

A non-logophoric exempt reflexive anaphor in San Martín Peras Mixtec

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Abstract

Charnavel 2020 proposes that for languages in which locally and non-locally anteceded reflexive anaphors are morphologically identical, non-locally anteceded reflexive anaphors are bound by a silent logophoric operator Op_{log} . This article presents a counterexample from San Martín Peras Mixtec, a language in which both locally and non-locally anteceded reflexive anaphors are morphologically identical, but non-locally anteceded reflexive anaphors are not interpreted logophorically. Rather, I propose that non-locally anteceded reflexive anaphors are interpreted in a morphologically straightforward way, consisting of a strong definite *mí* (e.g. Schwarz 2009, 2013) and a clitic pronoun. This is consistent with the syntax of German demonstrative pronouns proposed by Patel-Grosz and Grosz 2017.

Keywords: reflexive anaphors, logophoricity, demonstrative pronouns, split definites, Oto-Manguean

1 Introduction

It has been observed for decades that some reflexive anaphors seem to be exempt from their usual binding conditions, e.g., Condition A, or whatever other licensing framework one may adopt. Following Pollard and Sag 1992, I call these non-locally anteceded reflexive anaphors “exempt reflexive anaphors,” and reflexive anaphors that obey their usual binding conditions locally anteceded, plain, or non-exempt reflexive anaphors. Several examples of apparently non-locally anteceded reflexive anaphors in English are provided in (1).

- (1) a. Tom_i believed that the paper had been written by Ann and himself_i. (Ross 1970:226)
- b. John_i told Mary that as for himself_i, he wouldn't be invited. (Kuno 1972:172)
- c. Each student_i was confident that the teacher would criticize everyone but himself_i. (Pollard and Sag 1992:265)

Theories to derive the apparent exemption of non-locally anteceded reflexive anaphors have been proposed for as long as they have been noticed in the literature. In a recent article, Charnavel 2020 proposes that non-locally anteceded reflexive anaphors in many languages, particularly in French, are not, in fact, exempt from their usual binding requirements, but are locally bound in a Condition A compliant way by a silent logophoric operator Op_{log}, as shown in (2).

- (2) The Logophoric Operator Hypothesis (Charnavel 2020:697)
- a. [pro_{log-i} [Op_{log} [α ...exempt anaphor_i...]]]
- b. $\llbracket \text{Op}_{\text{log}} \rrbracket = \lambda \alpha. \lambda x. \alpha$ from x's first person perspective

The appeal of Charnavel 2020's approach in (2) is twofold. First, (2) derives why non-locally anteceded reflexive anaphors, such as *himself* in (1), and locally anteceded reflexive anaphors (e.g., "No boy_i hates himself_i") are often syncretic cross-linguistically: they are the same lexical item, differing only in the "nature of their binders" (Charnavel 2020:672). Second, it is not a new observation that non-locally anteceded reflexive anaphors exhibit perspectival properties (c.f. Kuno 1972, Maling 1984, Sells 1987, Pollard and Sag 1992, Culy 1994, Anand 2006, Charnavel and Sportiche 2016, inter alia). These perspectival qualities fall out naturally by positing the null logophoric operator with the interpretation in (2b). Further, recent work on exempt reflexive anaphors in languages new to this literature, such as Scottish Gaelic (Bossi 2022) and Balinese (Satuk 2022), argues that (2) is

appropriate for this genetically diverse set of languages as well, a significant point in its favor.

This article similarly considers non-locally anteceded reflexive anaphors in San Martín Peras Mixtec (SMPM, Oto-Manguean, ISO: JMX), another language in which locally and non-locally anteceded reflexive anaphors are morphologically identical. As shown in (3), both locally and non-locally anteceded reflexive anaphors in SMPM are composed of a morpheme *mí* and a clitic pronoun corresponding in ϕ -features to its antecedent.

- (3) a. Ini yùtátá xìnì Juan mí =rà.
 in mirror see:COMP Juan MÍ =him
 ‘Juan saw himself in the mirror.’ (Plain reflexive anaphor)
- b. Ndàtu’ŭn Juan_i xí’in Julia [bà’a kwê’e xíta mí =rà_i].
 tell:COMP Juan with Julia good very sing:CONT MÍ =him
 ‘Juan_i told Julia that himself_i sings well.’ (Exempt reflexive anaphor)

In contrast with Charnavel 2020, I show that non-locally anteceded reflexive anaphors in SMPM like *mí =rà* ‘himself’ in (3b) are not logophoric and do not need to be anteceded by logophoric center. Rather, I argue that exempt anaphors in SMPM such as *mí =rà* ‘himself’ in (3b) are morphologically transparent, being composed of *mí*, a strong definite article (Schwarz 2009, 2013, et sequitur), and a pronoun. This combination yields a demonstrative pronoun in the sense of Patel-Grosz and Grosz 2017, deriving the properties of exempt reflexive anaphors in this language without appeal to logophoricity.

Section 2 begins with an examination of reflexive anaphors in San Martín Peras Mixtec, showing that plain reflexive anaphors in this language behave like other locally-anteceded reflexive anaphors cross-linguistically, while exempt reflexive anaphors do not. Section 3 then argues that non-locally anteceded reflexive anaphors, contra the expectations of Charnavel 2020, do not seem to interact with logophoricity at all.

Section 4 begins the proposed analysis of non-locally anteceded reflexive anaphors in

SMPM by examining the contribution of the first morphological element, *mí*. Based on *mí*'s occurrence outside of reflexive anaphors in this language, I argue that *mí* is a strong definite article in the sense of Schwarz 2009, 2013. I argue in section 5 that a clitic pronoun combined with such a strong definite article yields the proposed structure for German demonstrative articles by Patel-Grosz and Grosz 2017. In this section I go on to compare the interpretation of German demonstrative pronouns with that of exempt reflexive anaphors in SMPM, showing several striking similarities between them.

Section 6 returns to the question of morphological syncretism. I adopt a cross-Mixtecan lens to argue that locally and non-locally anteceded reflexive anaphors are diachronically distinct, although composed of the same morphemes. In essence, I propose that the situation in SMPM is what one would expect to see if English ‘self’ were reanalyzed as a strong definite article, e.g., ‘I bought a horse_i. Horse-self_i limps.’ The picture that emerges, then, is that Charnavel 2020’s core contention that morphological isomorphism ought to reflect syntactic isomorphism should indeed be considered the null hypothesis. That said, the null hypothesis is, of course, not always correct, and morphology cannot be assumed to reflect syntax without further argumentation.

2 Reflexive anaphors in SMPM

As briefly presented in (3), reflexive anaphors in SMPM are morphologically complex, consisting of a morpheme *mí* and a clitic pronoun matching its antecedent in ϕ -features. Further examples are provided in (4).¹

(4) Locally-anteceded reflexive anaphors in SMPM

- a. Ni’iin =nà_i nĩ- xini mí =nà_i ini yùtátá.
 none =they PERF.NEG see MÍ =them in mirror
 ‘No one_i saw themself_i in the mirror.’

- b. Kà'an Maria_i xa'ă mí =ñá_i.
 talk:COMP Maria about MÍ =her
 'Maria_i talked about herself_i.'
- c. Tàxi =rà tsyàja_i ijta nda'ă mí =rà_i.
 give:COMP =he man flower to MÍ =him
 'The man_i gave himself_i a flower.'

While its precise contribution will be discussed in section 4, the corresponding examples to (4) without *mí* disallow a reflexive interpretation. Rather, the pronoun must be interpreted with disjoint reference - a classic Condition A/B effect. This is provided in (5).

- (5) a. Nì'iin =nà_i nĩ- xini =nà*_{i, j} ini yùtátá.
 'No one_i saw them*_{i, j} in the mirror.'
- b. Kà'an Maria_i xa'ă =ñá*_{i, j}.
 'Maria_i talked about her*_{i, j}.'
- c. Tàxi =rà tsyàja_i ijta nda'ă =rà*_{i, j}.
 'The man_i gave him*_{i, j} a flower.'

Interpretively, locally-antecedent pronouns with *mí* behave similarly to reflexive anaphors cross-linguistically: they are interpreted as bound variables. For example, in addition to the co-varying interpretation in (4a), locally-antecedent pronouns with *mí* must be interpreted sloppily under VPE. This is shown in (6).

- (6) a. Kôni ntsi'i bà'a =rà Juân_i mí =rà_i, sǎ =ti táta =rà =ba.
 love:CONT quite good =he Juan MÍ =him so =too father =his =EMPH
 'Juan loves himself_i a lot, and so does his dad.' (✓ sloppy, *strict)
- b. Ntsi'i doctor_i kà'an xa'ă mí =nà_i, sǎ =ti ntsi'i enfermera =ba.
 every doctor talk:COMP about MÍ =them so =too every nurse =EMPH
 'Every doctor_i talked about himself_i, and so did every nurse.' (✓ sloppy, *strict)

Likewise, locally-bound pronouns with *mí* must be exhaustively bound. This is shown in (7), which demonstrates that nonexhaustive binding (7a) and inclusive binding (7b) are

both ungrammatical. Following Charnavel and Sportiche 2016, I take this as further evidence that these reflexive anaphors are plain.

- (7) a. *Sàkuchi [Juan_i xí'in Julia] mí =rà_i.
 bathe:COMP Juan with Julia MÍ =him
 Intended: 'Juan_i and Julia bathed himself_i.' (Nonexhaustive)
 Context: Juan is a child and Julia, his mother, is teaching him how to bathe himself by guiding his hands.
- b. *Nujmĩ =ñá lo'o_i [íntu'ũ xìjĩn Julia_j] mí =ná_{i+j}.
 hug:IRR =she little.SG be.seated:CONT.SG beside Julia MÍ =they.FEM
 Intended: 'The girl_i sitting next to Julia_j will hug themselves_{i+j}.' (Inclusive)
 Context: The girls are sitting in a circle playing a game in which each girl must hug herself when her neighbor hugs herself.

At the same time, as provided above, pronouns with *mí* need not be locally anteceded. Rather, it seems that pronouns with *mí* may occur at an arbitrary distance from their antecedent. Several examples are provided in (8).

- (8) a. Xĩni Juân_i chintsye'ě Maria mí =rà_i .
 know:CONT Juan help:IRR Maria MÍ =him
 'Juan knows that Maria will help himself_i.'
- b. Káchi Juân_i xí'in Julia kà'an Maria bà'a xíta mí =rà_i .
 say:COMP Juan with Julia think:COMP Maria good sing:CONT MÍ =he
 Juan_i said to Julia that Maria thought that himself_i sang well.'
- c. Bìjkõ Juân_i tà'abi Paola vaso vidrio. Xà'antsya xa'ă mí =rà_i.
 party Juan break:COMP Paola cup glass cut:COMP foot MÍ =his
 'At Juan's party, Paola broke a glass. His_i foot got cut.'

Pronouns with *mí* do not even require a linguistic antecedent. For example, (9) is licit at the start of a conversation to announce the death of some contextually salient man.²

- (9) Rà nì- xì'ì mí =rà!
 he COMP- die MÍ =he
 'He died!'

In contrast to locally-anteceded pronouns with *mí* discussed in (4-7), non-locally anteceded pronouns with *mí* do not behave like bound variable anaphora. For instance, they support both strict and sloppy interpretations under VPE, as shown in (10).

- (10) Káchi Juân_i bà'a xíta mí =rà_i, sǎ =ti Maria =ba.
 say:COMP Juan good sing:CONT MÍ =he so =too Maria =EMPH
 'Juan said that himself_i sings well, and so does Maria.' (✓ sloppy, ✓ strict)

Likewise, non-locally anteceded pronouns with *mí* do not need to be exhaustive bound, allowing for both nonexhaustive and inclusive binding. This is shown in (11).

- (11) a. Ndàtu'ǔn [Raúl_i xí'in Julia] bà'a kwé'e xíta mí =rà_i.
 chat:PERF Raul with Julia good very sing:CONT MÍ =he
 '[Raúl_i and Julia] said that himself_i sings very well.' (Nonexhaustive)
- b. Káchi =ñá lo'o_i [íntu'ǔ xǐjǐn Julia_j] bà'a
 say:COMP =she little.SG be.seated:CONT.SG beside Julia good
 xíta mí =ná_{i+j}.
 sing:CONT MÍ =they.FEM
 'The girl_i sitting next to Julia_j said that themselves_{i+j} sing well.' (Inclusive)

In this way, pronouns marked with *mí* fit the syntactic cross-linguistic pattern as laid out by Charnavel and Sportiche 2016: when locally anteceded, they behave like bound variables subject to Condition A, while when not locally anteceded, they are, unsurprisingly, exempt from Condition A and are no longer interpreted as bound variables. That said, in the next section we see that non-locally anteceded anaphors in SMPM do not display the characteristic logophoric character on which Charnavel 2020 relies.

3 Exempt reflexive anaphors in SMPM are not logophoric

In the analysis of Charnavel 2020, "exempt anaphors must exhibit logophoric (i.e., perspectival) properties. . . [N]ot only must they be anteceded by a DP denoted a perspective center,

but crucially, they must also occur in a constituent whose content is expressed from the perspective of that center” (Charnavel 2020:672). In this section, I show that exempt reflexive anaphors in SMPM do not show these logophoric properties. Rather, their distribution does not seem to be tethered to logophoricity at all.

First consider the availability of inanimate antecedents. Charnavel and Sportiche 2016 and Charnavel 2020 show that exempt anaphors in French, English, and several other languages cannot take inanimate antecedents. This contrasts with plain reflexive anaphors, which are argued based on pairs like (12) to allow inanimate antecedents. This contrast is offered as an argument for a logophoricity requirement of exempt reflexive anaphors because inanimate objects cannot hold perspectives.

(12) Charnavel and Sportiche 2016:37

- a. The moon spins on itself.
- b. *The moon influences people sensitive to itself.

This restriction does not hold for exempt anaphors in SMPM, though: both locally anteceded and exempt reflexive anaphors in this language readily allow inanimate antecedents, as provided in (13) and (14) respectively.³

(13) Plain reflexive anaphors in SMPM with inanimate antecedents

- a. Sánta'an *computadora_i* xaà mí =yá_i!
 repair:CONT computer new MÍ =it
 ‘The new computer repairs itself!’
- b. Ná katsya *carro_i* yo'o mí =tún!
 wash:CONT car here MÍ =it.WOOD
 ‘This car washes itself!’

(14) Exempt reflexive anaphors in SMPM with inanimate antecedents

- a. Xìin Maria iin xiyò_i ntsí'i. Kùtô Julia =ñà, xìn =ti
 buy:COMP Maria one dress blue like:COMP Julia =it buy:COMP =too

=ñá ka mí =ñà_i.

=she there MÍ =it

‘Maria bought a blue dress_i. Julia liked it, (so) she bought itself_i too.’

- b. Kà’abi Sergio iin *libro_i*, ra kà’abi =ti Maria mí =ñà.
 read:COMP Sergio one book and read:COMP =too Maria MÍ =it
 ‘Sergio read a book_i, and Maria read itself_i too.’

In addition to elicited examples like (14), inanimate antecedents of exempt reflexive anaphors are also readily attested in narratives. First consider (15), an excerpt from a traditional narrative describing how the image of a rabbit came to be on the moon. Here, the exempt reflexive anaphor *mí =ñà* ‘itself,’ refers to a rock that the speaker, Rabbit, is holding up, not knowing that it is the moon and will stay in the sky without his efforts. Note as well prenominal *mí* in *mí kàjbă* ‘the rock,’ which will be discussed in section 4.

- (15) Tsyâ sǎ káchí =rí sǎ, “ Ntsa’amǐ kanakààba =bí mí kàjbă_i, yó’o
 then so say:COMP =it.AML so anyway fall:IRR EMPH MÍ rock here
 ná sana =ì mí =ñà_i. Á mǐí ntsi’ì =bí nù yibì, ná
 SUBJ drop:IRR =I MÍ =it Q really end:IRR =EMPH where people, SUBJ
 sana =ì mí =ñà_i.
 drop:IRR =I MÍ =it
 ‘Then he (Rabbit) said, “If the rock_i will just fall anyway, I should drop itself_i here.
 If the world (where people are) will really end, I should just drop itself_i” ’

A comparable example is provided in (16), excerpted from a speaker describing traditional candle-making practices performed by her father for *Kijǐ Ntsù* ‘Day of the Dead.’ Earlier, the speaker described her father hanging strings over a cauldron to pour hot beeswax over, making the candles. The key example is (16b), where the antecedent for the inanimate exempt reflexive anaphor *mí =tún* ‘itself (wooden gender),’ referring to the candles, occurs non-locally in the preceding sentence of the narrative.

- (16) a. Xá’nu xánu =tún_i kwá’an =tún_i.
 grow:CONT grow:CONT =it.WOOD go:PROG =it.WOOD
 ‘Little by little they_i (the candles) would continue to grow.’

- b. Tá kúu =rà nŭxa kwá'ă mí =tún_i.
 like.this COP:CONT =he when be.made:CONT MÍ =it.WOOD
 'This is how he would be when themselves_i were being made.'

Second, consider the availability of *de re* and *de se* ascriptions in attitude reports. Anand 2006 highlights that many diagnostics for logophoricity cross-linguistically essentially test whether or not the item in question is compatible with *de re* ascription in attitude reports. The reasoning goes like this: if logophoricity is about holding a perspective, then for an item to be logophoric, we ought to see it requiring that perspective holding, leading to obligatory *de se* ascriptions. See as well Sells 1987, Chierchia 1989, Pan 1997, Oshima 2006, and Giorgi 2007, though see Pearson 2015 for an opposite view.

Exempt reflexive anaphors in SMPM do not require *de se* ascriptions in attitude reports, though, and are compatible with both *de se* and *de re* ascriptions under a variety of predicates. First consider *káchi* 'said' in (17). Importantly, note that the exempt anaphor *mí =rà* 'himself' is compatible with *de re* ascription in (17a).⁴

CONTEXT: Juan is an adult looking at old pictures with his parents. He finds a photo of a very photogenic baby.

SITUATION 1, *de re*: He doesn't recognize the person in the picture, but thinks the baby is cute. What he doesn't know is that he is the baby in the photo!

SITUATION 2, *de se*: He recognizes himself in the photo and thinks that he was a cute baby.

- (17) a. Káchi Juân_i ndibi nìxijyo mí =rà_i, so kò nì- kuntàà ini =rà.
 say:COMP Juan cute COP:COMP MÍ =he but NEG COMP- realize in =him
 'Juan_i said that himself_i was cute, but he didn't realize it.' (✓ S1)
- b. Káchi Juân_i ndibi nìxijyo mí =rà_i.
 say:COMP Juan cute COP:COMP MÍ =he
 'Juan_i said that himself_i was cute.' (✓ S2)

Similar patterns are found under other matrix predicates, such as *ndatu'ũn* 'tell' and *konì* 'want,' as shown in (18) and (19) respectively.

CONTEXT: Juan is a famous singer. One day, Juan is cleaning out an old desk and finds an unmarked CD. Curious, he plays it and hears someone singing.

SITUATION 1, *de re*: Juan thinks that the singer is excellent. What he doesn't realize is that he is the singer on the CD! Later, he tells his daughter Julia about the impressive mystery singer, not knowing that he is talking about himself.

SITUATION 2, *de se*: Juan recognizes himself on the CD and is impressed by his skill. He later tells his daughter Julia about how excellent he thinks he is.

- (18) a. Ndàtu'ũn Juân_i xí'in Julia bà'a xíta mí=rà, so kò- nì- kuntàà
 tell:COMP Juan with Julia good sing:CONT MÍ=he but NEG- COMP- realize
 ini=rà.
 in =him.
 'Juan_i told Julia that himself_i sings well, but he didn't realize it.' (✓ S1)
- b. Ndàtu'ũn Juân_i xí'in Julia bà'a kwé'e xíta mí=rà.
 tell:COMP Juan with Julia good very sing:CONT MÍ=he
 'Juan_i told Julia that himself_i sings very well.' (✓ S2)

CONTEXT⁵: While on vacation last summer, Juan and his friends found a tall cliff over a deep lake. They put a video recorder at the base of the cliff and record themselves diving off. Several months later, they gather to look at the footage and reminisce. While watching, one friend, Maria, is especially critical of the form of one diver.

SITUATION 1, *de re*: Juan thinks Maria is being overly harsh and wants her to speak more kindly about the form of that diver. What he doesn't realize is that he is the diver Maria is criticizing!

SITUATION 2, *de se*: Juan recognizes himself as the diver Maria is criticizing, and he wants her to not speak so harshly about him.

- (19) a. Kônì Juân_i ná kwatsya Maria xí'in mí=rà_i, so kò- nì-
 want:COMP Juan SUBJ praise:IRR Maria with MÍ=he but NEG- COMP-
 kuntàà ini=rà.
 realize in =him.
 'Juan_i wants Maria to praise himself_i, but he didn't realize it.' (✓ S1)
- b. Kônì Juân_i ná kwatsya Maria xí'in mí=rà_i.
 want:COMP Juan SUBJ praise:IRR Maria with MÍ=he
 'Juan_i wants Maria to praise himself_i.' (✓ S2)

In addition to self-knowledge constructed contexts, dream reports similarly demonstrate that exempt reflexive anaphors are compatible with both *de re* and *de se* ascriptions (Lakoff 1970, Percus and Sauerland 2003,b, Patel-Grosz 2020, inter alia). In dream reports in which the dreamer dreams that they are someone else, as in (20), readings that pick out the dream-self, not the actual dreamer, are *de se* readings, while readings that pick out the actual dreamer are *de re* readings.

- (20) Julio dreamt that he was Superman, and that he punched a bad guy.
De se: Julio dreamt that Julio was Superman, and Superman punched a bad guy.
De re: Julio dreamt that he was Superman, and through Superman's eyes, saw
 Julio punch a bad guy.

In SMPM, exempt reflexive anaphors are compatible with both *de re* and *de se* ascriptions in dream reports, as shown in (21).

CONTEXT: Laura is on a soccer team with Marta, who is the star player.

- (21) Nì- xăni Laura kuu =ñá Marta, ra chikàà mí=ñá uxi *pelota*.
 PERF- dream Laura COP:CONT =she Marta and put:COMP MÍ=she ten ball
 'Laura dreamt that she was Marta and herself scored ten goals.' (✓ *de re*, ✓ *de se*)

Likewise, simple clitic pronouns also support both *de re* and *de se* ascriptions in dream reports, as in (22). The difference between (21) and (22) is expressed by speakers as one of emotivity, a point to which we will return in section 5.

- (22) Nì- xǎni Laura kuu =ñá Marta, ra chikàà =ñá uxi *pelota*.
 PERF- dream Laura COP:CONT =she Marta and put:COMP Mí =she ten ball
 ‘Laura dreamt that she was Marta and she scored ten goals.’ (✓ *de re*, ✓ *de se*)

As a third and final diagnostic, Charnavel 2020 reports that exempt reflexive anaphors in French must be oriented towards the attitude holder in attitude contexts. Focusing on third person attitude holders, Charnavel 2020 demonstrates this effect by highlighting the complementary distribution of exempt anaphors and epithets in French through examples such as (24-23). In these examples, lexical items such as *d’après* and *selon* ‘according to’ establish the following referent as the holder of the following attitude, while *a propos* ‘speaking of’ does not; it is the people doing the purported speaking who hold the attitude. In such cases, an epithet such as *cet idiot* ‘the idiot’ cannot refer to an attitude holder, but can refer to a non-attitude holder.

- (23) (Charnavel 2020:684)
- a. *D’après Jean_i, cet idiot_i est marié à un génie.
 according.to Jean that idiot is married to a genius
 Intended: ‘According to Jean_i, the idiot_i is married to a genius.’
 - b. A propos de Jean_i, cet idiot_i est marié à un génie.
 speaking.of Jean that idiot is married to a genius
 ‘Speaking of Jean_i, the idiot_i is married to a genius.’

In this way, Charnavel proposes that epithets are anti-attitudinal (Charnavel 2020:684), and can therefore be used to diagnose attitude holders in third-person contexts. In so doing, she observes that exempt anaphors in French, such as *lui-même* ‘himself’ are permitted precisely where epithets are not, indicating that exempt anaphors in French must be anteceded by an attitude holder. These contrasts are provided in (24), adapted from Charnavel 2020:685.

- (24) a. Selon Eric_i, ses_i enfants ne dépendent que de { lui-même_i, *cet
 according.to Eric his children depend.only of himself that

idiot_i }.

idiot

‘According to Eric_i, his_i children depend only on { himself, *the idiot_i }.’

- b. Luc a dit de Lise_i que les professeurs étaient contents { *d’ elle-même_i, de
 Luc said of Lise that the teachers were happy of herself of
 cet ange_i }.
 that angel
 ‘Luc said about Lise_i that the teachers were happy with { *herself, that angel
 }.’

Returning to SMPM, we do not see such contrasts: it is not the case that exempt anaphors in this language must refer to the attitude holder. For instance, exempt anaphors in clauses embedded under intensional predicates like *káchi* ‘said’ do not need to refer to the speaker. This is provided in (25b).⁶

- (25) a. Káchi Julio_i [bà’a sásiki mí=rà_i pelota].
 say:COMP Julio good play:CONT MÍ=he soccer
 ‘Julio_i said that himself_i plays soccer well.’
 b. Káchi =nà xí’in Julio_i [bà’a sásiki mí=rà_i pelota].
 say:COMP =they with Julio good play:CONT MÍ=he soccer
 ‘They told Julio_i that himself_i plays soccer well.’

Indeed, it is often the case that exempt anaphors cannot refer to the attitude holder. To see this, first consider an example like (26).

- (26) Káchi Raúl_i xí’in Julia kà’an núù Maria xa’ă mí=rà_i, *_j.
 say:COMP Raul with Julia speak:COMP bad Maria about MÍ=him
 ‘Raul_i told Julia that Maria criticized (lit. spoke ill about) himself_i, *_j.’

Taken in isolation, (26) might indicate that exempt anaphors in SMPM need to refer to attitude holders in attitude reports. This is not the case, though. In particular, note that the intervening names, *Maria* and *Julia*, are not ϕ -compatible with *mí=rà* ‘himself.’ If we change one of the names to be ϕ -compatible, though, then the exempt anaphor cannot be

coreferent with the more distant attitude holder. This effect will be discussed in more detail in section 5.

- (27) Káchi Raúl_i xí'in Marco_j kà'an núù Maria xa'ă mí =rà_{*i, j, *k}.
 say:COMP Raul with Marco speak:COMP bad Maria about MÍ =him
 'Raul_i told Marco_j that Maria criticized (lit. spoke ill about) himself_{*i, j, *k}.'

Likewise, if there is a ϕ -compatible local binder, then the reflexive anaphor does not seem to be able to be interpreted as exempt. Rather, speakers report a strong preference that the reflexive anaphor must be bound by the local binder. This is shown in (28).

- (28) Káchi Raúl_i xí'in Marco_j kà'an núù Sergio_k xa'ă mí =rà_{*i, *j, k, *m}.
 say:COMP Raul with Marco speak:COMP bad Maria about MÍ =him
 'Raul_i told Marco_j that Sergio_k criticized (lit. spoke ill about) himself_{*i, *j, k, *m}.'

Furthermore, and more tellingly, an exempt anaphor can be the attitude holder itself. This can be seen in that SMPM has a robust process of CP-fronting, in which matrix clauses are fronted to an utterance-initial position. These variants, such as (29b), are in fact often preferred by speakers, being offered first in elicitation contexts.

- (29) a. Káchi Julia [bà'a xíta Raúl].
 say:COMP Julia good sing:CONT Raul
 'Julia said that Raul sings well.' (No CP-fronting)
 b. [Bà'a xíta Raúl] káchi Julia.
 good sing:CONT Raul say:COMP Julia
 'Julia said that Raul sings well.' (CP-fronting)

When the matrix and embedded clauses have coreferent arguments, the embedded argument can serve as the antecedent for the matrix. As shown in (30), this can allow the matrix subject, in this instance the attitude holder, to be an exempt anaphor itself. Note that sentences of this form, either with an exempt reflexive anaphor (30b) or a coreferent pronoun (30a), are often provided as the preferred way of expressing this.

- (30) a. [Bà'a sásiki Julio_i *pelota*] káchi =rà_{i, j}.
 good play:CONT Julio soccer say:COMP =he
 ‘He_{i, j} said that Julio_i plays soccer well.’
- b. [Bà'a sásiki Julio_i *pelota*] káchi mí =rà_{i, *j}.
 good play:CONT Julio soccer say:COMP Mí =he
 ‘Himself_i said that Julio_i plays soccer well.’

3.1 Intermediate summary

So far we have seen that exempt reflexive anaphors in SMPM are not sensitive to logophoricity, applying the diagnostics provided by Charnavel 2020. The upshot, then, is the distribution of exempt reflexive anaphors in SMPM is incompatible with the Logophoric Operator Hypothesis of Charnavel 2020.

Languages that have been demonstrated to have non-logophoric exempt anaphors seem to be relatively rare. Charnavel 2020 only discusses two: *zichzelf* anaphors in Dutch as reported by Rooryck and Vanden Wyngaerd 2011, and *acmi* anaphors in Hebrew (Bassel 2018). Exempt anaphors in SMPM differ from these, though, in that *zichzelf* and *acmi* are reported to be anti-logophoric; they cannot refer to a non-local attitude/perspective holder (i.e., they can be thought of as [-LOG]). This is shown in (31).

- (31) a. *Max_i was zenuwachtig. De koningin had Marie en zichzelf_i uitgenodigd.
 Max was nervous the queen had Marie and *zichzelf* invited
 Intended: ‘Max_i was nervous. The queen had invited Marie and himself_i.’
 (Dutch, Rooryck and Vanden Wyngaerd 2011)
- b. *Max_i samax še- ha- malka hizmina et Miri ve- et acmo_i le- te.
 Max boasted C- DET- queen invited ACC Miri and- himself for- tea
 Intended: ‘Max_i boasted that the queen invited Miri and himself_i for tea.’
 (Hebrew, Bassel 2018)

Exempt reflexive anaphors in SMPM do not display this same sort of anti-logophoricity, as discussed above: they can be anteceded by a non-local attitude holder, for instance

(c.f. 26). Rather, they seem to be logophoricity-neutral, neither [-LOG] or [+LOG] (c.f. Charnavel 2020:717). As logophoricity is not relevant for the antecedence of exempt anaphors in SMPM, what, then, governs their distribution?

4 *Mí* as a strong definite

As discussed in section 2, both locally and non-locally anteceded reflexive anaphors in SMPM are bimorphemic, composed of a clitic pronoun and a morpheme *mí*. As also shown briefly above, *mí* has a prenominal use, such as *mí kàjbă*, translated as ‘the rock’ in (15). On the assumption that prenominal *mí* and the *mí* in reflexive anaphors are the same lexical item, termed the “specifier” in the descriptive Mixtecanist literature, this section begins to analyze the distribution of exempt reflexive anaphors in this language without appealing to logophoricity by considering the contribution of *mí* in pre-nominal contexts. I argue that *mí* patterns as a strong definite article in the sense of This argument is presented in two portions. First, subsection 4.1 argues that *mí* is a definite article in the first place. Second, subsection 4.2 argues that *mí* is specifically a strong definite article in the sense of Schwarz 2009, 2013.

4.1 *Mí* as a definite article

That *mí* in SMPM is any type of definite article, much less a strong definite, can be shown in several ways. First, as will be discussed extensively below, prenominal *mí* occurs obligatorily with anaphoric definites, just like a definite article. This is provided in (32).

- (32) a. Xìin Sergio iin kwâyì_i. Rí xíka yo’ô *(mí) kwâyì_i.
 buy:COMP Sergio one horse it.AML walk:CONT.SG limp MÍ horse
 ‘Sergio bought a horse. The horse limps.’

- b. iin chútun nàki'i Maria. Ndú'ú kwé'e *(mí) chútun.
 one cat get:COMP Maria fat very MÍ cat
 'Maria got a cat. The cat is very fat.'

Second, a core feature of definite articles is that they require some notion of uniqueness, however defined (Russell 1905, et sequitur and inter alia). This distinguishes them from other articles such as demonstratives. Löbner 1985 proposed a simple test to diagnose this uniqueness, frequently termed the contradiction test. This test compares the behavior of nominals marked with the suspected definite article in two contradictory statements. Non-definite articles do not yield contradictions in such circumstances; the interpretation in such cases is simply that there is more than one (i.e., a non-unique) referent of the nominal. Definite articles, though, yield a contradiction due to their uniqueness requirement, which disallows there being more than one referent of the nominal. To see this, consider the examples in (33).

- (33) a. ✓ A dog is sleeping, and a dog is awake. (\sim there are two dogs)
 b. ✓ This dog is sleeping, and this dog is awake. (\sim there are two dogs)
 c. #The dog is sleeping, and the dog is awake. (\nrightarrow there are two dogs)

In SMPM, nominals marked with *mí* similarly yields a contradiction in such contexts, while equivalents of indefinite articles and demonstratives do not, as shown in (34).

- (34) a. ✓ Kíxi iin tsǎnà, so kò kíxi iin tsǎnà.
 sleep:CONT one dog but NEG sleep:CONT one dog
 'A dog is sleeping, but a dog is not sleeping.' (\sim there are two dogs)
 b. ✓ Kíxi tsǎnà yó'o, so kò kíxi tsǎnà yó'o.
 sleep:CONT dog here but NEG sleep:CONT dog here
 'This dog is sleeping, but this dog is not sleeping.' (\sim there are two dogs)
 c. # Kíxi mí tsǎnà, so kò kíxi mí tsǎnà.
 sleep:CONT MÍ dog but NEG sleep:CONT MÍ dog
 'Mí dog is sleeping, but mí dog is not sleeping.' (\nrightarrow there are two dogs)

Third, a common pattern reported in a variety of predicate-initial languages is that definite nominals cannot occur initially. (35) provides an example of this pattern in Irish, with identical patterns reported from Tagalog (Richards 2010:12) and Yucatec Maya (Clemens and Polinsky 2017:11).

(35) Carnie 1995:18-20

- a. Is platypus é Seán.
COP platypus AGR Seán
'Seán is a platypus.'
- b. *Is an platypus é Seán.
COP the platypus AGR Seán
Intended: 'Seán is the platypus.'
- c. Is é Seán an platypus.
'Seán is the platypus.'

SMPM, like these other predicate-initial languages, also has initial nominal predicates, as shown in (36). As shown in (37), though, we see a similar restriction to (35) with *mí*-marked nominals unable to serve as initial predicates, providing circumstantial evidence that *mí*, like *an* 'the' in Irish, is a definite article.

(36) a. Tsǐná ndùu Ndyôxi.
dog become:COMP God
'God turned into a dog.'

- b. Sndáro kúu David.
soldier COP:CONT David
'David is a soldier.'

(37) a. *Maestro* kúu Maria.
teacher COP:CONT Maria
'Maria is a teacher.'

- b. **Mí maestro* kúu Maria.
- c. Maria kúu *mí maestro*.

Provided for ‘Maria is the teacher.’

Given this interpretive and distributional evidence, then, let us continue from the premise that *mí* in SMPM is some sort of definite article.

4.2 *Mí* as a strong definite article

In some languages, various kinds of definite nominals are marked identically. For instance, English ‘the’ marks a variety of semantically and pragmatically distinct kinds of definites, such as globally unique definites (e.g., ‘the earth’ or ‘the Pope’), situationally unique definites (e.g., ‘Let’s go to the store’), and anaphorically unique definites (e.g., ‘I saw a dog_i. The dog_i was cute.’). This is not true for all languages however. For instance, building off Ebert 1971,b, Schwarz 2009 observes that German and Fering Frisian have two distinct definite articles that mark two distinct notions of definiteness, termed ‘weak’ and ‘strong’ definites respectively due to their prosodic characteristics in these languages; for instance, ‘strong’ definite articles in German cannot combine with preceding prepositions, whereas ‘weak’ definite articles can. Several examples from each language are provided in (38) and (39) respectively.

(38) Two definite articles in German (Schwarz 2009:12)

- a. Hans ging **zum** Haus.
Hans went to.the_{weak} house
‘Hans went to the house.’
- b. Hans ging **zu dem** Haus.
Hans went to the_{strong} house
‘Hans went to the house.’

(39) Two definite articles in Fering Frisian (Ebert 1971, via Schwarz 2009:15)

- a. Ik skal deel tu { a / *di } kuupmaan.
I must down to the_{weak} the_{strong} grocer

‘I have to go down to the grocer.’

- b. Oki hee an hingst keeft. { *A / Di } hingst haaltet.
 Oki has a horse bought the_{weak} the_{strong} horse limps
 ‘Oki has bought a horse. The horse limps.’

The core contribution of Schwarz 2009 is to demonstrate that, despite their identical translation into English, examples like (38a-b) are not interpreted identically. Rather, Schwarz analyzes the contribution of each article in terms of different theories of definiteness. In his system, weak definite articles encode uniqueness in the sense of Frege 1892 (see as well Russell 1905, Strawson 1950, Löbner 1985, and Coppock and Beaver 2012, 2015, *inter alia*), while strong definite articles encode familiarity in the sense of Heim 1982. His semantics for each are provided in (40), where s_r denotes a situation variable (see Schwarz 2009 for an overview).⁷

- (40) a. $\llbracket the_{weak} \rrbracket = \lambda s_r \lambda P : \exists ! x (P(x)(s)). \iota x [P(x)(s_r)]$

(Adapted from Schwarz 2009:81 and Hanink 2021)

- b. $\llbracket the_{strong} \rrbracket = \lambda s_r. \lambda P. \lambda y : \exists ! x (P(x)(s_r) \ \& \ x = y). \iota x [P(x)(s_r) \ \& \ x = y]$

(Schwarz 2009:135)

Cross-linguistic research has revealed that these two categories of definiteness are remarkably stable in so-called “split definiteness” systems, with contrasts similar to German and Fering Frisian reported in Lakota (O’Gorman 2011, Schwarz 2013), Akan (Arkoh and Matthewson 2012), Hausa (Schwarz 2013), and Chuj (Royer 2022). Likewise, similar contrasts have also been found in languages where only one marker of definiteness is present, always corresponding to the strong article, such as Mauritian Creole (Wespel 2008, Schwarz 2013) Upper Sorbian (Ortmann 2014) and Mandarin (Jenks 2018).⁸ See as well Ortmann 2014, Am David 2017, Jenks 2018, Moroney 2021, and Sichel To appear for further typological overviews.

Since Schwarz 2009, clear domains of use for category of definite have been identified. There are summarized in (41), drawn heavily from Royer 2022.

(41)

Weak definite	Strong definite
Immediate situation definites	Anaphoric definites
Larger/global definites	Covarying definites
Kind-denoting definites	Producer-product associative anaphora
Part-whole associative anaphora	

With this background, I argue that *mí* in SMPM is a strong definite article. Typologically, I argue that SMPM is a language in which strong definiteness is marked, with *mí*, whereas weak definiteness is unmarked, similar to Mauritian Creole, Upper Sorbian, and Mandarin (e.g., a ‘Split I’ language in the typology of Ortman 2014).

To see this, we step through each of the diagnostics in (41). First, as shown above in (32) and repeated in (42), anaphoric definites in SMPM require *mí*.

- (42) a. Xiin Sergio iin kwâyì. Rí xíka yo’ô *(mí) kwâyì.
 buy:COMP Sergio one horse it.AML walk:CONT.SG limp MÍ horse
 ‘Sergio bought a horse. The horse limps.’
- b. Iin chútun nàkì’i Maria. Ndú’ú kwé’e *(mí) chútun.
 one cat get:COMP Maria fat very MÍ cat
 ‘Maria got a cat. The cat is very fat.’

The second diagnostic in (41) is the behavior of definiteness marking in co-varying definites, also known as ‘donkey definites.’ Schwarz 2009 distinguishes between two kinds of co-varying definites. The first type, such as in the traditional ‘donkey’ sentence in (43), have an overt linguistic antecedent for the definite, in this case ‘a donkey.’

- (43) Every man who owns a donkey treats the donkey well.

Schwarz 2009:25 observes that this type of co-varying definite requires strong definiteness. Indeed, they require *mí* in SMPM as well. To the extent that (44) are grammatical without *mí* at all, the only interpretation seems to be generic, something like “Every man who saw a bird kills birds (in general).” We will discuss generic and kind readings in more detail below.

- (44) a. Tá'iin'iin mí =rà tsyàja xini iin saà, xà'ani =rà *?(mí) saà.
 each MÍ =he man see:COMP one bird kill:COMP =he MÍ bird
 ‘Each (of the) man who saw a bird killed the bird.’
- b. Ntsyáa nìkuu =rà kuu sâna burru =rà, ntsyáa bà'a
 which ever =he COP:CONT POSS.AML donkey =his treat:CONT good
 =ba =rà *?(mí) burru.
 =EMPH =he MÍ donkey
 ‘Every man who owns a donkey treats the donkey well.’

The second type of co-varying definite Schwarz 2009:93-96 identifies does not have a direct linguistic antecedent. Rather, an antecedent is uniquely inferred from the context. One example of this is provided in (45), adapted from Royer 2022, in which the mayor is interpreted as covarying by town.

- (45) In every town that John visited, he spoke with the mayor.

In contrast to anaphoric co-varying definites, this second type of covarying definite takes weak definite articles cross-linguistically in split-definiteness languages (e.g., Schwarz 2009:94). Indeed, in SMPM, this type of covarying definite does not take *mí*, although *mí* is judged as acceptable, if somewhat marginal, when offered. This is provided in (46).

- (46) a. Ntsi'i ñuù nì- xà'à David, nì- kà'án =rà xí'in (? mí) =rà
 every town PERF- go David PERF- speak =he with MÍ =he
 kómíchiñù.
 president
 ‘In every town that David went to, he spoke with the president.’

- b. Ntsi'i *salón* nì- xà'à Maria, nì- kà'án =ñá xí'in (? mí) *maestro*.
 every classroom PERF- go Maria PERF- speak =she with MÍ teacher
 'In every classroom that Maria went to, she spoke with the teacher.'

The third diagnostic from (41) refers to bridging, also known as associative definite anaphora. This phenomenon was first identified by Clark 1975, 1977 to refer to definite descriptions without an explicit antecedent, but whose contextually-unique reference can be inferred through the properties of something else previously introduced. For example, a reasonable interlocutor will know that all rooms have ceilings and all books have (at least) one author. Therefore, simply introducing a room or a book is enough to provide a referent for a definite description referring to the room's ceiling or the book's author. Several examples are provided in (47).

- (47) a. I looked into the room. The ceiling was very high.
 b. I read a great book last month. I want to meet the author.

One of the more surprising findings of Schwarz 2009 is that the specific type of bridging relationship matters in split-definiteness languages. Schwarz identifies two broad bridging relationships, which he terms 'part-whole' bridging, as in (47a), and 'product-producer' bridging, as in (47b). Interestingly, the former requires weak definiteness in split-definiteness languages, whereas the latter requires strong definiteness. This is illustrated in (48) for Fering Frisian.

(48) Fering Frisian Bridging (Schwarz 2009:39)

- a. Wi foon a sark uun a maden faan't taarep. A törem
 we found the_{weak} church in the_{weak} middle of the village the_{weak} tower
 stän wat skiaf.
 stood a.little crooked
 'We found the church in the middle of the village. The tower was a little
 crooked.' (Part-whole bridging)

- b. Peetji hee uun Hamboreg an bilj keeft. Di mooler hee ham an
 Peter has in Hamburg a painting bought the_{strong} painter has him a
 guden pris maaget.
 good price made
 ‘Peter bought a painting in Hamburg. The painter made him a good deal.’
 (Product-producer bridging)

Recreating this split in SMPM is, unfortunately, not totally possible because SMPM does not allow definite associative anaphors in part-whole bridging contexts. Rather, a possessive pronoun must be used, as shown in (49). See Royer 2022 for a similar confound in Chuj.

(49) SMPM Part-whole bridging contexts

- a. Be’e xàa nàsajma =ì. Ítondõ’o ná kóni =é ñà. Ñà *rosa*
 house new move:COMP =I easy SUBJ see:CONT =we.INCL it it pink
 yé’e *(=yá).
 door =its
 ‘I moved to a new house. It’s easy to spot it. Its door is pink.’
- b. Sákona kwa’ă =ndú ndùxi. Ñà kútô =ì kaxi =ì ijki
 raise:CONT many =we.EXCL hen it like:CONT =I eat:IRR =I bone
 ntsíka *(=rí).
 chest its
 ‘We raise many hens. I like to eat their breast bones.’

SMPM does allow definite associative anaphora in producer-product bridging contexts, though. In these cases, just as in Fering Frisian in (48b), *mí* is preferred; in elicitation contexts, speakers consistently provide associative anaphora with *mí* first. Sentenced without without *mí* are judged as acceptable, albeit somewhat degraded.

- (50) a. Bà’a kwé’e xì’i *leche* xì’i =ì koni. Kúsijǎ ini ??(mí)
 good very drink:COMP milk drink:COMP =I yestersay happy in MÍ
vaca ká’àn =ì!
 cow think:CONT =I
 ‘Yesterday I drank some delicious milk. I think the cow was very happy!’

- b. Bà'a kwé'e xì'i ndùxì xì'i =ì koni. Kúsijǐ ini ??(mí)
 good very drink:COMP honey drink:COMP =I yestersay happy in MÍ
 ñùjnǔ ká'àn =ì!
 bee think:CONT =I
 'Yesterday I had some delicious honey. I think the bees were very happy!'

Turning our attention towards diagnostics for weak definiteness in (41), let us first consider different kinds of situational uniqueness. This refers to nominals that are unique relative to particular contexts. For instance, consider (51), which demonstrates uniqueness relative to a local context; there is no requirement here that there only be one book or one sofa globally, just that one book and one sofa be unique within this local context.

CONTEXT: You are trying to sit but a book is on the chair. You ask (51a), I answer (51b).

- (51) a. Ntsyáá kôni =ú chìn uu =ì (# mí) *libro*?
 where want:CONT =you put:IRR.SG =I MÍ book
 'Where do you want me to put the book?'
 b. Chìn uu =á nùjǔ (# mí) *sofá*.
 put:IRR.SG =it on MÍ sofa
 'Put it on the sofa.'

As indicated in (51), the preference for these contexts is to not use *mí*. If present, *mí* is judged as pragmatically odd with speakers provide a variety of comments, all of which seem to have to do with saliency of the object. For instance, when (51a) with *mí* was provided to one speaker for judgment, she reported that *mí* made it sound like the speaker was already holding the book and presenting it to the listener. Likewise, the same speaker translated *mí* when provided in (51b) as 'please.' When asked further, she explained that *mí* in (51b) sounded more polite because it meant that the speaker implied that the listener was already familiar with the sofa, as if they'd been to the house before.

Similar pragmatic effects are reported with other types of nouns that are unique in larger contexts. For instance, *mí* may occur with proper names. If present, as in (52a), speakers

report that the presence of *mí* makes it seem that the speaker is picking the referent out of a set, as if responding to the question “Which of these artists do you like?” while looking at a set of pictures of singers. Likewise, with a noun like *presidente* in (52b), speakers judge that the sentence is most “neutral” without *mí*, and this is the variant provided first in translation tasks. When asked to judge (52b) with *mí*, speakers report that it makes it seem like the speaker is a fan of the president and talks about them often. A similar effect is reported with *Pápa* ‘Pope’ in (52c); speakers report that *mí* makes it sounds like the speaker is an observant Catholic, e.g., someone who can be inferred to talk about the Pope often.

- (52) a. Kútô =ì tá xíta (# mí) Beyoncé.
 like:CONT =I when sing:CONT MÍ Beyoncé
 ‘I like Beyoncé’s music.’ Lit.: ‘I like it when Beyoncé sings.’
- b. Ndibi kwé’e nì- xijyo bìjkǒ. Kìxi kwe’é =ti =nà
 nice very PERF- COP:PERF party come:COMP very =too they
 kòmichiñu, nì- xijyo =ti (# mí) *Presidente*.
 politician PERF- COP:PERF =too MÍ President
 ‘There was a very nice party. Many politicians came, and the President was there too.’
- c. Kúntàà ini =ú kixi (# mí) Pápa Ìkǒ’yo?
 realize:CONT inside =you come:IRR MÍ Pope Mexico
 ‘Did you hear that the Pope will come to Mexico?’

Finally, *mí* speakers strongly prefer to not use *mí* with globally unique nouns, such as *ntsìkantsìjǐ* ‘sun’ and *ñuú* ‘earth’, as in (53).

- (53) Kâbà (# mí) ñu’ú xíjǐn (# mí) ntsìkantsìjǐ.
 revolve:CONT MÍ earth around MÍ sun
 ‘The earth revolves around the sun.’

If present with such nominals, though, *mí* triggers similar pragmatic effects to those reported above. For instance, speakers report that the presence of *mí* with *yòjo* ‘moon’ in

(54) gives the impression that the moon is particularly salient, as if we are all already looking at the moon, or as if it is general knowledge among the conversation participants that Juan generally does not like looking at the moon, making it noteworthy that he did so.

- (54) Xĩntsye'ě Juân (# mí) yòjo.
 look.at:COMP Juan MÍ moon
 'Juan is looking at the moon.'

The second diagnostic for weak definiteness is the availability of kind readings. Schwarz 2009 notes that kind-referring definites in the sense of Carlson 1977 take weak definite articles in split-definiteness languages. This is shown in (55) for Fering Frisian.

- (55) Fering Frisian kind-referring definites (Schwarz 2009:41)
- a. { A / *di } waalfask as bal ütjstörwen.
 the_{weak} the_{strong} whale is soon gone.extinct
 'The whale will soon be extinct.'
 - b. { A / *dön } waalfasker sterew ütj.
 the_{weak} the_{strong} whales are.going.extinct
 'The whales are going extinct.'

In SMPM, kind-referring definites are generally not marked with *mí*, although if asked to judge variants with it, speakers report pragmatic effects similar to those discussed above namely that the kind has been previously mentioned. This is provided (56).

- (56) a. Sĩ kwé'e ndája (# mí) dodo.
 NEG.ADJ very appear:CONT MÍ dodo
 'Dodos are extinct.' Lit.: 'It appears that dodos aren't plentiful.'
- b. Yá'abi kwé'e (# mí) oro.
 valuable very MÍ gold
 'Gold is very valuable.'
- c. Ntsyâ ná xàà =ba =é, ndê chútun.
 which SUBJ go:PRES =EMPH =we.INCL be.CONT.PL cat
 'Cats are common.' Lit.: 'Wherever one goes, there are cats.'

In this section we have seen that *mí*, one of the two morphemes in reflexive anaphors in this language, patterns like a strong definite article in the sense of Schwarz 2009. These findings are summarized in (57).

(57)

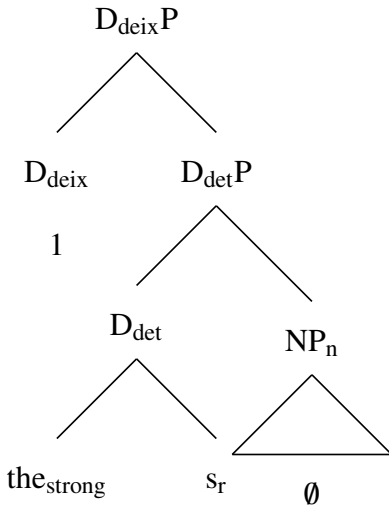
	Weak definite article	Strong definite article	<i>mí</i>
Anaphoric definites	X	✓	✓
Covarying definites (with antecedent)	X	✓	✓
Covarying definites (without antecedent)	✓	X	X
Producer-product bridging	X	✓	✓
Part-whole bridging	✓	X	N/A
Immediate situation definites	✓	X	X
Larger/global definites	✓	X	X
Kind-denoting definites	✓	X	X

Further, while they merit further investigation, I contend that the pragmatic effects that *mí* induces are all different ways of establishing anaphoricity, either by referencing a previous context or conversation, or by implying an antecedent question. As such, I take these pragmatic effects as supporting the proposal that *mí* is a strong definite article, although it is worth noting that pragmatic effects of different definite articles in languages with split definiteness are radically underreported. See Schwarz 2009:146-148 and Schwarz 2019 for discussion.

5 Exempt reflexive anaphors in SMPM as demonstrative pronouns

With *mí* identified as a strong definite article, let us now return to reflexive anaphors in SMPM. Recall that both exempt and plain reflexive anaphors in this language are composed of *mí*, the strong definite, and a clitic pronoun. Importantly, reflexive anaphors in SMPM are not the only items that have been proposed to be composed of a strong definite article and a pronoun: Patel-Grosz and Grosz 2017 analyze so-called demonstrative pronouns, such as *der* in German, in the same way, with their proposed structure in (58) and its proposed semantics in (59).

(58) Patel-Grosz and Grosz 2017:262



(59) $\llbracket \text{DEM} \rrbracket^g = \llbracket (58) \rrbracket = \iota x[\llbracket \text{NP}_n \rrbracket^g(x)(s_r) \ \& \ x = g(1)]$ (Patel-Grosz and Grosz 2017:262)

In this section, we compare the behavior of exempt reflexive anaphors in SMPM to demonstrative pronouns as reported by Patel-Grosz and Grosz 2017. I argue that many of the properties of exempt reflexive anaphors in SMPM that were difficult under a logophoricity account fall out naturally under a demonstrative pronoun account, in the sense

of Patel-Grosz and Grosz 2017. Plain reflexive anaphors are discussed again in section 6.

Demonstrative pronouns refer to pronominal uses of demonstratives in a variety of languages. (60) provides a sample of languages adapted from Patel-Grosz and Grosz 2017 and Sichel and Wiltschko 2021.

- (60) a. Zot / ha- hi gvoha.
 this.F.SG the- that.F.SG tall
 ‘This one / that one is tall.’ (Hebrew, Sichel and Wiltschko 2021:42)
- b. Die ist gross.
 DEM.F.SG is tall
 ‘This/that one is tall.’ (German, Sichel and Wiltschko 2021:42)
- c. Esta está doente.
 DEM.F was sick
 ‘This one was sick.’ (Brazilian Portuguese, Patel-Grosz and Grosz 2017:291)
- d. Celle-ci était malade.
 PROX.DEM.F was sick
 ‘This one was sick.’ (French, Patel-Grosz and Grosz 2017:291)

Demonstrative pronouns demonstrate several properties that distinguish them from non-demonstrative pronouns. First, demonstrative pronouns cannot refer to a current aboutness topic, generally the subject (Reinhart 1995, Bosch et al. 2003, Bosch and Umbach 2007, Hinterwimmer 2015, Patel-Grosz and Grosz 2017, Patel-Grosz 2020). Rather, they obligatorily disambiguate, with reference only to an antecedent non-topic. Examples from Standard German and Brazilian Portuguese are provided in (61), from Patel-Grosz 2020:551.

- (61) a. Hans₁ wollte mit Paul₂ joggen, aber { er_{1/2} / der_{2/*1} } war krank.
 Hans wanted with Paul jog but he DEM was sick
 ‘Hans wanted to go running with Paul, but he was sick.’ (German)
- b. A Maria₁ quer ir correr com a Su₂, mas { ela_{1/?2} / esta_{2/*1} } está
 the Maria wanted to.go to.run with the Sue but she DEM was
 doente.
 sick
 ‘Maria wanted to go running with Sue, but she was sick.’ (B. Portuguese)

We have already seen a similar effect in SMPM with exempt reflexive anaphors. In (27) above, we saw an effect in which an exempt reflexive anaphor in an embedded clause could not refer to a matrix attitude holder. Rather, the exempt anaphor disambiguated to a non-subject. (27) is repeated in (62), with the interpretation of a clitic pronoun in place of the exempt reflexive anaphor provided as well for contrast.

- (62) Káchi Raúl_i xí'in Marco_j kà'án núù Maria xa'ă { =rà_{i, j, k} / mí
 say:COMP Raul with Marco criticize:COMP Maria about =him mí
 =rà_{*i, j, *k}.
 =him
 'Raul_i told Marco_j that Maria criticized { him_{i, j, k} / himself_{*i, j, *k} }.'

If exempt reflexive anaphors in SMPM were logophoric, this effect would be unexplained. Analyzing exempt reflexive anaphors in SMPM in line with demonstrative pronouns, though, allows us to fold this effect in with the well-documented antitopicality effects of demonstrative pronouns, as discussed above.

Second, demonstrative pronouns require explicit antecedents, either within an immediate linguistic context or with the immediate context. In contrast, non-demonstrative pronouns do not show this strict antecedence requirement. This is demonstrated by considering reference to “implied” antecedents, as shown with German in (63) from Patel-Grosz and Grosz 2017:273. In (63), the predicate *schwanger* ‘pregnant’ implies the existence of a (future/potential) child. We see that this child can be referenced with the non-demonstrative pronoun *es* ‘it,’ but not with the demonstrative pronoun *das*.

- (63) Wenn ich schwanger werde, werde ich { es / #das } auf jeden Fall behalten.
 if I pregnant become will i it DEM on every case keep
 'If I get pregnant, I will definitely keep { it / #DEM } (=the baby).'

We see an identical effect with exempt reflexive anaphors in SMPM, as shown in (64). Here, we see that the predicate *ndaxín* ‘get wet’ introduces an unspecified liquid referent

that can be picked up by the plain liquid gender clitic pronoun *=rá*, but this introduced liquid referent cannot be referred to with the exempt reflexive anaphor *mí=rá* ‘itself (LIQ).’⁹

- (64) Ndàxín Julio. Bìxín kwé’e { =rá / #mí=rá }.
 get.wet:COMP Julio cold very =it.LIQ MÍ =it.LIQ
 ‘Julio got wet. { It / #itself } was very cold (=the water).’

Third, demonstrative pronouns are well-known for inducing various emotivity or affectivity effects (Davis and Potts 2010; Potts and Schwarz 2010; Patel-Grosz and Grosz 2017; Sichel and Wiltschko 2021; Bossi 2022, *inter alia*). Stated differently, there is often a pragmatic contrast between demonstrative and non-demonstrative pronouns wherein the use of a demonstrative pronoun reflects the speaker’s feelings towards the referent. These emotivity effects often indicate a negative appraisal by the speaker of the referent, although positive appraisals are also reported in the literature. See, for instance, the positive appraisals reported for German in Patel-Grosz and Grosz 2017:281 in contrast with the negative appraisals throughout Sichel and Wiltschko 2021. See as well Bossi 2022.

As discussed briefly above, exempt reflexive anaphors in SMPM trigger emotivity effects; one speaker commented that “*mí=rà o mí=ñá es un poco dramático, un poco dramático de emoción*,” “(Exempt) himself or herself is a bit dramatic, a bit dramatic with emotion.” In contrast to reported negative appraisals, though, exempt anaphors seem to trigger strong positive appraisals of the referent by the speaker. For instance, (65a) is judged as quite natural, while the use of exempt reflexive anaphors in negative contexts resist negative appraisals, as in (65b).

- (65) a. Nũ ibì *semana* ndantà’ă =ì xí’in Julio. Kôni kwé’e =ì mí=rà!
 in two week marry:IRR =I with Julio love:CONT very =I MÍ =him
 ‘In two weeks I’ll marry Julio. I love himself a lot!’

Speaker comment: ‘Perfect! The love is very strong.’

- b. #Xini =ì Brittany koni. Síso kwé'e ini =ì xini mí =ñá.
 see:COMP =I Brittany yesterday boil:CONT very in =I see:CONT MÍ =her
 Intended: 'I saw Brittany yesterday. I hate seeing herself.'

Speaker comment: 'Would sound better with *chi'ña ha* 'that idiot' instead.'

A full exploration of the pragmatics of positive appraisal in SMPM, and why they differ from the more common negative appraisals reported in the literature, are beyond the scope of this article. That said, the presence of emotivity is an important diagnostic for identifying exempt reflexive anaphors as demonstrative pronouns.

Fourth, demonstrative pronouns distinguish themselves from non-demonstrative pronouns in that demonstrative pronouns resist bound variable interpretations, whereas non-demonstrative pronouns do not (Wiltschko 1998, Patel-Grosz 2020).¹⁰ (66) provides a sample contrast in German.

- (66) Jeder Mann_i behauptet, dass { er_i / *der_i } intelligent ist.
 every man claims that he DEM intelligent is
 'Every man claims that he is intelligent.' (Patel-Grosz 2020:553)

Exempt reflexive anaphors in SMPM similarly resist bound variable interpretations (c.f. Ostrove To appear), as provided in (67), with the exempt reflexive anaphor in various syntactic positions within the embedded clause. Note that *ni'iin* 'no(ne)' is used to avoid possible confounds with e-type interpretations (Evans 1980:340).

- (67) a. *Ni'iin =rà bálí_i kò káchi [kàni Ana mí =rà_i].
 no =he little.PL NEG say:COMP hit:COMP Ana MÍ =him
 Intended: 'No boy_i said that Ana hit himself_i.'
- b. *Ni'iin =ná bálí_i nǐ- kà'àn [santañù'u mí =ná mí
 no =they.FEM little.PL COMP.NEG- think lose:IRR MÍ =they.FEM MÍ
carrera].
 race
 Intended: 'No girl_i thought that herself_i would lose the race.'
- c. *Ni'iin =ná bálí_i xǐni [kíxa =rà mástro *cuenta*
 no =they.FEM little.PL think:CONT.NEG do:CONT =he teacher notice

xí'in mí =ná_i bitsin].
 with Mí =they.FEM now
 'No girl_i knows that the teacher is watching herself_i now.'

In this way, exempt reflexive anaphors pattern with demonstrative pronouns, as we might expect given both the morphological composition of exempt reflexive anaphors in SMPM and the analysis of demonstrative pronouns in Patel-Grosz and Grosz 2017.

There are several advantages to this analysis. First, nowhere in the structure or semantics of demonstrative pronouns as proposed by Patel-Grosz and Grosz 2017, as shown in (58-59) is logophoricity referenced. This predicts in a straightforward way why we see no effect of logophoricity in exempt reflexive anaphors in SMPM, as discussed in detail above, deriving why SMPM is a counterexample to Charnavel 2020. Second, it allows exempt reflexive anaphors to be morphologically transparent, consisting of *mí*, argued above to be a strong definite, and a clitic pronoun. This supports Patel-Grosz and Grosz 2017 contention that demonstrative pronouns, or rather pronominal elements with this particular set of characteristics cross-linguistically, consist of a strong definite article and a pronoun.

However, a major drawback of this analysis is that it clearly cannot be extended to plain, or locally anteceded, reflexive anaphors. Recall that these similarly consist of *mí* and a clitic pronoun, but as expected cross-linguistically, are interpreted as bound variables, unlike non-locally anteceded reflexive anaphors. This is provided in the contrast in (6) and (10) in VPE, repeated as (68) below.

- (68) a. Kôni ntsi'i bà'a =rà Juân_i mí =rà_i, sǎ =ti táta =rà =ba.
 love:CONT quite good =he Juan Mí =him so =too father =his =EMPH
 'Juan loves himself_i a lot, and so does his dad.' (✓ sloppy, *strict)
- b. Káchi Juân_i bà'a xíta mí =rà_i, sǎ =ti Maria =ba.
 say:COMP Juan good sing:CONT Mí =he so =too Maria =EMPH
 'Juan said that himself_i sings well, and so does Maria.' (✓ sloppy, ✓ strict)

6 But what about morphological syncretism?

As discussed above, we must acknowledge that the analysis of non-locally bound reflexive anaphors in SMPM presented here loses a major appeal of Charnavel 2020: locally bound and non-locally bound reflexive anaphors are no longer the same lexical item differing only in the nature of their binder. Rather, under this analysis, SMPM non-locally bound reflexive anaphors become a transparent combination of a strong definite article and a pronoun, while locally bound reflexive anaphors are bound variables.

In this section, I present a speculative historical path that could have led to this state-of-affairs in San Martín Peras Mixtec. The upshot is that *mí*-marked pronouns are widespread throughout Mixtec languages as locally-antecedent reflexive anaphors, with *mí* apparently originating from a proto-Mixtecan root meaning something like ‘self.’ *Mí* as a strong definite article, though, appears to be an innovation observed in only a small handful of geographically close Mixtec varieties spoken in far western Oaxaca, including in San Martín Peras. I propose that this shift of *mí* to a strong definite article allowed for the possibility of combination with a clitic pronoun, which, in non-locally antecedent contexts where a plain reflexive anaphor interpretation is unavailable, came to be interpreted transparently, as proposed above.

The Mixtec languages form with the Triqui and Cuicatec languages the Mixtecan branch of Oto-Manguean. While the internal classification of Mixtecan is controversial (see Auderset et al. 2023 for recent discussion), the Mixtec and Cuicatec languages are generally considered to form a subgroup to the exclusion of Triqui (Kaufman 1983, 1988, Macaulay 1996). I adopt this grouping, though nothing hinges on this.

Outside of the Mixtec languages, Mixtecan languages are notable for lacking morphologically distinct reflexive anaphors. For instance, reflexive interpretations in Santa María Pápalo Cuicatec are formed through the language’s usual pronouns, as shown in (69).¹¹

- (69) Reflexive construction in Santa María Pápalo Cuicatec (Anderson and Concepción Roque 1983)

- a. Tan¹ i¹chi¹⁴ l'in¹⁴ ne¹ ne¹ne¹ ne³,en³ nd'i¹chi² nun³ tan¹ nan³ tan¹ nan³
 she girl little and a.lot want look ? she PREP her PREP
 tiu¹nu¹u⁴. (pg. 179)
 mirror
 'The girl, she likes to look at herself in the mirror a lot.'
- Sp. 'A la niña le gusta mucho mirarse en el espejo.'*
- b. Gua² yi⁴nan³ y'u²ne¹⁴ min nd'u²s'un⁴³ ne guan³ nan³ 'i²¹ ti⁴
 NEG see fox that us and at.the.same.time scratch it.AML
 i³ti³. (pg. 321)
 it.AML
 'That fox didn't see us and was scratching itself.'
- Sp. 'La zorra no nos veía y e staba rascándose.'*

Reflexive interpretations in Triqui occur through the language's usual pronouns, as shown for Copala Triqui in (70a). In addition, Copala Triqui optionally makes use of a morpheme spelled *ma'*ã¹³, which forces reflexive interpretations in locally anteceded contexts. This morpheme is argued by Hollenbach 1984 to be an obligatorily possessed body part nominal that she translates as 'self' (pg. 274-276).

- (70) Reflexive construction in Copala Triqui (Hollenbach 1984:277)

- a. Kene'e³ Gwaa⁴ mǎ³ zo'³ a³².
 saw John DOM him DECL
 'John_i saw him_j' or 'The man_i saw himself_i.'
- b. Kene'en³ Gwaa⁴ mǎ³ ma³,ǎn¹³ zo'³ a³².
 saw John DOM self him DECL
 'The man saw himself.'

*Ma*³,ǎn¹³ 'self' in Copala Triqui seems to be cognate with *mí* in SMPM, as discussed further below. Notably, though, *ma*³,ǎn¹³ does not occur with anaphoric definites. Rather, anaphoric definites in Copala Triqui are unmarked, as in (71), where the anaphoric definite

*ro*³*kohoo*¹³ ‘gourd bowl’ in (71b) is unmarked.

(71) Anaphoric definite in Copalá Triqui (Hollenbach 1992:425-426)

- a. *gaa*¹³ *ne*² *katux*⁵ *zah*¹ *zhoh*³ *ra*⁴ *ro*³*kohoo*¹³ *kihyax*³ *shu*³*kwa*²*han*
 when and COM:enter good it.AML inside gourd.bowl COM:do grandmother
 -h⁴ a³².
 -our.INCL DEC
 ‘And then our grandmother put it (an animal) away in a gourd bowl.’
- b. *gaa*¹³ *ne*² *waa*³² *ihnah*¹ *zhoh*³ *nuu*³² *zhoh*³ *ra*⁴ *ro*³*kohoo*¹³
 when and CON:exist alive it.AML CON:be.in it.AML inside gourd.bowl
 a³².
 DEC
 ‘And it (an animal) was alive (as) it was in the gourd bowl.’

Likewise, the Cuicatec cognate, *man*⁴ ‘same (Sp. *mismo*), own (Sp. *propio*),’ does not occur with reflexive anaphors, as shown in (69) or with anaphoric definites, as shown in (72).¹² Rather, anaphoric definites seem to be marked with demonstratives. This is shown for *lūnchí* ‘little goat’ in the second sentence of (72).¹³

- (72) *Nīkéné* *ámá lūnchí*. *Ītī* *mī kwīkū ti*, *kwēhēn ti*
 PERF:be.located one little.goat animal that hungry it.AML COM:go it.AML
chéhē ti *lūnchí* *mī*.
 POT:eat it.AML little.goat that
 ‘There was a little goat. The animal, it was hungry, (so) it went to eat the little goat.’

Cognates of Copala Triqui *ma*³*’ān*¹³ ‘self’ and Cuicatec *man*⁴ in the Mixtec languages are termed the “specifier” in the traditional descriptive literature, on the pre-theoretic intuition that they make a referent more “specific.” See, for example, papers in the “Studies in the Syntax of Mixtecan Languages” 1988-1992 series, edited by Bradley and Hollenbach. Examples of “specifiers” are provided in (73), along with the authors loose translation of the item in question.

(73) Specifiers across Mixtec varieties

	Variety	Specifier	Provided trans.	
a.	Jamiltepec	<i>māā</i>	‘the X itself’	Johnson 1988:66
b.	Ocatepec	<i>māá</i>	‘the very X’	Alexander 1988:213
c.	Silacayoapan	<i>mí ~ mé</i>	‘that very X’	Shields 1988:361
d.	Ayutla	<i>mīh</i>	‘self, X alone’	Hills 1990:119
e.	Coatzacoapan	<i>mī</i>	‘alone, self’	Small 1990:343-344
f.	Alacatlazala	<i>mī</i>	‘that very X’	Zylstra 1991:67
g.	Diuxi-Tilantongo	<i>mēē</i>	‘same, self’	Kuiper and Oram 1991:270
h.	Yosondúa	<i>máá</i>	‘the very X’	Farris 1992:73
i.	San Sebastián del Monte	<i>mee</i>	‘self’	Mantenuto 2020
j.	Nieves	<i>mī ~ mee</i>	‘self’	Caponigro et al. 2013:88
k.	Chalcotongo	<i>máá</i>	‘self’	Macaulay 1996:144-146
l.	San Andrés Yutatío	<i>mī</i>	‘same (<i>mismo</i>)’	Ferguson de Williams 2007:46
m.	Cuevas	<i>mī</i>	‘it is X that. ..’	Cisneros 2019:58
n.	Xochapa	<i>mī</i>	‘the’ ~ ‘that very’	Cline 2018:23
p.	Tacuate	<i>ma</i>	‘the’	Towne 2011:35

In the Mixtec languages, the use of these “specifiers,” i.e., cognates of Copala Triqui *ma³’ān¹³*, seems to have become obligatory with locally anteceded reflexives, as we saw with SMPM in section 2. Several further examples are provided in (74).¹⁴

- (74) a. Xā:hni de māá de. (Ocatepec Mixtec, Alexander 1988:162)
COM:kill he.RES SPEC him.RES
‘He killed himself.’
- b. Na sāhní Xwáan mé da. (Silacayoapán Mixtec, Shields 1988:315)
COM COM:kill John SPEC him
‘John killed himself.’
- c. Shahnī shíhín mī rā. (Alacatlazala Mixtec, Zylstra 1991:11)
COM:kill with SPEC he
‘He killed himself.’

- d. Ndehá =f méé méé =f. (Diuxi-Tilantongo Mixtec,
COM:look.at =I.FAM SPEC SPEC =me.FAM
Kuiper and Oram 1991:192)

‘I look at myself.’

- e. Xáhni dā máá dā. (Yosondúa Mixtec, Farris 1992:11)
COM:kill he SPEC him
‘He killed himself.’

- f. Kóni Chuchi meé =rà. (San Sebastián del Monte Mixtec,
love:POT Chuchi SPEC =him
Mantenuto 2020:74)

‘Chuchi loves himself.’

Across most of these Mixtec languages, though, the “specifier” is not used with anaphoric definites. Several examples, constrained by limitations of space, are provided in (75), demonstrating varieties in which anaphoric definites are unmarked.¹⁵

(75) Anaphoric definites across Mixtec

- a. Ñúkwán dē n- kē:ndā iin tiváhvū. “Mītan dē kāxi nī
there and COM- COM:arrive one coyote now and POT:eat I.FAM
ndóhó” káchi tiváhvū. (Ocotepéc Mixtec, Alexander 1988:301)
you.FAM CON:say coyote
‘Then a coyote arrived. “Now I’ll eat you” said the coyote.’
- b. Té shehén -s shá xantuú -s solndadó ñú’á ñú’ñú kwechí. Té n-
and CON:go -he C POT:place -he soldier wax be small.PL and COM-
sheé -s shántuu -s solndadó. (Diuxi-Tilantongo Mixtec, ? :401-402)
arrive -he CON:place -he soldier
‘So he went in order to set up a soldier (made of) beeswax. And he arrived,
putting the soldier in place.’
- c. Kā sakā tū rā chaa ún ndūchī syáhán. Tī ndūchī tīlúú,
PL COM:plant really he man that bean in.this.way and bean spherical
tī kwān kūvaha ndūchī ún. (Yosondúa Mixtec, ? :165)
and INC:go CON:be.good bean that
‘Those men planted peas in this manner. And as for the peas, those legumes

were growing very well.’

I am aware of two notable exceptions to this. The first is the variety of Silacayoapan Mixtec from the town of San Jerónimo Progreso as reported by North 1987 and Shields 1988, spoken a few hours’ walk north of San Martín Peras in the neighboring *municipio* and reported by Egland and Bartholomew 1983 to be ~60-70% mutually intelligible. In this variety, the reflex of the “specifier” *mí~mé* seems to have also been reanalyzed as a strong definite article, as in SMPM. For instance, it is used with anaphoric definites, as shown in (76), but not with situationally unique definites, as in (77).

(76) Anaphoric definites in San Jerónimo Progreso Mixtec

- a. Na kāsaa kããáxún. “Āmígó, ndíā káx -ún kándich -ún
COM COM:arrive rabbit friend what CON:do -you CON:stand.SG -you
yóhō?” káchí mí kããáxún. (Shields 1988:440-441)
here CON:say SPEC rabbit
‘A rabbit arrived. “*Amigo*, what are you doing standing here?” said the rabbit.’
- b. Cúú cã já nayaha in burro. Sã cáchí mí burro já,
CON:is more thus COM:pass one donkey begin CON:say SPEC donkey thus
“Ñúchí cuahá cá -ún.” (North 1987:115)
pretty much look -you
‘Later a donkey passed. The donkey said “You look very pretty.”’

(77) Situationally unique definites in San Jerónimo Progreso Mixtec

- a. Kwahan da ñakohyó kwénta prēsídénté.
go:COMP he Mexico.City account president
‘He went to Mexico City on behalf of the president.’ (Shields 1988:318)
- b. Tá sa na kãnā kandii, xá kuhun nde.
when already COMP come.out:COMP sun thus go:POT we:EXCL
‘When the sun has come out, then we will go out.’ (Shields 1988:428)

The second is Xochapa Mixtec as reported by Cline 2018, spoken directly west of San Martín Peras across Oaxaca’s border with the state of Guerrero. In this variety as well the

“specifier” *mií* is used with anaphoric definites, but not with situationally unique definites, indicating that it may too be a strong definite. This is provided in (78) and (79) respectively.

(78) Anaphoric definites in Xochapa Mixtec (Cline 2018)

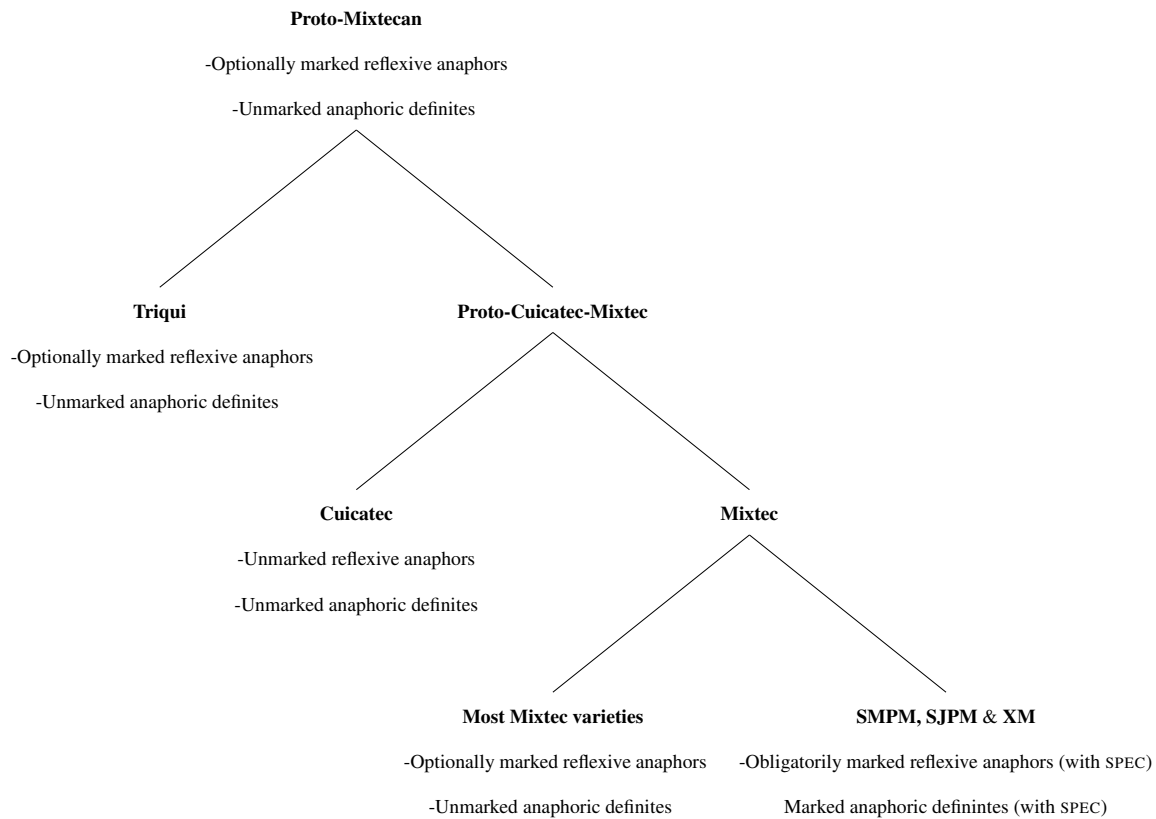
- a. Ká'an ra xí'ín yá sí'i ra... Ta saá, sá ká'an mií yá sí'i ra...
talk:IPFV he with she wife his then so talk:IPFV SPEC she wife his
'He said to his wife...then his wife said... ' (pg. 84-85)
- b. Iin kue'e suchí ini kúa... chi kǒó tatán mií kue'e yó'ó.
one illness sad inside it.it because NEG medicine SPEC illness here
'It is a tragic illness...because there is no cure for the illness.' (pg. 89-90)

(79) Situationally unique definites in Xochapa Mixtec (Cline 2018)

- a. Kǒó kúni nde sindúxin ndó rí ku'un rí tixin ñu'ú.
and NEG want:IPFV we.EXCL bury you.PL it.AML go it.AML under earth
'We don't want you to bury it and for it to go under the earth.' (pg. 57)
- b. Ta saá ná kuni na ndi'i nuú íyo na ñùù íví yó'ó.
then HORT see they all to be:PROG they world here
'Then let everyone in the whole world see.' (pg. 90)

Taking the Triqui, Cuicatec, and Mixtec data into account, then, the speculative picture that emerges is as follows: in Proto-Mixtecan, anaphoric definites were unmarked, as in Triqui, Cuicatec, and most Mixtec varieties. Reflexive anaphors were unmarked or optionally marked by a nominal meaning something like 'self,' tentatively reconstructed to something like **mV?Vn~*mV:n*, per Hollenbach 1984's analysis. This 'self' nominal was reanalyzed in the Mixtec branch of Mixtecan as obligatory for marking locally anteceded reflexive anaphors. In a smaller subset of Mixtec languages, represented by San Martín Peras Mixtec (SMPM), San Jerónimo Progreso Mixtec (SJPM), and Xochapa Mixtec (XM), this 'self' nominal was further reanalyzed as a strong definite article. This proposed historical progression is sketched in (80).

(80)



This reanalysis in SMPM, SJPM, and XM of the ‘self’ nominal (i.e., “specifier”) as a strong definite article has not affected its apparently older use in locally anteceded reflexive contexts, where it is still obligatory. Rather, the two systems involving the “specifier,” one with locally anteceded reflexive anaphors and one in strong definite contexts, coexist. As mentioned in the introduction, this state-of-affairs, then, is comparable to a hypothetical English where *self* were reanalyzed as a strong definite (e.g. ‘I bought a horse_i. Horse-self_i limps.’) while maintaining *self*-marked reflexive anaphors (e.g. both ‘No boy saw himself in the mirror’ and ‘John boasted that the Queen invited himself to dinner.’).

Focusing on SMPM, locally and non-locally anteceded reflexive anaphors under this analysis are built from the same morphological pieces, as any adequate theory ought to

propose given their isomorphism. These same morphological pieces, though, have been subject to different historical pressures, yielding different behavior in different environments. Specifically, historical pressure to mark locally anteceded reflexive anaphors has caused marking with *mí* to be obligatory, allowing us to consider locally anteceded reflexive anaphors as bound variables (e.g. as in Ostrove To appear). In contrast, separate historical pressure to mark anaphoric definites has led to an independent use of *mí* as a strong definite article. The use of this strong definite article and a clitic pronoun outside of a locally-antecedent environment, then, became treated in the expected, morphologically transparent way, i.e., as a demonstrative pronoun in the sense of Patel-Grosz and Grosz 2017.

If this speculative historical picture is on the right track, then, it suggests that it may be tenable to treat Charnavel 2020's core contention that morphological isomorphism reflects syntactic isomorphism as the null hypothesis. Of course, however, the null hypothesis is not always correct, as I have argued the SMPM data suggest.

7 Conclusion

In this article, we have examined locally and non-locally anteceded, or exempt, reflexive anaphors in San Martín Peras Mixtec through the lens of Charnavel 2020's Logophoric Operator Hypothesis. As shown above, though, exempt reflexive anaphors in this language are not interpreted logophorically; rather, they do not seem to interact with logophoricity at all. To analyze exempt reflexive anaphors in this language, then, I proposed that they are morphologically transparent, consisting of a strong definite article *mí* and a clitic pronoun. I argued that this provides an overt instantiation of Patel-Grosz and Grosz 2017's proposed structure for German demonstrative pronouns, and indeed, I showed that German demonstrative pronouns and SMPM exempt reflexive anaphors pattern together in several

cross-linguistically robust ways. As such, SMPM provides a true counterexample to the underlying intuition that underpins Charnavel 2020: that “a plain anaphor and its exempt counterpart are one and the same object. The observed duality of behavior is not due to the anaphors themselves, but to the nature of their binder” (Charnavel 2020:672). I have argued that due to idiosyncratic historical pressures, this is not the case for SMPM.

This said, the argument presented here only argues against the universality of Charnavel’s Logophoric Operator Hypothesis. It does not suggest that the Logophoric Operator Hypothesis is inappropriate or untenable for the languages Charnavel 2020 examines, namely French and English. Indeed, Charnavel 2020 does not intend for the Logophoric Operator Hypothesis to be universal. Rather, she more modestly suggests “[t]he hope is of course that [the Logophoric Operator] hypothesis explains the distribution of exempt anaphors more generally, that is, in the many other languages where exempt and plain anaphors have the same form. As we have seen, this seem promising. . .but a careful application of the logophoric tests and other diagnostics mentioned will be necessary to confirm the predictions” (Charnavel 2020:717). As such, there is no conflict within her system or research program by acknowledging languages such as SMPM.

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Notes

¹Pronouns in SMPM are not marked for case. I gloss them with the appropriate English cases, though, for ease of exposition.

²The first *rà* in (9) is an instance of what Ostrove 2022 calls ‘Givenness agreement’ and is not immediately relevant to our purposes here.

³While we will not discuss Charnavel 2020’s notion of empathy locus in detail here, the availability of inanimate antecedents of exempt reflexive anaphors rules out an empathy-based analysis. This is because empathy loci, according to Charnavel, must “express the first person perceptual perspective of [their] antecedent” (Charnavel 2020:693). Inanimate objects, of course, though, have no such first person perceptual perspective to express. See especially the discussion in Charnavel 2020:674.

⁴ Data in this section were elicited as follows. First, the contexts were read to the speaker. They were then asked to produce the target sentences, such as (17a-b). If the speaker produced the target form without a logophor, this was recorded. The context was then repeated again and the target sentence was provided with a logophor. Responses to these target sentences with logophors were then recorded and evaluated for grammaticality based on speaker responses, e.g., ‘Yes, you could say that too’ ‘No, that’s not right,’ etc.

⁵Adapted from Anand 2006

⁶In this way, exempt anaphors in SMPM also differ from so-called ‘subject-oriented’ exempt anaphors, such as *zibun* in Japanese (Kuno 1972), *ziji* in Mandarin (Huang et al. 2009), and *propria* in Italian (Giorgi 2006).

⁷Other analyses of strong and weak definiteness exist. For instance, Jenks 2018 and Hanink 2018, 2021 remove the index from the denotation of strong articles, replacing it with a pragmatic requirement or locating the index elsewhere in the DP structure respectively. Royer 2022 and Jenks and Konate 2022 further split the two, arguing that strong definiteness is composed of two separate syntactic items, a weak definite contributing uniqueness, similar to (40a), and another node contributing only anaphoricity.

I stay with Schwarz 2009 here for three reasons. First, some of these alternatives are controversial. See, for instance, Bremmers et al. 2022 response to Jenks 2018. Second, while there may be good reason to syntactically separate uniqueness from anaphoricity in languages like Chuj (Royer 2022) and Marka-Dafing (Jenks and Konate 2022), the two are not obviously separable in SMPM, as we will see below. Therefore, for our purposes, less fine-grained distinctions suffice. Third, as we will see in section 5, exempt anaphors in SMPM closely pattern with strong pronouns in the sense of Patel-Grosz and Grosz 2017. As Patel-Grosz & Grosz adopt Schwarz's semantics for the strong definite, doing so here allows for a more streamlined account, though their approach should be compatible with other systems.

⁸As well as, of course, languages that do not mark any definiteness at all. See Moroney (2021).

⁹Patel-Grosz and Grosz 2017:273-274 show that demonstrative pronouns can be anteceded by subparts of words. As such, the morphological composition of the word or phrase that introduces implied antecedents is of crucial importance. This means that phrases such as *ñú'u se'e* 'pregnant' in SMPM cannot be used, as it contains *se'e* 'child.' In (64), though, the predicate *ndaxín* 'get wet' is, as far as I am aware, unanalyzable; it does not contain any subparts referring to liquids, such as *tskwĩ* 'water.' This makes it comparable to *schwanger*

‘pregnant’ in (63).

¹⁰This claim is controversial in the German literature. As Hinterwimmer 2015, Patel-Grosz and Grosz 2017, and Hinterwimmer and Brocher 2018 highlight, there are examples in which demonstrative pronouns in German take quantified antecedents, as provided in (81).

- (81) Peter_i glaubt von jedem Kollegen_j, dass der_i klüger ist als er_i.
 Peter believes of every colleague that DEM smarter is than he
 ‘Peter believes of every colleague that he is smarter than him.’ (Hinterwimmer 2015, via Hinterwimmer and Brocher 2018:5)

However, as Hinterwimmer and Brocher 2018:19-20 discuss, all of the tested examples where a quantified nominal licitly antecedes a demonstrative pronoun are quantified by *jeder* ‘every.’ If the negative quantifier *kein* ‘no’ is used, though, it ‘is judged as slightly degraded by some informants and does not sound entirely natural to us either’ (pg. 19), as provided in (82).

- (82) ??Frau Bauer bringt keinem Buchhalter_i dessen_i neue Daten.
 Mrs. Bauer brings no accountant DEM.POSS new data
 ‘Mrs. Bauer brings no accountant his new data.’ (Hinterwimmer and Brocher 2018:19)

Hinterwimmer and Brocher 2018 refer to this discrepancy between quantifier type as *jeder* ‘every’ allowing “telescoping” readings in the sense of Roberts 1989, whereas *kein* ‘no’ does not. As Roberts 1989 defines the term, “telescoping” refers to apparent binding without c-command. Distinguishing such “telescoping” readings from e-type interpretations, which also resist negative quantifiers like *kein* ‘no’ (Evans 1980:340), is outside the scope of this work. For the purposes of the discussion of SMPM, though, I only consider

examples with the negative quantifier *ni'iin* ‘no(ne).’

¹¹As in SMPM, pronouns in Cuicatec have both clitic and non-clitic forms. The third person clitic animal pronoun is *ti*⁴, while the non-clitic form is *i*³*ti*³. See (:xi-xiii) for full paradigms.

¹²Notably, *man*⁴ in Cuicatec does occur with so-called ‘emphatic pronouns,’ somewhat reminiscent of exempt reflexive anaphors in San Martín Peras Mixtec. Several examples of this ‘emphatic’ use are provided in (83).

(83) Santa María Pápalo ‘emphatic’ pronouns (Anderson and Concepción Roque 1983)

- a. *Man*⁴ *san*² *din*⁴ *san*². (pg. 261)
 SPEC he had.blame he
 ‘The same one was to blame.’

Sp. El mismo tuvo la culpa.

- b. *Da*³*ya*³ *man*⁴ *nun*¹ *yan*⁴ *din*⁴ *du*⁴*cu*¹ *san*³ *y'u*²*du*⁴ *min*¹ *ye*⁴,*en*²
 son SPEC just his.FRML do steal he horse that of
*yan*⁴. (pg. 314)
 him.FRML
 ‘His own son stole the horse from him.’

Sp. 'Su propio hijo le robó el caballo.'

¹³Cognates of Cuicatec *mī* in the rest of Mixtecan are unclear, consisting neither of Copala Triqui *nihánj* ‘this’ (Erickson de Hollenbach 2008:29) nor SMPM *yó'o* ‘this~here.’ Reconstructing demonstratives in Mixtecan is outside the scope of this work.

¹⁴I am aware of two exceptions to this pattern: Coatzospan Mixtec, where *kúñū* ‘flesh, body’ is used to form reflexives (Small 1990:274), and Jamiltepec Mixtec, where a differential object marker *chi* marks all pronominal objects, including reflexive objects (Johnson 1988:21-22). Note as well that this use of the “specifier” with locally-antecedent reflexive

anaphors is obligatory even in varieties without pre-nominal uses of the “specifier,” as in San Sebastián del Monte Mixtec (Mantenuto, p.c.).

¹⁵Note, though, that just because the “specifier” is not used to mark anaphoric definites in most Mixtec languages does not mean that anaphoric definites are unmarked. See, for instance, Cisneros 2019, who shows that anaphoric definites in Cuevas Mixtec are marked with a series of pronoun-like classifiers unrelated to the specifier.