

# Deriving Subject-Oriented Reflexivity\*

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## 1 Introduction

- In a great many languages, **certain grammatical phenomena arise when a predicate's reflexivity is subject-oriented**
  - ↳ **Local Subject-Oriented Reflexivity (LSOR)** is overtly marked in the morpho-syntax, in a wide range of languages
  - ↳ e.g., **Danish *sig selv*** (Scandinavian; Vikner 1985), **Finnish *itse*** (Uralic; van Steenberg 1991), **Japanese *zibunzisin*** (Altaic; Katada 1991), **Kannada *-kol*** (Dravidian; Lidz 1996), **Lakhota *ic'i-*** (Siouan; Charnavel 2009), **Romance *se/si*** (Kayne 1975, Burzio 1986, Sportiche 2010), **Russian *sebe*** (Slavic; Timberlake 1979), **Shona *zvi-*** (Niger-Congo; Storoshenko 2009), ...

### Puzzle #1

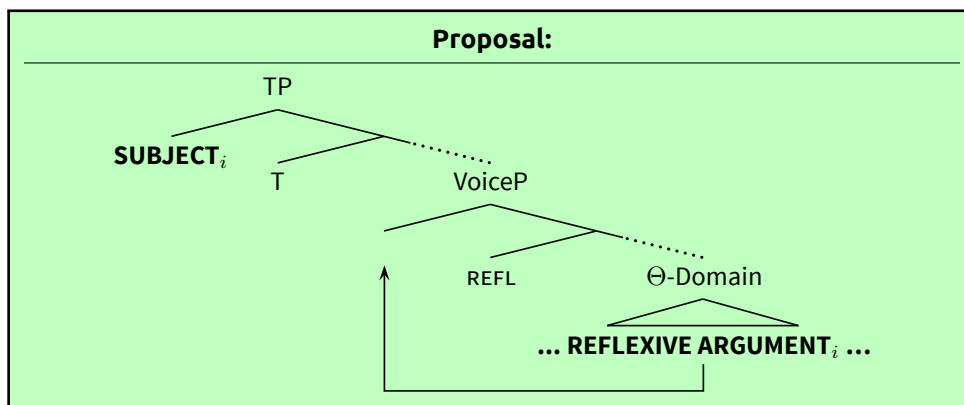
What makes subjects relevant for LSOR?

- However for these same languages, not all subjects can license LSOR
  - ↳ Notably passive/raised subjects cannot license LSOR (e.g. Burzio 1986, Kayne 1975, Lidz 1996, Sportiche 2010, Storoshenko 2009)

### Puzzle #2

Why can only some subjects license LSOR?

- Reflexives anaphors move near to the subject, in cases of LSOR
  - ↳ To derive when this movement occurs and why, I appeal to a reflexive VoiceP,  $REFL$
  - ↳ The formal properties of  $REFL$  will provide a solution to these puzzles and provide insight into other phenomena, across languages



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## 2 Previous Approaches

- **Well-established theories of reflexivity either cannot or do not make any distinction between binding by a subject and binding by a non-subject**

- ↳ Co-argument theories (e.g. Reinhart and Reuland 1993) and other valency-reducing theories (e.g. Bach and Partee 1980, Keenan 1988) provide no means to refer to structural notions such as subjecthood at all
- ↳ Canonical binding theories place constraints on anaphors, and not their antecedents
- ↳ **This has been seen as a benefit:** not all languages seem to mark LSOR

- (1) a. Ken<sub>k</sub> assigned Angie<sub>j</sub> to herself<sub>j</sub>.
- b. Ken<sub>k</sub> assigned Angie<sub>j</sub> to himself<sub>k</sub>.

- ↳ If not all languages make the distinction, perhaps the derivation for LSOR really is just a special case of the way reflexivity is derived in general

- **LSOR, when modeled, is usually derived by movement**, so as to put the anaphor in the subject's local domain

- ↳ "...the most prominently defended mechanism for explaining the crosslinguistic variety of locality conditions on anaphors has been to posit (covert) movement to the more local domain." (Safir 2004:7)
- ↳ The proposed reflexive-movement has been proposed to be independent of whatever conditions license reflexives
- ↳ Movement seems right: it derives the fact that **LSOR is ruled out when the bound argument is licensed in an island** that excludes the subject

- (2) a. Lucie s' est vu (French)  
 Lucie LSOR PERF seen  
 'Lucie saw herself.'
- b. Lucie a compté cinq touristes en dehors d' elle-même/Alan  
 Lucie PERF counted five tourists outside of herself /Alan  
 'Lucie counted five tourists outside of herself/Alan.'
- c. \* Lucie s' est compté(e) cinq touristes en dehors  
 Lucie LSOR PERF counted five tourists outside  
 Intended: 'Lucie counted five tourists outside of herself.'
- d. \* Qui a Lucie compté cinq touristes en dehors de  
 Who PERF Lucie counted five tourists outside of  
 Intended: 'Lucie counted five tourists outside of who?'

- But a purely movement-based approach to deriving subject oriented reflexivity **overgenerates**

- ↳ Any subject should be able to license LSOR, but **derived subjects do not license LSOR** (e.g. subjects in passive/raising clauses; Kayne 1975, Burzio 1986, Lidz 1996, Sportiche 2010, Storošenko 2009)

- (3) a. hari tann-annu hoDe-du-koND-a (Kannada, Lidz 1996)  
 Hari self -ACC hit -PP-LSOR-3SM  
 'Hari hit himself'
- b. hari (tann-age) santooshaagiruwaage kaNis-utt -aane  
 Hari (self -DAT) be.happy seem-PRES-3SM  
 'Hari seems (to himself) to be happy'
- c. \* hari (tann-age) santooshaagiruwaage kaNis-koll -utt -aane  
 Hari (self -DAT) be.happy seem-LSOR-PRES-3SM  
 Intended: 'Hari seems to himself to be happy'

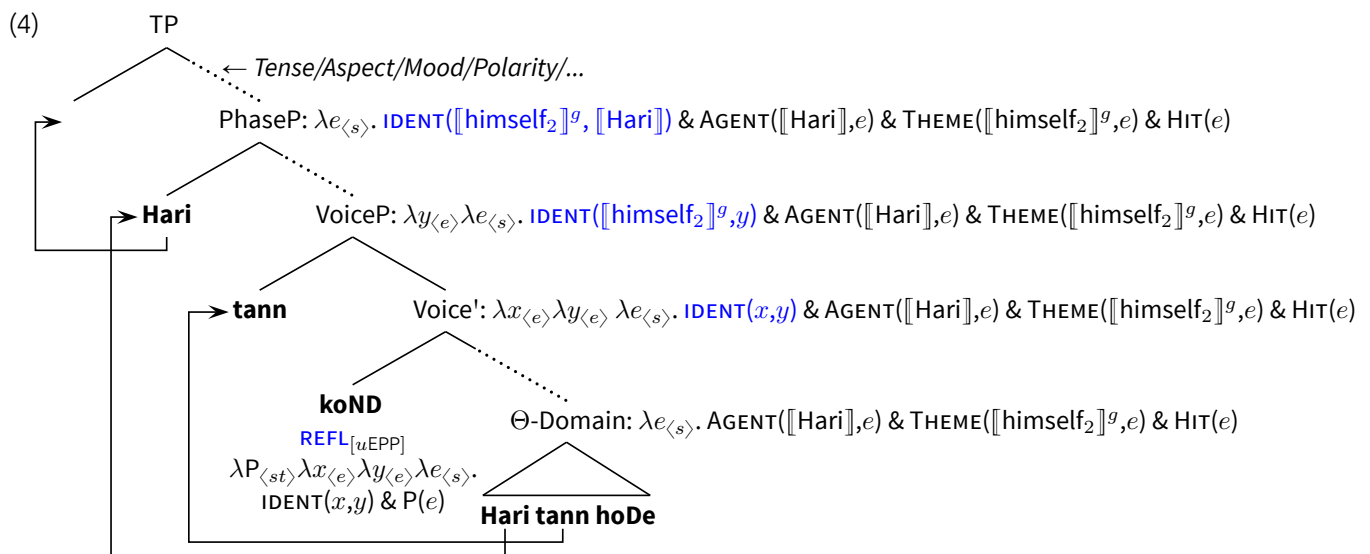
### LSOR requires another approach

Coargument/valency-reducing theories cannot distinguish subjects from non-subjects

Existing movement theories incorrectly predict all subjects could license LSOR

### 3 Reflexive Voice

- Question: is LSOR dependent on a notion of subjecthood along the lines of S-structure or D-structure?
  - ↳ If LSOR needs a D-subject, a D-subject in a passive (e.g. a by-phrase) should be able to license LSOR
    - ↳ Not true: the by-phrase subjects cannot license LSOR
  - ↳ If LSOR needs a S-subject, any derived subject should be able to license LSOR
    - ↳ Not true: derived subjects cannot license LSOR
  - ↳ **The LSOR subject must be subject both at S-structure and D-structure (Sportiche 2010)**
- Grammatical voice is what controls whether or not the S-subject is also the D-subject
  - ↳ It follows that **LSOR and its effects are derived by a special grammatical voice, REFL**
    - ↳ The idea of a reflexive grammatical voice has a long history in philology
    - ↳ Reflexive verbal morphology and morphology for other grammatical voices (e.g. Passive, Medio-passive, Middle, Antipassive, etc.) overlap in a great many languages (Geniušienė 1987, Lidz 1996)
  - ↳ Syntactically, **REFL is situated just outside the thematic domain**
    - ↳ Just as other grammatical voices, such as passive (e.g. Harley 2012)
    - ↳ It is endowed with an EPP feature that attracts LSOR reflexive arguments
  - ↳ Semantically, **REFL coidentifies two arguments**
    - ↳ The reflexive anaphor and the subject
    - ↳ This is semantic reflexivity
- Here is the (relevant portion of the) derivation for (3a):



- The semantic effects of REFL arise due to the positions in which the the subject and reflexive argument are merged
  - ↳ Binding between e.g. a direct object and an indirect object cannot employ REFL
  - ↳ Only the subject is in a position to saturate the second of IDENT's arguments
  - ↳ **This solves Puzzle #1**
- **This also solves Puzzle #2**
  - ↳ Derived subjects are ruled out as licensers of LSOR
    - ↳ They require some other (non-Active, non-REFL) Voice to become subject (Sailor and Ahn 2010)
    - ↳ Merging this other Voice<sup>0</sup> would be in direct competition with merging a REFL Voice<sup>0</sup>
  - ↳ The reflexive argument must be able to move to VoiceP
    - ↳ This requires that it not be merged in an island not containing VoiceP

**REFL solves our original puzzles, due to:**

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(i) the its **structural height**,  
 (ii) the **subject's movement** through the phase edge,  
 and (iii) **semantic composition**

## 4 Subject Oriented Reflexivity Across Languages

- Does the REFL Voice head / LSOR play a grammatical role in languages that lack overt morpho-syntactic marking?
  - ↳ Yes – even though English LSOR appears morpho-syntactically identical to non-LSOR
  - ↳ **Ahn (in progress) shows English LSOR anaphors differ prosodically**
  - ↳ LSOR anaphors do not bear phrasal stress where other words/anaphors do: (Ahn 2012a)
 

(5) a. Liz embárrassed <u>herself</u> . b. Liz embarrassed <u>Jáck</u> . c. Liz embarrassed Jack and <u>hersélf</u> .	(6) a. Ken assigned <u>Ángie</u> to <u>himself</u> . b. Ken assigned Angie to <u>Trácy</u> . c. Ken assigned Angie to <u>hersélf</u> .
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  - ↳ LSOR anaphors can be focused to allow a focused-reflexivity interpretation: (Ahn 2012b)
 

(7) Q: Who assigned Angie to Ken? A1: <b>Jáck</b> assigned Angie to Ken. A2: Ken assigned Angie to <u>himsélf</u> .	(8) Q: Who did Ken assign to Angie? A1: Ken assigned <b>Jáck</b> to Angie. A2: #Ken assigned Angie to <u>hersélf</u> .
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  - ↳ Non-LSOR reflexives **do** bear phrasal stress (5c,6c) and cannot be focused to allow a focused-reflexivity interpretation (8A2)
  - ↳ This provides further evidence that VoiceP is within the same phase as the  $\Theta$ -Domain (cf. Legate 2003)
  - ↳ More must be said to derive these facts, including the appropriate linearization (see Ahn 2012a, 2012b, in progress)
- Either or both of the reflexive Voice<sup>0</sup> and the anaphor that moves to VoiceP may be silent
- Thus the morpho-syntactic configurations of **LSOR may employ...**
  - ↳ an overt verbal affix (i.e. Voice head morpheme; e.g. Lakhota, Shona),
  - ↳ an overtly moving reflexive anaphor (i.e. e.g. Danish, Romance),
  - ↳ both (e.g. Kannada), or
  - ↳ neither (e.g. English)
- **Across languages, LSOR does not pattern uniformly as either active or non-active**
  - ↳ This is predicted: LSOR is controlled by a unique grammatical Voice, but not every grammatical Voice requires its own morphological paradigms (Alexiadou and Doron 2012)
  - ↳ Consider this very small typology with a small set of Voice<sup>0</sup>s:

	Passive Voice <sup>0</sup>	Middle Voice <sup>0</sup>	Refl. Voice <sup>0</sup>	Active Voice <sup>0</sup>
<b>English</b>	non-active morph.		active morph.	
<b>Greek</b>		non-active morph.		active morph.
<b>Finnish</b>	N/A <sup>1</sup>	middle morph.	reflexive morph.	active morph.

↳ Beyond Voice morphology, LSOR clauses also exhibit other morphological patterns that may pattern with actives, non-actives, or distinctly

	patterns like actives	patterns like non-actives	patterns distinctly
<b>Voice morphology</b>	English	Greek	Finnish, Kannada
<b>Agreement morphology</b>	Chickasaw	Lakhota	Bantu
<b>Auxiliary selection</b>	German	French	

<sup>1</sup>Finnish is said to have a passive – but the external argument is obligatorily absent such a voice, so I assume that this is in fact a middle voice. It is certain that the number of Voice<sup>0</sup>s is much greater, and it might be that the Finnish “passive” is neither what I have marked as pass nor what I have marked as mid.

## 5 Conclusion

**Subject Oriented Reflexivity exhibits the patterns that it does simply as a result of the general architecture of Language**

↳ i.e. that subjects – and only certain subjects – license LSOR

**Subject-orientation appears a core property of predicate-level reflexivization, across all languages**

↳ It is not simply a special-case of normal binding conditions

↳ Languages that do not obviously mark LSOR (English) still employ the REFL Voice

↳ More careful investigation may be required to uncover its effects

**The heterogeneous morpho-syntactic strategies for marking LSOR are due to REFL being a unique grammatical Voice**

↳ Morpho-syntactic properties can distribut

## 6 Open Questions

- What about other, non-LSOR reflexives?
  - ↳ (Subject-oriented) long-distance reflexives
  - ↳ Non-subject-oriented local reflexives
  - ↳ Logophoric reflexives
  - ↳ (See Sportiche 2012)
- What is the underpinning of different grammatical voices sharing morpho-syntactic paradigms?
  - ↳ Accidental homophony?
  - ↳ Feature underspecification?
  - ↳ Something else?

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