

**THE RUSSIAN REFLEXIVE**  
***SAM SEBJA* “SELF-N SEBJA-A”: THE SMALL CLAUSE ANALYSIS\***

**1. The Russian data**

This study deals with the Russian complex reflexive *sam sebja* ‘self-N sebja-A’. In *sam sebja*, the *sam* ‘self’ part precedes the *sebja* part, and *sam* agrees in Case-marker with the NP that controls it. This NP is usually a subject but it can also be a by-phrase. *Sam* is often Nominative, but cf. (2), in which *samoj* is Dative because it agrees with PRO<sub>2</sub>. In (1c), *sam* is Instrumental; it Case-agrees with the by-phrase *Ivanom* ‘John-I’. *Sebja* has the Case-marker determined by the local linguistic context (for instance, Accusative in (1b)). Examples (1a-b) demonstrate that *sam sebja* can be local. (2) shows that *sam sebja* (unlike simplex reflexives, see Rappaport (1986), and the complex reflexives *sebja samogo* ‘sebja-A self-A’ and *samogo sebja* ‘self-A sebja-A’) cannot be long-distance (LD) bound.

- (1) a. Anna<sub>1</sub> provodit eksperimenty sama nad soboj<sub>1</sub>  
 Ann<sub>1</sub>-N performs experiments-A self-N over sebja<sub>1</sub>-I  
 ‘Ann<sub>1</sub> performs experiments on herself<sub>1</sub>’
- b. Anna<sub>1</sub> nenavidit sama sebja<sub>1</sub>  
 Ann<sub>1</sub>-N hates self-N sebja<sub>1</sub>-A  
 ‘Ann<sub>1</sub> hates herself<sub>1</sub>’
- c. Eta pjesa byla sygrana Ivanom<sub>1</sub>  
 this-N piece-N was played John<sub>1</sub>-I  
*samim dlja sebja<sub>1</sub>*  
 self-I for sebja<sub>1</sub>-G  
 ‘This piece was played by John by himself’
- (2) Marija<sub>1</sub> ne razrešat Anne<sub>2</sub> PRO<sub>2</sub>  
 Mary<sub>1</sub>-N not allows Ann<sub>2</sub>-D  
 provodit’ samoj nad soboj\*<sub>1/2</sub> eksperimenty  
 to-perform self-D -N over sebja\*<sub>1/2</sub>-I experiments-A  
 ‘Mary<sub>1</sub> does not allow Ann<sub>2</sub> to perform experiments on her<sub>1</sub>/herself<sub>2</sub>’

Moreover, *sam sebja* is a SELF reflexive in the sense of Reinhart and Reuland (1993): it can be an argument but cannot be contained in an adjunct: cf. (1a-b) and (3):

- (3) Ivan<sub>1</sub> postavil palku (\*sam) okolo sebja<sub>1</sub>  
 John<sub>1</sub>-N stood stick-A (\*self-N) near sebja<sub>1</sub>-G  
 ‘John put the stick near himself’

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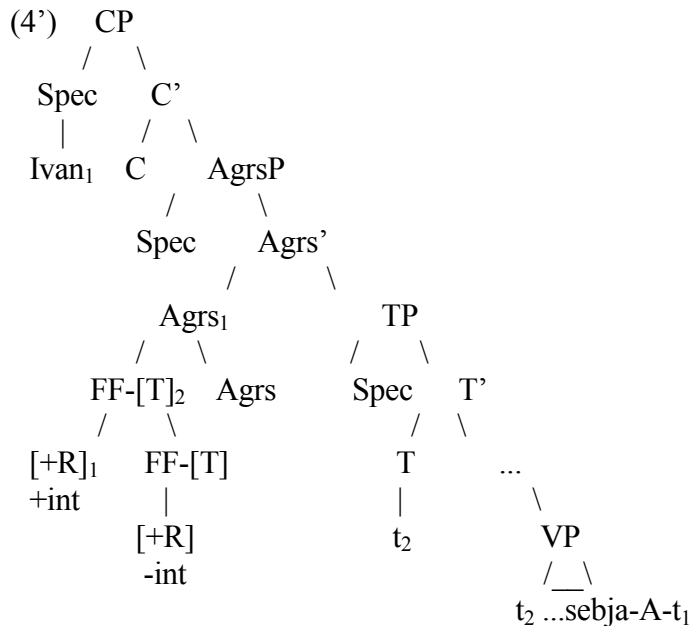
\* I would like to thank Robert Fiengo, Richard Kayne, Yakov Testelec and especially Marcel den Dikken for discussions and proposals for this paper. All shortcomings and errors are my responsibility.

I propose a small clausal structure of *sam sebja* which captures the SELF-reflexive properties of *sam sebja* presented above. In section 2, I give my framework of reflexive binding in Russian. In section 3, I give the structure of *sam sebja*.

## 2. The feature movement approach to reflexive binding

I propose an approach to reflexive binding couched in the Minimalist framework and based on feature movement. This approach originates from the Head Movement framework by Pica (1987, 1991). Pica assumed that reflexive movement is LF head movement of the reflexive head. Since only feature movement is possible at LF in the Minimalist framework, I propose that reflexive movement is a covert movement. An interpretable feature [+R] of the reflexive *sebja* raises to T driven by the weak non-interpretable [+R] feature of T. The specifier of the T with the [+R] feature is *sebja*'s antecedent. The movement of the [+R] feature of *sebja* in (4) is shown in (4').

(4) Ivan<sub>1</sub> ljubit sebja<sub>1</sub>  
 John<sub>1</sub>-N loves sebja<sub>1</sub>-A  
 'John loves himself'



In (4'), [+R] moves to T, and then the features of T, including [+R], proceed to Agrs. When the interpretable [+R] feature of *sebja* moves to T, it checks off the non-interpretable [+R] feature of T. After the features of T move to Agrs, the [+R] feature of *sebja* is in Spec-Head relations with *sebja*'s antecedent. This Spec-Head relation is the way to represent coreference in the feature framework.

If the reflexive is long-distance (that is, its antecedent is outside the minimal clause containing the reflexive), [+R] undergoes a successive-cyclic movement to the upstairs T (moving through the embedded C position, according to the derivation by phase Chomsky (1999) framework: see Rudnitskaya (in press)).

### 3. The small clausal structure of *sam sebja*

As already mentioned, I propose a small clausal structure of *sam sebja*. This proposal is based on the similarity of *sam sebja*'s structure to the structure of reciprocals (Russian *drug druga* 'other-DFT(=N) other-A', English *each other*, French *l'un l'autre*), and on the clausal analysis of the French reciprocal *l'un l'autre* in Kayne (1975).

If *sam sebja* is analyzed as a small clause (SC, the details of this analysis will be presented below, in section 3.2, structure (11)), the prediction is that *sam sebja* is a constituent. This prediction is borne out, as shown in (5): [*sama nad soboj*] in (5) can be fronted:

- (5)            [*Sama nad soboj*]<sub>i</sub>  
                   [self-N over sebja<sub>1</sub>-I]<sub>i</sub>  
                   Anna<sub>1</sub>        ne        provodit        eksperimenty t<sub>i</sub>  
                   Ann<sub>1</sub>-N        not        performs        experiments-A t<sub>i</sub>  
                   'Ann<sub>1</sub> performs experiments on herself<sub>1</sub>'

Before presenting the structure of *sam sebja*, I would like to discuss the internal structure of *sam* 'self'. I propose that in *sam sebja*, *sam* projects a SC with a PRO subject: [<sub>SC</sub> PRO [<sub>AP</sub> *sam*]].

#### 3.1. The structure projected by *sam*.

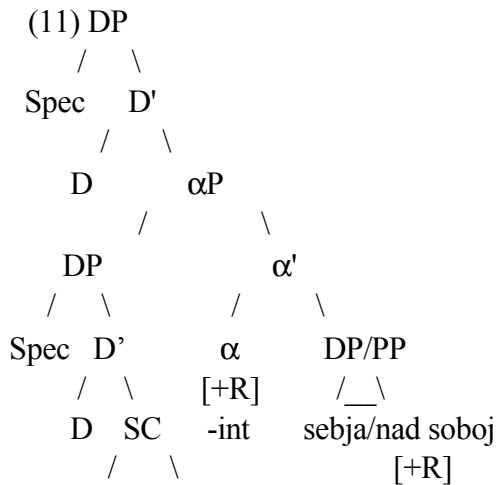
In my analysis below in section 3.2, *sam* is the subject of the SC *sam sebja*. However, normally *sam* is not a subject. In cases in which *sam* modifies a name/pronominal, as in (6), it is a noun modifier or a secondary predicate (6a-c). I am primarily interested in cases in which *sam* is a noun modifier.

- (6) a.        On        *sam*        priedet  
                   he-N    self-N    will-come  
                   'He himself will come'  
                   (or 'He will come by himself')
- b.        On        priglasil        *samu*    Mariju  
                   he-N    invited        self-A    Mary-A  
                   'He invited Mary herself'
- c.        Ja        videl    ego        *samogo*  
                   I-N    saw    he-A    self-A  
                   'I saw him (but not anyone else)'

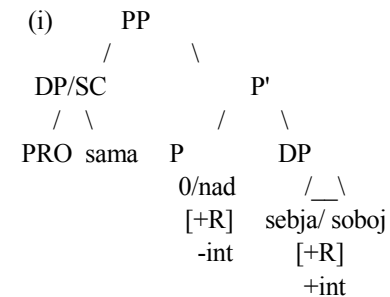


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a            la sonata<sub>i</sub>

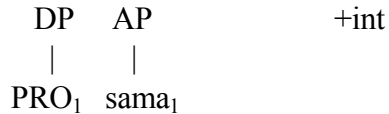
The structure of *sam sebja* I propose, which is given in (11), consists of the following ingredients. First, *sam sebja* is a small clause (labeled  $\alpha$ P) embedded under a DP. Its head  $\alpha$  is always null and vacuous except for the non-interpretable [+R] feature, whereas its complement is a DP/PP. The subject of  $\alpha$ P is a DP containing a SC (as in (7)) whose subject is PRO and whose predicate is *sam*. The *sebja* part of *sam sebja* is (contained in) the complement of  $\alpha$ .<sup>2</sup> This structure is given in (11):



<sup>2</sup> As pointed out by Richard Kayne (p.c.), since both the DP *sebja* in (1b) and the PP *nad soboj* in (1a) are complements of  $\alpha$  but not of V directly, a problem of categorical selection emerges. A solution to this problem might be the following: to consider *sam sebja* to be a PP instead of a SC. The head of this PP would be an overt (in (1a)) or null (in (1b)) preposition. *Soboj* in (1a) would get Instrumental from the overt P *s* 'with'; *sebja* in (1b) would get Accusative from the [V+P] after the null P would incorporate into the matrix V. The PP structure of *sam sebja* is shown in (i).



The problem with the analysis in (i) is the following: the P head would have to have the [+R] feature. The [+R] feature cannot be a feature of just any category; it can be a feature of nominals and T only. P is a [-N] category. The head  $\alpha$  is a functional category. The assumption that  $\alpha$  (whose category is not specified but it is definitely not lexical) has the [+R] feature is more plausible than the assumption that P has the [+R] feature. Thus, the analysis in which *sam sebja* is a PP cannot be adopted.



The  $\alpha$  head in (11) has a non-interpretable [+R] feature. It can seem strange that both  $\alpha$  and *sebja* in (11) have [+R] features. As I have mentioned in (4') in section 2, the [+R] feature of *sebja* normally moves to T to check off T's non-interpretable [+R] feature. In the end of the derivation, the [+R] feature of *sebja* and *sebja*'s antecedent are in Spec-Head relation, and the coreference relation between *sebja* and its antecedent is established via Spec-Head relation. I claim that in case of *sam sebja*, *sebja*'s [+R] feature does not move to T because it is too deeply embedded (in two DP-s and  $\alpha$ P) to be visible for attraction from T. Then, two problems could arise: first, the derivation could crash because T's [+R] feature (which is non-interpretable) would not be checked; second, the coreference relation between *sam sebja* and its antecedent would not be established.

The first problem can be handled by assuming that  $\alpha$  also has a [+R] feature. The [+R] feature of  $\alpha$  is non-interpretable; it moves up to T as a result of abstract incorporation of  $\alpha$  into T (see section 3.3 below). Both of the [+R] features get checked in T. The [+R] feature of *sebja* need not be checked because it is interpretable.

The solution for the second problem is the following: the relation between *sam sebja* and its antecedent is established not via Spec-Head relation between the antecedent and the [+R] feature of *sebja* but via control. The antecedent controls PRO which is the subject of the DP projected by *sam*, so they are coindexed. For further details, see section 3.4.

I propose that the  $\alpha$ P in (11) is embedded under a DP because  $\alpha$ P is a SC, and, normally, a SC cannot be a complement of just any transitive verb: cf. (12) and (13).

(12) I consider [<sub>SC</sub> John smart]

(13) \*I hit [<sub>SC</sub> John smart]

*Sam sebja* can be a complement of any transitive verb. If *sam sebja* were just an  $\alpha$ P, I would have to claim that this  $\alpha$ P is a special kind of a SC which has a distribution distinct from regular SC-s. If *sam sebja* is a SC embedded under a DP, its distribution is similar to distribution of DP-s. Then, no problem arises with respect to *sam sebja*'s distribution.

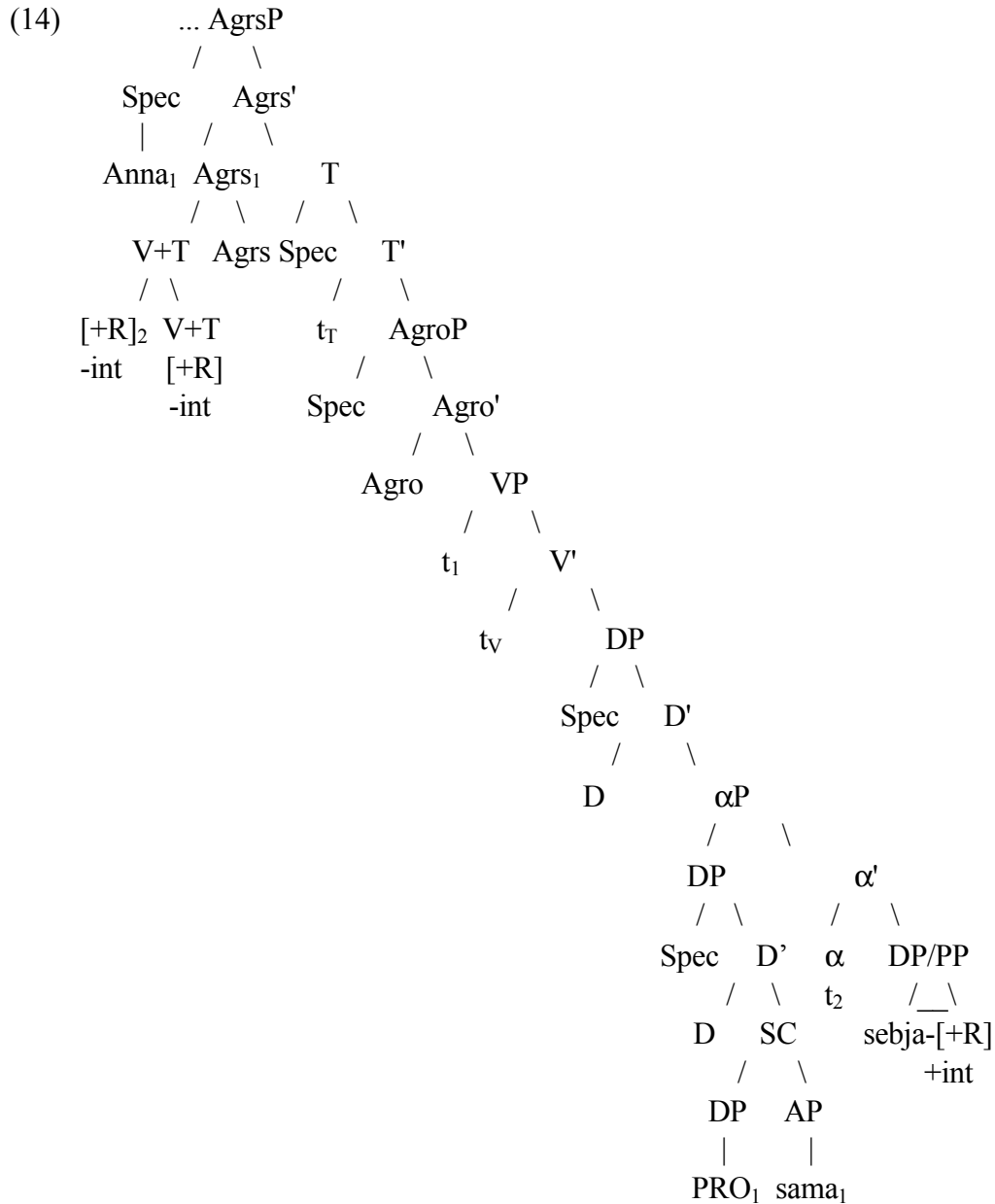
### 3.3. Feature movement and locality

Given (11), I propose that the head  $\alpha$  of  $\alpha$ P undergoes abstract incorporation (in the sense of Baker (1988)) into the matrix T. Structure (11) in conjunction with the incorporation analysis allows us to derive the SELF-reflexive properties of *sam sebja*.

First, *sam sebja* can be a complement but cannot be (contained in) an adjunct (cf. (3)). Introducing incorporation, Baker (1988, p. 60) points out that only incorporation of complements but not of adjuncts is possible. I have already mentioned that the [+R] feature of  $\alpha$  ends up in the upstairs T. This occurs as a result of abstract incorporation (or LF-incorporation). Then  $\alpha$ P can be a complement but not an adjunct.

Second, *sam sebja* is always local (cf. (2)) because  $\alpha$  has the [+R] feature that must check T's [+R] feature. The [+R] feature of  $\alpha$  can only check the [+R] feature of the local T but not of a higher T because  $\alpha$  incorporates into T, and incorporation is local and cannot be long-distance. Thus, *sam sebja* can only be local.

Given the proposals above, the derivation of (1b) will be (14a-b):



In (14), the matrix T and the head of  $\alpha$ P both have a non-interpretable [+R] feature; *sebja* has an interpretable [+R] feature. The head  $\alpha$  undergoes abstract (feature) incorporation into T. That is, the [+R] feature of  $\alpha$  incorporates into T. The [+R] features of T and  $\alpha$  both get checked and deleted. No non-interpretable features stay at LF after checking; thus, (14) is well-formed. As I

have already mentioned in section 3.2, the [+R] feature of *sebja* need not delete because it is interpretable.

### 3.4. Coreference via control

It has already been pointed out that the [+R] feature of *sebja* is too deeply embedded; it cannot be attracted by the [+R] feature of T, raise to T and end up in the Spec-Head relation with *sebja*'s antecedent. Thus, *sebja* cannot be responsible for the coreference relation between *sam sebja* and its antecedent. Then, the question arises of how the relation between *sam sebja* and its antecedent is established.

I propose that the relation between *sam sebja* and the antecedent is achieved via control but not via the LF movement of [+R] of *sebja*. The antecedent of *sam sebja* controls the PRO subject of [<sub>DP</sub>[<sub>SC</sub> PRO *sam*]], which is the structure of *sam* (see (8)). Thus, control of the PRO subject of *sam sebja* is responsible for the coreference relation: the coreference relation is established in two entirely different ways in the case of *sebja*, on one hand, and in the case of *sam sebja*, on the other hand.

My proposal explains the fact that a by-phrase can be *sam sebja*'s antecedent, as in (1c), repeated here. An independent evidence for the ability of a by-phrase to control an anaphoric NP is (15), in which the by-phrase controls PRO.

- (1) c.    Eta    pjesa            byla    sygrana            Ivanom<sub>1</sub>  
           this-N piece-N        was    played            John<sub>1</sub>-I  
           [PRO<sub>1</sub> *samim*] *dlja*    *sebja*  
           [PRO<sub>1</sub> self-I] for    *sebja*-G  
           ‘This piece was played by John by himself’

- (15)        Voditel'<sub>2</sub>        byl    ostanovlen        oficerom<sub>1</sub>  
           driver<sub>2</sub>-N        was    stopped        officer<sub>1</sub>-I  
           PRO<sub>1</sub> proverit'        ego<sub>2</sub>    dokumenty  
           PRO<sub>1</sub> check        his<sub>2</sub>    documents  
           ‘The driver was stopped by the officer [in order to] to check his documents’

If the coreference of *sam sebja* with the antecedent were established via the movement of [+R] to T, only a Nominative subject would be an appropriate antecedent but not the Instrumental by-phrase. However, it is PRO but not *sebja* that is responsible for the coreference relation with the antecedent. Then, if we assume that any c-commanding phrase can control PRO in *sam sebja*, we get the result that a Nominative subject and a by-phrase (which is adjoined to IP) but not a complement can control *sam sebja*; therefore (1c) is possible.

### 3.5. Case agreement via control

The remaining question is the following: How does *sam* get Nominative/Dative/Instrumental Case? My answer to this question is based on Case-agreement between PRO and *sam* in the SC [<sub>SC</sub> PRO *sam*]. I propose that PRO agrees in Case with its controller, and that there is a subject-predicate agreement in the [PRO *sam*] SC.

First, I will present my assumptions about the Case of PRO in Russian:

1. PRO in object-control infinitives, which are CP-s, is Dative, as in (16); see Franks and Greenberg (1988), Franks and Hornstein (1992), Laurençot (1997), Babby (1998).
2. PRO in SC-s (which are structures smaller than IP) agrees with the controller in Case; cf. Babby's (1998) analysis of subject-control infinitives as bare VP-s.

- (16)
- |                      |                     |                       |          |           |  |
|----------------------|---------------------|-----------------------|----------|-----------|--|
| Ivan <sub>1</sub>    | poprosil            | Petra <sub>2</sub>    |          |           |  |
| John <sub>1</sub> -N | asked               | Peter <sub>2</sub> -A |          |           |  |
| [CP [IP/AgrsP        | PRO <sub>2</sub>    | pojti tuda            | odnomu/  | *odnogo]] |  |
| [CP [IP/AgrsP        | PRO <sub>2</sub> -D | to-go there           | alone-D/ | *-A]]     |  |
- ‘John asked Peter to go there alone’

In (16), ‘alone’ is Dative-Case-marked. The standard assumption (cf. Laurençot (1997), Babby (1998)) is the following. Since secondary predicates normally agree in Case with subjects (cf. (17)), and since the agreement of secondary predicates is clause-bound, the Dative of ‘alone’ comes from PRO.

- (17)
- |        |             |           |      |
|--------|-------------|-----------|------|
| Ivan   | poexal tuda | *odnomu/  | odin |
| John-N | went there  | alone-*D/ | -N   |
- ‘John went there alone’

(18) shows that either subject-control infinitives do not contain PRO at all (as in Babby's original analysis), or they contain a VP-internal PRO that agrees with its controller and is Nominative. I adopt the latter assumption because I assume that PRO is necessary for the external theta-role assignment of the infinitive verb (cf. the Theta-Criterion). Another instance of a SC with PRO is an adjunct SC, as in (19)-(20). The predicate of this SC ‘tired’/ ‘sick’ is in Nominative/Accusative, and I assume that ‘tired’/ ‘sick’ agrees in Case with PRO<sub>1</sub>, which agrees in Case with John<sub>1</sub>/Peter<sub>2</sub> in Nominative/Accusative (in (19)-(20), I adopt Schein's (1995) analysis of secondary predicates in Russian).

- (18)
- |                      |                     |              |           |       |
|----------------------|---------------------|--------------|-----------|-------|
| Ivan <sub>1</sub>    | nadeetsja           |              |           |       |
| John <sub>1</sub> -N | hopes               |              |           |       |
| [VP/SC               | PRO <sub>1</sub>    | poexat' tuda | *odnomu/  | odin] |
| [VP/SC               | PRO <sub>1</sub> -N | to-go there  | alone-*D/ | -N]   |
- ‘John hopes to go there alone’
- (19)
- |                      |                           |          |
|----------------------|---------------------------|----------|
| Ivan <sub>1</sub>    | priexal [PRO <sub>1</sub> | ustalyj] |
| John <sub>1</sub> -N | came [PRO <sub>1</sub> -N | tired-N] |
- ‘John came tired’
- (20)
- |     |                          |                      |           |
|-----|--------------------------|----------------------|-----------|
| Ja  | našel Petra <sub>1</sub> | [PRO <sub>1</sub>    | bol'nogo] |
| I-N | found Peter-A            | [PRO <sub>1</sub> -A | sick-A]   |
- ‘I found Peter sick’

I assume that the [DP [SC PRO *sam*]] SC is of the adjunct SC-s type in (19)-(20), that is, that *sam* agrees in Case with PRO.

As I pointed out earlier, a PRO in SC-s, which are smaller than IP, agrees in Case with its controller. Then, PRO in [SC PRO *sam*] agrees with the external argument, which controls it, in Case (Nominative, Instrumental, or sometimes Dative, as in (2)). *Sam* agrees in Case with PRO, getting Nominative, Instrumental or Dative. Thus, the question of how *sam* gets its Case in (1a-c) (modified and repeated below) is answered. (1a-c) below and (21) (with the Dative matrix external argument) show, first, how the coreference relation between *sam sebja* and its antecedent is established, and, second, how *sam* gets its Case.

- (1) a. Anna<sub>1</sub> provodit eksperimenty  
 Ann<sub>1</sub>-N performs experiments-A  
 [<sub>αP</sub> [SC PRO<sub>1</sub> sama] nad soboj]  
 [<sub>αP</sub> [SC PRO<sub>1</sub>-N self-N] over sebja-I]  
 ‘Ann<sub>1</sub> performs experiments on herself<sub>1</sub>’
- b. Anna<sub>1</sub> nenavidit [<sub>αP</sub> [SC PRO<sub>1</sub> sama] sebja]  
 Ann<sub>1</sub>-N hates [<sub>αP</sub> [SC PRO<sub>1</sub>-N self-N] sebja-A]  
 ‘Ann<sub>1</sub> hates herself<sub>1</sub>’
- c. Eta pjesa byla sygrana Ivanom<sub>1</sub>  
 this-N piece-N was played John<sub>1</sub>-I  
 [<sub>αP</sub> [SC PRO<sub>1</sub> samim] dlja sebja]  
 [<sub>αP</sub> [SC PRO<sub>1</sub>-I self-I] for sebja-G]  
 ‘This piece was played by John<sub>1</sub> by himself<sub>1</sub>’
- (21) Marii<sub>1</sub> nel'zja PRO<sub>1</sub> provodit'  
 Mary<sub>1</sub>-D not-allowed PRO<sub>1</sub>-D to-perform  
 [<sub>αP</sub> [SC PRO<sub>1</sub> samoj] nad soboj eksperimenty]  
 [<sub>αP</sub> [SC PRO<sub>1</sub>-D self-D over sebja-I experiments-A]  
 ‘Mary<sub>1</sub> is not allowed to perform experiments on herself<sub>1</sub>’

#### 4. Conclusions

To conclude, I have presented the analysis of *sam sebja* which explains *sam sebja*'s syntactic properties and distribution:

1. *Sam sebja* is a SELF-reflexive.
2. *Sam sebja* is a SC (αP) embedded under a DP. The SELF-status of *sam sebja* is accounted for by the incorporation analysis of α into the local V+T. α is a functional head with a weak non-interpretable [+R] feature.
3. The relation between the antecedent and *sam sebja* is achieved via control of PRO but not via the movement of [+R] of *sebja* (unlike the case of the simplex *sebja*, in which this relation is achieved via movement).

4. The fact that *sam* agrees in Case with the external argument is explained via the SC analysis of *sam*. The PRO subject of this SC is controlled by the antecedent of *sam sebja*, and *sam* gets the same Case as PRO.

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