

Chapter 25

Reflexive constructions in Hoocąk

Johannes Helmbrecht

University of Regensburg

Hoocąk is a North American Indian language of the Siouan language family still spoken by some elders in Wisconsin. From a typological point of view, Hoocąk is an active/inactive language with strong head marking properties on the clause level. This means, that the arguments of the clause are filled by pronominal affixes on the verbal predicate. Reflexive scenarios are marked morphologically by a special verbal prefix. Reflexive scenarios are not marked by free personal pronouns or reflexive pronouns – both classes of pronouns are not available in Hoocąk. The present contribution investigates the polysemy of the reflexive marker in Hoocąk, its use with introverted and extroverted verbs, the possibilities to express partial reflexivity, coreference of the subject (A) argument with other semantic roles than the patient (O) argument, and the constructional contrast between coreference and disjoint reference, between object and nominal adpossessor, and between exact and inclusive coreference.

1 Some basics of Hoocąk morphosyntax

Hoocąk is an indigenous language of North America that belongs to the Mississippi Valley group of the Siouan language family, see Figure 1. Hoocąk (also called Ho-Chunk) is a highly endangered language still spoken by approximately a hundred elderly speakers in Wisconsin.

Hoocąk is grammatically quite distinct from better known European languages. The verb is morphologically highly complex with a remarkable wealth of morphological positions before and after the verbal root (see further below).





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Figure 1: Location of the Hoocąk language among the other Siouan languages

From a syntactic point of view, the most remarkable property of Hoocąk is the way core arguments of the clause are encoded grammatically. Arguments of the verbal predicate are represented morphologically by means of pronominal affixes. A pronominally inflected verb in principle represents a complete clause, and lexical NPs are not grammatically necessary, either with a nominal or with a pronominal head; see (1).

- (1) *wasgerá hakaráixuxšqna*
 wasge=ra Ø-ha-kara-gixux=šqna
 dish=DEF OBJ.3SG-1E.A-POSS.REFL-break=DECL
 ‘I broke my dish.’ (White Eagle 1988: 14)

The verbal predicate at the end of the clause in (1) contains two pronominal prefixes, the 3rd person singular object [Ø-] followed by the 1st person singular actor (A) prefix *ha-*. The object prefix refers to the referent of the NP *wasge=ra* ‘the dish’, the actor prefix to the speaker. The declarative enclitic *=šqna* is not obligatory and marks the entire clause as a statement. The possessive reflexive marker *kara-* [POSS.REFL] indicates that the referent of the A argument owns the

referent of the U argument.¹ The NP ‘the dish’ may be dropped without affecting the grammaticality of the clause. Note also that the syntactic function of the two arguments in (1) is exclusively marked by the pronominal affixes on the verb. There is no case marking of the noun, and word order would not help in this case either.

There are up to seven prefix slots the verb has that may be filled with different kinds of grammatical prefixes; see Table 1 for an abstract overview.

Table 1: Template presentation of prefixes of the Hoocak verb (cf. Helmbrecht & Lehmann 2008)

Morphological slot	Function
-7	pronominal prefixes I
-6	outer applicatives (instrument and locative)
-5	outer instrumentals
-4	pronominal prefixes II (Undergoer and Actor)
-3	benefactive applicative, reflexive marker (<i>kii-/ki-</i> [REFL]), reciprocal marker (<i>kii-/kiki-</i> [RECP]), possessive reflexive marker (<i>kara-/kV/k-</i> [POSS.REFL])
-2	pronominal prefixes III
-1	inner instrumentals
0	verbal root
1– <i>n</i>	suffixes/enclitics

There are pronominal prefixes that index the core arguments S_A , S_U , A, and U of the clause (labelled pronominal prefixes I–III with slots -7/-4/-2 in Table 1).

¹The terms “A argument” and “U argument” are taken from Role and Reference Grammar (Van Valin & LaPolla 1997; Van Valin 2013), where they are defined as macro-roles, i.e. as generalized semantic roles that subsume various different and more specific agent-like and patient-like semantic roles. I use these terms here to refer to the two different paradigms of person affixes for intransitive verbs in Hoocak and the arguments of a transitive verb that are filled by person affixes of these paradigms. The A paradigm is required for intransitive verbs that designate actions, the U paradigm is required for verbs that designate states, properties and uncontrolled processes. In addition, I use these terms here to refer to the first argument of a transitive verb, the A argument, and the second argument of a transitive verb, the U argument, because these arguments are filled with person affixes of the respective A and U paradigms. Note that, because of valence increasing morphological processes, there may be more than one U argument in a verb, which is a particularity of Hoocak. In these cases, I distinguish the two U arguments of a verb terminologically as e.g. “patient U argument”, or “recipient U argument”, or “benefactive U argument”.

There are four different applicative prefixes that augment the valency of the verb stem (the outer applicatives and the benefactive applicative in Table 1). There are eight so-called instrumental prefixes that enrich and specialize the semantics of the verb (similarly labelled outer and inner instrumentals in Table 1), and there is a reflexive and a reciprocal marker, which mark the identity of the actor (A) and undergoer (U) of a transitive verb (both in the morphological slot -3 in Table 1).

The reflexive marker *kii-* signals that the referent of the A argument is identical with the referent of the U argument. In this case the U argument is never marked separately by a pronominal prefix. The same reflexive marker may also have a reciprocal meaning if the A argument is plural. This holds for 1st and 2nd persons as well as for 3rd persons. In addition, A and U 3rd person arguments always have a disjoint reference if there is no reflexive marker. Compare the examples in (2).

- (2) a. *hajánq*
 ha<Ø-Ø>já=nq
 <OBJ.3SG-SBJ.3SG>see=DECL
 ‘He₁ sees him₂.’ [DL XI: 15]
- b. *hakijánq*
 ha<Ø>ki-já=nq
 <SBJ.3SG>REFL-see=DECL
 ‘He₁ sees himself₁.’ [DL XI: 15]

There is no way to interpret the two arguments in (2a) as coreferential. If coreference between the two arguments is intended, the reflexivizer *kii-* [REFL] has to be used; see (2b). The reflexive marker *kii-* may also be interpreted with a reciprocal meaning in case the A argument is a non-singular referent. In this function, *kii-* competes with the reduplicated form *kiki-* that always marks reciprocal meaning (see 6–7 below).

In addition, there is a possessive reflexive marker indicating a possessive relation between the A and the U argument (previously illustrated in 1 above). This form will be discussed in §5.1 below.

Some further comments on the pronominal prefixes are necessary. Although there are three morphological slots of pronominal prefixes, there are in fact only two different paradigms of pronominal affixes, one indicating the person category of the S_A argument, i.e. the intransitive subject of a verb with active semantics, and the second one indicating the person category of the S_U argument, i.e. the intransitive subject of a verb with inactive semantics. This marking pattern is lexically fixed for each intransitive verb. Compare the paradigm of personal affixes for intransitive inactive verbs such as *š’aak* ‘be old’ in Table 2 and for

intransitive active verbs such as *šgáač* ‘play’ in Table 3. Intransitive active verbs designate controlled movements like ‘come’, ‘go’, ‘arrive’, ‘swim’ etc., and actions such as ‘dance’, ‘get dressed’, ‘travel’, etc. Inactive intransitive verbs designate properties like ‘be red’, ‘be big’, ‘be strong’ etc., and uncontrolled processes such as ‘float’, ‘boil’, ‘slip’, etc.

Table 2: Paradigm of the intransitive inactive verb *š’ák* ‘to be old’

1SG	<i>hĭ-š’ák</i>	‘I am old’
2SG	<i>nĭ-š’ák</i>	‘you are old’
3SG	<i>Ø-š’ák</i>	‘he is old’
1I.DU	<i>waqgá-š’ák</i>	‘you and I are old’
1I.PL	<i>waqgá-š’ák-wi</i>	‘we (incl.) are old’
1E.PL	<i>hĭ-š’ák-wi</i>	‘we (excl.) are old’
2PL	<i>nĭ-š’ák-wi</i>	‘you (all) are old’
3PL	<i>š’ák-ire</i>	‘they are old’

Intransitive active verbs designate controlled movements like ‘come’, ‘go’, ‘arrive’, ‘swim’ etc. and actions such as ‘dance’, ‘get dressed’, ‘travel’, etc.

Table 3: Paradigm of an intransitive active verb

1SG	<i>ha-šgáč</i>	‘I play’
2SG	<i>ra-šgáč</i>	‘you play’
3SG	<i>Ø-šgáč</i>	‘he plays’
1I.DU	<i>hĭ-šgáč</i>	‘you and I play’
1I.PL	<i>hĭ-šgáč-wi</i>	‘we (incl.) play’
1E.PL	<i>ha-šgáč-wi</i>	‘we (excl.) play’
2PL	<i>ra-šgáč-wi</i>	‘you (all) play’
3PL	<i>šgáč-ire</i>	‘they play’

The A (transitive subject) and the U (transitive object) arguments of transitive verbs are filled by a combination of pronominal affixes from both paradigms. Hoocak is thus a head-marking language on the clause level and belongs to the so-called split-S marking type. It has to be stressed that this marking pattern, also called active/inactive alignment type, holds only for 1st and 2nd persons (speech act participants); see Figure 2 (Hartmann 2013: 1268).

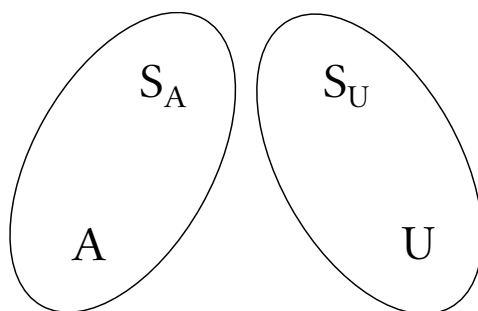


Figure 2: Active/inactive alignment (for 1st and 2nd persons)

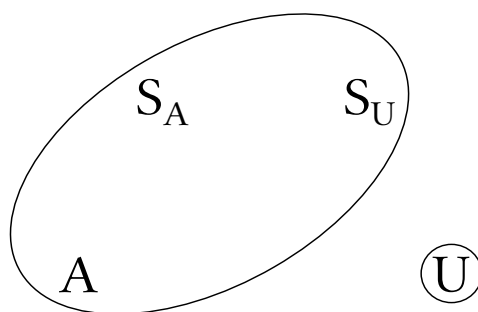


Figure 3: Accusative alignment (for 3rd persons)

Third persons show accusative alignment, i.e. S_A , S_U and A are in all cases coded identically, either by the [3SG] zero form \emptyset or the [3PL] form *-ire*, see Figure 3. The transitive object U is marked either by a zero form for [3SG] or by a special pronominal affix *wa-* [OBJ.3PL] for 3rd person plural objects. Note that this special form *wa-* [OBJ.3PL] is used only if the U argument is definite.

The right side of the verb root is likewise morphologically complex, but in a very different way. There are a few suffixes and a large number of enclitics that appear in a fixed order after the verb root. These bound forms designate tense, aspect, and mood categories and are generally less grammaticalized than the prefixes. One manifestation of this is the fact that the prefixes are highly synthetic and undergo plenty of morphophonemic processes, while the suffixes and enclitics are rather agglutinating and stable with regard to their phonological form.

While verbs are easy to identify based on their morphology, nouns are problematic in this respect. There is no noun-specific morphology such as case marking, number marking or gender. Nouns can be identified by their semantics and

by their structural and distributional properties, especially as heads of nominal expressions.

The order of the major clausal constituents is quite regular, exhibiting SOV order in traditional terms. The predicate is strictly clause final. Other constituents such as argument NPs, adverbials, and subordinate clauses precede the predicate, but may show different orders depending on pragmatic factors (see Helmbrecht 2021).

The outline of the present study follows the structure of the questionnaire that was provided by the editors of this volume (Janic & Haspelmath 2023 [this volume]). In §2, the polysemy and the uses of the reflexive marker in Hoocak are introduced. It will be shown that complete as well as partial coreference of the person/number values of the A and the U arguments require obligatorily the reflexive marker. In addition, some of the partial coreference combinations are not possible at all even with the reflexive marker. In §3, the emphatic use of the reflexive marker is illustrated before the reflexive scenarios with body parts are investigated in §4. The subsections in §5 are dedicated to coreference relationships with other semantic roles such as possessor (§5.1), locational participants (§5.2), and beneficiaries/recipients in (§5.3). In §6, it is argued that there are no coreference relations between non-subject arguments because Hoocak has no adpositions. In §7, the constructional contrast between object and nominal adposessor is illustrated, and in §8, it is demonstrated that there are no constructions for inclusive coreference in Hoocak, again, because Hoocak does not have free personal pronouns as can be found in European languages.

2 Basic uses of the reflexivizer

There are no reflexive pronouns in Hoocak (like English *himself*), and reflexive scenarios are never expressed by personal pronouns such that there are coreferential A and U personal pronouns both inflected by the corresponding cases. Hoocak has only two personal pronouns (*nee* 1st and 2nd person, and *'ee* 3rd person), which are not case marked, and which are used exclusively for emphatic reasons in specific focus constructions. Instead, Hoocak has one verbal reflexive marker *kii-*, which indicates coreference of the U with the A argument. A second and closely related meaning of the reflexivizer *kii-* is the reciprocal meaning. In addition, this reflexivizer may be reduplicated in order to express explicitly a reciprocal meaning *kiki-* [RECP]. The relationship between these two forms – *kii-* [REFL] and *kiki-* [RECP] and the two meanings reflexive and reciprocal – will be illustrated in the subsequent sections.

Reflexivization is usually seen as a detransitivizing operation, not necessarily in terms of a structural syntactic transitivity, but from the point of view of transitivity as a prototype notion (cf. Hopper & Thompson 1980). The action is less transitive, because the undergoer, who is the endpoint of the action, is the same as the actor, i.e. there is only one true independent participant. Reflexive verbs are therefore often grammatically treated as detransitivized verbs in one way or another in the languages of the world. In Hoocak, reflexivization is clearly a detransitivizing process. Formally, this is manifest by the blocking of the U pronominal affixes. Only the A argument is marked by a person prefix. A typical example of a reflexive construction is given in the following utterance from the DOBES corpus of Hoocak texts.²

- (3) *Hqake hɣkiʃgacnikjawi.*
 haʔke hɣ-ho<kii>ʃgac=nɣ=kje-wi
 NEG.IN 1I.A-<REFL>abuse=NEG.FIN=FUT-PL
 ‘Let’s not abuse ourselves.’ [ECO027]

The transitive verb *hoʃgac* ‘to abuse someone’ in (3) has an A and a U argument in its argument structure. The reflexivizer *kii-* indicates that the referent of the U argument is identical to the referent of the A argument. The latter is marked by a pronominal affix *hɣ-* (1st person inclusive actor [1INCL.A]) and the plural marker for 1st and 2nd persons *-wi* [PL] at the end. The future marker *=kje* has to be interpreted as a hortative in this context.

In Hoocak, the reflexive prefix *kii-* can, in principle, be used with every transitive verb if its semantics allows such a derivation, i.e. it must be possible that the action of the verb can be exerted on oneself. In most cases, the agent A argument is coreferential with the patient U argument of the transitive verb; but other coreference relations are possible (see §5 below).

The patient U argument is the first target of the reflexivizer, and this does not change, even if there are other U arguments around. These other U arguments could be introduced into the argument structure of the verb by means of

²Data for this study come from a large digital corpus of Hoocak text, which were collected as a part of the DOBES funding of the Volkswagen Foundation (<http://dobes.mpi.nl>). The glossed texts and the audio and video files of the Hoocak documentation project are stored in the digital archive of the Max Planck Institute for Psycholinguistics called “The Language Archive” (<http://dobes.mpi.nl/projects/hocank>). The DOBES project “Documentation of the Hoocak Language” was led by Johannes Helmbrecht and Christian Lehmann at the University of Erfurt, Germany. The data taken from the Hoocak corpus are supplemented by data elicited by the author during various field trips to Wisconsin between 1997 and 2007. Abbreviations such as ECO027 specify the text from which the example is taken (here the “Ecology speech”) as well as the number of the utterance (here number 027).

an applicative marker. There are four different applicative markers in Hoocak, a superessive, an inessive, an instrumental and a benefactive applicative marker, which have in common that they open a new undergoer argument slot in the verb. These semantically different undergoer arguments can be wholly or partly coreferential with the A argument (see §5 below). This is, however, not possible with an additional instrumental U argument, certainly for semantic reasons. In this case, the coreference remains between agent (A) and patient (U); see example (4)³ below. It is hard to imagine a situation in which the instrument is coreferential/identical with the actor of this action.

- (4) *Mqahipahi himqkicgissqnaq.*
 maahĩ-paahi hi-maa-Ø-ha-ki-cgis=sana
 knife-be_sharp APPL.INST-cut-3SG.U-1E.A-REFL-cut=DECL
 ‘I cut myself with a sharp knife.’ (Hartmann 2013: ex. 216)

Similar semantic restrictions apply to verbs that designate an action that cannot be exerted on the actor her/himself. For instance, the reflexivizer *kii-* cannot be used with the transitive verb *ru’q* ‘to carry something’ ‘to lift something’, with a reflexive meaning, because it is pragmatically not possible to lift oneself, or to carry oneself, at least in the literal sense. Despite this pragmatic constraint, *ru’q* ‘to carry someone’ can be marked with *kii-* yielding a reciprocal meaning ‘each other’. This reciprocal use is only possible with a plural A argument. For instance, *kii-ru’q-ire* would mean ‘they carry each other’.

The same holds for the transitive verb *hoki’u* ‘to imitate something/someone’. This verb cannot receive a reflexive meaning, because it is not literally possible to imitate oneself. However, this verb may receive a reciprocal meaning by adding *kii-* such that it becomes *ho-ki-ki’u-ire* ‘they imitate each other’. Note that in this case, the single *kii-* has likewise a reciprocal meaning. The middle syllable /ki-/ in *hoki’u* is part of the stem. (It may well be that it is the historically lexicalized reflexivizer *kii-*.)

As is often the case in the Hoocak lexicon, otherwise productive derivational means are frequently found in words where they are fossilized as part of the stem. This holds for the reflexive marker *kii-*, too. In these cases, the addition of *kii-* results in verbs with a morpheme sequence *kiki-*, which can be interpreted as reflexive or reciprocal. For instance, in the transitive verb *hiki’o* ‘to touch something’, the *kii-* form in the middle is part of the stem and cannot be interpreted as

³The Hoocak data collected by Iren Hartmann (2013) can be found on the website of the Valency Patterns Leipzig project (Hartmann et al. 2013) at the Max Planck Institute for Evolutionary Anthropology (<http://www.valpal.info/languages/hoocak>).

a reflexive marker. If the *kii-* is added as in *hikikí'o*, a polysemous verb emerges. The first meaning is – as one expects – ‘to touch oneself’, the second meaning is the reciprocal meaning ‘to touch each other’, and the third meaning is ‘to touch something repeatedly’. Reduplication in Hoocak can be utilized to indicate iterativity, thus the addition of *kii-* may simply be interpreted as a mere reduplication of the middle syllable of the stem.

Another example of this sort is *hokit'é* ‘to talk to someone’. The *kii-* part in the middle is lexicalized and has no reflexive meaning. *Yaakit'é* would be ‘I speak to someone’ and not *‘I speak to myself’. However, to make it reflexive, one can insert *kii-* [REFL] and gets *yaa-ki-kit'e* ‘I speak to myself’. Another verb that cannot receive a reflexive meaning with *kii-* [REFL] is the verb provided in (5a–5b).

- (5) a. *hat'áp* ‘to jump on something’
 b. *ha-ki-t'áp* ‘to jump on each other’

The reflexive marker *kii-* in (5b) cannot be interpreted as ‘to jump on oneself’ for pragmatic reasons. Therefore it is interpreted as reciprocal, which again demonstrates the close semantic relationship between both meanings. The semantic extension from reflexive to reciprocal is conceptually easy, the polysemous encoding of reflexive and reciprocal meanings is therefore widespread among the languages of the world (Maslova & Nedjalkov 2013).

The reciprocal usage of the *kii-* reflexive marker sometimes competes with the reciprocal marker *kiki-* [RECP], which is a reduplication of the reflexive marker *kii-*. The reciprocal marker *kiki-* [RECP] is used only if the meaning of the reflexivizer *kii-* is ambiguous, and only the reciprocal meaning is intended, or if the speaker wants to particularly stress the reciprocal meaning; cf. the examples in (6–7).

- (6) a. *hajá* ‘to see something’
 b. *hakijá* ‘to see oneself’
 c. *haakícaanq*
ha<ha-kí>ca=nq
 see<1E.A-REFL>see\1E.A=DECL
 ‘I see myself (e.g. in the mirror).’ [DL XI:15]
 d. *'eejá haakíicawiinq*
'eejá ha-<ha-kíki>ca-wi=nq
 there <1E.A-RECP>see\1E.A-PL=DECL
 ‘We see each other there (in the mirror).’ [DL XI:15]

- (7) *hegu nqacge haqke pij haqke hiikijawinĩ*
hegu nqacge haqke pij haqke <hi>ha<kii>ja-wi=nĩ
 that_way heart NEG.IN be_good NEG.IN <I.I.A><REFL>see-PL=NEG.FIN
hinubahqñq
hi-nuup-ahq=ra
 ORD-two-times=DEF
 ‘We never see each other with good hearts anymore.’ [DAP107]

The transitive verb *hajá* ‘to see something’, (6a), may infix the reflexivizer *kii-* yielding a reflexive meaning ‘to see oneself’, (6b); see also the inflected example in (6c) for the 1st person. The reflexivizer may also receive a reciprocal meaning with this verb if A is pluralized; see (7). If there is some doubt, and if the reciprocal meaning is intended, the reflexivizer may be reduplicated to underline that only the reciprocal interpretation is intended; see (6d).

Transitive verbs are inflected for person by a combination of forms from the A paradigm and the U paradigm. The general morphological pattern is that the U form precedes the A form, but some exceptions apply. First, the first inclusive dual and plural A form *hi-* [1INCL.A] always precedes all other prefixes of the verb. Secondly, there is a portmanteau prefix *nij-* for the 1st person acting on a 2nd person (1&2) that does not allow a further segmentation. The general and schematic paradigm of pronominal affixes for a transitive verb form of the first and most regular conjugation is given in Table 4 (cf. Helmbrecht 2021).

Table 4 covers all combinations of person/number values of the A and U arguments that are in possible principle. Most of the pronominal affixes precede the verb root (V), but the plural marker *-wi* [PL] for 1st and 2nd persons, and the subject 3rd person plural marker *-ire* [SBJ.3PL] follow the verb root. The white cells with a hyphen in Table 4 indicate that this combination of person/number values cannot be expressed by the corresponding person affixes in Hoocək. These white cells have in common that the referent of the A argument is completely coreferential, or partially coreferent, with the referent of the U argument. Some of these “white” reflexive scenarios can be expressed with the pronominal affix of the A argument and the reflexive marker *kii-*. Others cannot be expressed at all with pronominal affixes. I will illustrate some of these restrictions briefly.

The transitive verb *mqqcgis* ‘to cut something (with a cutting instrument like a scissor)’ consists of the bound verb root *-cgis* ‘cut something’ and the instrumental prefix *mqq-* that adds a manner/instrument meaning to the lexical meaning of the verb root (such as ‘with a knife/with a pair of scissors’, or the like). Note that this instrumental prefix does not provide a new argument slot to the verb root.

Table 4: Transitive paradigm of person markers (first conjugation)

	A	U			
		1SG	2SG	3SG	1INCL.DU
1SG	-		<i>nij-V</i>	<i>Ø-ha-V</i>	-
2SG	<i>hi-ra-V</i>		-	<i>Ø-ra-V</i>	-
3SG	<i>hi-Ø-V</i>		<i>ni-Ø-V</i>	<i>Ø-Ø-V</i>	<i>wqagá-Ø-V</i>
1INCL.DU	-		-	<i>hi-Ø-V</i>	-
1INCL.PL	-		-	<i>hi-Ø-V-wi</i>	-
1EXCL.PL	-		<i>nij-V-wi</i>	<i>Ø-ha-V-wi</i>	-
2PL	<i>hi-ra-V-wi</i>		-	<i>Ø-ra-V-wi</i>	-
3PL	<i>hi-V-ire</i>		<i>ni-V-ire</i>	<i>Ø-V-ire</i>	<i>wqagá-V-ire</i>
		1INCL.PL	1EXCL.PL	2PL	3PL
1SG	-		-	<i>nij-V-wi</i>	<i>wa-ha-V</i>
2SG	-		<i>hi-ra-V-wi</i>	-	<i>wa-ra-V</i>
3SG	<i>wqagá-Ø-V-wi</i>		<i>hi-Ø-V-wi</i>	<i>ni-Ø-V-wi</i>	<i>wa-Ø-V</i>
1INCL.DU	-		-	-	<i>hi-wa-V</i>
1INCL.PL	-		-	-	<i>hi-wa-V-wi</i>
1EXCL.PL	-		-	<i>nij-V-wi</i>	<i>wa-ha-V-wi</i>
2PL	-		<i>hi-ra-V-wi</i>	-	<i>wa-ra-V-wi</i>
3PL	<i>wqagá-V-ire-wi</i>		<i>hi-V-ire-wi</i>	<i>ni-V-ire-wi</i>	<i>wa-V-ire</i>

Reflexive events such as ‘I cut myself’ or ‘you cut yourself’ etc., see (8a⁴ and 9a) cannot be expressed by a combination of the respective A and Upronominal affixes. Instead, the A prefix *ha-* [1E.A] has to be used plus the reflexive marker *kii-*, which indicates the coreference of A and U; see (8b and 9b). The coreferential U argument is not marked at all.

- (8) a. * *mqa-hi-ha-cgis*
by_cutting-1E.U-1E.A-cut
‘I cut myself (with a cutting instrument like a scissor).’ [PM XI:19]
- b. *máqkicgis*
mqa-ha-ki-cgis
by_cutting-1E.A-REFL-cut
‘I cut myself (with a cutting instrument like a scissor).’ [PM XI:19]

⁴Underlying /h/ in *ha-* [1E.A] and *hi-* [1E.U] always drop word internally.

- (9) a. * *maq-ni-ra-cgis*
 by_cutting-2U-2A-cut
 ‘You cut yourself (with a cutting instrument like a scissor).’ [PM
 XI:19]
- b. *maqnaqkicgi*
 maq-ra-ki-cgis
 by_cutting-2A-REFL-cut
 ‘You cut yourself (with a cutting instrument like a scissor).’ [PM
 XI:19]

The examples in (8–9) represent reflexive events, in which the referent of A (1st and 2nd singular) is fully identical to the referent of U. If A is a 3rd person singular (zero marked Ø- 3SG), the reflexive marker indicates that A and U are coreferential. If there is no reflexive marker, we have a normal transitive construction with two zero-marked 3rd person arguments with different referents (see 2a–2b above).

Things are more complicated if plural referents are involved. Hoocak has three different 1st person plural markers, 1st person dual inclusive (you and me [1INCL.DU]), 1st person plural inclusive (we all including you [1INCL.PL]), and 1st person plural exclusive (we all, but not you [1EXCL.PL]). These A forms can be combined with the reflexive marker *kii-* with the result that the respective 1st person non-singular group is an A and U argument at the same time. The inclusive/exclusive distinction is maintained. However, there is a systematic polysemy in the way that either each member of the group acts on himself/herself, or that the members of this group act on each other; a reciprocal meaning.

What is not possible to express pronominally in Hoocak is that a 1st person non-singular group acts on the 1st person singular, with or without the reflexivizer. English does not allow this scenario either (**we see myself/me in the mirror*); see Hampe & Lehmann (2013). The inverse situation with a 1st person singular acting on a 1st person non-singular is, however, possible in English: *I see us in the mirror*. No matter whether *us* is interpreted as an inclusive plural or an exclusive plural, it is a kind of partial reflexive situation, which is not marked as reflexive. Hoocak cannot express this situation with its pronominal affixes and the reflexivizer. Therefore, it is marked white plus hyphen in Table 4. We have a similar situation with the 2nd person singular as A argument. Hoocak does not allow a 2SG.A acting on a 1st person inclusive non-singular [1INCL.DU/PL.A]. The English equivalent sounds odd, too: ?*You [SG] see us in the mirror* (including yourself). If the 1st plural pronoun *us* is interpreted as exclusive, it is no longer odd. Then it is no longer a reflexive construction in English and in Hoocak.

The reflexive *kii-* derivation is generally not possible with intransitive active and inactive verbs. There are no such reflexive formations as ‘something breaks by itself’ (**kiišízre*) or ‘something is cooked for oneself’ (**kiitúc*).

3 Emphatic meaning of the reflexivizer

The reflexivizer may be used to express emphasis, which is comparable to some uses of English reflexive pronouns. Compare the examples in (10–11) from different texts.

- (10) *hegu* *waicekjì* *wa’uqježe*
hegu *wa<hì>cek=xjì* *wa<ha>’ù-ha-jee=že*
 that_way <1E.U>be_young=INTS <1E.A>do/be-1E.A-POS.VERT=QUOT
wašisikìk *wa’uqježe*
wa<hì>sisik=nìk *wa<ha>’ù-ha-jee=že*
 <1E.U>be_agile=DIM <1E.A>do/be-1E.A-POS.VERT=QUOT
yaakiregajq
hi<ha-kii>re=gajq
 <1E.A-REFL>think=SEQ
 ‘Well, I thought, I was young and fast on foot.’ [MOV026]

The speaker in (10) expresses his surprise that the old man in this story ran much faster than he did. The transitive verb *hiré* ‘think something’ has two arguments, the thinker as A and the content of the thinking as U argument. The reflexivizer in this example cannot indicate coreference of A and U, but rather emphasizes that the narrated reality contradicts all expectations. A more idiomatic translation in English could perhaps be *I really thought for myself...* using the English reflexive pronoun as a self-intensifier within a prepositional phrase as a kind of adverbial to the main verb ‘thought’. A similar usage of the reflexivizer in Hoocak is shown in (11).

- (11) *yaa nìjšge* *’eejaxjì* *saacqxjì* *hotoğocra* *hegu* *(hq)ke*
yaa nìj=šge *’eejaxjì* *saacq=xjì* *hotoğoc=ra* *hegu* *hake*
 yes me=also about_there five=INTS look_at\1E.A=DEF that_way NEG.IN
wažq *nqkixgùnì*
wažq *nqā<kii>xgū=nì*
 something <REFL>understand=NEG.FIN
 ‘Yeah, me too, even when I looked at the story about five times, I couldn’t understand a thing.’ [RRT073]

The transitive verb *nqaxgú* ‘to hear something’, ‘to understand something’ has the 1st person speaker as A argument and the content of what has not been understood (‘thing’) as U argument. The reflexivizer does not indicate coreference of A and U, but emphasizes the fact that despite all the efforts the speaker did not succeed in understanding.

4 Reflexive scenarios with body parts as target

As far as I can judge from the data I have at hand, there is no systematic constructional difference between reflexive scenarios expressed by introverted or extroverted verbs. Introverted verbs demand the same reflexive construction used for extroverted verbs.

However, one can find some constructional variation in reflexive scenarios that seem to be linked to different degrees of involvement of the patient argument as it is the case with parts of the body of the A argument. This constructional variation can be observed also with some introverted verbs. Reflexive scenarios with introverted verbs, i.e. verbs that designate body care (grooming) actions such as ‘to wash oneself’ or ‘to shave oneself’ (see Haspelmath 2023 [this volume]) occur sometimes with additional morphological material in Hoocək. In addition to the reflexivizer, the verb ‘to wash oneself’ may occur with the possessive reflexive marker. The possessive reflexive marker is a verbal marker that indicates that the A argument of a transitive verb possesses the U argument; compare the examples in (12a–12c).

- (12) a. *ružq* ‘to wash something’
 b. *ku-ružq* ‘to wash one’s own’
 c. *wažqtířera waakúružqqnq*
 wažqtíře=ra wa-ha-kú-ružq=nq
 car=DEF OBJ.3PL-1E.A-POSS.REFL-wash=DECL
 ‘I wash my cars.’ [PM XI:8]

The verb *ružq* ‘to wash something’ requires the WASHER as A argument and what is WASHED as U argument. The reflexive possessive marker, which has three allomorphs (*kara-/kV-/k-* [POSS.REFL]), indicates that the referent of A possesses the referent of U; cf. (12b–12c). The clause (12c) without this marker would simply mean ‘I wash the cars’. The possessive reflexive does not increase the valency of the verb, but indicates an additional relation between A and U and is a good indicator for transitivity. Only transitive verbs may take it.

If *ružq* ‘to wash something’ is used to express the reflexive scenario ‘to wash oneself’, the possessive reflexive marker may appear in addition to the reflexivizer. See the elicited examples in (13–14).

- (13) *hakikúružqqnq*
 ha-**ki-kú**-ružq=nq
 1E.A-REFL-POSS.REFL-wash=DECL
 ‘I wash myself.’ [PM XI:8]
- (14) *hakikikuružqwi*
 ha-**kiki-ku**-ružq-wi
 1E.A-RECP-POSS.REFL-wash-PL
 ‘We wash each other.’ [PM XI:8]

Both constructions, the reflexive construction and the reciprocal construction, may take the possessive reflexive verbal marker. This constructional alternative, i.e. the combination of reflexivizer plus a possessive reflexive, can be found also with other semantic types of verbs. Compare the following two clauses from Hartmann’s (2013) database.

- (15) *Wa’i šjuuc yaákikurukq.*
 wa’i šjuuc <hi>ha-<ha-**ki-ku**>rukq
 blanket be_warm <APPL.INST><1E.A-REFL-POSS.REFL>cover
 ‘I covered myself with a warm blanket.’ (Hartmann 2013: ex.8)
- (16) *Wa’i šjuuc yaa’yanqga haákitukq.*
 wa’i šjuuc hi<ha>’u=anqga ha<ha-**ki**>tukq
 blanket be_warm <1E.A>use=and <1E.A-REFL>cover\1E.A
 ‘I covered myself with a warm blanket.’ (lit. ‘I use a warm blanket, and I covered myself.’) (Hartmann 2013: ex. 730)

In the first clause (15), the transitive verb ‘to cover something’ takes both verbal markers, the reflexivizer and the possessive reflexive marker, and in the second (16) only the reflexivizer. Both clauses are semantically almost equivalent; the difference may perhaps be found in the completeness of the covering, which is partial in the first and complete in the second clause. The combination of reflexivizer plus possessive reflexive may thus correlate with a partial reflexive scenario.

We also find partial reflexive scenarios involving body parts that are expressed only with the possessive reflexive marker and no reflexivizer. For instance, in order to express ‘to shave (oneself)’ in Hoocak, one has to use the transitive verb

gik'o 'to scrape off something'. In order to get the 'shave' meaning one has to modify the verb; see the following examples.

- (17) *'iih̥jra* *gigik'o*
 'ii-h̥j=ra Ø-Ø-**gi**-*gik'o*
 mouth-hair=DEF 3SG.U-3SG.A-APPL.BEN-scrape_off
 'He₁ shaves him₂.' (lit. 'He₁ shaves the beard for him₂.') [PM XI:9]
- (18) *'iih̥jraq* *karaik'o*
 'ii-h̥j=r̥a Ø-Ø-**kara**-*gik'o*
 mouth-hair=DEF 3SG.U-3SG.A-POSS.REFL-scrape_off
 'He₁ shaved himself.' (lit. 'He₁ shaves his₁, the mouth hair.') [PM XI:9]

In (17), the verb *gik'o* 'to scrape off something' is derived by means of a benefactive applicative *gi-* [APPL.BEN] that opens a benefactive U argument. Without it, the translation would simply be 'he₁ scrapes it (beard) off'. Note that the clause in (17) is not a reflexive construction and the two 3rd person arguments have different referents. The *'iih̥j* 'beard' remains the patient U argument of the verb *gik'o* 'to scrape off something'.

On the other hand, (18) is a reflexive construction, but without the reflexivizer *kii-*. Instead, the possessive reflexive marker is used. The reflexive scenario here is partial, because the U argument of *gik'o* 'scrape off something', the 'mouth hair' is a body-part of the A argument. The construction literally says that 'A shaves his mouth hair' rendered in English as 'A shaves himself'. There are further examples that suggest that the degree of affectedness of the patient U in a partial reflexive scenario triggers the choice of different constructions. Compare, for example, the two clauses in (19) from our text corpus.

- (19) WL: *kirucecere 'anaga nqajurašge wakurucgisires'a*
 BO: *h̥qh̥q*
- a. WL:
 kii-ru<ce>ce-ire *'anaga nqaju=ra=šge*
 REFL<RDP>pull_off_a_piece-SBJ.3PL and hair=DEF=also
 wa-ku-rucgis-ire-s'a
 OBJ.3PL-POSS.REFL-cut_with_scissors-SBJ.3PL-ITER
 'They cut themselves and they also cut their hair.'
- b. BO:
 h̥qh̥q
 yes
 'yes' [RRT068]

In the first clause, the transitive verb *rucé* ‘pull off a piece (of soft substance)’, which is reduplicated *rucecé* ‘pull off many pieces’, takes the reflexivizer *kii-*. This construction is translated by our speakers as ‘they cut themselves’ implying that the action affects the referents of the A argument completely. The second clause describes a second reflexive scenario with the same referents as A, but in this case the action affects the actors only partially; *rucgis* is like *rucece* a transitive verb of cutting; see also the examples (4), (8), and (9) with the related verb *maqcgis* ‘to cut something (with a cutting instrument)’.

Even less affected is the patient U argument in the reflexive scenarios in the following two examples, (20–21). The transitive verb *horak* ‘to tell something’ is used to express the reflexive scenario ‘to talk about oneself’. In both cases, reflexivity is marked solely by the possessive reflexive marker.

- (20) *Hixuunugregi...* *hižq hokarakre...* *həhqə heesge*
hi-xuunug=ni:k=regi *hižə ho<ka>rak=re* *həhə’o heesge*
 1E.U-be_small=DIM=SIM/LOC one <POSS.REFL>tell=IMP yes that’s.why
haakje.
haa-kje
 make/CAUS.1E.A-FUT
 ‘When I was little... tell something about yourself!... yes, guess I’ll do that.’ [HOR008]
- (21) *’Ėegi hokarakšgūnĭ* *žėesge hirairen.*
’ėegi ho<ka>rak=šgūnĭ *žeesgé hiré-ire=n*
 then <POSS.REFL>tell(SBJ.3SG)=DUB thus think_through-SBJ.3PL=DECL
 ‘Then she told about herself, that’s what they thought.’ [OH1.2_024]

There are also examples in the Hoocak corpus with *horak* ‘to tell something’ in which the combination of reflexive marker plus possessive reflexive appear; similarly for verbs of thinking.

The examples discussed so far suggest that the partiality of the reflexive scenarios correlates with the type of reflexive construction. However, this is only a very loose tendency. We find also clear examples in the corpus where the reflexive scenario is partial, but it is still the canonical reflexive construction that is used. Compare the utterance in (22).

- (22) *Hegu ’eeja hamianqkšqna jaagu hegu higixgu na’ikje wagi’uňq jaagu*
paara hegu naqsura haqke niĭ howacip rokigunĭge.

hegu 'eeja hamj<ha>nqk=šqnq jaagu hegu hı-gixgu
 that_way there <1E.A>sit.on(OBJ.3SG)=only what that_way 1E.U-buck_off
nqq'i-kje wa<gi>'u=ra jaagu paa=ra
 try(SBJ.3SG)-FUT <APPL.BEN>do/be(SBJ.3SG)=DEF what nose=DEF
hegu nqqsu=ra hqqke nij ho-wacip
 that_way head=DEF NEG.IN water APPL.INESS-dump
roo<kii>gu-ni=ge
 <REFL>want(SBJ.3SG)-NEG.FIN=CAUSAL
 'Then I sat on her, and she was going to try to buck me off, but she didn't
 want to put her nose or head in the water.' (lit. '... but she did not want to
 put herself in the water with regard to the nose and the head.')[HOR086]

In (22), the actor is the 'horse', which is introduced in previous clauses of this text. The reflexive construction is used to express the situation that the horse did not want to put parts of its body ('nose and head') under the water. This clause has to be read literally: 'she didn't want to put herself under the water, the nose (and) the head'. The reflexive scenario is thus partial, but the canonical reflexivizer is used. From the perspective of the English translation, one would expect the possessive reflexive to mark the possession of the body parts ('nose'/'head').

5 Coreference of the subject with various semantic roles

5.1 Possessor

As has already been illustrated with a few examples (see 1, 12, 18, and 19 above), there is a possessive reflexive marker *kara-/kV/k-* [POSS.REFL] that indicates a possessive or other close relationship between the A argument and the U argument of the transitive verb. A canonical example from the text corpus would be (23).

- (23) BO:
- | | | | |
|-------------|-----------------|-----------------------|-----------------|
| <i>hegu</i> | <i>mijkeeja</i> | <i>mijnqkanqkšqnq</i> | <i>wiizukra</i> |
| hegu | mijk='eeja | mijnak-a=nak=šana | wiizuk=ra |
- that_way lie_down=there sit(SBJ.3SG)-0=POS.NTL=DECL gun=DEF
kurusgenqkšqnq
 Ø-Ø-ku-rusge=nak=šana
 OBJ.3SG-SBJ.3SG-POSS.REFL-clean.up=POS.NTL=DECL
 'He was sitting on his cot, he was cleaning his rifle.' [BF1006]

The transitive verb *rusgé* ‘to clean something’ has a [3SG] A argument and a [3SG] U argument; both are marked zero. The A argument ‘he’ is the topic of this stretch of discourse, the U argument indexes the NP ‘the rifle’, which is part of the clause. The [POSS.REFL] marker indicates the possessive relation between A and U. If the possessor of the U argument is not coreferent with the A argument, another construction has to be used. In Hoocak, usually the benefactive applicative *gi-* [APPL.BEN] is used. This form translates in English as ‘for someone’, but, in addition, the benefactive applicative systematically has a possessive meaning. Compare (24).

- (24) *'iih̥ra* *gigik'o*
 'ii-h̥j=ra \emptyset - \emptyset -*gi-gik'o*
 mouth-hair=DEF 3SG.U-3SG.A-APPL.BEN-scrape_off
 ‘He₁ shaves him₂.’ (lit. ‘He₁ shaves the beard for him₂.’, or ‘He₁ shaves his₂ beard.’) [PM XI:9]

The transitive verb *gik'o* ‘to scrape something off’ receives a second U argument, which is semantically a benefactive or a possessor. The actor shaves the beard for someone else, which always implies that this someone else is or may be the possessor of the beard. The beneficiary of the shaving is never coreferent with the actor (A argument), and it is this benefactive/possessor U argument that is in most cases pronominally marked on the verb. The interpretation of the beneficiary as possessor is always available with intransitive inactive verbs, as well as with transitive verbs, and does not depend on the patient U argument, i.e. does not presuppose that the patient U argument is a body part (cf. Helmbrecht 2003, 2021). This is demonstrated in (25).

- (25) a. *hi'é* ‘to find something’
 b. *hi-gi-'é* ‘to find something for someone’
 c. *wažqtíra* *h̥jgi'eenq*
 wažqtíre=ra hi-<-h̥j- \emptyset ->gí-'e=nq
 car-DEF <3SG.U_{PAT}-1E.U_{BEN}-3SG.A-3>APPL.BEN-find=DECL
 ‘He found the car for me.’/‘He found my car.’ (Helmbrecht 2003: 29)

Here, the patient U argument (‘the car’) is a 3rd person and thus zero marked. If the patient U argument were plural, the [OBJ.3PL] marker *wa-* would have been used. The beneficiary is licensed by the *gi-* applicative marker, and is likewise marked by a pronominal affix of undergoer paradigm. This beneficiary may always be interpreted as the possessor of the patient U argument (‘the car’), no matter if the patient U argument is a body part or not.

5.2 Locational participants

The two personal pronouns in Hoocak mentioned §2 are used only in certain focus constructions. They never fill argument positions of verbs or prepositions. In addition, Hoocak has no real adpositions, thus, construction like *She₁ saw a snake besides her₁* in English, where the pronominal complement of the preposition ‘besides’ is coreferent with the subject of the clause do not exist. However, locative U arguments exist, in particular if they are added to the argument frame of the verb by means of a locative applicative. One of these applicative markers is *ha-* [APPL.SUPESS], which can be translated as ‘on something’ ‘over something’ and the like. Together with the reflexivizer it is possible to mark coreference between the locative U argument and the A argument, as seen in (26).

- (26) *Kutei, nĭĭ haakipaxŭ!*
 kutei nĭĭ ha-ha-kii-paaxu
 INTJ(male) water APPL.SUPESS-1E.A-REFL-pour\1E.A
 ‘Oh, I poured water over myself.’ (Hartmann 2013: ex. 31)

There is a second locative applicative *ho-* [APPL.INESS] that is usually translated as ‘in something’, ‘into something’. With the reflexivizer and the locative inessive applicative, partial coreference is marked with the A argument; compare (27).

- (27) *Wanqā, nqācawara nĭĭ waakipaxu*
 wanqā nqācawa=ra nĭĭ ho-ha-kii-paaxu
 INTJ(female) ear=DEF water APPL.INESS-1E.A-REFL-pour\1E.A
 ‘I poured water into my ear.’ (Hartmann 2013: ex. 32)

Both examples have a non-reflexive meaning if the reflexivizer is dropped.

5.3 Benefactive/recipient

In addition to the above-mentioned locational applicatives, Hoocak has a benefactive applicative *gi-* [APPL.BEN] that introduces a beneficiary or recipient U argument into the argument frame of the verb. One could expect that this applicative marker may co-occur with the reflexivizer in the same manner as the locative applicatives co-occur with the reflexivizer, thus indicating coreference of the A argument with the benefactive/recipient U argument. Interestingly, this is not possible. I did not find a single instance of this combination in the entire Hoocak corpus (of more than 100 texts) and such a combination does not occur

on Hartmann's (2013) database of examples either. However, there are many instances in the corpus where the reflexivizer *kii-* alone has a beneficiary reading. See the following two examples.

- (28) *Žee maqşuŋ rakişuruxurukikjane,* *hijge.*
žee maqşuŋ ra-kii-şu-ruxuruk-i-kjane *hi<hi>ge*
 that feather 2.A-REFL-2.A-accomplish-0-FUT <1E.A>say.to(SBJ.3SG)
 ‘‘You’ll earn yourself a feather,’’ he said to me.’ [BOF061]
- (29) *Heesge ha’u woorák te’e hegu hakurukézixji*
heesge ha-’uŋ woorak te’e hegu ha-kurukezi=xji
 that’s_why 1E.A-do/make story this that_way 1E.A-hold_highly=INTS
yaakíre.
hi<ha-kii->re
 <1E.A-REFL>think
 ‘That’s why I thought I would bring out this story.’ (lit. ‘That’s why I did it, I bring this story, I thought it for myself.’) [WIL134]

In both cases, the *kii-* [REFL] marker produces a kind of autobenefactive meaning. The U argument in both utterances is not identical with the A argument, but a kind of third participant is introduced that is the beneficiary of the action. In (28), it is the addressee of the direct speech of the grandfather of the speaker; in (29), it is the speaker himself, but he is not the patient U of the verb *hiré* ‘to think something’. Note that the double marking of the 2nd person A in (28) has nothing to do with reflexivity and is just a peculiarity of the morphology of the Hoocak verb.

6 Coreference between non-subject arguments

Hoocak does not have adpositional phrases (as clausal adjuncts) containing free personal pronouns or reflexive pronouns. Thus, constructions like *He spoke with John₁ about himself₁*, or *She told us₁ about ourselves₁* do not exist. The only way to express these states of affairs in Hoocak is to split these clauses in two such that the verbal predicate is repeated: *He spoke with/to John, and he spoke about him.*

7 Contrast between object and nominal adpossessor

Hoocak has no possessive pronouns. Instead, Hoocak has two kinds of external possessor marking, one with the possessive reflexive marker, and one with the

benefactive applicative. The possessive reflexive is used when the referent of A is, at the same time, the possessor of U (see 23 above). The benefactive applicative is used if the possessor of U is someone else (see 24–25 above). Another construction that allows expressing that the possessor of U is different than A is the NP-internal possessive construction with *hani*. Contrast the two following examples, (30a–30b).

- (30) a. *nijkjâk waakâragigÿssâna*
nijkjâk wa-ha-kâra-gigÿs=šâna
 child OBJ.3PL-1EA-POSS.REFL-teach-DECL
 ‘I₁ taught my₁ children.’
 b. *nijkjâk waanîna* *waagigÿssâna*
nijkjâk wa-ha-Ø-nî=ra *wa-ha-gigÿs=šâna*
 child OBJ.3PL-OWN-SBJ.3SG-OWN=DEF OBJ.3PL-1EA-teach=DECL
 ‘I₁ teach his₂ children.’ [DL XXIII:3]

The first one (30a) employs the possessive reflexive indicating that A is the possessor of U. The second one (30b) is used because the possessor of U is not A, but someone else. The construction is a kind of NP-internal possessive construction with a fully inflected transitive verb *hani* 'to own something' that is nominalized with the definite article. The NP can be translated literally as 'child(ren)₁ (that) he owns them₁'.

8 Contrast between exact and inclusive coreference

Exact coreference between a 3rd person A and a coreferent 3rd person U is expressed with the reflexivizer *kii-* as in (2a) above. On the other hand, there is no easy and direct way to express inclusive coreference of the type *She₁ sees herself and the others_{1+x}*. The reason is, again, that Hoocąk has no free personal pronouns or free reflexive pronouns that can enter into a syntactic coordination with ‘pro and the others’.

9 Long distance coreference

Reflexive marking (reflexivizer, reflexive possessive) is restricted to the clausal domain. There is no special construction in Hoocak indicating coreference of, for instance, subject arguments across clause boundaries, as can be found in

complement clauses of the type *She₁ thought that she₁ had enough money*. However, Hoocak allows the suspension of person indexing of the S/A arguments in the complement clause if this argument is coreferent with one of the arguments S/A/U) of the matrix clause; see for instance (31) below.

- (31) *woorák te'é, hiperés naqni'igé,* *'eesgé*
 [woorák te'é hiperés naq<nij-gi>'i=ge] [*'eesgé*
 [story this know <1&2-APPL.BEN>want=CAUSAL] [thus
wáa'únq.
 wa<ha>'uq=na]
 <1E.A>be/do=DECL]
 'Because I wanted you to know this story, I did this.' [CHT064b]

The embedded transitive verb *hiperes* 'know' is not marked for the A argument which should be a 2nd person A argument that is at the same time the U argument of the matrix verb *naq'i* 'to attempt something, to want something'. The verb *hiperés* 'to know something' of the complement clause is still a finite verb; it still inflects for the U argument (i.e. a zero affix here). This is thus a construction that signals coreference, but since it has no special form, it is not a reflexive construction.

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Abbreviations

This chapter follows the Leipzig Glossing Rules (Comrie et al. 2008). Additional abbreviations used are:

0	epenthetic vowel	CAUSAL	causal
APPL.INESS	inessive applicative prefix	COLL	collective marker
APPL.INST	instrumental applicative	CONT	continuative
APPL.SUPES	superessive applicative prefix	CTV	complement taking verb
ASSUMP	assumptive	DIM	diminutive
		DUB	dubitative
		EMPH	emphatic
		E	exclusive

FREQ	frequentative	POS.NTL	be (sitting/neutral position)
HAB	habitual		
HYP	hypothetical	POS.VERT	be (standing/vertical position)
IMP.POST	delayed imperative		
INC	inclusive	POT	potential
INFER	inferential	PROP	proper name marker
INTJ	interjection	R	recipient
INTS	intensifier	RDP	reduplication
ITER	iterative	S _A	intransitive (actor) subject
NEG.FIN	final negator	SEQ	sequential
NEG.IN	initial negator	SIM	simultaneous
OPT	optative	SIM/LOC	simultaneity/locative
ORD	ordinal numbers	S _U	intransitive (undergoer) subject
POS.HOR	be (lying/horizontal position)	T	theme
		U	undergoer patient

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