

# How do languages keep their selves straight?

## 1 Overview

- The semantics of the “split self” in imaginary contexts has been of interest in the linguistic and philosophical literature since James McCawley’s famous example in (1):<sup>1</sup>

(1) I dreamt that I was Brigitte Bardot and that I kissed me.

- In the situation described in (1), McCawley dreams that his mind is inhabiting Bardot’s body and causes her to kiss McCawley. This sentence is interesting and surprising for at least two reasons:
  - semantically, McCawley seems to be “split” into two different people
  - syntactically, the sentence seems to violate Principle B (cf. *\*I kissed me*)

- Similar split-self semantics arise in the *if X were Y* construction:

(2) If I were you, I would hate me.

(3) If I were you, I would hate myself.

- Sentence (2) might be uttered if the addressee is more forgiving than the speaker expects: the speaker has harmed the addressee and imagines that if he were in the addressee’s place, he would hate the speaker
- Sentence (3) might be uttered if the addressee has harmed someone and feels no remorse: the speaker imagines that if he were in the addressee’s place, he would feel great remorse
- Analyses of sentences like (1)–(3) have been proposed in several frameworks (formal semantics, mental space theory, cognitive linguistics), but almost without exception, the data are all from English<sup>2</sup>
- Without cross-linguistic comparison, it is not possible to know which of these sentences’ properties are universal and which are language-specific, and it is premature to use them to make claims for semantic universals, as sometimes appears to have been done
- Contribution of this study:
  - survey of split-self constructions in sixteen languages (convenience sample, data elicited from native speakers)
  - focus on *if I were you* sentences; for some languages, Brigitte Bardot sentences were also examined
  - results show significant cross-linguistic variation, which does not correlate with other aspects of the grammar of the individual languages in any straightforward way
  - claim: new typological feature(s) are necessary to account for how a language encodes split-self semantics

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<sup>1</sup>The first discussions of this example in print were Lakoff (1968:4) and the much more widely available Lakoff (1970:245).

<sup>2</sup>Recent analyses of Brigitte Bardot sentences in formal semantics are Heim (1998), Percus and Sauerland (2003), Anand (2006:§1.3–1.4), and Arregui (2007). Recent analyses of *if X were Y* sentences in mental space theory and cognitive linguistics are Fauconnier (1997:161–4), Lakoff (1996), and Lakoff and Johnson (1999:267–289).

## 2 Hybrid persons

- Split-self sentences involve an imagined “hybrid” person that has aspects of two distinct people
- In (2)–(3), when the object is *me*, it refers to the utterance speaker, and when it is *myself*, it refers to the hybrid person. We can notate this by adding indices to the pronouns as follows:
  - (4) If  $I_a$  were  $you_b$ ,  $I_{ab}$  would hate  $me_a$ . (disjoint)
  - (5) If  $I_a$  were  $you_b$ ,  $I_{ab}$  would hate  $myself_{ab}$ . (coreferent)
- I refer to the case where the consequent subject and object are not fully coreferential as the disjoint meaning, and the case where they are coreferential as the coreferent meaning
- The hybrid person always receives the same PNG features as the conditional clause subject:
  - (6) #If  $I_a$  were  $you_b$ ,  $you_{ab}$  would take a vacation.

## 3 Parameters of pronominal reference in *if X were Y* conditionals

- **Masking:** in an *if X were Y* conditional, *Y* cannot be mentioned in the consequent clause
  - English shows masking on personal pronouns:
    - (7) #If  $I_a$  were  $you_b$ ,  $I_{ab}$  would hate  $you_b$ .
  - infelicitous because *if I were you* blocks transparent reference to *you*
  - possessive pronouns are not masked in the same context, as the following semantically equivalent examples show:
    - (8) If  $I_a$  were  $you_b$ ,  $I_{ab}$  would fix  $your_b$  house.
- **Viewpoint shift:** if an *if X were Y* conditional, first and second person reference is determined from the perspective of *Y*
  - English does not allow viewpoint shift:
    - (9) #If  $I_a$  were  $you_b$ ,  $I_{ab}$  would hate  $you_a$ .
    - (10) #If  $I_a$  were  $you_b$ ,  $I_{ab}$  would fix  $your_a$  house.
  - infelicitous because *if I were you* cannot shift the deictic center to *you*
- **Strict coreference:** reflexive morphosyntax is used only when two terms are *fully* coreferent
  - English enforces strict coreference:
    - (11) #If  $I_a$  were  $you_b$ ,  $I_{ab}$  would hate  $myself_a$ .
  - infelicitous because  $I_{ab}$  and  $myself_a$  are only partially coreferent
- As we will see, all three parameters vary in the cross-linguistic sample

## 4 The cross-linguistic survey

language	classification	works consulted
English	Germanic < Indo-European	
Falam Lai	Kuki-Chin < Sino-Tibetan	notes, 2007–08
French	Romance < Indo-European	
Georgian	Kartvelian	Hewitt (1995); Harris (1981)
German	Germanic < Indo-European	
Hebrew (modern)	Semitic < Afroasiatic	
Indonesian	Austronesian	Sneddon (1996)
Jamaican Creole	English creole	
Japanese	isolate	Kuno (1973), Hinds (1986)
Korean	isolate	Sohn (1994)
Mandarin	Sinitic < Sino-Tibetan	Li and Thompson (1981)
Spanish	Romance < Indo-European	
Swahili	Bantu < Niger-Congo	Wald (1987)
Tamil	Dravidian	Steever (1987), Lehmann (1993)
Tashelhiyt	Berber < Afroasiatic	Sadiqi (1997), Bounfour and Boumalk (2001)
Turkish	Turkic	Kornfilt (1987)

Table 1: Languages in the sample.

- Sentences elicited for each language:<sup>3</sup>
  - [1] I will go.
  - [2] He hates me.
  - [3] I hate myself.
  - [4] If I were you, I would go.
  - [5] If I were you, I would hire me.
  - [6] If I were you, I would hire myself.
  - [7] If I were you, I would hate me.
  - [8] If I were you, I would hate myself.
  - [9] I dreamed I was Marilyn Monroe, and I kissed me.
  - [10] I dreamed I was Marilyn Monroe, and I kissed myself.
- Sentences [1]–[3] are ordinary realis clauses.
  - [1] was elicited in order to contrast its TAM marking with [4]
  - [2]–[3] were elicited in order to show typical non-reflexive and reflexive morphosyntax
- [4] is a “normal” *if I were you* sentence without complex pronominal reference
- [5]–[8] are the main sentences of interest, containing two instances each of disjoint and coreferent pronominal objects
- [9]–[10] are Brigitte Bardot sentences with the disjoint and coreferent contrast

### 4.1 Results: Universals

- All languages were able to express a counterfactual of the sort *if I were you*, although the precise phrasing differed: in Georgian, Hebrew, Tamil, and Turkish the preferred phrasing was *if I were in your place*; in Falam Lai, *if it were me*
- All languages that had clear grammatical subjects for the antecedent and consequent clauses of [4]–[8] had first person subjects for both; second person subjects were ungrammatical

<sup>3</sup>The numbers in square brackets are used to label meanings. The same numbers are used in the Appendix in order to consistently indicate possible sentence meanings in other languages.

- All languages were able to express the coreferent meaning of [6] and [8] (all but one, Indonesian, were able to express the disjoint meaning of [5] and [7])

#### 4.2 Results: Expression of disjoint and coreferent *if I were you* meanings

language	disjoint expressible	ambiguity	disjoint object	coreferent object
English	yes	no	1	1R
Falam Lai	yes	no	1	R
French	yes	yes	1	1
Georgian	yes	yes	R	R
German	yes	yes	1	1/1R
Hebrew	yes	no	1	1R
Indonesian	no	–	–	1R
Jamaican Creole	yes	no	1	1R
Japanese	yes	no	1	2/R
Korean	yes	no	1/1R	2/2R
Mandarin	yes	no	1	1R/R
Spanish	yes	yes	1	1/1R
Swahili	yes	no	1	R
Tamil	yes	no, yes	1, 1/2	2, 1/2
Tashelhiyt	yes	no	1	1R
Turkish	yes	yes, no	1/1R, 1	1R

Table 2: Morphosyntax of *if I were you* sentences.

- Features in Table 2:
  - Disjoint expressible: whether the disjoint meanings [5] and [7] are expressible
  - Ambiguity: whether any form of sentences [5]–[8] is ambiguous between the disjoint and coreferent meanings
  - Disjoint object: coded 1 if the verbal object is first person in the disjoint meaning, 2 if second person, R if reflexive without person marking; if the object is both reflexive and person-marked, coded with 1R and 2R
  - Coreferent object: same coding as previous for the verbal object in the coreferent meaning
- If a language has equivalent possibilities for a feature, they are separated with slashes
- For Tamil and Turkish, some feature values differ depending on the sentence: the value for sentences [5]–[6] is given first, followed by a comma, then the value for [7]–[8]

### 4.3 Results: Brigitte Bardot sentences

language	disjoint expressible	ambiguity	disjoint object	coreferent object
English	yes	no	1	1R
Falam Lai	maybe	no	1	R
German	yes	no	1	1R
Hebrew	yes	no	1	1R
Indonesian	no	–	–	1R
Jamaican Creole	maybe	no	1	1R
Japanese	yes	yes	1/R	1/R/?3
Korean	yes	no	1	1R/R
Mandarin	no	–	–	1R/R
Spanish	yes	yes	1	1/1R
Turkish	yes	no	1	1R

Table 3: Morphosyntax of Brigitte Bardot sentences.

- Substantial overlap between Tables 2 and 3
- In Hebrew and Spanish, the two languages in the sample which mark the gender of the hybrid person, the gender of the hybrid person must be female in Brigitte Bardot sentences:

(12) xalamti she-'ani marlen monro ve-'ani **menasheket** et atsm-i  
dream.PST.1SG COMP-1SG M. M. and-1SG kiss.PTCP.F.SG ACC self-1SG  
‘I dreamed I was Marilyn Monroe and I kissed myself.’ (Hebrew)

(13) soñé que era Marilyn Monroe, y me besaba a  
dream.PST.1SG COMP be.IMP.F.1SG M. M. and 1SG.O kiss.IMP.F.1SG ACC  
mí **misma**  
1SG.OBL same.SG.F  
‘I dreamed I was Marilyn Monroe, and I kissed myself.’ (Spanish)

- Conclusion: the gender of the ‘dreamer’ determines the gender of the hybrid person (the gender of the speaker is irrelevant in both languages)

### 4.4 Reflexive morphosyntax possibilities

language	1/2 object	3 object	type of marking	person on object
English	yes	yes	reflexive pronoun	yes
Falam Lai	yes	yes	verbal marker	no
French	no	yes	reflexive pronoun	yes
Georgian	yes	yes	reflexive pronoun	no
German	optional	yes	reflexive pronoun	yes
Hebrew	yes	yes	reflexive pronoun	yes
Indonesian	yes	yes	reflexive pronoun	yes
Jamaican Creole	yes	yes	reflexive pronoun	yes
Japanese	optional	optional	reflexive pronoun	no
Korean	optional	optional	reflexive pronoun	yes
Mandarin	yes	yes	reflexive pronoun	optional
Spanish	optional	yes	reflexive pronoun	yes
Swahili	yes	yes	verbal marker	no
Tamil	no	optional	reflexive pronoun	yes
Tashelhiyt	yes	yes	reflexive pronoun	yes
Turkish	yes	yes	reflexive pronoun	yes

Table 4: Reflexive morphosyntax.

- Since the crucial difference between the coreferent and disjoint meanings is by definition coreference, it is worth knowing the kind of reflexive morphosyntax available in a language to see whether there is any relationship with the language's feature values in Tables 2 and 3
- Features in Table 4:
  - 1/2 object: coded yes if dedicated reflexive morphosyntax is obligatory for first and second person objects, no if it is not available, optional if it is available but not obligatory
  - 3 object: coded yes if dedicated reflexive morphosyntax is obligatory for third person objects, no if it is not available (no instances), optional if it is available but not obligatory
  - type of marking: the kind of dedicated reflexive morphosyntax which is present: a reflexive pronoun or a verbal marker (clitic or affix)
  - person on object: coded yes if a reflexive object is explicitly person-marked in a sentence with reflexive semantics, no if it is not person-marked, optional if person marking is available but not obligatory

## 5 Interpreting the results for *if I were you* sentences

- All languages in the sample can express the disjoint meaning except Indonesian
- Indonesian has the same feature values for reflexive morphosyntax as English, and it is easy to generate a sentence which would have the disjoint meaning, but it is simply not grammatical:
  - (14) \**kalau aku jadi kamu, aku akan membenci-ku*  
     if 1SG be(come) 2SG 1SG FUT hate-1SG.O  
     ‘If I were you, I would hate me.’ (disjoint intended)
  - (15) *kalau aku jadi kamu, aku akan membenci diri-ku sendiri*  
     if 1SG be(come) 2SG 1SG FUT hate self-1SG.POSS self.EMPH  
     ‘If I were you, I would hate myself.’ (coreferent)
- I am not aware of any aspect of Indonesian grammar that predicts the ungrammaticality of (14)
- Several languages in the sample express the disjoint and coreferent meanings in the same manner as English: the disjoint meaning has a non-reflexive object pronoun, the coreferent meaning has a reflexive object pronoun, and neither meaning is ever ambiguous
  - Falam Lai, Hebrew, Jamaican Creole, Mandarin, Swahili, Tashelhiyt
  - all have obligatory reflexive morphosyntax for all persons
- Another group of languages (German, Spanish, and French) can express the disjoint and coreferent meanings in a similar manner to English, but only when optional reflexive morphosyntax is added
- German examples:
  - (16) *wenn ich du wäre, würde ich mich hassen*  
     if 1SG.NOM 2SG.NOM be.SBJV.1SG COND.1SG 1SG.NOM 1SG.ACC hate.INF  
     ‘If I were you, I would hate me.’ (ambiguous between disjoint and coreferent)
  - (17) *wenn ich du wäre, würde ich mich selbst hassen*  
     if 1SG.NOM 2SG.NOM be.SBJV.1SG COND.1SG 1SG.NOM 1SG.ACC self hate.INF  
     ‘If I were you, I would hate myself.’ (coreferent)
  - a semantically reflexive first person object may be expressed as either *mich* or *mich selbst* in German
  - in most cases the two are referentially equivalent, but since *mich* by itself is also a non-reflexive object pronoun, ambiguity arises in (16)
  - it is possible to disambiguate the coreferent meaning by adding *selbst*, but it is not possible to disambiguate the disjoint meaning

## 5.1 Georgian and Turkish

- Georgian and Turkish differ from the preceding languages in permitting the disjoint object to be expressed as a reflexive

- Georgian example:

(18) shen-s adgila-s rom viq'o, sak'utar-i tav-i she-m-javreboda  
 2SG-GEN place-DAT if be.AOR.SBJV.1SG own-NOM head-NOM in-1SG-hate.COND.3SG  
 'If I were in your place, I would hate own self.' (ambiguous between disjoint and coreferent)

– no alternative: disjoint and coreferent meanings can only be expressed in this way

- Turkish example:

(19) sen-in yer-in-de ol-sa-m, kendi-m-i iş-e al-ır-dı-m  
 2SG-GEN place-2SG-LOC be-COND-1SG self-1SG-ACC work-DAT take-AOR-PST.DEF-1SG  
 'If I were in your place, I would hire myself.' (ambiguous, leans toward coreferent)

– the disjoint meaning can also be expressed with a non-reflexive object

– the disjoint meaning cannot be expressed with a reflexive object in the *hate* sentence

- Conclusion: Georgian and Turkish reflexive pronouns are used with partial coreference

## 5.2 Japanese and Korean

- Japanese and Korean share a striking property: the coreferent object is expressed as second person

- Korean examples:

(20) nay-ka ne-la-myen, na-lul silh-e ha-l kes-ita  
 1SG-NOM 2SG-COP-if 1SG-ACC hate-CONN do-FUT NMLZ-COP.DECL  
 'If  $I_a$  were you $_b$ ,  $I_{ab}$  would hate me $_a$ .' (disjoint)

(21) nay-ka ne-la-myen, nay-casin-ul silh-e ha-l kes-ita  
 1SG-NOM 2SG-COP-if 1SG.POSS-self-ACC hate-CONN do-FUT NMLZ-COP.DECL  
 'If  $I_a$  were you $_b$ ,  $I_{ab}$  would hate myself $_a$ .' (disjoint)

(22) nay-ka ne-la-myen, ne casin-ul silh-e ha-l kes-ita  
 1SG-NOM 2SG-COP-if 2SG self-ACC hate-CONN do-FUT NMLZ-COP.DECL  
 'If  $I_a$  were you $_b$ ,  $I_{ab}$  would hate yourself $_b$ .' (coreferent)

(23) nay-ka ne-la-myen, ney-casin-ul silh-e ha-l kes-ita  
 1SG-NOM 2SG-COP-if 2SG.POSS-self-ACC hate-CONN do-FUT NMLZ-COP.DECL  
 'If  $I_a$  were you $_b$ ,  $I_{ab}$  would hate yourself $_b$ .' (coreferent)

– in the disjoint meaning, the object may or may not be reflexive (fits with general optionality of reflexive pronouns in Korean)

– in the coreferent meaning, object must be reflexive (unclear why)

- Japanese examples:

(24) moshi watashi ga anata nara, watashi ga kirai ni.naru-daroo  
 if 1SG NOM 2SG if 1SG NOM hate come.to-may  
 'If  $I_a$  were you $_b$ ,  $I_{ab}$  would hate me $_a$ .' (disjoint)

(25) moshi watashi ga anata nara, jibun ga kirai ni.naru-daroo  
 if 1SG NOM 2SG if self NOM hate come.to-may  
 'If  $I_a$  were you $_b$ ,  $I_{ab}$  would hate self $_{ab}$ .' (coreferent)

(26) moshi watashi ga anata nara, anata ga kirai ni.naru-daroo  
 if 1SG NOM 2SG if 2SG NOM hate come.to-may  
 'If  $I_a$  were you $_b$ ,  $I_{ab}$  would hate you $_b$ .' (coreferent)

- Conclusion: Japanese and Korean do not exhibit masking
  - the hybrid person can be mentioned as the topic in the consequent clause (in Korean, *na-nun* ‘1SG-TOP’)
  - otherwise, first and second person pronouns refer transparently to speaker and addressee, ignoring the counterfactual
- Korean *casin* versus Japanese *jibun*:
  - *casin* is person-marked, *jibun* is not: therefore, there is no Japanese equivalent of Korean (21) and (23)
  - with *casin*, partial coreference is allowed: (21)–(23)
  - with *jibun*, strict coreference only: (25) is unambiguous

### 5.3 Punjabi

- Preliminary data:
  - (27) je mǎi tūū hūdaa,            mǎi nūū tere tōō    nafrat hūdii  
if 1SG 2SG be.PRES.M.SG 1SG DAT 2SG from hatred be.PRES.SG.F  
‘If  $I_a$  were you $_b$ ,  $I_{ab}$  would hate you $_a$ .’ (disjoint)
  - (28) je mǎi tūū hūdaa,            mǎi nūū mere tōō    nafrat hūdii  
if 1SG 2SG be.PRES.M.SG 1SG DAT 1SG from hatred be.PRES.SG.F  
‘If  $I_a$  were you $_b$ ,  $I_{ab}$  would hate me $_b$ .’ (coreferent)
- Inverse of Korean and Japanese: first person objects have coreferent meaning, second person objects have disjoint meaning
- Can be explained as obligatory viewpoint shift: person is assigned from the perspective of the addressee

### 5.4 Tamil

- Tamil is unusual in that it shows a split between the *hire* and *hate* sentences:
  - (29) (nān)    unn-iṭatt-il    iru-nt-ēn    ānāl, nān    enn-ai(-yē)    (vēlai-kku) vai-ttuk  
1SG.NOM 2SG-place-LOC be-PST-1SG but 1SG.NOM 1SG-ACC-EMPH job-DAT    put-PTCP  
koḷ-v-ēn  
hold-FUT-1SG  
‘If  $I_a$  were in your $_b$  place,  $I_{ab}$  would keep me $_a$  (for the job).’ (disjoint)
  - (30) (nān)    unn-iṭatt-il    iru-nt-ēn    ānāl, nān    uṅkaḷ-ai vai-ttuk    koḷ-v-ēn  
1SG.NOM 2SG-place-LOC be-PST-1SG but 1SG.NOM 2PL-ACC put-PTCP hold-FUT-1SG  
‘If  $I_a$  were in your $_b$  place,  $I_{ab}$  would keep you $_b$  (for the job).’ (coreferent; 2PL is polite address)
  - (31) (nān)    unn-iṭatt-il    iru-nt-ēn    ānāl, nān    enn-ai    veru-pp-ēn  
1SG.NOM 2SG-place-LOC be-PST-1SG but 1SG.NOM 1SG-ACC hate-FUT-1SG  
‘If  $I_a$  were in your $_b$  place,  $I_{ab}$  would hate me $_{a/ab}$ .’ (ambiguous between disjoint and coreferent)
  - (32) (nān)    unn-iṭatt-il    iru-nt-ēn    ānāl, nān    unn-ai    veru-pp-ēn  
1SG.NOM 2SG-place-LOC be-PST-1SG but 1SG.NOM 2SG-ACC hate-FUT-1SG  
‘If  $I_a$  were in your $_b$  place,  $I_{ab}$  would hate you $_{a/b}$ .’ (less good than preceding; leans toward coreferent)
- The *hire* sentences pattern like Korean and Japanese
- The *hate* sentences can take either first or second person objects and are ambiguous in both cases (other verbs checked also follow this pattern)
- Can account for the *hate* sentences by positing optional viewpoint shift



## 6 Conclusion

- Some of the variation in the expression of *if I were you* sentences in the survey can be accounted for by considering the different possibilities for dedicated reflexive morphosyntax in the languages
- Variation in masking, viewpoint shift, and strict coreference cannot be explained in this fashion
- Therefore, we need new typological parameters that are not (currently) predictable from other properties of a language’s grammar:

language	masking	viewpoint shift	strict coreference
English et al.	yes	no	yes
Georgian, Turkish	yes	no	no
Japanese	no	no	yes
Korean	no	no	no
Tamil	no	mixed	no
Punjabi	no	yes	yes

Table 5: Parametric variation in the sample.

- A theoretical motivation for these parameters is difficult to find: as far as I know, they are not easily explained in terms of binding theory, *de se* attitudes (Anand 2006), or mental space theory
- Future work should look more closely at masking, viewpoint shift, and strict coreference to better determine in what grammatical contexts they are active and what the cross-linguistic variation is

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## Appendix: Language Data

Translations are as literal as possible. For example, second person objects are always translated into English as second person, and reflexives unmarked for person are translated as ‘self’ rather than ‘myself’ or ‘yourself’. Sentence meanings are indicated by the numbers in square brackets (see §4).

Glosses follow the Leipzig conventions. Potentially unclear abbreviations are s = subject (S/A), o = object (P), IMPF = imperfect (past imperfective).

### 6.1 Falam Lai

Falam Lai (ISO 639-3 *f1m*), spoken in and around Falam in Chin State, Burma, is a language in the Kuki-Chin subgroup of Tibeto-Burman. The consultant was Ni Luai Thang, who was the consultant for the 2007–08 field methods course at UC Berkeley. Ni Luai is also fluent in Burmese. The transcription system is the one agreed upon by the field methods class.

- [1] ka-suák=dîng  
1SG.S-leave=IRR  
‘I will leave.’
- [2] ín-huá:  
1.O-hate  
‘He hates me.’
- [3] ka-huá:=ô:  
1SG.S-hate=REFL  
‘I hate self.’
- [4] káy=si: se’la:, ka-suák=dîng  
1SG=FOC if 1SG.S-leave=IRR  
‘If it were me, I would leave.’
- [5] káy=si: se’la:, ín-hla:ng=záw=dîng  
1SG=FOC if 1.O-hire=already=IRR  
‘If it were me, I would hire me.’
- [6] káy=si: se’la:, káyma’le’káyma’ ka-hla:ng=ô=záw=dîng  
1SG=FOC if 1SG.REFL 1SG.S-hire=REFL=already=IRR  
‘If it were me, I would hire self.’
- [7] káy=si: se’la:, ín-huá:=dîng  
1SG=FOC if 1.O-hate=IRR  
‘If it were me, I would hate me.’
- [8] káy=si: se’la:, káyma’le’káyma’ ka-huá:=ô=dîng  
1SG=FOC if 1SG.REFL 1SG.S-hate=REFL=IRR  
‘If it were me, I would hate self.’
- [9] ka-máng=a’ Marilyn Monroe ka-rák-si: i’ ín-hnam  
1SG-dream=LOC M. M. 1SG.S-PFV-be and 1SG.O-kiss  
‘In my dream I was Marilyn Monroe, and she/??I kissed me.’
- [10] ka-máng=a’ Marilyn Monroe ka-rák-si: i’ ka-hnam=ô  
1SG-dream=LOC M. M. 1SG.S-PFV-be and 1SG.S-kiss=REFL  
‘In my dream I was Marilyn Monroe, and I kissed self.’

### 6.2 French

The consultant was Hanane Kourrad (see Tashelhiyt).

- [1] je partirai  
1SG.S leave.FUT.1SG  
‘I will leave.’
- [2] il me déteste  
3SG.M.S 1SG.O hate.PRS.3SG  
‘He hates me.’

- [3] je me déteste  
1SG.S 1SG.O hate.PRS.1SG  
'I hate me.'
- [4a] si j'-étais toi, je partirais  
if 1SG.S-be.IMPF.1SG 2SG 1SG.S go.COND.1SG  
'If I were you, I would leave.'
- [4b] si c'-était moi, je partirais  
if 3SG.INAN-be.IMPF.3SG 1SG 1SG.S go.COND.1SG  
'If it were me, I would leave.'
- [5-6] si j'-étais toi, je m'-engagerais  
if 1SG.S-be.IMPF.1SG 2SG 1SG.S 1SG.O-hire.COND.1SG  
'If I were you, I would hire me.' (disjoint meaning is preferred)
- [6b] ?si j'-étais toi, je m'-engagerais moi-même  
if 1SG.S-be.IMPF.1SG 2SG 1SG.S 1SG.O-hire.COND.1SG 1SG-same  
'If I were you, I would hire myself.' (somewhat strained, but unambiguous)
- [6c] si c'-était moi, je m'-engagerais moi-même  
if 3SG.INAN-be.IMPF.3SG 1SG 1SG.S 1SG.O-hire.COND.1SG 1SG-same  
'If it were me, I would hire myself.'
- [7-8] si j'-étais toi, je me détesterais  
if 1SG.S-be.IMPF.1SG 2SG 1SG.S 1SG.O hate.COND.1SG  
'If I were you, I would hate me.' (disjoint meaning is preferred)
- [8b] ?si j'-étais toi, je me détesterais moi-même  
if 1SG.S-be.IMPF.1SG 2SG 1SG.S 1SG.O hate.COND.1SG 1SG-same  
'If I were you, I would hate myself.' (somewhat strained, but unambiguous)
- [8c] si c'-était moi, je me détesterais  
if 3SG.INAN-be.IMPF.3SG 1SG 1SG.S 1SG.O hate.COND.1SG  
'If it were me, I would hate me.'

### 6.3 Georgian

The consultant was Shorena Kurtsikidze, who is from T'bilisi.

- DIR = direct (syncretic form expressing ergative, nominative, and genitive), IOV = indirect object version (*e-*), V = other version vowel
- *hate* is an "indirect" verb: the experiencer NP takes dative, the stimulus NP takes nominative (note that *tavi* 'head/self' is third person)

- [1] me ts'a- $\emptyset$ -val  
1SG.DIR away-1SG-go.FUT  
'I will go.'
- [2] mas v-e-javrebi  
3SG.DAT 1SG-IOV-hate.PRS  
'He hates me.'
- [3] sak'utar-i tav-i m-e-javreba  
own-NOM head-NOM 1SG-IOV-hate.PRS.3SG  
'I hate own self.'
- [4a] shen-s adgila-s rom viq'o, ts'a- $\emptyset$ -vidodi  
2SG-GEN place-DAT if be.AOR.SBJV.1SG away-1SG-go.COND  
'If I were in your place, I would go.' (preferred to *b*)
- [4b] me rom shen viq'o, ts'a- $\emptyset$ -vidodi  
1SG.DIR if 2SG be.AOR.SBJV.1SG away-1SG-go.COND  
'If I were you, I would go.'

- [5–6] shen-s adgila-s rom viq'o, sak'utar-∅ tav-s da-v-i-qiravebdi  
 2SG-GEN place-DAT if be.AOR.SBJV.1SG own-DAT head-DAT down-1SG-V-hire.COND  
 'If I were in your place, I would hire own self.'
- [7–8] shen-s adgila-s rom viq'o, sak'utar-i tav-i she-m-javreboda  
 2SG-GEN place-DAT if be.AOR.SBJV.1SG own-NOM head-NOM in-1SG-hate.COND.3SG  
 'If I were in your place, I would hate own self.'

## 6.4 German

The consultants were Cornelia Loos (of Berlin) and Elisabeth Wehling (of Hamburg).

- [1] ich werde gehen  
 1SG.NOM FUT.1SG go.INF  
 'I will go.'
- [2] er hasst mich  
 3SG.M.NOM hate.PRS.3SG 1SG.ACC  
 'He hates me.' (*\*selbst/selber*)
- [3a] ich hasse mich  
 1SG.NOM hate.PRS.1SG 1SG.ACC  
 'I hate me.'
- [3b] ich hasse mich selbst/selber  
 1SG.NOM hate.PRS.1SG 1SG.ACC self  
 'I hate myself.' (more emphatic than *a*)
- [4] wenn ich du wäre, würde ich gehen  
 if 1SG.NOM 2SG.NOM be.SBJV.1SG COND.1SG 1SG.NOM go.INF  
 'If I were you, I would go.'
- [5–6] wenn ich du wäre, würde ich mich einstellen  
 if 1SG.NOM 2SG.NOM be.SBJV.1SG COND.1SG 1SG.NOM 1SG.ACC hire.INF  
 'If I were you, I would hire me.' (disjoint meaning is preferred)
- [6b] wenn ich du wäre, würde ich mich selbst einstellen  
 if 1SG.NOM 2SG.NOM be.SBJV.1SG COND.1SG 1SG.NOM 1SG.ACC self hire.INF  
 'If I were you, I would hire myself.'
- [7–8] wenn ich du wäre, würde ich mich hassen  
 if 1SG.NOM 2SG.NOM be.SBJV.1SG COND.1SG 1SG.NOM 1SG.ACC hate.INF  
 'If I were you, I would hate me.'
- [8b] wenn ich du wäre, würde ich mich selbst hassen  
 if 1SG.NOM 2SG.NOM be.SBJV.1SG COND.1SG 1SG.NOM 1SG.ACC self hate.INF  
 'If I were you, I would hate myself.'
- [9–10a] im Traum war ich Marilyn Monroe und ich habe mich geküsst  
 in.the dream be.PST.1SG 1SG.NOM M. M. and 1SG.NOM have.PRS.1SG 1SG.ACC kiss.PRT  
 'In the dream I was Marilyn Monroe, and I kissed me.'
- [9–10b] im Traum war ich Marilyn Monroe und ich habe mich selbst  
 in.the dream be.PST.1SG 1SG.NOM M. M. and 1SG.NOM have.PRS.1SG 1SG.ACC self  
 geküsst  
 kiss.PRT  
 'In the dream I was Marilyn Monroe, and I kissed myself.'

## 6.5 Hebrew

The consultant was Tom Recht. He is also a native speaker of English.

- [1] ani elex  
 1SG go.FUT.1SG  
 'I will go.'

- [2] hu sone ot-i  
3SG.M hate.PTCP.SG.M ACC-1SG  
'He hates me.'
- [3] ani sone et atsm-i  
1SG hate.PTCP.SG.M ACC self-1SG  
'I hate myself.'
- [4] ani bi-mkom-xa hayiti holex  
1SG in-place-2SG.M be.PST.1SG go.PTCP.SG.M  
'If I were in your place, I would go.'
- [5] ani bi-mkom-xa hayiti ma'asik ot-i  
1SG in-place-2SG.M be.PST.1SG hire.PTCP.SG.M 1SG-ACC  
'If I were in your place, I would hire me.'
- [6] ani bi-mkom-xa hayiti ma'asik et atsm-i  
1SG in-place-2SG.M be.PST.1SG hire.PTCP.SG.M ACC self-1SG  
'If I were in your place, I would hire myself.'
- [7] ani bi-mkom-xa hayiti sone ot-i  
1SG in-place-2SG.M be.PST.1SG hate.PTCP.SG.M 1SG-ACC  
'If I were in your place, I would hate me.'
- [8] ani bi-mkom-xa hayiti sone et atsm-i  
1SG in-place-2SG.M be.PST.1SG hate.PTCP.SG.M ACC self-1SG  
'If I were in your place, I would hate myself.'
- [9] xalamti she-'ani marlen monro ve-'ani menasheket ot-i  
dream.PST.1SG COMP-1SG M. M. and-1SG kiss.PTCP.F.SG ACC-1SG  
'I dreamed I was Marilyn Monroe, and I kissed me.'
- [10] xalamti she-'ani marlen monro ve-'ani menasheket et atsm-i  
dream.PST.1SG COMP-1SG M. M. and-1SG kiss.PTCP.F.SG ACC self-1SG  
'I dreamed I was Marilyn Monroe, and I kissed myself.'

## 6.6 Indonesian

The consultants were Wilis Ekowati (of Solo) and Iman Djalius (of Padang).

- [1a] aku akan pergi  
1SG FUT go  
'I will go.'
- [1b] aku mau pergi  
1SG FUT go  
'I will go.'
- [2] dia membenci-ku  
3SG hate-1SG.O  
'He hates me.'
- [3] aku membenci diri-ku sendiri  
1SG hate self-1SG.POSS self.EMPH  
'I hate myself.'
- [4] kalau aku jadi kamu, aku akan pergi  
if 1SG be(come) 2SG 1SG FUT go  
'If I were you, I would go.' (*\*aku mau pergi*)
- [5] \*kalau aku jadi kamu, aku akan mempekerjakan-ku  
if 1SG be(come) 2SG 1SG FUT hire-1SG.O  
'If I were you, I would hire me.' (intended)
- [6] kalau aku jadi kamu, aku akan mempekerjakan diri-ku sendiri  
if 1SG be(come) 2SG 1SG FUT hire self-1SG.POSS self.EMPH  
'If I were you, I would hire myself.'

- [7] \*kalau aku jadi kamu, aku akan membenci-ku  
 if 1SG be(come) 2SG 1SG FUT hate-1SG.O  
 ‘If I were you, I would hate me.’ (intended)
- [8] kalau aku jadi kamu, aku akan membenci diri-ku sendiri  
 if 1SG be(come) 2SG 1SG FUT hate self-1SG.POSS self.EMPH  
 ‘If I were you, I would hate myself.’
- [9] \*aku mimpi menjadi Marilyn Monroe, dan aku mencium-ku  
 1SG dream be(come) M. M. and 1SG kiss-1SG.O  
 ‘I dreamed I was Marilyn Monroe, and I kissed me.’ (intended)
- [10] aku mimpi menjadi Marilyn Monroe, dan aku mencium diri-ku sendiri  
 1SG dream be(come) M. M. and 1SG kiss self-1SG.POSS self.EMPH  
 ‘I dreamed I was Marilyn Monroe, and I kissed myself.’

## 6.7 Jamaican Creole

The consultant was Joseph Farquharson, who grew up in Montego Bay. He is also a (near-)native speaker of English. The orthography is the revised version of the Cassidy–Le Page system.

- [1] mi ago lef  
 I FUT leave  
 ‘I will leave.’
- [2] im hiet mi  
 he hate me  
 ‘He hates me.’
- [3] mi hiet miself  
 I hate myself  
 ‘I hate myself.’
- [4] ef mi a wehn yu, mi uda lef  
 if I COP ANT you I COND leave  
 ‘If I were you, I would leave.’
- [5] ef mi a wehn yu, mi uda haiya mi  
 if I COP ANT you I COND hire me  
 ‘If I were you, I would hire me.’
- [6] ef mi a wehn yu, mi uda haiya miself  
 if I COP ANT you I COND hire myself  
 ‘If I were you, I would hire myself.’
- [7] ef mi a wehn yu, mi uda hiet mi  
 if I COP ANT you I COND hate me  
 ‘If I were you, I would hate me.’
- [8] ef mi a wehn yu, mi uda hiet miself  
 if I COP ANT you I COND hate myself  
 ‘If I were you, I would hate myself.’
- [9] ??mi jriim se mi a (wehn) Marilin Manruo an mi kis mi  
 I dream COMP I COP ANT M. M. and I kiss me  
 ‘I dreamed I was Marilyn Monroe, and I kissed me.’
- [10] ?mi jriim se mi a (wehn) Marilin Manruo an mi kis miself  
 I dream COMP I COP ANT M. M. and I kiss myself  
 ‘I dreamed I was Marilyn Monroe, and I kissed myself.’

## 6.8 Japanese

The consultant was Reiko Kataoka (of Kyoto).

- [1] *watashi wa iku*  
1SG TOP go.NPST  
'I will go.'
- [2] *kare wa watashi ga kirai-rashii*  
3SG.M TOP 1SG NOM hate-EVID  
'He hates me.'
- [3a] *watashi wa watashi ga kirai da*  
1SG TOP 1SG NOM hate COP  
'I hate me.'
- [3b] *watashi wa jibun ga kirai da*  
1SG TOP self NOM hate COP  
'I hate self.'
- [4] *moshi watashi ga anata nara, iku-daroo*  
if 1SG NOM 2SG if go-may  
'If I were you, I would go.'
- [5] *moshi watashi ga anata nara, watashi o saiyou.suru-daroo*  
if 1SG NOM 2SG if 1SG ACC hire-may  
'If I were you, I would hire me.'
- [6a] *moshi watashi ga anata nara, jibun o saiyou.suru-daroo*  
if 1SG NOM 2SG if self ACC hire-may  
'If I were you, I would hire self.' (only ambiguous if *jibun = watashi*, becoming common in colloquial language)
- [6b] *moshi watashi ga anata nara, anata o saiyou.suru-daroo*  
if 1SG NOM 2SG if 2SG ACC hire-may  
'If I were you, I would hire you.'
- [7] *moshi watashi ga anata nara, watashi ga kirai ni.naru-daroo*  
if 1SG NOM 2SG if 1SG NOM hate come.to-may  
'If I were you, I would hate me.'
- [8a] *moshi watashi ga anata nara, jibun ga kirai ni.naru-daroo*  
if 1SG NOM 2SG if self NOM hate come.to-may  
'If I were you, I would hate self.'
- [8b] *moshi watashi ga anata nara, anata ga kirai ni.naru-daroo*  
if 1SG NOM 2SG if 2SG NOM hate come.to-may  
'If I were you, I would hate you.'
- [9] *yume de watashi wa Marilyn Monroe ni nat-ta, soshite watashi ni kisu o shi-ta*  
dream LOC 1SG TOP M. M. DAT become-PST and 1SG DAT kiss ACC do-PST  
'In the dream I became Marilyn Monroe, and I kissed me.' (leans toward disjoint meaning)
- [10a] *yume de watashi wa Marilyn Monroe ni nat-ta, soshite jibun ni kisu o shi-ta*  
dream LOC 1SG TOP M. M. DAT become-PST and self DAT kiss ACC do-PST  
'In the dream I became Marilyn Monroe, and I kissed self.' (leans toward coreferent meaning)
- [10b] *??yume de watashi wa Marilyn Monroe ni nat-ta, soshite kanojo ni kisu o shi-ta*  
dream LOC 1SG TOP M. M. DAT become-PST and 3SG.F DAT kiss ACC do-PST  
'In the dream I became Marilyn and I kissed her.'

## 6.9 Korean

The consultant was Iksoo Kwon. The transliteration system employed is Yale.

- instead of *nay-ka ne-la-myen*, it's always possible to say *na-la-myen* or *ce-la-myen* 'if it were me'
- it's also always possible to begin the consequent with *na-nun* or *ce-nun* (1SG-TOP)

- [1] na-nun ttena-l kes-ita  
1SG-TOP leave-FUT NMLZ-COP.DECL  
'I will leave.'
- [2] ku-nun na-lul silh-e ha-n-ta  
3SG.M-TOP 1SG-ACC hate-CONN do-PRS-DECL  
'He hates me.'
- [3a] na-nun na-lul silh-e ha-n-ta  
1SG-TOP 1SG-ACC hate-CONN do-PRS-DECL  
'I hate me.'
- [3b] na-nun nay-casin-ul silh-e ha-n-ta  
1SG-TOP 1SG.POSS-self-ACC hate-CONN do-PRS-DECL  
'I hate myself.'
- [4] nay-ka ne-la-myen, ttena-l kes-ita  
1SG-NOM 2SG-COP-if leave-FUT NMLZ-COP.DECL  
'If I were you, I would leave.'
- [5a] cey-ka tangsin-ila-myen, ce-lul ppop-keyss-supnita  
1SG.HON-NOM 2SG-COP-if 1SG-ACC pick-would-DECL.HON  
'If I were you, I would hire me.'
- [5b] cey-ka tangsin-ila-myen, cey-casin-ul ppop-keyss-supnita  
1SG.HON-NOM 2SG-COP-if 1SG.POSS-self-ACC pick-would-DECL.HON  
'If I were you, I would hire myself.'
- [6] cey-ka tangsin-ila-myen, tangsin casin-ul ppop-keyss-supnita  
1SG.HON-NOM 2SG-COP-if 2SG self-ACC pick-would-DECL.HON  
'If I were you, I would hire yourself.' (sounds somewhat rude with *tangsin*, should add proper title; can't say just *casin-ul*, either)
- [7a] nay-ka ne-la-myen, na-lul silh-e ha-l kes-ita  
1SG-NOM 2SG-COP-if 1SG-ACC hate-CONN do-FUT NMLZ-COP.DECL  
'If I were you, I would hate me.'
- [7b] nay-ka ne-la-myen, nay-casin-ul silh-e ha-l kes-ita  
1SG-NOM 2SG-COP-if 1SG.POSS-self-ACC hate-CONN do-FUT NMLZ-COP.DECL  
'If I were you, I would hate myself.'
- [8a] nay-ka ne-la-myen, ne casin-ul silh-e ha-l kes-ita  
1SG-NOM 2SG-COP-if 2SG self-ACC hate-CONN do-FUT NMLZ-COP.DECL  
'If I were you, I would hate yourself.'
- [8b] nay-ka ne-la-myen, ney-casin-ul silh-e ha-l kes-ita  
1SG-NOM 2SG-COP-if 2SG.POSS-self-ACC hate-CONN do-FUT NMLZ-COP.DECL  
'If I were you, I would hate yourself.'
- [9] kkwum-sok-eyse na-nun Marilyn Monroe-i-ess-ko, na-eykey khissu-ha-ess-ta  
dream-inside-LOC 1SG-TOP M. M.-COP-PST-and 1SG-DAT kiss-do-PST-DECL  
'In the dream I was Marilyn Monroe, and I kissed me.'
- [10a] kkwum-sok-eyse na-nun Marilyn Monroe-i-ess-ko, nay-casin-eykey khissu-ha-ess-ta  
dream-inside-LOC 1SG-TOP M. M.-COP-PST-and 1SG.POSS-self-DAT kiss-do-PST-DECL  
'In the dream I was Marilyn Monroe, and I kissed myself.'
- [10b] kkwum-sok-eyse na-nun Marilyn Monroe-i-ess-ko, caki-casin-eykey khissu-ha-ess-ta  
dream-inside-LOC 1SG-TOP M. M.-COP-PST-and ANA-self-DAT kiss-do-PST-DECL  
'In the dream I was Marilyn Monroe, and I kissed self.'

## 6.10 Mandarin

The consultant was Yao Yao (of Shanghai).

- [1] wǒ huì qù  
1SG FUT go  
'I will go.'



- [2] tā tāoyàn wǒ  
3SG hate 1SG  
'He/she hates me.'
- [3] wǒ tāoyàn (wǒ) zìjǐ  
1SG hate 1SG self  
'I hate self.'
- [4] rúgǎo wǒ shì nǐ, wǒ huì qù  
if 1SG be 2SG 1SG FUT go  
'If I were you, I would go.'
- [5] rúgǎo wǒ shì nǐ, wǒ huì qǐng wǒ  
if 1SG be 2SG 1SG FUT ask/invite 1SG  
'If I were you, I would hire me.'
- [6] rúgǎo wǒ shì nǐ, wǒ huì qǐng (wǒ) zìjǐ  
if 1SG be 2SG 1SG FUT ask/invite 1SG self  
'If I were you, I would hire self.'
- [7] rúgǎo wǒ shì nǐ, wǒ yě huì tāoyàn wǒ  
if 1SG be 2SG 1SG also FUT hate 1SG  
'If I were you, I would hate me too.'
- [8] rúgǎo wǒ shì nǐ, wǒ huì tāoyàn (wǒ) zìjǐ  
if 1SG be 2SG 1SG FUT hate 1SG self  
'If I were you, I would hate self.'
- [9] \*wǒ mèngjiàn wǒ shì Marilyn Monroe, wǒ wěn-le wǒ  
I dream I be M. M. I kiss-PERF 1SG self  
'I dreamed I was Marilyn Monroe, and I kissed me.'
- [10] wǒ mèngjiàn wǒ shì Marilyn Monroe, wǒ wěn-le (wǒ) zìjǐ  
I dream I be M. M. I kiss-PERF 1SG self  
'I dreamed I was Marilyn Monroe, and I kissed self.'

## 6.11 Spanish

The consultant was Alex Bratkievich (from Uruguay).

- [1] iré  
go.FUT.1SG  
'I will go.'
- [2] me odia (a mí)  
1SG.O hate.PRS.3SG ACC 1SG.OBL  
'He hates me.'
- [3] me odio (a mí mismo)  
1SG.O hate.PRS.1SG ACC 1SG.OBL same.SG.M  
'I hate me/myself.' (\*a mí)
- [4a] si (yo) fuera tú, iría  
if 1SG be.PST.SBJV.1SG 2SG go.COND.1SG  
'If I were you, I would go.'
- [4b] si fuera yo, iría  
if be.PST.SBJV.3SG 1SG go.COND.1SG  
'If it were me, I would go.'
- [5–6a] si (yo) fuera tú, me contrataría  
if 1SG be.PST.SBJV.1SG 2SG 1SG.O hire.COND.1SG  
'If I were you, I would hire me.'
- [5–6b] si fuera yo, me contrataría  
if be.PST.SBJV.3SG 1SG 1SG.O hire.COND.1SG  
'If it were me, I would hire me.'

- [5c] si (yo) fuera tú, me contrataría a mí  
if 1SG be.PST.SBJV.1SG 2SG 1SG.O hire.COND.1SG ACC 1SG.OBL  
'If I were you, I would hire me.'
- [5d] si fuera yo, me contrataría a mí  
if be.PST.SBJV.3SG 1SG 1SG.O hire.COND.1SG ACC 1SG.OBL  
'If it were me, I would hire me.'
- [6c] si (yo) fuera tú, me contrataría a mí mismo  
if 1SG be.PST.SBJV.1SG 2SG 1SG.O hire.COND.1SG ACC 1SG.OBL same.SG.M  
'If I were you, I would hire myself.'
- [6d] si fuera yo, me contrataría a mí mismo  
if be.PST.SBJV.3SG 1SG 1SG.O hire.COND.1SG ACC 1SG.OBL same.SG.M  
'If it were me, I would hire myself.'
- [7–8a] si (yo) fuera tú, me odiaría  
if 1SG be.PST.SBJV.1SG you 1SG.O hate.COND.1SG  
'If I were you, I would hate me.'
- [7–8b] si fuera yo, me odiaría  
if be.PST.SBJV.3SG 1SG 1SG.O hate.COND.1SG  
'If it were me, I would hate me.' (leans toward disjoint reading)
- [7c] si (yo) fuera tú, me odiaría a mí  
if 1SG be.PST.SBJV.1SG 2SG 1SG.O hate.COND.1SG ACC 1SG.OBL  
'If I were you, I would hate me.'
- [7d] ?si fuera yo, me odiaría a mí  
if be.PST.SBJV.3SG 1SG 1SG.O hate.COND.1SG ACC 1SG.OBL  
'If it were me, I would hate me.'
- [8c] si (yo) fuera tú, me odiaría a mí mismo  
if 1SG be.PST.SBJV.1SG 2SG 1SG.O hate.COND.1SG ACC 1SG.OBL same.SG.M  
'If I were you, I would hate myself.'
- [8d] si fuera yo, me odiaría a mí mismo  
if be.PST.SBJV.3SG 1SG 1SG.O hate.COND.1SG ACC 1SG.OBL same.SG.M  
'If it were me, I would hate myself.'
- [9–10] soñé que era Marilyn Monroe, y me besaba  
dream.PST.1SG COMP be.IMPF.1SG M. M. and 1SG.O kiss.IMPF.1SG  
'I dreamed I was Marilyn Monroe, and I kissed me.'
- [9a] soñé que era Marilyn Monroe, y me besaba a mí  
dream.PST.1SG COMP be.IMPF.1SG M. M. and 1SG.O kiss.IMPF.1SG ACC 1SG.OBL  
'I dreamed I was Marilyn Monroe, and I kissed me.'
- [10b] soñé que era Marilyn Monroe, y me besaba a mí misma  
dream.PST.1SG COMP be.IMPF.1SG M. M. and 1SG.O kiss.IMPF.1SG ACC 1SG.OBL same.SG.F  
'I dreamed I was Marilyn Monroe, and I kissed myself.'

## 6.12 Swahili

The consultant was Abdi Jibril, who is from Nairobi, Kenya. His mother is Somali, and he has passive competence in Somali, but does not usually speak it. He also learned English from a young age.

- the conditional can begin with *kama*, *ka*, or nothing

- [1] ni-ta-kwenda  
1SG.S-FUT-go  
'I will go.'
- [2] a-na-ni-chukia  
3SG.S-PRS-1SG.O-hate  
'He hates me.'

- [3] ni-na-ji-chukia  
1SG.S-PRS-REFL-hate  
'I hate self.'
- [4] kama ni-nge-kuwa wewe, ni-nge-kwenda  
if 1SG.S-COND-be 2SG 1SG.S-COND-go  
'If I were you, I would go.'
- [5] kama ni-nge-kuwa wewe, ni-nge-ni-pa kazi  
if 1SG.S-COND-be 2SG 1SG.S-COND-1SG.O-give job  
'If I were you, I would hire me.' (\*-ji- reflexive)
- [6] kama ni-nge-kuwa wewe, ni-nge-ji-ni-pa kazi  
if 1SG.S-COND-be 2SG 1SG.S-COND-REFL-1SG.O-give job  
'If I were you, I would hire self.'
- [7] kama ni-nge-kuwa wewe, ni-nge-ni-chukia  
if 1SG.S-COND-be 2SG 1SG.S-COND-1SG.O-hate  
'If I were you, I would hate me.' (\*-ji- reflexive)
- [8] kama ni-nge-kuwa wewe, ni-nge-ji-chukia  
if 1SG.S-COND-be 2SG 1SG.S-COND-REFL-hate  
'If I were you, I would hate self.' (\*-ni- object)

### 6.13 Tamil

The consultants were Kiran Kesavamurthy (of Bangalore) and V. N. Muthukumar (of Chennai/Madras). The transliteration employed is a simplified form of ISO 15919.<sup>4</sup>

- first and second person object pronouns are used for both reflexive and non-reflexive uses; there is a third person reflexive object pronoun *tān*, but it is not obligatory
- can leave out 'I' subject in conditional, but usually wouldn't in consequent
- ambiguity is apparently unavoidable with 'hate' sentences, and also with equivalent clauses containing 'hit', 'blame', 'help', 'send'

- [1] nān pō-v-ēn  
1SG.NOM go-FUT-1SG  
'I will go.'
- [2] avan enn-ai veru-kkir-ān  
3SG.M.NOM 1SG-ACC hate-PRS-3SG  
'He hates me.'
- [3] nān enn-ai veru-kkir-ēn  
1SG.NOM 1SG-ACC hate-PRS-1SG  
'I hate me.'
- [4a] (nān) unn-iṭatt-il iru-nt-ēn ānāl, nān pō-v-ēn  
1SG.NOM 2SG-place-LOC be-PST-1SG but 1SG.NOM go-FUT-1SG  
'If I were in your place, I would go.' (more colloquial)<sup>5</sup>
- [4b] (nān) unn-iṭatt-il iru-ntāl, nān pō-v-ēn  
1SG.NOM 2SG-place-LOC be-COND 1SG.NOM go-FUT-1SG  
'If I were in your place, I would go.' (more formal)
- [5a] (nān) unn-iṭatt-il iru-nt-ēn ānāl, nān enn-ai(-yē) (vēlai-kku) vai-ttuk koḷ-v-ēn  
1SG.NOM 2SG-place-LOC be-PST-1SG but 1SG.NOM 1SG-ACC-EMPH job-DAT put-PTCP hold-FUT-1SG  
'If I were in your place, I would keep me (for the job).'
- [5b] (nān) unn-iṭatt-il iru-nt-ēn ānāl, nān ena-kku vēlai-yait taru-v-ēn  
1SG.NOM 2SG-place-LOC be-PST-1SG but 1SG.NOM 1SG-DAT job-ACC give-FUT-1SG  
'If I were in your place, I would give the job to me.'

<sup>4</sup>The letters *n* and *r* are here written *n* and *r*, respectively.

<sup>5</sup>An even more colloquial pronunciation would be *iru-nt-ēn=nā*.

- [6a] (nān) unn-iṭatt-il iru-nt-ēn ānāl, nān unkaḷ-ai vai-ttuk koḷ-v-ēn  
 1SG.NOM 2SG-place-LOC be-PST-1SG but 1SG.NOM 2PL-ACC put-PTCP hold-FUT-1SG  
 ‘If I were in your place, I would keep you.’ (2PL is polite address)
- [6b] (nān) unn-iṭatt-il iru-nt-ēn ānāl, nān taṅkaḷ-ai vai-ttuk koḷ-v-ēn  
 1SG.NOM 2SG-place-LOC be-PST-1SG but 1SG.NOM self.PL-ACC put-PTCP hold-FUT-1SG  
 ‘If I were in your place, I would keep you.’ (extremely formal)<sup>6</sup>
- [6c] (nān) unn-iṭatt-il iru-nt-ēn ānāl, nān(-ē) vēlai-yai vai-ttuk koḷ-v-ēn  
 1SG.NOM 2SG-place-LOC be-PST-1SG but 1SG.NOM-EMPH job-ACC put-PTCP hold-FUT-1SG  
 ‘If I were in your place, I would do the job.’
- [7-8a] (nān) unn-iṭatt-il iru-nt-ēn ānāl, nān enn-ai veru-pp-ēn  
 1SG.NOM 2SG-place-LOC be-PST-1SG but 1SG.NOM 1SG-ACC hate-FUT-1SG  
 ‘If I were in your place, I would hate me.’ (no preferred meaning)
- [7-8b] (nān) unn-iṭatt-il iru-nt-ēn ānāl, nān unn-ai veru-pp-ēn  
 1SG.NOM 2SG-place-LOC be-PST-1SG but 1SG.NOM 2SG-ACC hate-FUT-1SG  
 ‘If I were in your place, I would hate you.’ (not as good as *a*, leans toward coreferent meaning)

### 6.14 Tashelhiyt

The consultant was Hanane Kourrad. She was born in Tazenakht (Southwest Morocco) and moved to France at age 2. Her parents are both Tashelhiyt speakers. She is a native speaker of both Tashelhiyt and French.

- [1] ri-y ad ddu-x  
 want-1SG to go-1SG  
 ‘I will go.’
- [2] ur iyi i-ḥmil  
 NEG 1SG.ACC 3SG.M-like  
 ‘He doesn’t like me.’
- [3] ur ḥmil-y ixf-inu  
 NEG like-1SG head-1SG  
 ‘I don’t like myself.’
- [4] mrə gi-x kiyyi/kmmi, s ddi-x  
 if be-1SG 2SG.M/2SG.F COND go-1SG  
 ‘If I were you, I would go.’
- [5] mrə gi-x kiyyi, s iyi s-xdām-y  
 if be-1SG 2SG.M COND 1SG.ACC CAUS-work-1SG  
 ‘If I were you, I would hire me.’
- [6] mrə gi-x kiyyi, s s-xdām-y ixf-inu  
 if be-1SG 2SG.M COND CAUS-work-1SG head-1SG  
 ‘If I were you, I would hire myself.’
- [7a] ?mrə gi-x kiyyi, (s) ur ra(d) i(yi) ḥməl-y  
 if be-1SG 2SG.M COND NEG FUT 1SG.ACC like.1SG  
 ‘If I were you, I would hate me.’
- [7b] mrə gi-x kiyyi, s ur iyi ḥmil-y  
 if be-1SG 2SG.M COND NEG 1SG.ACC like.1SG  
 ‘If I were you, I would hate me.’ (better than *a*, but means would disapprove just this once)
- [8] mrə gi-x kiyyi, (s) ur rad ḥməl-y ixf-inu  
 if be-1SG 2SG.M COND NEG FUT like.1SG head-1SG  
 ‘If I were you, I would hate myself.’

<sup>6</sup> *taṅkaḷ* ‘self.PL’ is a literary form used to address exalted persons. Its meaning here is second person, not reflexive.

## 6.15 Turkish

The consultants were Jaklin Kornfilt and Erdem Durgunoğlu (grew up in the USA, parents from İzmir).

- [1] gid-eceğ-im  
go-FUT-1SG  
'I will go.'
- [2] ben-den nefret ed-iyor-∅  
1SG-ABL hate do-PROG-3SG  
'He hates me.'
- [3] kendi-m-den nefret ed-iyor-um  
self-1SG-ABL hate do-PROG-1SG  
'I hate myself.'
- [4a] ben-∅ ol-sa-m, gid-er-di-m  
1SG-NOM be-COND-1SG go-AOR-PST.DEF-1SG  
'If it were me, I would go.'
- [4b] sen-in yer-in-de ol-sa-m, gid-er-di-m  
2SG-GEN place-2SG-LOC be-COND-1SG go-AOR-PST.DEF-1SG  
'If I were in your place, I would go.'
- [5] sen-in yer-in-de ol-sa-m, ben-i iş-e al-ır-dı-m  
2SG-GEN place-2SG-LOC be-COND-1SG 1SG-ACC work-DAT take-AOR-PST.DEF-1SG  
'If I were in your place, I would hire me.'
- [5-6a] ben-∅ ol-sa-m, kendi-m-i iş-e al-ır-dı-m  
1SG-NOM be-COND-1SG self-1SG-ACC work-DAT take-AOR-PST.DEF-1SG  
'If it were me, I would hire myself.' (leans toward coreferent)
- [5-6b] sen-in yer-in-de ol-sa-m, kendi-m-i iş-e al-ır-dı-m  
2SG-GEN place-2SG-LOC be-COND-1SG self-1SG-ACC work-DAT take-AOR-PST.DEF-1SG  
'If I were in your place, I would hire myself.' (leans toward coreferent)
- [7] sen-in yer-in-de ol-sa-m, ben-den nefret ed-er-di-m  
2SG-GEN place-2SG-LOC be-COND-1SG 1SG-ABL hate do-AOR-PST.DEF-1SG  
'If I were in your place, I would hate me.'
- [8] sen-in yer-in-de ol-sa-m, kendi-m-den nefret ed-er-di-m  
2SG-GEN place-2SG-LOC be-COND-1SG self-1SG-ABL hate do-AOR-PST.DEF-1SG  
'If I were in your place, I would hate myself.'
- [9] rüya-m-da Marilyn Monroe ol-duğ-um-u gör-dü-m ve ben-i öp-tü-m  
dream-1SG-LOC M. M. be-NMLZ-1SG-ACC see-PST.DEF-1SG and 1SG-ACC kiss-PST.DEF-1SG  
'In my dream I saw my being Marilyn Monroe, and I kissed me.'
- [10] rüya-m-da Marilyn Monroe ol-duğ-um-u gör-dü-m ve kendi-m-i öp-tü-m  
dream-1SG-LOC M. M. be-NMLZ-1SG-ACC see-PST.DEF-1SG and self-1SG-ACC kiss-PST.DEF-1SG  
'In my dream I saw my being Marilyn Monroe, and I kissed myself.'