ABSTRACT

Turkish has two morphologically free reflexives; kendi 'self' and the inflected form, kendi-si 'self. 3_{SG}'. It has been previously claimed that kendi is a strict local anaphor which is subject to Condition A of the Binding Theory, as in the Example 1, while kendisi seems to have a dual nature, acting both as an anaphor and a pronominal, (Ex. 2a-b), (Kornfilt (2001)). In this paper, we mainly focus on Kornfilt (2001)'s analysis regarding the distribution of these reflexives. Kornfilt (2001) argues that kendisi is actually an Agreement 'phrase in disguise' with a little pro in Spec position (Ex. 3). AgrP is suggested to be the relevant binding domain for both the pronominal pro and the socalled strict local anaphor kendi (Ex. 4). In the light of the recently collected data, this paper clearly shows that kendi does not behave as a strict local anaphor, but a logophor in complex sentences under logophoric verbs, and the previously argued complementarity between kendi and kendisi is lost in such contexts. To account for this structurally, we argue that kendisi is a referential anaphor which only lacks a coreferential index, in comparison, kendi needs to define both its phi features and its D feature (Ex. 5). As Kornfilt (2001) has pointed out, DP (AgrP) seems to be the relevant binding domain for the little pro and for the reflexive in kendisi, however, kendi does not have a null pronominal in Spec position, rather an undefined empty category occupying Spec, NP. The little pro in kendisi just needs to be coindexed with an antecedent in the clausal domain (CP), however, kendi needs an antecedent to define its uninterpretable D and phi features. Therefore, it can only be read coindexed with an argument antecedent implying that the relevant binding domain for kendi is TP. Hence, kendi can be either bound by an antecedent in the minimal (embedded) TP, or it can be logophor-licensed being bound by the subject in the matrix TP if the matrix verb expresses the point of view or state of consciousness of the individual in the subject position. In the example 6 (a) where the subject of the verb 'sasırmak' to be surprised is SELF, and in 7 (a) and 8 (a) where the subjects of the verb 'söylemek' to tell are SOURCE, kendi can take a non-local antecedent, namely the matrix logophoric subject although it still cannot refer to a discourse antecedent. In addition, the example 7 (a) indicates that kendi cannot be read coreferential with an indirect object, indicating the subject orientation of the bare reflexive when functioning as a logophor. When it is in a non-argument position in the deepest embedded clause, it still takes the subject of the matrix clause as its antecedent (Ex. 8 (a)). Comparing the examples 6, 7, and 8 (a) with 6, 7, and 8(b), we see that the referential properties of kendi and kendisi are identical implying that just as kendi, kendisi cannot refer to a discourse antecedent. Adopting Frascarelli (2007)'s analysis of Aboutness-shift Topic (A-Topic), we argue that although in simple sentences, kendisi is coreferential with a discourse-antecedent which is represented as a null topic in the C domain, the logophoric matrix subjects do not seem to allow a disjoint reading from A-Topic. Therefore, the highest available antecedent for kendi and kendisi in such contexts end up being the same even though their binding domains differ.

EXAMPLES

(1) Ali₁ Ayşe'nin₂ kendine₂ kızmasına şaşırdı.

Ali._{NOM} Ayşe._{GEN} self._{DAT} get.angry._{MSD.ACC} be.surprised._{AOR}

'Ali₁ was surprised at Ayşe₂ getting angry at herself₂/*him₁₌₃'

(2) a. Ali₁ Ayşe'nin₂ kendisine_{1/2/3} kızmasına şaşırdı.

Ali. NOM Ayşe. GEN self. DAT get. angry. MSD. ACC be. surprised. AOR

'Ali₁ was surprised at Ayşe₂ getting angry at herself₂/him₁ /him=her₃'

b. Ahmet kendi-sin-i₁ çok beğen-iyor-muş

Ahmet self-3.sg.-ACC very admire-Progr.-Rep.Past.

'(They say that) Ahmet admires (i.e., Ali) very much.'

- (3) $\left[A_{grP} pro \left[A_{gr}^{-1} si \left[N_{P} \text{ kendi-} \right] \right] \right]$
- (4) [CP Ali₁ [AgrP pro₁ kendisine₁]güveniyor.]

Ali self- 3 SG. -DAT trust-PROG

'Ali trusts in himself/him-her

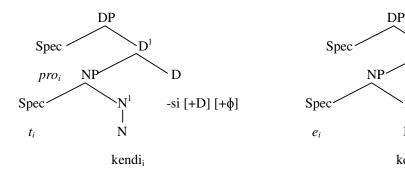
(5) A. Kendisi (N-to-D Movement)

B. Kendi (No N-to-D Movement)

N

kendi_i

 $[-D] [-\phi]$



(6) a. Ali[SELF]₁ Ayşe'nin₂ kendine_{1/2} kızmasına şaşırdı.

Ali Ayşe. GEN self. DAT get. angry. MSD. ACC be. surprised. AOR

'Ali₁ was surprised at Ayşe₂ getting angry at herself₂/him₁/*him-her₃'

b. Ali[SELF]₁ Ayşe'nin₂ kendisine_{1/2/*3} kızmasına şaşırdı.

Ali Ayşe._{GEN} self._{DAT} get.angry._{MSD.ACC} be.surprised._{AOR}

'Ali₁ was surprised at Ayşe₂ getting angry at herself₂/him₁/?him =her₃'

(7) a. Ali[SOURCE]₁ Ahmet'e₂ [pro₁ [Ayşe'nin₃ kendini_{1/3} üzmesini] istemediğini] söyledi.

Ali Ahmet-DAT pro Ayşe-GEN self-ACC upset-NOT-MSD-ACC tell-PST

'Ali₁ told Ahmet₂ that he₁ does not want Ayşe₃ to upset herself₃/ him₁/*him₂/*him=her₄'

b. Ali[SOURCE]₁ Ahmet'e₂ [pro₁ [Ayşe'nin₃ kendisini _{1/12/3/*4} üzmesini] istemediğini] söyledi.

Ali Ahmet-DAT pro Ayşe-GEN self-ACC upset-NOT-MSD-ACC tell-PST

'Ali $[SOURCE]_1$ told Ahmet $_2$ that he $_1$ does not want Ayşe $_3$ to upset herself $_3$ / him $_1$ /?him $_2$ /*him=her $_4$ '

(8) a. Ali $[SOURCE]_1$ [Ahmet'in $[SELF]_2$ [Ayşe'nin₃ kendi_{1/2/3} için bir şeyler yapmasını] haklı bulduğunu] söyledi.

Ali Ahmet-GEN Ayşe-GEN self for something do-MSD-ACC recognize-MSD-ACC say-PST

'Ali₁ said that Ahmet₂ recognizes Ayşe's₃ doing something for herself₃/him₁₌₂/*him=her₄'

b. Ali [SOURCE]₁ [Ahmet'in[SELF]₂ [Ayşe'nin₃ kendisi_{1/2/3/*4} için bir şeyler yapmasını] haklı bulduğunu] söyledi.

Ali Ahmet-GEN Ayşe-GEN self for something do-MSD-ACC recognize-MSD-ACC say-PST

'Ali₁ said that Ahmet₂ recognizes Ayşe's₃ doing something for herself₃/him₁₌₂/*him=her₄'