

Explorations of Voice, Identity and the Self*

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0 Roadmap

I will present some **novel data** that motivate a **new theory of reflexives** (in English), and show how this new theory can **derive when strict and sloppy readings are available** under ellipsis

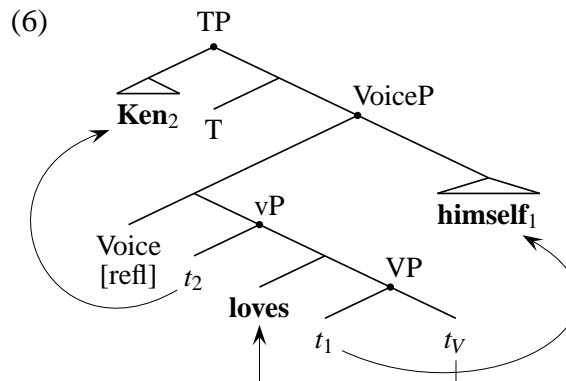
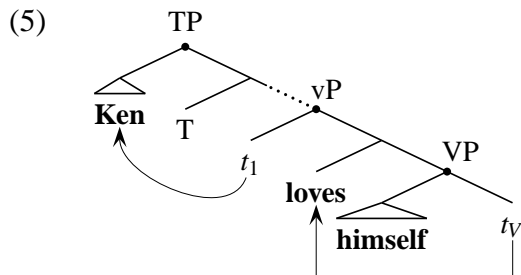
- **Hypothesis:** English has **two, syntactically-distinct reflexive anaphors**:
 - one is **subject-oriented** and is predicated upon a **reflexive Voice⁰** (**clausal reflexive, CR**)
 - the other is an **elsewhere case** (**non-CR**)
- (1) a. Marie kept accidentally *injuring* **herself**.
b. Marie kept accidentally injuring John and *herself*.
- The **distribution of strict readings** supports this reflexive Voice⁰ hypothesis
 - reflexive arguments can yield strict readings under ellipsis, but only sometimes
 - reflexive/active Voice-mismatch (=strict reading) is disallowed in all cases where an active/passive Voice-mismatch is disallowed
- (2) a. Henry_j *defended* himself_j {because/?*and} Anne_k *didn't* [~~defend him_j~~].
b. Liz was Ø_{PASS} rewarded by *Peter*, {because/?*and} *Jack* *didn't* Ø_{ACT} [~~reward Liz~~].
- Slightly **different sizes of VP-ellipsis** derive Strict and Sloppy readings
 - VP-ellipsis size needs to be flexible anyway
- (3) a. *Tracy* should have been punished every time *Jenna* should have been [~~punished~~].
b. *Tracy* should have been punished every time *Jenna* should have [~~been-punished~~].
- successfully predicts that VP-ellipsis cannot take place in a reflexive clause with an active antecedent

1 Reflexives

- Existing analyses of (English-like) reflexive clauses are **rather varied** (Chomsky 1981, 1986, Pollard and Sag 1992, Reinhart and Reuland 1993, Hornstein 2001, *inter alia*)
 - But, most would to **share an S-structure representation** of (4), one like (5)

*I would like to thank everyone who has given me their time in helping me work through this problem, especially my advisors, Dominique Sportiche and Sun-Ah Jun, as well as Elsi Kaiser, Laura Kalin, Hilda Koopman, Robyn Orfitelli, Craig Sailor, Tim Stowell, Maziar Toosarvandani, Lauren Winans, the UCLA syntax/semantics seminar, and anyone who has lent an ear or judgment to this project.

(4) Ken loves himself.



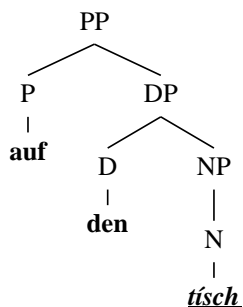
- However, the structure must be more like (6) (Ahn 2011, In Progress)
 - reflexive anaphors **originate in the relevant theta position**
 - they **move in the narrow syntax**, licensing reflexivity (reflexive-marking the predicate)
 - this predicts/derives a whole host of **prosodic facts**

2 Clausal Reflexives and Voice

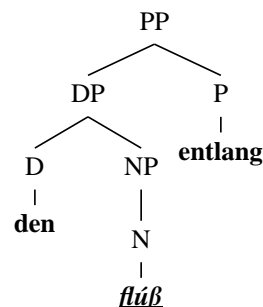
2.1 Nuclear Pitch Accents

- Nuclear Pitch Accents (NPAs; a.k.a. Nuclear Stress) track the most embedded constituent of the structure,¹ as Cinque (1993) argues with data such as (7)–(8):

(7) auf [den tisch]
on the table



(8) [den flúß] entlang
the river along



- The **CR** does not bear the NPA (9b), unlike other objects like (9c):

(9) A: What happened last night?

a. B: Emma was talking to herself quietly.

(NPA on the low adverb)

b. B: Emma was talking to herself.

(No NPA on the reflexive)

c. B: Emma was talking to Jéan.

(NPA on the object)

- But this **cannot** be simply because of anything to the effect of “anaphoric elements avoid pitch accents” (as Bresnan 1971, Kahnemuyipour 2009, a.o. might advocate), because...

¹Within a relevant domain. See (Stowell, *forthcoming*) for evidence from adverbials that this domain is roughly equal to Cinque (1999)’s VolitionalP.

- Reflexives in the same apparent position **do** bear the NPA, if...

- ...the reflexive is **in an island** (10b), or
- ...the reflexive is **non-subject-oriented** (11b).

- (10) A: What happened last night?
- a. B: Emma was talking to Jean and *herself* quietly. (NPA on the low adverb)
 - b. B: Emma was talking to Jean and *hersélf*. (NPA on the reflexive)
 - c. B: Emma was talking to *herself* and Jéan. (NPA on the object)
- (11) A: What happened last night?
- a. B: Emma showed Scott *himself* snéakily. (NPA on the low adverb)
 - b. B: Emma showed Scott *himsélf*. (NPA on the reflexive)
 - c. B: Emma showed Scott Jéan. (NPA on the object)

The inability of a reflexive to bear NPA depends on: (i) being subject-oriented and (ii) being able to, in principle, move

2.2 Realizing External Argument Focus on a Reflexive

- Any theory of Question-Answer Congruence (e.g. Halliday 1967, Rooth 1992, Selkirk 1996, Schwarzschild 1999, a.o.) predicts that the answer to a wh-question bears the semantic and prosodic focus:

- (12) A: Who was talking to Emma?
- a. B: Jéan was talking to Emma.
 - b. B: Émma was talking to Emma.

- When the **CR** is used, the anaphor must bear focus in response to an external-argument question (9b):

- (13) A: Who was talking to Emma?
- a. B: Emma was talking to *hersélf*.
 - b. #B: Émma was talking to *herself*.

- **Non-CRs** do **not** behave this way, e.g. when inside an island (14a) or when non-subject-oriented (15a):

- (14) A: Who was talking to Scott and Emma?
- a. #B: Emma was talking to Scott and *hersélf*.
 - b. B: Émma was talking to Scott and Emma.

- (15) A: Who did Angie introduce __ to Ken?
- a. #B: Angie introduced Ken to *himsélf*.
 - b. B: Angie introduced Kén to Ken.

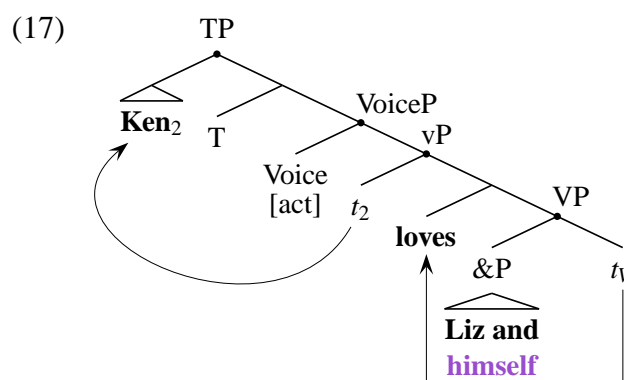
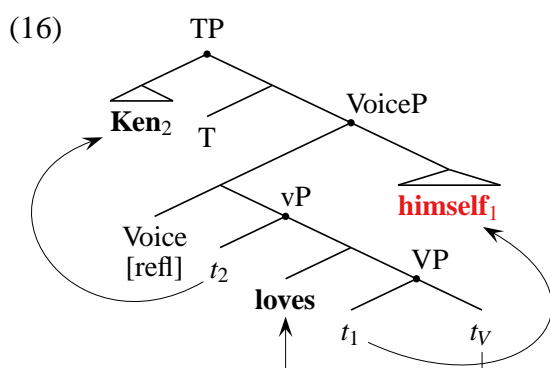
- For an analysis of how and why this focus placement is predicted under this kind of theory, see Ahn (2011)

The ability of a reflexive to bear focus to answer an external argument question depends on: (i) being subject-oriented, and (ii) being able to, in principle, move

2.3 Analysis: Twin Reflexives

- Twin Reflexives

- English has **two** reflexive anaphors, which are **segmentally homophonous**
 - ▶ **Clausal Reflexives (CRs)** are **subject-oriented** and exhibit curious **prosodic properties** (16)
 - ▶ If the reflexive has a **non-subject antecedent** or is **in an island**, a **non-CR** is used (17)
- **CRs** involve a **reflexive VoiceP**
 - ▶ Voice⁰ merges with the theta-domain; it is the **pivot for the surface argument structure**² (cf. Voice⁰ as defined in Kratzer 1996, Ahn and Sailor To appear)
 - the **theta domain is fixed** for any clause (active/passive/reflexive/etc.)
 - **Voice⁰ is a set of instructions** which (partially) derives surface constituency
 - ▶ This reflexive Voice⁰ bears an EPP-feature for an anaphor, to license the reflexivity



- Movement to a reflexive Voice⁰ derives:

- the **CR's subject-orientation**
 - ▶ the closest binder will always be the TP subject
- the **CR's inability to be generated in islands**
 - ▶ they need to be able to move
- **CRs are impossible in passive clauses** (Ahn 2011; Burzio 1986, Sportiche 2011 for Romance)
 - ▶ because reflexive and passive Voice⁰s are in complementary distribution

English has two syntactically distinct reflexives, one of which is derived by a reflexive Voice⁰

²Throughout this handout, I do not follow an antisymmetric framework (Kayne 1994) for presentational reasons. As for what is being asserted here, nothing crucial seems to hinge on this, though ultimately it seems an antisymmetric account will capture certain facts better.

3 Voice and Identity

- Given this account of **clausal reflexivity**, we make some strong predictions about interpretive possibilities in ellipsis

3.1 Identity Background Check

- Any theory of ellipsis operates on eliding certain material by finding an appropriately³ **identical antecedent** (e.g. Merchant 2001, and references therein)
 - There is evidence that this identity is partially computed...
 - ▶ ...semantically (e.g. Fiengo and May 1994, Merchant 2001)
 - ▶ ...syntactically (e.g. Chung et al. 1995, Merchant 2007, Chung 2011), **and**
 - ▶ ...pragmatically (e.g. Kehler 2002, Hardt and Romero 2004)
- Merchant (2007): the **Voice⁰s must be identical** when Voice⁰ is within the ellipsis site
 - Sluicing (18a) and Gapping (18b) elide Voice⁰ and disallow active/passive Voice-mismatch, unlike VP-Ellipsis
 - **conclusion**: Voice⁰ must survive ellipsis in VP-ellipsis
- Kehler (2002): **voice must be identical** when the two clauses are parallel and coordinated (Resemblance)
 - Voice-mismatch across antecedent/ellipsis clauses under a Resemblance relation (18c) is impossible
 - it is fine when the clauses are under any other Coherence relation, as in (18d)
- these constraints **predict the (un)acceptability of passive/active mismatches** below:
 - (18) a. Lea should be hugged today, but **by who(m)** [~~should she be hugged~~]?
*Lea should be hugged today, but **who** [~~should hug her~~]?
b. Lea should be hugged today by Tim, and **Chris** [~~should be hugged~~] **by Jane**.
*Lea should be hugged today by Tim, and **Jane** [~~should hug~~] **Chris**.
c. Lea should be hugged today by Tim, and **she won't be** [~~hugged~~].
*Lea should be hugged today by Tim, and ***he won't** [~~hug her~~].
d. Lea should be hugged today by Tim, even though **she won't be** [~~hugged~~].
Lea should be hugged today by Tim, even though **he won't** [~~hug her~~].

Voice⁰-mismatch between the antecedent and ellipsis clauses cannot occur when:
(i) Voice⁰ is elided (e.g. in Sluicing or Gapping), or (ii) the clauses are in a Resemblance relation

3.2 (Some) Strict readings as Voice Mismatch

- **Reflexive arguments can yield strict readings** under ellipsis (contra, e.g., Williams 1977, Partee and Bach 1981, Bouchard 1984, Lebeaux 1985, Kitagawa 1991)
 - ...but only **sometimes** (e.g. Fox 1993, Fiengo and May 1994, Hestvik 1995, Kehler 2002)

³The antecedent for Sluicing, Gapping, and VP-ellipsis must be linguistic, but at the same time, some anaphoric processes (deep anaphora) do not require a linguistic antecedent (Hankamer and Sag 1976). I only concern myself with processes that require linguistic antecedents here.

- a strict reading with **CRs** is available **whenever Voice mismatch is possible**

(19) **Strict/Sloppy**, reflexive Voice antecedent (**CR**)

- Lea_j* [will hug *herself_j* today]. And *who else_k* [~~will hug *themselves_k* today~~]?
- **Lea_j* [will hug *herself_j* today]. And *who else_k* [~~will hug *her_j* today~~]?
- Lea_j* [will hug *herself_j* *today*], and *Jane_k* [~~will hug *herself_k* *tomorrow*~~].
- **Lea_j* [will hug *herself_j* *today*], and *Jane_k* [~~will hug *her_j* *tomorrow*~~].
- Lea_j* will [hug *herself_j* today], and *Jane_k* won't [~~hug *herself_k* today~~].
- *?*Lea_j* will [hug *herself_j* today], and *Jane_k* won't [~~hug *her_j* today~~].
- Lea_j* will [hug *herself_j* today], even though *Jane_k* won't [~~hug *herself_k* today~~].
- Lea_j* will [hug *herself_j* today], even though *Jane_k* won't [~~hug *her_j* today~~].

- (19a,b) disallow strict reading, because sluicing and gapping elide Voice⁰
- (19c) disallows a strict reading, because Resemblance requires Voice⁰s to match
- this is **entirely parallel to active/passive mismatch** (un)grammaticality in (18)

- strict and sloppy readings are **both available with non-CRs** in the antecedent

(20) **Strict/Sloppy**, active Voice antecedent (**non-CR**)

- Lea_j* [will hug Tim & *herself_j* today]. And *who else_k* [~~will hug Tim & *themselves_k* *her_j* *today*~~]?
- Lea_j* [will hug Tim & *herself_j* *today*], and *Jane_k* [~~will hug Tim & *herself_k* *her_j* *tomorrow*~~].
- Lea_j* will [hug Tim & *herself_j* today], and *Jane_k* won't [~~hug Tim and *herself_k* *her_j* *today*~~].
- Lea_j* will [hug Tim & *herself_j* today], even though *Jane_k* won't [~~hug Tim & *herself_k* *her_j* *today*~~].

(21) **Strict/Sloppy**, active Voice antecedent (**non-CR**)

- Lea_j* [will hug people like *herself_j* today]. And *who else_k* [~~will hug people like *themselves_k* *her_j* *today*~~]?
- Lea_j* [will hug people like *herself_j* *today*], and *Jane_k* [~~will hug people like *herself_k* *her_j* *tomorrow*~~].
- Lea_j* will [hug people like *herself_j* today], and *Jane_k* won't [~~hug people like *herself_k* *her_j* *today*~~].
- Lea_j* will [hug people like *herself_j* today], even though *Jane_k* won't [~~hug people like *herself_k* *her_j* *today*~~].

- strict readings are possible in cases like (20)–(21), with **non-CRs**, **inasmuch as vehicle change is grammatical (Fiengo and May 1994)**⁴

- ▶ **vehicle change** allows for the following: “in a reconstruction, a nominal can take any syntactic form so long as its indexical structure (type and value) is unchanged” (Fiengo and May 1994:218)
- ▶ e.g. “himself” in the antecedent may be reconstructed as “him” in the ellipsis site; and “his” may reconstruct as “their”

Strict readings pattern like active/passive Voice⁰-mismatch
with regard to Sluicing/Gapping/VP-Ellipsis, as well as Coherence relations

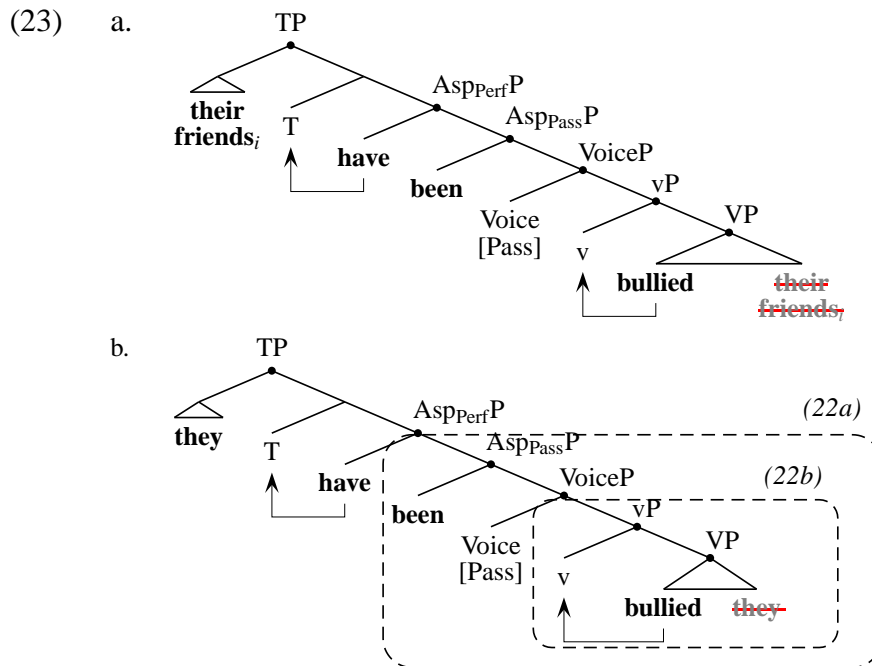
⁴There seems to be speaker-variation as to when vehicle change can apply.

4 A Syntactic Solution

4.1 Size of Ellipsis Sites

Ellipsis sites can expand – for the same ellipsis operation – under identity⁵

- (22) a. Their friends have been \emptyset_{PASS} bullied and they have [~~been \emptyset_{PASS}~~ ~~bullied~~] too. (<http://goo.gl/LsmK7>)
 b. Their friends have been \emptyset_{PASS} bullied and they have been \emptyset_{PASS} [~~bullied~~] too.



- Merchant (2007) predicts (22b) as the VP-ellipsis site
 - This is what allows Voice-mismatch – Voice⁰ isn't actually elided
- But he doesn't discuss what happens in Voice-match contexts
 - as (22a) exhibits, when identity holds, you can expand the VP-ellipsis domain
- but you cannot elide more, in mismatch cases

- (24) She had been \emptyset_{ACT} bullying their friends, because she had [~~*(been \emptyset_{PASS})~~ ~~bullied~~] too.

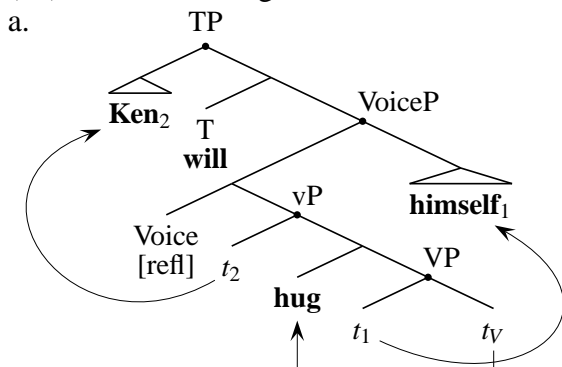
Ellipsis-sites seem to be able to grow, to allow (22a)
 but only when this doesn't create problems for identity

⁵Here the example is with auxiliaries; similar data can be found with adverbials.

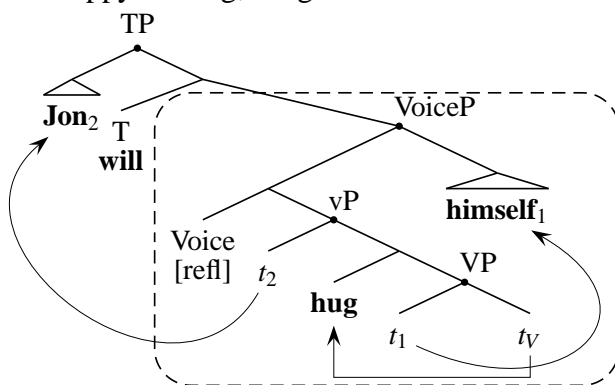
4.2 Deriving Strict and Sloppy

- Exploiting this, **sloppy readings are the reflex of eliding more** than strict readings
 - which necessarily elide less structure (to avoid Voice mismatch in the ellipsis domain)

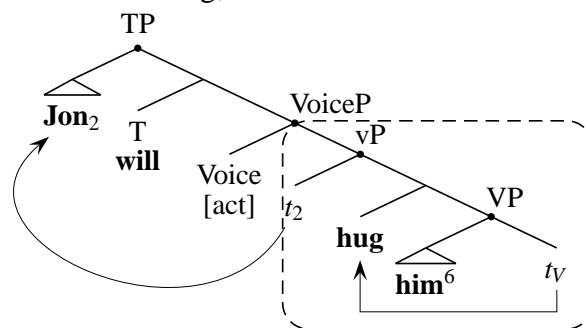
(25) Ken will hug himself. Then Jon will.



b. Sloppy reading; Larger VPE



c. Strict reading; Smaller VPE



- sloppy reading must be **larger ellipsis so that the reflexive won't survive ellipsis**
- strict reading **must not include Voice⁰** in the ellipsis site
 - vehicle change allows for “hug him” in (25c) to have an antecedent as “hug himself”

Sloppy reading must elide at least VoiceP, strict reading must not elide Voice⁰

⁶Assuming that weak pronouns move, it must be that they move to a position below Voice since the complement of Voice⁰ is what's elided (it is a mismatch case). Under an analysis like Cardinaletti and Starke (1999), movement of this type is intertwined with discourse-anaphoric properties of weak pronouns (and this pronoun must have an anaphoric dependency, in strict reading). It is not clear that this will help to derive any of the relevant facts here, but should perhaps be kept in mind.

4.3 Ruling out Active-Reflexive Voice-mismatch

- So, VP-ellipsis in an active clause can be licensed by a reflexive antecedent

(26) As for Bill, he will [\emptyset_{REFL} [humiliate t_x] himself_x] after Sue does [\emptyset_{ACT} [~~humiliate him~~]].

- But the opposite is impossible

(27) a. *As for Bill, Sue will [\emptyset_{ACT} [humiliate him]] before he does [\emptyset_{REFL} [~~humiliate t_x~~] himself_x].
 b. *As for Bill, Sue will [\emptyset_{ACT} [humiliate him]] before he does [~~\emptyset_{REFL} [~~humiliate t_x~~] himself_x~~].

- (27a) is ruled out because the reflexive would inappropriately survive ellipsis⁷
- (27b) is ruled out because the Voice⁰, which lacks an identical antecedent, is being elided

- We are then left to explain why (28) appears good

(28) As for Bill, Sue will humiliate him before he does ▲.

- Though (28) is grammatical, it isn't the case that the ellipsis site includes "himself"

- evidence for this comes from the unelided form, where a reflexive is infelicitous:⁸

(29) a. #As for Bill_j, Sue will humiliate him_j before he_j humiliates himself_j.
 b. As for Bill_j, Sue will humiliate him_j before he_j humiliates him_j.

- additionally focusing the reflexive would make (29a) felicitous
 - but such focus would prevent "himself" from eliding (Merchant 2001)

- Therefore, we never reconstruct a "himself" via vehicle change or any such operation (contra Fiengo and May 1994)

- doing so would be impossible for the syntax to deal with

Active clauses cannot antecede reflexive clauses in ellipsis for purely mechanical reasons

4.4 Further Support: Strict/Sloppy Readings in Finnish

- Finnish also has two reflexivization strategies:

- a verbal affix *-UtU-* (its exact form depends on vowel harmony)
- a reflexive pronoun, which is of the form *itse*-N

(30) a. Jussi puolusti Anna
 Jussi defend.PAST.3SG Anna
 ‘Jussi defended Anna’
 b. Jussi puolusti itse -ään
 Jussi defend.PAST.3SG self -3.GEN
 ‘Jussi defended himself’
 c. Jussi puolusta -utu -i
 Jussi defend -REFL -PAST
 ‘Jussi defended himself.’

⁷The string in (27a) is possible, but only as a case of pseudogapping. The latter remnant of pseudogapping must be focused, presumably because it has undergone movement to a focus position. Since *himself* is not focused in (27a) (no focus movement has occurred), it remains ungrammatical.

⁸(29b) is an apparent Principle B violation, though the focus on the antecedent seems to help overcome this issue.

- As noted by (Sells et al. 1987:178, fn.9), the *-UtU-* and *itse-N* reflexives behave differently with regard to availability of strict readings⁹
- Under ellipsis, the DP *itse-N* can freely have a **sloppy** or **strict** reading, like English **non-CRs**:

(31) Jussi puolusti itse -ään paremmin kuin Pekka
Jussi.NOM defend.PAST.3SG self -3SG.GEN better than Pekka.NOM
 John_j defends himself_j better than Peter_k does [~~defend himself_k / him_j~~].

- strict reading available
- because this contains a pronoun, vehicle change can take place

- But, if the antecedent contains *-UtU-*, there **cannot** be a **strict** reading, like English **CRs**:

(32) Jussi puolusta -utu -i paremmin kuin Pekka
Jussi.NOM defend -REFL -PAST better than Pekka.NOM
 John_j defends himself_j better than Peter_k does [~~defend himself_k / *him_j~~].

- perhaps *-UtU-* is the reflexive Voice head
 - ▶ this should be tested further
- if so, no Voice-mismatch (= strict reading) is possible, since it is elided in (32)

Finnish overtly shows when reflexive Voice⁰ is present; strict isn't possible when reflexive Voice elides

5 Conclusion

- There are two types of reflexives:
 - **clausal reflexives**: subject-oriented in active clauses
 - **non-clausal reflexives**: elsewhere case
- **Clausal reflexives** move to a reflexive VoiceP, deriving:
 - prosodic facts
 - island effects
 - subject-orientation
 - missing clausal reflexives in passives
- Moreover, reflexive Voice⁰ derives some strict reading in ellipsis
 - strict readings track **independently motivated constraints on voice-mismatch** in ellipsis
 - whenever **reflexive Voice⁰ is elided**, a **sloppy reading** necessarily arises
- Vehicle change is **constrained by the syntax** and what it can generate

⁹Special thanks to Elsi Kaiser, for these Finnish judgments.

6 Further Questions

- Why reflexive Voice⁰ at all? Why don't you always get **non-clausal reflexives**?
 - “Do the **extra movement** as much as the syntax lets you”
 - See also: weak/strong pronoun alternation (Cardinaletti and Starke 1999), object-shift-dependent specificity (Adger 1994, Rackowski and Richards 2005), possessor raising in Nez Perce (Deal 2011), etc.
 - Existing work (e.g. Safir 1996) suggests something similar for, e.g., French **se** and **lui-même**.
- How do Finnish reflexive markers line up with the other, non-strict/sloppy-related facts for **CRs** and **non-CRs** presented here?
 - Swahili *ji-* and *mw-enyewe*? Romance *se/se/si* and *lui-même/sí mismo/se stesso*? etc.
- How does this theory apply to the reflexive anaphor in other domains?
 - Can both **CRs** and **non-CRs** incorporate as *self*-?
 - Can both **CRs** and **non-CRs** be argument in non-verbal domains?
- What is the semantic contribution of *himself*, and what is constant across all of its instantiations?
 - e.g. **clausal reflexives**, **non-clausal reflexives**, inherent reflexives, emphatic reflexives, etc.

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