronot bothered Yoni.’
- c. *lefī / legabey miri, gam ha- tmunot šel -a / acma*
 according.to regarding Miri also the-picture.PL.F of her herself
hušxetu.
 destroy.3PL.M.PASS.PST
 ‘According to/regarding Miri, pictures of hers/herself were also destroyed.’

Another prediction that follows from this analysis is that, if perspective is not a factor in the licensing of DP-*acmi*, it should not be restricted to representational nouns. This was already demonstrated with the Niagara falls in (57), and is further supported by the naturally occurring data in (60), in which *acmi* appears in pronoun positions in non-representational DPs like *xukim* ‘laws’, *kriteriyonim* ‘criteria’, and even a concrete noun like *kafe* ‘coffee’.

- (60) a. Context: Discussing the introduction of new bills by parliament members
hem₁ macbi'im neged ha-xukim šel acmam₁.
 they vote.PL.M.PRES against the-law.PL.M of themselves
 'They (parliament members) vote against their own laws.'¹¹
- b. *miri paskal hi [dmut groteskit]₁ še- ona*
 Miri Paskal COP character.SG.F.INDEF grotesque.SG.F that-answer.SG.F.PRES
rak la-kriteriyonim šel acma₁.
 only to.the-criterion.PL.M of herself
 'Miri Paskal is a grotesque character that only meets her own criteria.'¹²
- c. A: *yeš šam kafe.*
 exist there coffee.M
 'They got coffee there.'
- B: *ani crixa et ha- kafe šel acmi.*
 I need.SG.F.PRES ACC the-coffee.M of myself
 'I need my own coffee.'¹³

An examination of the contexts in (60) shows that they involve a comparison to possible alternatives for the individual referred to by *acmi* as part of the meaning of the utterance: In (60a), the speaker conveys that it makes more sense to object to a law proposed by another lawmaker; the speaker in (60b) indicates that the mentioned character does not answer to anyone else's criteria; the speaker in (60c) implicates that she dislikes the coffee made by someone else.

To complete the picture, it should be noted that using focus particles enables the use of *acmi* as an intensifier in spatial PPs as well. This is illustrated in (61), in which the focus particle *rak* 'only' is added to the construction from (47b), and *acmi* becomes acceptable.

- (61) [*kobi brayent*]₁ *zorek et ha- kadur rak leyad -o₁ / acmo₁.*
 Kobe Bryant₁ throw.SG.M.PRES ACC the-ball.SG.M only next.to him himself
 'Kobe Bryant throws the ball only next to him/himself.'

The question that remains now is whether all occurrences of *acmi* in DPs are actually intensifiers, or whether some of them are licensed as reflexives. Let us examine the environment in (54a) again, this time with two possible patterns of phrasal stress. It turns out that this sentence is acceptable with stress either on the nominal head *tmuna* 'picture' (62a) or on *acmi* (62b). Crucially, both are felicitous, and furthermore, it seems to me that the contrastive inference compatible with the possessive intensifier is only created in the latter.

- (62) a. *miri₁ ra'ata TMUNA šel -a₁ / acma₁ ba- iton.*
 Miri see.3SG.F.PST picture.SG.F.INDEF of her herself in.the-paper
 'Miri saw a PICTURE of hers/herself in the paper.'
- b. *miri₁ ra'ata tmuna šel ACMA₁ ba- iton.*
 Miri see.3SG.F.PST picture.SG.F.INDEF of herself in.the-paper
 'Miri saw her OWN picture in the paper.'

¹¹ <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=xRU9ARSQYwU>; time: 9:36.

¹² <https://www.haaretz.co.il/gallery/premium-1.6094311>.

¹³ Taken from a chat conversation, July 2017.

Analyzing (62a) as containing a reflexive *acmi* requires explanation with respect to its antecedent. If its local antecedent is the subject *Miri*, this indicates that they are in the same domain, which should have excluded a co-referential pronoun there. However, we have seen in (54a) that the pronoun is also licensed. A possible analysis is that the antecedent is not the subject, but rather a co-referential silent PRO argument in the specifier of the DP.¹⁴ In this case, the availability of a pronoun in the same position could have been derived from a shift between controlled PRO and arbitrary PRO, the latter not being co-indexed with the embedded pronoun.

An alternative explanation would be to assume the formation of a complex predicate consisting of the verb and the noun, such that they form a joint syntactic domain with their arguments (following Baker, 1988, and Rothstein, 2006, among others). Pursuing this line of analysis, the parallelism between the pronoun and the anaphor can be seen as reflecting two readings of the *of* phrase: a possessor reading and an argument reading, respectively.

Either way, investigating Hebrew DPs has shown evidence in support of two possible analyses for DP-*acmi*:

- (i) A reflexive analysis, in which *acmi* has a local antecedent;
- (ii) A possessive intensifier analysis, in which *acmi* is licensed by the *šel* ‘of’ phrase, and contributes to the activation of the set of possible alternatives to the meaning.

To conclude, the availability of both local anaphors and possessive intensifiers in Hebrew DPs explains all the occurrences of DP-*acmi* presented here, without undermining my statement that a logophoric interpretation of *acmi* is impossible.

6 Conclusion

In this paper I have investigated certain contrasts between the distribution of the Hebrew anaphor *acmi* and the English anaphor *self*. I have taken three possible meanings of *self* into consideration, and shown that *acmi* only correlates with two of them: a reflexive anaphor, expressing co-reference with a local antecedent, and an intensifier, activating or relating to the set of possible alternatives for the individual it refers to.

§3 has shown that *acmi* is occasionally observed in parallel distribution with the non-reflexive pronoun, which is generally an indicator of logophoricity, but these were shown to fail other logophoric diagnostics. §4 and §5 arrive at the conclusion that every occurrence of *acmi* in a pronoun position can be explained under one of the following analyses:

- (i) Spatial prepositions trigger different locality effects which correlate with the basic meaning of the preposition; prepositions that have more than one meaning can appear with both an anaphor and a pronoun.
- (ii) Intensifiers can appear within locative and possessive adjuncts, which normally serve as pronoun positions. In these cases, they have the same meaning as the pronouns would have had in terms of reference, combined with their own semantic contribution of activating the set of possible alternatives.

¹⁴ PRO in DP analysis is suggested within Government and Binding framework. See Williams (1985) for a thorough discussion (and rejection) of this proposal.

None of the investigated environments has shown evidence for a logophoric reading of *acmi*, which should have been sensitive to changes in the perspective center, and restricted to animate entities. I therefore conclude that a logophoric variant of the anaphor has not been grammaticalized in Hebrew, and that every occurrence of *acmi* can be analyzed as either a reflexive or an intensifier.

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