Understanding the Nature of 'Self': Binding and the OVS Word Order in Russian

ASYA M. PERELTSVAIG
Independent Scholar

ABSTRACT

Anaphor binding is a broadly-studied and widely-used diagnostic for syntactic structure across languages: since anaphors (which are subject to Principle A of the Binding Theory) require an antecedent that is local, c-commanding and in an A-position, the possibility of anaphor binding is commonly used as a diagnostic for both c-command (e.g. Barss & Lasnik 1986) and A- vs. A'- distinction. This use of anaphor binding as a syntactic diagnostic is not without problems, however, as evidenced from the debate surrounding the structure of OVS sentences in Russian. The goals of this paper are, thus, three-fold: (a) to gain a better understanding of anaphor binding as a syntactic diagnostic, (b) to shed new light on the long-standing and hotly-debated puzzle of OVS sentences in Russian, and (c) to explore the interaction of syntax and semantics, as concerns binding and thematic roles.

KEYWORDS binding · word order · scrambling · anaphora

1 INTRODUCTION

Anaphor binding is a broadly-studied and widely-used diagnostic for syntactic structure across languages: since anaphors (which are subject to Principle A of the Binding Theory) require an antecedent that is local, c-commanding and in an A-position, the possibility of anaphor binding is commonly used as a diagnostic for both c-command (e.g. Barss & Lasnik 1986) and A- vs. A'- distinction. This use of anaphor binding as a syntactic diagnostic is not without problems, however, as evidenced by the debate surrounding the structure of OVS sentences in Russian, to be discussed in more detail below. The goals of this paper are, thus, three-fold: (a) to gain a better understanding of anaphor binding as a syntactic diagnostic, (b) to shed new light on the long-standing and hotly-debated puzzle of OVS sentences in Russian, and (c) to explore the interaction of syntax and semantics, as concerns binding and thematic roles.

The rest of the paper is organized as follows. §2 introduces the reader to the basics of anaphor binding in Russian and the puzzle of OVS sentences. §3 discusses the properties of the Russian reflexive *sebja* 'self' in more detail, bringing to the fore a couple of additional complications concerning its distribution and interpretation. Finally, §4 attempts a solution that relates anaphor binding to thematic roles.

2 ANAPHOR BINDING IN RUSSIAN AND THE OVS PUZZLE

As is true cross-linguistically, Russian has a class of anaphors, that is, elements that require an antecedent that satisfies the following ABC requirements (not to be confused with Principles A, B and C of the Binding Theory; Russian anaphors, like their counterparts in English and many other languages are subject to Principle A). First, an anaphor requires an antecedent that must be "A", i.e. in an A-position (rather than in A'-position). Second, the antecedent must be "B", i.e. binding, which means the antecedent must c-command the anaphor and the two must match in phi-features (if applicable). Third, the antecedent

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of an anaphor must be "C", i.e. "close" or "local". The phi-feature requirement is only applicable to the reciprocal anaphor *drug druga* 'each other', whose antecedent must be plural, not to reflexive anaphors *sebja* 'self' and its possessive counterpart *svoj* 'self's', which lack phi-features. (The possessive reflexive agrees in features with the possessed, not with the antecedent.) The remaining requirements (A-position, c-command and locality) are illustrated in (1) below. In (1a), the antecedent of *sebja* 'self' is in an A-position (particularly, in Spec-TP), c-commands the anaphor and is in the same local binding domain, defined for present purposes as a finite clause. (We return to the question of the appropriate definition of local binding domain for *sebja* 'self' in §3 below.) In (1-b), 'Vanya' cannot be the antecedent of *sebja* 'self' because it does not c-command the anaphor; the relation between the putative antecedent and *sebja* 'self' here is one of subcommand. In (1-c), 'Vanya' cannot be an antecedent for *sebja* 'self' because it is not in the same clause as the anaphor. Finally, in (1-d), an OSV clause, the putative antecedent 'Vanya' fails because it is fronted by A'-movement to an A'- rather than an A-position and hence it cannot bind the anaphor *sebja* 'self'.

(1)   a.   Vanja$_i$ poxvalil sebja$_i$. → A-position, c-commanding, local
              Vanya.NOM praised self
              'Vanya praised himself.'

         b.   [Vanina$_i$ mama]$_m$ poxvalila sebja$*_{i/m}$. → no c-command, only
             Vanya's mom   praised self   subcommand
             intended: 'Vanya$_i$'s mom praised him$_i$.'
             (OK: 'Vanya's mom praised herself.')

         c.   Vanja$_i$ rešil,   čto Katja$_k$ poxvalila sebja$*_{i/k}$. → no locality
             Vanya decided that Katya praised self
             intended: 'Vanya$_i$ decided that Katya praised him$_i$.'
             (OK: 'Vanya decided Katya praised herself.')

         d.   *Vanju$_i$ sebja$_i$ poxvalil. → the antecedent is in A'-position
             Vanya.ACC self   praised
             '*Vanya, himself praised.' (cf. (1-a))

With this in mind, we can now turn to the so-called OVS puzzle. As is well-known, Russian allows all six imaginable orders of subject, object and verb, with the choice among them determined largely by discourse context. Of the six options, the SVO order, as in (2-a), is the most frequent in corpora (cf. Bailyn 1995, *inter alia*). The OVS order, as in (2-b), is "the most frequent non-canonical word order" (Ionin & Luchkina 2018, 742) and the only other order, besides SVO, that can be used discourse-initially. It occurs in 11% of all 3-member sentences (Bivon 1971); cf. also Sirotinina (1965), Bailyn (1995), Kallestinova (2007), *inter alia*.[1]

(2)   a.   **SVO**
             Vanja   poxvalil Katju.   ← most common, discourse-initial okay
             Vanya.NOM praised Katya.ACC
   'Vanya praised Katya.'

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[1]To keep apples and oranges separate, we consider only OVS clauses where the O is Topic and the S is (new information) Focus, as in (ia), and not where the O is a (contrastive) focus, as in (ib), or any other element is contrastively focused

(i)   a.   A: Who wrote *Anna Karenina*?
           B: "Annu   Kareninu"   napisal [Lev   Tolstoj]$_{newF}$.
             Anna.ACC Karenina.ACC wrote   Leo.NOM Tolstoy.NOM
           'As for *Anna Karenina*, Leo Tolstoy wrote it.'

         b.   [Annu   KARENINU]$_{contrF}$ napisal Tolstoj,   a   ne roman "Idiot".
           Anna.ACC Karenina.ACC   wrote Tolstoy.NOM and not novel   Idiot
           'It's *Anna Karenina* that Tolstoy wrote, and not *The Idiot*.'

b.   **OVS**
Katju   poxvalil Vanja.   ← 2nd most common
Katya.ACC praised Vanya.NOM
'Vanya praised Katya.'

Given its prominent nature, it is no surprise that the OVS order has attracted a great deal of attention from scholars of Russian syntax, with a plethora of analyses proposed to date (see the references cited in (3) below).

(3)   a.   The A'- approach: b.   The A- approach:
            Erechko (2003), Slioussar   Bailyn (2003, 2004, 2018), Titov
            (2007, 2011), Wiland (2013)   (2012, 2018), Pereltsvaig (2019)
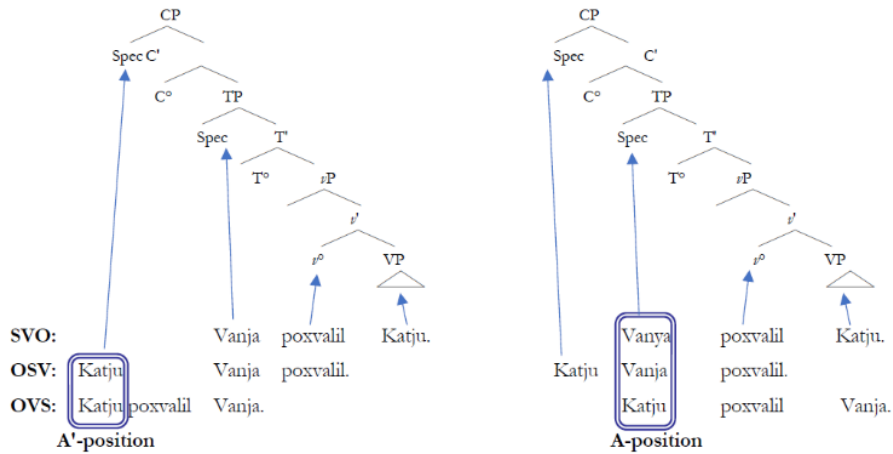
While the position of the verb and that of the subject are by no means agreed upon by all, here we shall focus on the position of the object, as it sets the goalposts for the placement of the two elements that linearly follow it. Two approaches to the position of the O in OVS have emerged; we shall call them the A-approach and the A'-approach, based on the type of position in which the object is argued to be located. Specifically, the advocates of the A-approach place the O in OVS in an A-position, particularly, in Spec-TP, as illustrated in (3). In other words, according to this approach the O in OVS is in the same position as the S in SVO and OSV. In contrast, the advocates of the A'-approach place the O in OVS in an A'-position, particularly, in Spec-CP (although some variation exists as to which exact A'-position the O in OVS is in). Thus, for the proponents of the A'-approach, the O in OVS is not in the same position as the S in SVO but in the same position as the O in OSV. This comparison to the placement of the subject and the object in various other word orders will be important below, as we can argue for this or that approach by showing patterns of similar behavior of various elements with respect to a variety of phenomena.

While arguments have been brought up in support of both approaches, in what follows we shall outline four arguments in support of the A-approach, followed by an argument for the A'-approach based on anaphor binding. That latest argument constitutes what we dub the OVS puzzle.

The first argument in support of the A-approach comes from the WCO (Weak Cross Over) effects, or rather from the lack thereof.[2] As shown in (4), the derivation of the OVS order does not cause a WCO violation, in contrast to the derivation of OSV order.

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[2]But see reservations for using WCO effects as a diagnostics for A/A' distinction discussed in Titov (2012, 93).

(4)   a.   **SVO**
         * Eë$_i$ xozjajka   otremontirovala každuju kvartiru$_i$.
           its owner.NOM renovated   every   apartment.ACC
           intended: 'Every apartment was renovated by its owner.'
      b.   **OSV**
         * Každuju kvartiru$_i$ eë$_i$ xozjajka   otremontirovala.
           every   apartment.ACC its owner.NOM renovated
           'Every apartment was renovated by its owner.'
      c.   **OVS**
           Každuju kvartiru$_i$ otremontirovala eë$_i$ xozjajka.
           every   apartment.ACC renovated   its owner.NOM
           'Every apartment was renovated by its owner.'   (Titov 2012, 16, 91; Titov
           2013, 36)

The second argument in favor of the A-approach comes from subject oriented adverbs,
such as *oxotno* 'willingly', *neoxotno* 'unwillingly', *žadno* 'greedily', etc. As shown in (5-a),
in SVO clauses such adverbs are placed after the subject and before the verb. (The
orders marked as ungrammatical here are, in fact, grammatical, but only if the adverb
is contrastively focused; such clauses are not relevant here as we are interested in the
discourse-neutral position of the adverbs.) As can be seen in (5-b), in OSV clauses these
adverbs are likewise placed after the subject and before the verb. In contrast, in OVS
clauses, such as (5-c), such adverbs are placed not after the subject but after the O and
before the V (cf. Pereltsvaig 2019). In effect, the O in OVS occupies the same position in
relation to a subject-oriented adverb as the S in SVO or OSV.

(5)   a.   **SVO**
           (*Oxotno) Vanja (**oxotno**) s"jel (*oxotno) kašu.
            willingly Vanya willingly ate   willingly porridge.ACC
           'Vanya willingly ate porridge.'
      b.   **OSV**
           Kašu   (*oxotno) Vanja (**oxotno**) s"jel (*oxotno).
           porridge.ACC   willingly Vanya willingly ate   willingly
           'As for porridge, Vanya willingly ate it.'
      c.   **OVS**
           Kašu   (**oxotno**) s"jel (*oxotno) Vanja (*oxotno).
           porridge.ACC willingly ate   willingly Vanya   willingly
           'As for porridge, Vanya willingly ate it.'

The third argument in support of the A-approach comes from the *that*-trace effect, which,
as shown by Antonuyk-Yudina (2021, 6), is induced by the O in OVS in parallel to the S
in SVO. As noted by Antonuyk-Yudina, this effect is ameliorated by additional adverbials
inserted between the complementizer and the gap, as in the case of the *that*-trace effect
in English. If we assume that the O in OVS is in Spec-TP, the *that*-trace effect can
be formulated uniformly as a prohibition against extracting the element in Spec-TP
following an overt complementizer.

(6)   a.   **SVO**
           [Kakuju-to staťju]   [každyj   student]   xočet, čtoby [[ego
            some.ACC article.ACC every.NOM student.NOM wants that   his.NOM
           devuška]   pročitala ___].
           girlfriend.NOM read
           'Every student wants his girlfriend to read some article.'

	POSS.M.SG	POSS.F.SG	POSS.N.SG	POSS.PL
NOM		svoj	svoja	svoe	svoi
GEN	sebja	svoego	svoej	svoego	svoix
DAT	sebe	svoemu	svoej	svoemu	svoim
ACC	sebja	svoego/svoj	svoju	svoe	svoix/svoi
INS	soboj(u)	svoim	svoej(u)	svoim	svoimi
LOC	sebe	svoem	svoej	svoem	svoix

Table 1: From Zubkov (2018, 4)

b. **OVS**

* [Kakuju-to stat'ju]   [každyj   student]   xočet, čtoby [___
    some.ACC article.ACC every.NOM student.NOM wants that
pročitala [ego   devuška]].
read   his.NOM girlfriend.NOM

'Every student wants his girlfriend to read some article.'

The fourth and final argument to be presented here in support of the A-approach is based on reciprocal anaphor binding. This binding is getting us ever so close to the OVS binding puzzle. As shown in (7-a), the O in OVS can serve as an antecedent of the reciprocal anaphor *drug druga* 'each other' embedded inside the S. (Note that for some speakers this is better if the S is inanimate, as in this example, as reported by Titov (2012, 95; 2018, 2); however, I have not been able to replicate Titov's observation in my surveys.) In contrast, the O in OSV, which is located unarguably in an A'-position, namely Spec-CP, predictably, cannot serve as the antecedent for *drug druga* 'each other'. Thus, once again the O in OVS and the O in OSV do not behave in the same way, as would be predicted by the A'-approach.

(7)   a.   **OVS**
            Duèljantov ubili [vystrely   drug druga].
            duelists.ACC killed shots.NOM each other

            'The duelists were killed by each other's shots.' (cf. Titov 2012, 95; 2018, 2)
        b.   **OSV**
            * Duèljantov [vystrely   drug druga] ubili.
             duelists.ACC shots.NOM each other   killed

            intended: 'The duelists were killed by each other's shots.'

If the A-approach is on the right track, we expect the O in OVS to be able to serve as the antecedent for a reflexive anaphor, just as it can for a reciprocal anaphor (cf. (7) above). That expectation, as we shall see below, is not met. Hence, for the rest of this paper we shall explore differences between the reciprocal and reflexive anaphors in Russian and their differing behavior in OVS contexts. This, in effect, is the OVS puzzle. But first, let's consider the evidence showing that the O in OVS cannot bind *sebja* 'self' in the S position.

The most obvious way to test this is by attempting to make *sebja* 'self' the S in OVS. As shown in (8), OVS sentences where the O binds *sebja* 'self' in the S position are ungrammatical. Crucially, there does not seem to be a difference between OVS and OSV sentences in this respect, an argument used by advocates of the A'-approach in support of their position. There is, however, a very simple explanation for the ungrammaticality of sentences like (8-a): there is no nominative form for *sebja* 'self'. The form *sebja* 'self' is both accusative and genitive form, and there is no nominative counterpart. Moreover, speakers of Russian, when asked what could possibly be the nominative form, come up with a variety of tentative answers but exhibit no certainty in their "solution", a hallmark of a morphological gap.

(8) a. **OVS**
    * Vanju$_i$ poxvalil sebja$_i$.
    Vanya.ACC praised self
    intended: 'Vanya praised himself.'

    b. **OSV**
    * Vanju$_i$ sebja$_i$ poxvalil.
    Vanya.ACC self   praised
    intended: 'Vanya praised himself.'

Since there is no nominative form of *sebja* 'self', we need to try other potential binding configurations. One way to test this is by using the above-mentioned possessive reflexive *svoj* 'self's', which has nominative forms (for the different genders and numbers). As can be seen in (9), the O in OVS can bind *svoj* 'self's' inside the S. Yet, there is a potentially confounding factor here. As noted in Padučeva (1983, 7), Rappaport (1986, 114–118), among others, *svoj* has several non-anaphoric uses, in which *svoj* does not require an antecedent at all. This can be seen from the Russian proverbs in (10), where *svoj* is contained within the S in SVO, which is in Spec-TP. Hence, there is no element in this sentence that could be a c-commanding antecedent for *svoj*, and yet the sentence is grammatical. Many additional examples, both proverbs and non-idiomatic sentences, can be brought to illustrate this further; a curious reader is referred to Padučeva's and Rappaport's work for additional examples. The necessary continuation in example (9) suggests that we are dealing with a non-anaphoric use of *svoj*. Yet, since the anaphoric and non-anaphoric uses of *svoj* are not easily distinguishable, the grammaticality of *svoj* in a particular configuration may be a false-positive. We claim that this is indeed what happens in (9). For the purposes of this paper, we shall use only the reflexive *sebja* 'self' and set aside the possessive reflexive *svoj* 'self's'.

(9) Vanju$_i$ poxvalila [**svoja$_i$** mama], *(a   ne   čužaja).
    Vanya.ACC praised   self's   mom   and not someone.else's
    'His (own) mother praised Vanya (and not somebody else's!).'

(10) a. [Svoja noša]   ne tjanet.
    self's burden not drag
    'A burden of your own choice is not as heavy.'

    b. [Svoja rubaška] bliže k telu.
    self's shirt   closer to body
    'One's own issues are more important.'

So if we cannot use *svoj* 'self's' and there is no nominative form of *sebja* 'self', how can we test whether the O in OVS can bind into the S? Three structural configurations that contain *sebja* 'self' embedded into the S in OVS are discussed below. The first such configuration involves an eventive nominalization as the S, of which *sebja* 'self' is the internal argument. (Eventive nominalizations in Russian are discussed in detail in Pereltsvaig 2015, 2017, 2018a,b, Pereltsvaig et al. 2018.) A relevant – and grammatical! – example is given in (11). Here, the O in OVS, namely, *Mjunxauzena* (the accusative form of 'Munchhausen'), appears to bind *sebja* 'self', which is the internal argument of the nominalized *vytaskivanie* 'pulling out'.

(11) Mjunxauzena$_m$ spaslo [vytaskivanie **sebja$_m$** za kosičku].
    Munchhausen.ACC saved   pulling.out   self.GEN at braid
    'Munchhausen was saved by pulling himself out by the braid.'

Does this mean that the O in OVS can bind *sebja* 'self' in the S? Our claim is that here too we have a confounding factor: in particular, the antecedent of *sebja* 'self' is not the object *Mjunxauzena*, but the unpronounced PRO subject of the eventive nominalization. The reference of the PRO itself depends on whether the predicate selecting the nominalization

is one of subject control or one of object control, as shown in (12).

(12)   Binding mediated by control:

a.   prikaz Mjunxauzena$_m$ soldatam$_s$ o [PRO$_s$ vytaskivanii **sebja$_s$**   za
order Munchhausen.GEN to.soldiers on   pulling.out self.GEN at
kosičku].
braid
'Munchhausen's order to the soldiers about pulling themselves out by the
braid'

b.   obeščanie Mjunxauzena$_m$ soldatam$_s$ o [PRO$_m$ vytaskivanii **sebja$_m$**
promise Munchhausen.GEN to.soldiers on   pulling.out self.GEN
za kosičku].
at braid
'Munchhausen's promise to the soldiers about pulling himself out by the
braid'

Thus, the example in (11) above has the structure as in (13), where the apparent binding of *sebja* 'self' by the sentence-initial O is mediated by a control relation: the O controls the PRO and the PRO binds the anaphor within the eventive nominalization. (We assume that nominals and not only clauses can serve as the local binding domain.)

(13)   Mjunxauzena$_m$ spaslo [PRO$_m$ vytaskivanie **sebja$_m$** za kosičku].
Munchhausen.ACC saved   pulling.out self.GEN at braid
'Munchhausen was saved by pulling himself out by the braid.'

The second configuration where we attempt binding of *sebja* 'self' inside the S by the O involves placing *sebja* 'self' as the Theme argument of a 'picture'-nominal.[3] Since a single-word Theme argument of such a nominal would be preferred as expressed by a possessive (e.g., *Vasina fotografija* 'Vasya's photo' rather than *fotografija Vasi* 'photo of Vasya'), and we are trying to avoid the possessive reflexive *svoj* 'self's', for reasons discussed above, we need to make the internal argument multi-word, for example, by coordinating *sebja* 'self' with another nominal. What the resulting 'picture'-nominal would look like is shown in (14-a), where such a nominal functions as the O in SVO. Note that such a sentence was judged grammatical by speakers in an online survey.

What if we now make such a 'picture'-nominal the S in OVS and attempt binding of *sebja* 'self' by the sentence-initial O? As shown in (14-b), such a sentence was judged ungrammatical. Thus, we can conclude that the O in OVS cannot bind *sebja* 'self' inside the S.[4]

(14)   **Survey III**
[Context: A picture of Sherlock Holmes and Dr. Watson appeared in the *Times*…]

a.   Xolms$_h$ uvidel [fotografiju **sebja$_h$** i   Vatsona   v gazete
Holmes.NOM saw   photo   self.GEN and Watson.GEN in newspaper
Tajms].
Times
'Holmes saw a picture of himself and Watson in the *Times*.' **SVO: 4.4 = ok**

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[3]Anaphor binding in picture-phrases (in English) is discussed in Runner & Kaiser (2005), Runner et al. (2006), Kaiser et al. (2009).

[4]The surveys reported here were conducted via Facebook. A total of 113 people participated in 11 surveys. The surveys are numbered in the order they were conducted, not the order in which they are presented here. The numbers of participants in each survey are as follows: survey I = 26, survey II = 50, survey III = 26, survey IV = 26, survey V = 24, survey VI = 40, survey VII = 25, survey VIII = 17, survey IXA = 25, survey IXB = 27, survey X = 35. The numbers reported for these surveys are average grammaticality/acceptability rankings given to each example, on a scale from "1" = "really bad, you can't say that in Russian" to "5" = "perfectly fine in Russian".

b.   *Xolmsa$_h$ diskreditirovala [fotografija **sebja$_h$**   i   Vatsona   v
Holmes.ACC discredited   photo   self.GEN and Watson.GEN in
gazete   Tajms].
newspaper Times
intended: 'Holmes was discredited by a picture of himself and Watson in
the *Times*.'   **OVS: 1.7 = ***

A similar, yet slightly different, configuration emerges if we use a 'rumor'-nominal (e.g.,
sluxi o sebe 'rumors about self', *anekdoty o sebe* 'jokes about self', *ljubov' k sebe* 'love of
self', *(ne)uverennost' v sebe* '(un)certainty in self' etc.) instead of a 'picture'-nominal; the
chief difference between the two types of nominals is that 'rumor'-nominals take oblique
rather than accusative complements. Here too, as shown in (15), the O in OVS cannot
bind *sebja* 'self' in its oblique forms (e.g. its locative form *sebe*) inside the S.[5]

(15)   *Xolmsa$_h$ diskreditirovali [sluxi   o   **sebe$_h$**   v gazete   Tajms].
Holmes.ACC discredited   rumors about self.LOC in newspaper Times
intended: 'Holmes was discredited by rumors about himself in the *Times*.'

Thus, we end up with the following conundrum: the O in OVS cannot be an antecedent
for *sebja* 'self', and the A-approach does not explain it. If we adopt the A'-approach
instead, we are left with no explanation for the four patterns brought up above in support
of the A-approach, namely, the lack of WCO effects, the *that*-trace effect induced by the
O in OVS, the placement of the subject-oriented adverbs in OVS and the possibility of
the O binding the reciprocal anaphor inside the S.

3 A CLOSER LOOK AT sebja 'SELF'

In the previous section, we showed that *sebja* 'self' behaves in a puzzling way: while four
pieces of evidence, including a comparison to another anaphor, suggest that *sebja* 'self'
inside the S in OVS should be able to take the O as its antecedent, that expectation is not
met. What makes *sebja* 'self' different from the reciprocal anaphor?
     The existing literature on *sebja* 'self' (Timberlake 1979, Yang 1983, Rappaport 1986,
Progovac 1992, Asarina 2005, Bailyn 2007, 2012, Marelj & Matushansky 2015, Zubkov
2018, Haspelmath 2019, 14) mentions three properties that characterize it in contrast to
the reciprocal *drug druga* 'each other'. First, *sebja* 'self' is said to be monomorphemic.
While it clearly is not, as it contains the stem and a case ending, the important insight
here is that *sebja* 'self' has no phi-features. The second property of *sebja* 'self' is that it
allows long-distance (LD) binding, namely it is possible for the antecedent to be outside
the minimal binding domain (clausal or nominal). This occurs when *sebja* 'self' appears
inside an infinitive clause, as in the oft-cited example from Timberlake (1979), given

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[5]As pointed out by a reviewer, Witkoś (2008) offers examples from Polish in favor of binding into the
 nominative subject in the OVS, where the reflexive/reciprocal is embedded deeper in the nominative
 subject. However, such binding appears to be degraded (if not outright ungrammatical) in similar Russian
 examples, as only about half of the respondents allow for such binding, compared to 86% of the respondents
 accepting long-distance binding across a possessor in SVO sentences:

i.   [Context < in Russian>: The various characters of Soviet jokes got together to celebrate the New
     Year's, drank a little, munched a little and started telling the jokes…]
a.   Štirlits$_s$ slušal   [Vovčkiny$_v$ anekdoty o   sebe$_{s/v}$].
     Shtirlitz listened.to Vovochka's jokes   about self
     'Shtirlitz listened to Vovochka's jokes about himself.'
     [Survey X: 'about Vovochka' 80%, 'about Shtirlitz' **86%**]
b.   Štirlitsa$_s$ udivili   [Vovčkiny$_v$ anekdoty o   sebe$_{??s/v}$].
     Shtirlitz.ACC surprised.PL Vovochka's jokes   about self
     'Shtirlitz was surprised by Vovochka's jokes about himself.'
     [Survey X: 'about Vovochka' 90%, 'about Shtirlitz' **54%**]

Language	Anaphor	Finite clause	Subjunctive clause	Infinitive clause	Small clause	DPs	LDB is possible out of domains that lack:
Italian	*sè*	–	–	–	+	+	INFL
Russian	***sebja***	–	–	+	+	+	Tense
Icelandic	*sig*	–	+	+	+	+	independent Tense

Table 2: Russian in the typology of long-distance binding according to Manzini & Wexler (1987) (+ indicates where long-distance binding is possible)

in (16). Here, the antecedent of *sebja* 'self' can be local, namely, PRO referring to the yard-keeper, or the PRO of the higher clause referring to the secretary, or the matrix subject 'the general'.

(16)   General$_i$ ne razrešaet sekretarše$_j$ [PRO$_j$ pozvolit' dvorniku$_k$ [PRO$_k$
         general   not allows   secretary.ACC   to.permit to.yard.keeper
         nazyvat' sebja$_{i,j,k,*l}$ Valej]].
         to.call   self   Valya.INS
         'The general does not allow the secretary to permit the yard-keeper to call
         him/her/himself Valya.'   [Marelj & Matushansky (2015, 60), citing Klenin
         (1974)]
         Survey IV: *sebja* = 'general' 46%, 'secretary' 85%, 'yard-keeper' 77%

Beside infinitives, such an extension of the binding domain is possible in the case of small clauses and of complex DPs. In all three types of structures, what is lacking is the expression of tense or its structural counterpart, the TP. In this respect, the Russian reflexive anaphor *sebja* 'self' fits very nice with the typology of LD anaphors proposed by Manzini & Wexler (1987). In particular, *sebja* 'self' fits right between the Italian reflexive *sè* 'self', which cannot be LD bound in infinitives but only in small clauses and complex DPs, and thus requires an INFL, according to Manzini & Wexler (1987), and the Icelandic reflexive *sig* 'self', which can be LD bound not only in infinitives, small clauses and DP but also in subjunctive clauses, and thus requires independent/referential tense, according to Manzini & Wexler's typology.[6] While the issue of the typology of LD anaphors is interesting in and of itself, here we move to the third oft-mentioned property of the Russian *sebja* 'self'.

   The third characteristic of *sebja* 'self', noted in the earlier literature, is its subject-orientation, illustrated in (17): since *sebja* 'self' has no phi-features, we might expect both the subject 'Katya' and the object 'Vanya' to be possible antecedents of *sebja* 'self' (as is the case in the English translation), but that expectation is not met. Instead, only the subject and not the object can be an antecedent for *sebja* 'self', even in an SVO clause.

(17)   Katja$_k$ sprosila Vanju$_i$ o   sebe$_{*i/k}$.
         Katya.NOM asked   Vanya.ACC about self.DAT
         intended: 'Katya asked Vanya about himself.'
         (OK: 'Katya asked Vanya about herself.')

(18)   Na glazakh u Vani$_v$ Katja$_k$ poprosila Borisa$_b$ [PRO$_b$ raskazat' o
         on eyes   of Vanya Katya.NOM asked   Boris.ACC   talk   about
         sebe$_{b/k/*v}$].
         self.DAT
         'In front of Vanya, Katya asked Boris to talk about himself.'
         'In front of Vanya, Katya asked Boris to talk about herself.'

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[6]The properties of the LD anaphor *sig* 'self' in Icelandic are discussed in Thráinsson (1976, 1990), Harbert (1983), Maling (1984), Everaert (1986), Anderson (1986), Rögnvaldsson (1986), Koster (1987), Manzini & Wexler (1987), Pica (1987), Sigurðsson (1990), Sigurjónsdóttir (1992) *inter alia*.

We shall return to the subject-orientation of *sebja* 'self' below, but for now it should be noted that these three properties—the lack of phi-features, the possibility of LD binding (in some structures) and the subject-orientation—are often noted to go together in comparative and cross-linguistic studies (Faltz 1977, Pica 1987, Cole et al. 2001a: xiv, xxx–xxxi; Reuland 2003 *inter alia* on Chinese, Italian, Icelandic, Kannada, Hindi). However, the Russian *sebja* 'self' cannot be simply assigned to the class of "long-distance anaphors", for three reasons. First and foremost, various elements across languages that allow for LD binding do not share the same set of properties, and upon closer examination some of them turn out to be pronouns or logophors and not anaphors after all, unless they are bound locally. For example, for English Hestvik & Philip (2001, 121) argue binding into 'picture'-phrases to be logophoric. The same does not hold of the Russian *sebja* 'self': even when its antecedent is outside the minimal binding domain, it still exhibits all the hallmarks of an anaphor. For example, unlike Mandarin Chinese *ziji* 'self', *sebja* 'self' requires a c-commanding antecedent, even when that antecedent is not local in a narrowly defined way. Moreover, the relation of subcommand, which allows for LD binding in Mandarin Chinese, does not allow for binding of *sebja* 'self' in Russian. For example, in (18), *sebja* 'self' inside an infinitive may be bound locally by the PRO (which is coindexed with 'Boris', its controller in the matrix clause), or it can be bound LD by the matrix subject 'Katya' (similarly to the LD binding by 'the general' in (16) above). What is not possible here is LD binding of *sebja* 'self' by 'Vanya' because this putative antecedent does not c-command the anaphor, being too deeply embedded inside the subject DP 'Vanya's sister Katya'. Another property that characterizes *sebja* 'self' as an anaphor, in contrast to *ziji* 'self' in Mandarin Chinese or the inflected reflexive *kendi-sin* 'self-3SG' in Turkish, is that *sebja* 'self' cannot take an extra-sentential antecedent (cf. Kornfilt 2001: 200 for Turkish and Pollard & Xue 2001: 329; Huang & Liu 2001: 157 for Mandarin Chinese). The ability of the Turkish inflected reflexive to take an extra-sentential antecedent is illustrated in (19-a), and the ungrammaticality of the corresponding binding configuration in Russian is shown in (19-b).

(19)   a.   **Turkish** (from Kornfilt 2001: 200):
                A: 'What does Ahmet think of Ali$_j$?'

                B: Ahmet kendi-sin-i$_j$ çok beğeniyormuş.
                   Ahmet self-3.SG-ACC very admires

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

        b.   **Russian**
                A: 'What does Alexey think of Boris$_b$?'

                B: Aleksej prosto obožajet sebja$_{*b}$.
                   Alexey just   adores   self

                intended: 'Alexey just adores him (i.e. Boris).'
                (OK: 'Alexey$_a$ adores himself$_a$.')

In addition, the Russian reflexive *sebja* 'self' cannot take split antecedents, again in contrast to the inflected reflexive in Turkish Kornfilt (2001, 205): compare the grammaticality of the split antecedent interpretation in Turkish in (20-a) with the ungrammaticality of its Russian counterpart in (20-b).

(20)   a.   **Turkish** (from Kornfilt 2001, 205)

                Ali$_i$ Oya-ya$_j$ [Ankara-ya kendi-lerin-in$_{i+j}$ gönderileceğin]-i söyle-di.
                Ali Oya-DAT Ankara-DAT self-3.PL-GEN   will.be.sent-ACC told

                'Ali told Oya that they would get sent to Ankara.'

    b.   **Russian**

        Xolms$_h$ pomog Vatsonu$_w$ nalit'   **sebe**$_{h/w/*h+w}$ čajku.
        Holmes helped Watson.DAT to.pour to.self   tea.DIM
        'Holmes helped Watson to pour some tea for {him/himself/*the two of
        them}.'

Furthermore, the Russian reflexive *sebja* 'self' exhibits only a sloppy reading under VP ellipsis (cf. Cole et al. 2001a: xvii–xviii; Lidz 2001: 239-240).[7]

(21)   a.   Xolms$_h$ podlival   sebe$_h$ čaj čašče,   čem Vatson$_w$ < podlival
            Holmes poured.more to.self tea more.often than Watson   poured
            sebe$_{*h/w}$ čaj >.
            to.self   tea
            'Holmes poured himself more tea more often than Watson did.'
            [W. poured tea for W.]
            Survey IXB: H (strict) = 0%, W (sloppy) = 100%
    b.   Xolms$_h$ prosil Leistreda$_l$ nalit'   sebe$_{h/l}$ čaj čašče,   čem Vatson$_w$ <
            Holmes asked Lestrade to.pour to.self tea more.often than Watson
            prosil L. nalit'   sebe$_{w/*h/l}$ čaj >.
            asked L to.pour to.self   tea
            'Holmes asked Lestrade to pour some tea for {himself/him} more often
            than Watson did.'
            [W. asked L. to pour some tea for L./W., not H.]
            Survey IX.B: L. (local) = 81%, W (LD, sloppy) = 56%, H (LD, strict)= 7%

Besides remaining a syntactic anaphor (i.e., subject to Principle A of the Binding Theory) even when LD bound, *sebja* 'self' does not fit with apparent counterparts in other languages in another important way. Recall from the above discussion that *sebja* 'self' is subject-oriented; cross-linguistically, subject-orientation of various LD anaphors has been accounted for in term of an agreement analysis, which correlates the possibility of LD binding with the absence of morpho-syntactic subject-predicate agreement. Thus, it has been noted that LD binding is possible in languages lacking subject-predicate agreement, such as Mandarin Chinese, or in languages that have subject-predicate agreement, LD binding is possible only in constructions where subject-predicate agreement is lacking (e.g. in Icelandic). The gist of the analysis is that the anaphor in such languages/constructions is bound not by another DP but by an Agr°; if an Agr° in a local binding domain is lacking, binding by a higher Agr° is possible and since the subject (in Spec-AgrP) is co-indexed with Agr°, apparent subject-orientation of LD anaphors emerges. Russian, however, is a language with morpho-syntactic subject-predicate agreement and yet it allows LD binding even in constructions with subject-predicate agreement, such as ECM clauses, contrary to the predictions of the Agr-based analysis (cf. Progovac 1992, developing insights in Yang 1983 and Pica 1987, and similar to the proposal in Kornfilt 1984, 1988, 2001). As illustrated in (22), *sebja* 'self' inside the predicate of a (bracketed) small clause can be bound either by a local subject, 'Holmes', or by an LD subject, 'Watson'.[8]

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[7]This issue is complicated by the existence in Russian of a morphological reflexive marker *-sja*, argued by some to be a clitic and by others, a suffix (Schoorlemmer 1997, Nesset 1998a,b). Either way, the morphological reflexives have a more narrowly defined domain of application and so the syntactic reflexive *sebja* 'self' takes on only the readings unavailable for the morphological reflexive. Hence, the examples in the main text involve *sebja* 'self' in an oblique form, where it does not compete with the morphological reflexive.

[8]According to Marelj & Matushansky (2015, 60), local binding in (22) (i.e. "*sebe* = Holmes") is impossible. My survey (survey V) showed that 71% of the speakers accept the local binding interpretation ("*sebe* = Holmes") and 67% accept the LD interpretation ("*sebe* = Watson"); 54% think that it is ambiguous.

A reviewer suggests an alternative explanation of these data along the lines of the Agr-based analysis, namely that the relevant agreement feature is Person. Russian ECM small clauses exhibit gender and number but not person agreement.

(22)   Vatson$_w$ sčital   [Xolmsa$_h$ ravnodušnym   k   sebe$_{w/h}$].
    Watson   considered   Holmes.ACC   indifferent.MASC   toward   self.DAT
    'Watson considered Holms indifferent toward {him/himself}.'
    Survey V: H = 71% – W = 67%

Yet another way in which *sebja* 'self' differs from "LD anaphors" in other languages, such as Mandarin Chinese, is the lack of blocking effect. Thus, in Mandarin Chinese (cf. Huang & Liu 2001: 142-143, 145-146; Pollard & Xue 2001), LD binding of *ziji* 'self' is possible only if the local antecedent matches the LD antecedent in features. In (23-a), *Zhangsan* and *Lisi* match in number, gender and person features, so either of those phrases can serve as the antecedent of *ziji* 'self'. In contrast, in (23-b), *Zhangsan* and *ni* 'you' do not match in person features and hence only local binding of *ziji* 'self' is possible.

(23)   **Mandarin Chinese:**
    a.   Zhangsan$_i$ renwei [Lisi$_j$ hen ziji$_{i/j}$].
        Zhangsan think   Lisi hate self
        'Zhangsan$_i$ thinks that Lisi$_j$ hates {him$_i$/himself$_j$}.'
    b.   Zhangsan$_i$ renwei [ni$_j$ hen ziji$_{*i/j}$].
        Zhangsan think   you hate self
        'Zhangsan$_i$ thinks that you$_j$ hate yourself$_j$.'
        ni 'you' blocks LDB due to 2nd person

In contrast, in Russian the person, number or gender features of the local antecedent do not matter as far as the possibility of LD binding: for example, in (24-a), the LD antecedent 'Holmes' and the local antecedent PRO (controlled by the object 'Watson') match in features, whereas in (24-b), the LD antecedent 'Holmes' and the local antecedent PRO (controlled by the object 'me') do not match in person, yet the grammaticality of LD binding in both examples is judged to be the same. The only difference in the grammaticality of LD binding in case of feature mismatch is that the 1st person LD antecedent appears to be dispreferred, for reasons not yet understood.

(24)   **Russian:**
    a.   Xolms$_h$ poprosil Vatsona$_w$ [PRO$_w$ nalit'   sebe$_{h/w}$ čaju].
        Holmes asked   Watson.ACC   to.pour to.self tea
        'Holmes asked Watson to pour some tea for {him/himself}.' 62% LDB OK
    b.   Xolms$_h$ poprosil menja$_m$ [PRO$_m$ nalit'   sebe$_{h/m}$ čaju].
        Holmes asked   me   to.pour to.self   tea
        'Holmes asked me to pour some tea for {him/myself}.'   62% LDB OK
    c.   Ja$_m$ poprosil Xolmsa$_h$ [PRO$_h$ nalit' sebe$_{m/h}$ čaju].
        I asked Holmes.ACC to.pour to.self tea
        'I asked Holmes to pour some tea for {myself/himself}.'   35% LDB OK

The same is true if a mismatch is in number or gender (the lack of number mismatch is illustrated below).[9]

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[9]Given the lack of blocking effects in Russian, it is unsurprising that LD binding of *sebja* 'self' cannot be interrupted by non-subject elements that are not themselves putative antecedents, as is the case in Mandarin Chinese:

(25)   a.   Mandarin Chinese (Huang & Liu 2001, 145)

        Zhangsan$_i$ gaosu wo$_j$ Lisi$_k$ hen ziji$_{*i/*j/k}$.
        Zhangsan tell   me Lisi hate self

        'Zhangsan$_i$ told me$_j$ that Lisi$_k$ hated self$_{*i/*j/k}$.'
    b.   Russian (Survey VIII):

        Xolms$_h$ poobeščal mne$_m$ [PRO$_h$ nalit'   sebe$_{h/*m}$ čaju].
        Holmes promised to.me   to.pour to.self   tea

(26)   No number effect (and there's also no gender effect)

   a.   Xolms$_h$ poprosil [Vatsona i   Leistreda]$_{wl}$ [PRO$_{wl}$ nalit'   sebe$_{h/wl}$
          Holmes asked   Watson and Lestrade   to.pour to.self
          čaju].
          tea
          'Holmes asked Watson and Lestrade to pour some tea for {him/themselves}.'
          47% LDB OK

   b.   [Vatson i   Leistred]$_{wl}$ poprosili Xolmsa$_h$ [PRO$_h$ nalit'   sebe$_{wl/h}$
           Watson and Lestrade   asked   Holmes.ACC   to.pour to.self
          čaju].
          tea
          'Watson and Lestrade asked Holmes to pour some tea for {them/himself}.'
          47% LDB OK

Finally, a curious observation has so far eluded researchers, to the best of our knowledge: the subject-orientation of *sebja* 'self' is not absolute. Two exceptions emerged from our survey of native speakers. First, an object (in SVO or OVS) can in some cases be an antecedent of *sebja* 'self' inside an oblique argument, for about 20-30% of the speakers. For example, in (27), virtually all speakers accept the subject as the antecedent of *sebe* 'to self' (here, an external possessor of 'room', in order to avoid *svoj* 'self's'). However, 20-30% of speakers accept the direct object, 'Watson', as the antecedent of *sebe* 'to self'. Importantly, the SVO vs. OVS order does not seem to matter, and contrary to the prediction of the A-approach, changing the order from SVO to OVS does not make the O a better antecedent for the reflexive anaphor. (If anything, the acceptance of the O as the antecedent in OVS is slightly lower than in SVO.) Another crucial observation in connection with these examples is that the matrix predicate is a causative one: SEND potentially translates as CAUSE GO. This observation will be important for the eventual analysis that we develop for these and other facts in the following section. We shall therefore call this a "causative effect".

(27)   [Context < in Russian>: On the envelope there were several little brown spots. What is it: dirt, blood or gravy sauce? Holmes couldn't see it clearly with a naked eye. And so…]
          Survey II

   a.   Xolms$_h$ otpravil Vatsona$_w$ [k sebe$_w$] v   komnatu za
          Holmes.NOM sent   Watson.ACC   to self   into room   for
          lupoj.
          magnifying.glass
          'Holmes sent Watson to his room for a magnifying glass.'
          SVO: W = 29% H = 96%

   b.   Vatsona$_w$ otpravil [k sebe$_w$] v   komnatu za lupoj
          Watson.ACC sent   to self   into room   for magnifying.glass
          Xolms$_h$.
          Holmes.NOM
          'Holmes sent Watson to his room for a magnifying glass.'
          OVS: H = 94% W = 20%

Another apparent exception to the subject-orientation of *sebja* 'self', which we shall dub the "*psych-verb effect*", is as follows: binding of *sebja* 'self' inside the S by the O in OVS is

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          'Holmes promised me to pour some tea for {himself/*myself}.' 100% LDB OK ; 0% "me"
   c.   Xolms$_h$ poobeščal Vatsonu$_m$ [PRO$_h$ nalit'   sebe$_{h/*w}$ čaju].
          Holmes promised to.Watson   to.pour to.self   tea
          'Holmes promised to Watson to pour some tea for {himself/*him}.'
          100% LDB OK ; 0% "Watson"

somewhat more acceptable if the matrix predicate is a psych verb than with a non-psych verb. (A similar effect is also noted by Sells (1987, 476) for Italian *proprio* 'self'.) Thus, in (28), speakers judge a sentence with a psych verb such as *udivit'* 'surprise' better than a similar sentence with a non-psych verb such as *diskreditirovat'* 'discredit'. Although the average difference in grammaticality between these two sentences is not huge (2.4 vs. 1.7 on a 1-5 scale), nearly half the speakers show some preference for (28-a), with a psych verb, over (28-b) with a non-psych verb.

(28)   [Context: A picture of Sherlock Holmes and Dr. Watson appeared in the *Times*…]

a. ???Xolmsa$_h$ udivila   [fotografija **sebja$_h$** i   Vatsona   v
   Holmes.ACC surprised photo   self.GEN and Watson.GEN in
   gazete   Tajms].
   newspaper Times
   'Holmes was surprised by a picture of himself and Watson in the *Times*.'
   [OVS]
   2.4 = ???

b. *Xolmsa$_h$ diskreditirovala [fotografija **sebja$_h$** i   Vatsona   v
   Holmes.ACC discredited   photo   self.GEN and Watson.GEN in
   gazete   Tajms].
   newspaper Times
   'Holmes was discredited by a picture of himself and Watson in the *Times*.'
   [OVS]
   1.7 = *

Given that subject-orientation is seen as a crucial property of LD bound elements in the previous literature, the ultimate analysis should account for these two exceptions—the causative effect and the psych-verb effect—as well as for the overall subject-orientation in examples such as (17) above.

4 THE SOLUTION: WHERE SYNTAX AND SEMANTICS MEET

The solution, we believe, is in an additional requirement that *sebja* 'self' imposes on its antecedent; to the best of our knowledge, this observation has only been made in passing in Zubkov (2018, 49–57). Thus, we claim that the OVS puzzle and the two apparent exceptions to the subject-orientation of *sebja* 'self' can be understood if, in addition to the "ABC" requirements mentioned in section 1, *sebja* 'self' imposes yet another, "D," requirement, namely, the *de se* requirement. (*De se* translates from Latin as 'of self'.) This requirement can be formulated as follows: the antecedent of *sebja* 'self' must denote an individual who self-ascribes the property denoted by the predicate containing the reflexive.

The idea of the *de se* requirement comes from the work of Giorgi (1984) and Chierchia (1989) on the Italian possessive reflexive *proprio* 'self's'. They note that *proprio* is appropriate only if the individual denoted by the antecedent self-ascribes the relevant property. For example, consider (29) in the following context: just before a Three-Tenors concert, an assistant wheels a rack with the costumes into the performers' dressing room. Pavarotti sees that a pair of pants has caught on fire, but he does not know whose pants these are as they all look the same on their hangers. In such a context, claim Giorgi and Chierchia, the use of *propri* 'self's' is impossible (even though the sentence is grammatical and can be used if Pavarotti realizes that the pants in question are his own).

(29)   #Pavarotti crede   che i   **propri** pantaloni siano in fiamme.
         Pavarotti believes that the self's   pants   are   on fire
         'Pavarotti believes that his own pants are on fire.'   [cf. Chierchia (1989, 24)]

A similar effect has been noted with respect to reflexive anaphors in several other languages, most notably with respect to *kaki* 'self' in Teochew Chinese (a Southern Min language spoken in Guangdong; Cole et al. 2001b: 23) and the LD anaphor *ziji* 'self' in Mandarin Chinese (Pan 2001, 293).[10]

Our proposal is that LD bound *sebja* 'self' in Russian is also subject to the *de se* requirement, namely that its antecedent ascribes to him/herself the proposition of which *sebja* 'self' is an argument. This observation can be appreciated in the context of a Russian joke about Comrade Brezhnev (who, at least according to the Soviet lore, was barely in touch in reality, especially in his later years). Consider the following context: Comrade Brezhnev is having a guided tour of an art museum and is nodding at each artwork with a knowledgeable expression. Then, he stops in front of a mirror. He points at his reflection, not recognizing it as such, and asks who that is. The reflection, obviously, points back at him. Brezhnev starts to make funny faces, teasing who he thinks is another man in an art installation, and "the man," obviously, teases back. Comrade Brezhnev gets very angry and orders to arrest "that man". In this context, the example in (30) is judged as unacceptable. (Again, the sentence is grammatical and is fine if Brezhnev recognizing the reflection as being, in some sense, "himself"; for a more detailed discussion of such "near-reflexive" readings, see Lidz 2001.)

(30)   #Brežnev$_b$ prikazal [PRO arestovat' **sebja$_b$**].
        Brezhnev ordered   to.arrest   self
        intended: 'Brezhnev ordered to arrest himself.' (but he doesn't recognize that it's himself)

Beside a situation of a mental illness or dementia, as in the above example, another way in which one might not ascribe a certain property to oneself without self-ascribing (i.e., without realizing that one indeed ascribes the property to oneself) is if one speaks of a future situation in which the identity of a given definite description is not yet known (to the protagonist). For example, in the context of being on the eve of a presidential election, a candidate may make a statement about whoever gets elected (which, presumably, is not known yet, if the elections are fair). Such a situation is illustrated below:

(31)   [Context: On the eve of a presidential election in Ukraine, the then-candidate Zelensky suggests that Trump should invite whoever is ultimately elected Ukrainian president to Washington.]

        # Zelenskij$_z$ predložil Trampu [PRO priglasit **sebja$_b$** v Vašington].
          Zelensky   suggested to.Trump   to.invite self   to Washington

        intended: 'Zelensky suggested that Trump should invite him to Washington.'

Let's now consider how the *de se* requirement translates into the subject-orientation property of *sebja* 'self' and its exceptions. Here, we propose that in order to satisfy the *de se* requirement, a putative antecedent must meet the minimum threshold: in particular, in order to be able to self-ascribe a property, one must have the mental capacity to ascribe propositions at all. As noted by Zubkov (2018, 46–47), LD binding of *sebja* 'self' requires the LD antecedent to be animate, as can be seen from (32): 'Katya' but not *èta kniga* 'this book' can be a LD antecedent of *sebja* 'self'. However, I take animacy to be a pre-requisite for the required sentience of the antecedent.

(32)   a.   Èta kniga$_k$ izmenila [Vanino$_i$ otnošenie k sebe$_{i/*k}$].
              this book   changed Vanya's   attitude   to self.DAT
              'This book changed Vanya's attitude towards himself.'
              NOT: 'This book changed Vanya's attitude towards itself.'   [adapted from Zubkov (2018, 46)]

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[10]Curiously, when locally bound *ziji* 'self' does not have this *de se* requirement (Huang & Liu 2001, 167).

b.   Katja$_k$ izmenila [Vanino$_j$ otnošenie   k sebe$_{i/k}$].
Katya changed Vanya's   attitude.ACC to self.DAT
'Katya changed Vanya's attitude towards herself/himself.'   [adapted from
Zubkov (2018, 47)]

We would like to take this one step further: in order to pass the minimum threshold of being able to ascribe properties, the individual's mental capacity should not be merely known to the speaker or the addressee but it should be known from linguistic context rather than from general encyclopedic knowledge. Here, we develop ideas from Ariel (2014), who claims that knowledge from linguistic context preempts knowledge from general encyclopedic knowledge. Our claim is that knowing that a given individual can ascribe properties *from general encyclopedic knowledge* is simply not good enough.

But what are the linguistic means of expressing an individual's mental capacity (or the lack/irrelevance thereof)? And since it appears that the S vs. O is more important to the binding of *sebja* 'self' than structural positions such as Spec-TP, how do those linguistic means of expressing an individual's mental capacity relate to grammatical functions? Here, we turn to ideas in Dowty (1991), who addresses the very important question of where theta-roles come from and how they relate to grammatical functions. According to Dowty, theta-roles and grammatical functions are tied to the semantic implications of a given predicate. In particular, the argument with the most PROTO-AGENT properties maps to the S, the argument with the most PROTO-PATIENT properties maps to O. The PROTO-AGENT and PROTO-PATIENT properties are listed below. As can be seen from (33), two of the PROTO-AGENT properties directly relate to the individual's mental capacity: its "volitional involvement in the event or state" and its "sentience and/or perception". Crucially, none of the PROTO-PATIENT properties relate to one's mental capacity.

(33)   i.   **PROTO-AGENT properties:**
         (i)   volitional involvement in the event or state (mental capacity)
         (ii)   sentience (and/or perception) (mental capacity)
         (iii) causing an event or change of state in another participant
         (iv)   movement (relative to the position of another participant)
         (v)   (exists independently of the event named by the verb)
     ii.   **ii. PROTO-PATIENT properties:**
         (i)   undergoes change of state
         (ii)   incremental theme
         (iii) causally affected by another participant
         (iv)   stationary relative to movement of another participant
         (v)   (does not exist independently of the event, or not at all)

Let's now see how this works to account for the subject-orientation of sebja 'self' in a "normal" transitive clause, with a non-psych predicate, such as the example in (17), repeated below as (34). Although both Vanya and Katya are animate individuals, only one of them has a theta-role that indicates that individual's mental capacity: *Katja*'s being an Agent (and hence the S) derives in part from Katya's volitional involvement in the event in question. *Vanja*, albeit denoting an animate and sentient individual as well, does not wear its mental capacity on its sleeve, so to speak. We know that Vanya has a mental capacity to ascribe properties, but we know it from our general encyclopedic knowledge (since Vanya is a human), not from linguistic context, such as *Vanja*'s theta-role. In other words, in such a clause the S has the PROTO-AGENT properties including volitionality and/or sentience, i.e. properties that mark it as having the mental capacity for ascribing properties; in contrast, the O does not. Therefore, the S, *Katja*, passes the minimum threshold for the *de se* requirement. Furthermore, the grammaticality of the sentence with that coindexing indicates that *Katja* indeed satisfies the *de se* requirement, i.e., that she is aware that that her questions are about herself.

(34)   Katja$_k$ sprosila Vanju$_i$ o   sebe$_{*i/k}$.
       Katya.NOM asked   Vanya.ACC about self.DAT
       intended: 'Katya asked Vanya about himself.'
       (OK: 'Katya asked Vanya about herself.')

To recap, the O in either OVS or SVO becomes the O in the first place because it has PROTO-PATIENT rather than PROTO-AGENT properties, such as volitionality and/or sentience. Consequently, its volitionality/sentience cannot be known from its theta-role. Thus, the O does not satisfy the minimum threshold for the *de se* requirement and cannot be the antecedent of *sebja* 'self'. Importantly, the word order does not matter in this respect and neither does the structural position of the O, inside the VP or in Spec-TP. We now turn to the apparent exceptions to the subject-orientation discussed above: the causative effect and the psych-verb effect.

First, let's consider the causative effect, illustrated in (27) above. Here the object of a causative verb can be the antecedent of *sebja* 'self' inside an oblique argument, for about 20-30% of the speakers. Our proposed analysis is that the causee object in such sentences can be interpreted as a volitional Agent of the embedded predicate, in this example, GO. After all, if Holmes sends Watson somewhere, it is still up to Watson to decide whether he goes or not.

Second, let's consider the psych-verb effect, illustrated in (28) above. As discussed in detail in Dowty (1991), some psych verbs are exceptional to the overall pattern that volititional/sentient arguments are the S; this includes such Russian verbs as *ispugat'* 'frighten', *udivit'* 'surprise', *rasstroit'* 'upset', *bespokoit'* 'worry', etc. With the so-called object-experiencer verbs, the sentient Experiencer maps to the O. According to Dowty (1991, 579–580), this is because such predicates imply a PROTO-PATIENT property for the Experiencer, namely a change of state in the Experiencer, which correlates with an inchoative interpretation of 'frighten' (vs. subject-experiencer psych verbs such as 'fear'); the reader is referred to Dowty's work for a more detailed discussion. In other words, with object-experiencer psych verbs, which are the ones giving rise to the psych-verb effect in Russian, the Experiencer maps to the O *despite* its sentience. It is the sentience, however, and not directly the grammatical function or the structural position that matters.

5 SUMMARY AND FURTHER QUESTIONS

In this paper, we have argued that the reflexive anaphor *sebja* 'self' in Russian imposes not only the three well-understood "ABC" requirements on its antecedents ("A" for A-position, "B" for binding, i.e. c-commanding position, and "C" for closeness, i.e. locality, defined for *sebja* 'self' as a domain defined by Tense), but also a fourth condition, namely "D" for "*de se* requirement". In other words, the antecedent of *sebja* 'self' must self-ascribe the relevant property. The *de se* requirement comes with a minimum threshold: the antecedent must denote an individual capable of ascribing properties, that is one with certain mental capacities, *and* such mental capacities must be known from linguistic contexts (specifically, from the antecedent's theta-role) rather than from general encyclopedic knowledge.

This proposal allows us to shed new light on the OVS puzzle: despite a host of A-position-related properties, the O in OVS is unable (in most cases) to be an antecedent for *sebja* 'self'. According to the proposed analysis, this has nothing to do with the O's structural position (which we take to be an A-position, Spec-TP). Instead, the inability of the O in OVS to bind *sebja* 'self' relates to the fact that although the O satisfies the "ABC" requirements of the anaphor, it fails to satisfy the "D" (*de se* requirement), since its volitionality/sentience cannot be known from linguistic context (i.e. theta-role). In relatively rare cases, such as objects of causative predicates and of object-experiencer psych-verbs, the O in OVS (or SVO, for that matter) can be the antecedent for *sebja* 'self', at least for some speakers of Russian. This is because in those exceptional cases, the O

bears a theta-role that is associated with volitionality/sentience implications.

Finally, we would like to note that if one presupposes the "inverted Y" model of syntax, it is unsurprising to find that anaphor binding (which occurs at LF rather than PF) interacts with other LF phenomena (such as theta-role implications) and not with PF properties such as word order.

One big question left unanswered in this regard is what happens in passives in Russian: can the internal argument that appears in Spec-TP (same as the O in OVS, according to the proposed analysis) be an antecedent of *sebja* 'self'? We leave this question open for future research and a different paper, however, because the two issues that need to be addressed in order to answer this question deserve their own separate papers: (i) what are the empirical facts concerning binding of *sebja* 'self' in Russian passives? and (ii) what is the proper analysis of Russian passives, even without binding? The first question is touched upon in the existing literature, but our preliminary survey of Russian native speakers indicates that there is more variability and complexity in the data than previously reported. As for the second issue, there are at least two possible analyses one could consider: one along the lines of Baker et al. (1989) and the "smuggling"-type analysis along the lines of Collins (2005). Discussing these issues would be central to understanding the workings of *sebja* 'self', so we hope to undertake it in the future.

ABBREVIATIONS

ACC	accusative		M(ASC)	masculine
DAT	dative		NOM	nominative
DIM	diminutive		N(EUT)	neuter
DU	dual		PL	Plural
F(EM)	feminine		PST	Past
GEN	genitive		SG	Singular
INS	instrumental			
LOC	locative			

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CONTACT

Asya M. Pereltsvaig <asya.pereltsvaig@gmail.com>

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