Unbound Reflexives

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Hillary R. Clinton said



Difference between Obama and MYSELF is that I am a woman.

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- In prescriptive grammar, unbound reflexives are normally regarded as incorrect forms produced by less educated persons or non-native speakers with low proficiency in English.
- However, exploring large English data reveals that even highly educated English native speakers (e.g. **Hillary R. Clinton**) sometimes use the form in speech.
- The present study delves into the distributional property of the forms, using the BYU corpora.
- Building upon the corpus-based findings, a grammar formalism can be developed.

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Unbound Reflexive Pronouns across Languages

- Unbound reflexives roughly refer to reflexive forms without a sentence-internal antecedent.
- Languages with Unbounded Reflexives
 - Norwegian (Lødrup, 2007)
 - Icelandic (Lundquist, 2014)
 - Korean, Japanese (Kang, 1988)
 - North Sami (Outakoski, 2003)
- Unbounded reflexive pronouns as a universal feature
 - There must be **specific conditions** for allowing reflexive pronouns to be locally unbound.
 - Unbound reflexives exist even in English.
 - The overt presentation of the expression may **vary greatly** between languages.

Unbound Reflexive Pronouns in COCA

- (1) a. My brother and **myself** didn't do drugs. (COCA:2011:SPOK:CNN_DrDrew)
 - Realists like Truman and Elsenhower understood that defending Europe and **ourselves** from the Soviets required a strong military. (COCA:2007:MAG:WashMonth)
 - c. He can not possibly refuse to marry in front of both the council and **yourself**. (COCA:2009:FIC:Read)
 - d. It is much better to wait and cook dinner at home for Lu and **herself**. (COCA:1992:FIC:Iris)
 - e. For the safety of the other crewmembers, and **himself**, he would be going back to Earth in a little over a week. (COCA:2010:FIC:Analog)

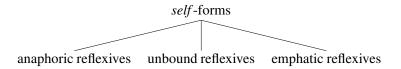
Proforms

- Anaphora: referring backwards
 - a linguistic entity which indicates a co-reference tie to another preceding linguistic entity in the same text
- ② Cataphora: referring forward
 - the use of an expression that depends on a postcedent expression
- Second Second
 - the reference of which is preset not directly in the linguistic context but in the situational context
- Logophora: non-clause-bounded reflexive pronouns
 - the binding relation that holds between a special class of pronouns and their antecedents
 - a point of view

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Three Types of Reflexives

- König and Gast (2000)
 - Unbound reflexives share features both with intensifiers and reflexive anaphors, but are also differentiated from these two categories in their distribution and their interpretation.



Taxonomy of Unbound Reflexive Pronouns

- Lange (2006:262)
 - Group' constructions: like/as well as/but/except himself
 - 2 Coordination: *myself and John*
 - Somparatives: taller than myself
 - Prepositional phrases: wrapping the cloak around himself

Representative Studies

• Minimal SC (Zribi-Hertz 1989)

- An unbound reflexive pronoun is allowed iff it refers back to a minimal subject of consciousness within the discourse.
 - the nearest available NP or combination of NPs which occurs in discourse to the left of the pronoun, and is read as **logophoric**
 - the speaker, the addressee, or a group including either one or both, whether or not explicitly mentioned in discourse.
- **Principle R** (Pollard and Sag 1992; Pollard and Xue 2001; Pollard 2005)
 - Every r-pronoun is either
 - coindexed with a local d-commander, or
 - interpreted according to certain pragmatic constraints involving logophoricity, contrastiveness, or discourse prominence.

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Logophoricity

- Typology (Clements 1975; Maling 1984; Curnow 2002)
 - Iogophoric pronouns
 - verbal markings of logophoricity
 - Iong-distance reflexive forms
- Discourse Representation Structure
 - Sells (1987): SOURCE, SELF, and PIVOT
 - Stirling (1993): one semantic role; namely, the epistemic validator

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Data Compilation

- COCA (1990-2015): basic analysis, genre analysis
- COHA (1810-2009): diachronic changes in modern English
- GloWbE (20 countries): regional analysis (Irish English)

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80,405
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Features

- Binding type
 - unbound
 - 2 anaphora
 - immediately before
 - Ø partially
 - genitive
 - 3 cataphora
 - immediately after
 - 2 partially
 - genitive
 - 🕘 etc.

- Sibling type
 - pronouns (PRO)
 - genitive forms with the same feature as the reflexive pronouns (SAME)
 - genitive forms with the different feature (DIFF)
 - the other nouns (NOUN)

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proper names (NAME)

Analysis

Proportion

Table: ¬anaphora					
TYPE	% out	of REFL			
1sg	2.43%	2.40%			
1pl	2.30%	2.4070			
2sg	1.27%	1.28%			
2pl	1.58%	1.2070			
3sg	0.56%	0.60%			
3pl	0.72%	0.0070			
total	0.9	9%			

Table: unbound				
TYPE	% out o	of REFL		
1sg	1.18%	1.11%		
1pl	0.90%	1.11/0		
2sg	0.78%	0.77%		
2pl	0.56%	0.7770		
3sg	0.29%	0.30%		
3pl	0.33%	0.3070		
total	0.4	9%		

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Binding Types in Coordindation

Table: COCA							
ΤΥΡΕ	#	%					
anaphora	10,380	66.71%					
unbound	2,407	15.47%					
agen	742	4.77%					
cgen	454	2.92%					
apart	370	2.38%					
chk	325	2.09%					
after	256	1.65%					
cataphora	244	1.57%					
before	189	1.21%					
cpart	175	1.12%					

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Binding Types in Coordindation(cont'd)

Т	able: 3rd		т.		
TYPE	#	%	TYPE	ble: 2nd	
anaphora	8,174	77.58%		#	%
unbound	1,058	10.04%	anaphora	666	50.49%
	-		unbound	375	28.43%
agen	478	4.54%	agen	59	4.47%
cgen	286	2.71%	before	45	3.41%
chk	245	2.33%		43	3.26%
after	107	1.02%	cgen		
cataphora	99	0.94%	cataphora	38	2.88%
before	50	0.47%	after	37	2.81%
			apart	22	1.67%
apart	26	0.25%	cpart	4	0.30%
cpart	5	0.05%			0.0070

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Binding Types in Coordindation (cont'd)

Т	able: 1st		Tal	ole: myse	f
TYPE	#	%	ТҮРЕ	#	%
anaphora	1,540	41.57%	anaphora	1,045	38.85%
unbound	974	26.29%	unbound	775	28.81%
apart	322	8.69%	apart	233	8.66%
agen	205	5.53%	cpart	146	5.43%
cpart	166	4.48%	agen	143	5.32%
cgen	125	3.37%	after	93	3.46%
after	112	3.02%	before	82	3.05%
cataphora	107	2.89%	cataphora	80	2.97%
before	94	2.54%	cgen	47	1.75%

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Siblings in Coordindation

Table: Proportion

ΤΥΡΕ	PRO	NOUN	NAME	SAME	DIFF	ETC
BOUND	23.68%	28.28%	10.34%	35.69%	1.05%	0.96%
UNBOUND	9.45%	34.12%	23.34%	30.12%	1.30%	1.67%
DIFF	-14.24%	5.84%	13.00%	-5.57%	0.25%	0.71%
¬BOUND	11.08%	32.14%	21.86%	32.29%	1.38%	1.25%
DIFF	-12.61%	3.86%	11.53%	-3.40%	0.32%	0.30%

Table: Collostructional Analysis

Р	LEFT	RIGHT
1.94E-80	ETC NAME PRO SAME	DIFF NOUN
1.54E-78	ETC NAME SAME	DIFF NOUN PRO
6.55E-75	DIFF NOUN SAME	ETC NAME PRO
2.78E-73	DIFF NOUN PRO SAME	ETC NAME
1.86E-72	ETC NAME NOUN PRO SAME	DIFF

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Sibling Types

Siblings in Coordindation (3rd)

Table: Proportion

TYPE	PRO	NOUN	NAME	SAME	DIFF	ETC
BOUND	24.17%	28.30%	9.94%	35.47%	1.02%	1.10%
UNBOUND	11.35%	35.92%	12.88%	34.98%	1.37%	3.50%
DIFF	-12.83%	7.62%	2.95%	-0.48%	0.34%	2.40%
¬BOUND	11.39%	34.30%	12.85%	37.76%	1.09%	2.61%
DIFF	-12.78%	6.00%	2.91%	2.29%	0.07%	1.50%

Table: Collostructional Analysis

Р	LEFT	RIGHT
2.36E-25	ETC NAME NOUN PRO SAME	DIFF
4.69E-23	ETC NAME NOUN SAME	DIFF PRO
1.59E-17	ETC NAME PRO SAME	DIFF NOUN
8.42E-17	ETC NAME SAME	DIFF NOUN PRO
5.18E-16	ETC NAME NOUN PRO	DIFF SAME

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Sibling Types

Siblings in Coordindation (2nd)

Table: Proportion

		•			
PRO	NOUN	NAME	SAME	DIFF	ETC
25.55%	30.83%	4.94%	37.65%	0.68%	0.34%
7.53%	46.35%	7.08%	38.36%	0.23%	0.46%
-18.02%	15.51%	2.14%	0.71%	-0.45%	0.12%
12.90%	41.22%	5.73%	39.43%	0.36%	0.36%
-12.65%	10.38%	0.79%	1.78%	-0.32%	0.02%
	25.55% 7.53% - 18.02% 12.90%	25.55% 30.83% 7.53% 46.35% -18.02% 15.51% 12.90% 41.22%	25.55% 30.83% 4.94% 7.53% 46.35% 7.08% -18.02% 15.51% 2.14% 12.90% 41.22% 5.73%	25.55% 30.83% 4.94% 37.65% 7.53% 46.35% 7.08% 38.36% -18.02% 15.51% 2.14% 0.71% 12.90% 41.22% 5.73% 39.43%	25.55% 30.83% 4.94% 37.65% 0.68% 7.53% 46.35% 7.08% 38.36% 0.23% -18.02% 15.51% 2.14% 0.71% -0.45% 12.90% 41.22% 5.73% 39.43% 0.36%

Table: Collostructional Analysis

Р	LEFT	RIGHT
5.48E-15	ETC NAME NOUN SAME	DIFF PRO
1.14E-14	ETC NAME NOUN PRO SAME	DIFF
1.81E-14	DIFF PRO SAME	ETC NAME NOUN
3.64E-14	ETC NAME NOUN PRO	DIFF SAME
1.12E-09	ETC NOUN SAME	DIFF NAME PRO

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Sibling Types

Siblings in Coordindation (1st)

Table: Proportion

ТҮРЕ	PRO	NOUN	NAME	SAME	DIFF	ETC
BOUND	20.43%	27.16%	14.53%	36.05%	1.36%	0.48%
UNBOUND	8.45%	28.74%	37.33%	23.39%	1.59%	0.51%
DIFF	-11.99%	1.58%	<u>22.80%</u>	-12.66%	0.23%	0.03%
¬BOUND	10.28%	27.69%	34.19%	25.57%	1.91%	0.36%
DIFF	-10.16%	0.53%	<u>19.67%</u>	-10.48%	0.55%	-0.11%

Table: Collostructional Analysis

Р	LEFT	RIGHT
4.82E-45	DIFF ETC NOUN PRO SAME	NAME
1.74E-44	DIFF ETC NOUN PRO	NAME SAME
3.40E-44	DIFF ETC NOUN SAME	NAME PRO
6.58E-44	NAME PRO SAME	DIFF ETC NOUN
1.83E-40	ETC NAME PRO SAME	DIFF NOUN

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Genre Analysis

Genre

Table: Proportion

ТҮРЕ	ACAD	FIC	MAG	NEWS	SPOK
BOUND	27.15%	19.51%	19.25%	16.65%	17.44%
UNBOUND	22.24%	17.70%	18.56%	13.89%	27.61%
DIFF	-4.92%	-1.81%	-0.68%	-2.76%	10.17%
¬BOUND	21.09%	19.11%	19.18%	13.51%	27.10%
DIFF	-6.06%	-0.39%	-0.06%	-3.14%	9.66%

Table: Collostructional Analysis

Р	LEFT	RIGHT
2.51E-32	ACAD FIC MAG NEWS	SPOK
2.93E-20	ACAD FIC NEWS	MAG SPOK
3.86E-16	ACAD MAG NEWS	FIC SPOK
8.03E-14	FIC MAG SPOK	ACAD NEWS
2.52E-13	ACAD FIC MAG	NEWS SPOK

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Genre (3rd)

Table: Proportion

ТҮРЕ	ACAD	FIC	MAG	NEWS	SPOK
BOUND	31.03%	19.37%	18.40%	17.09%	14.10%
UNBOUND	32.76%	21.84%	17.41%	16.98%	11.01%
DIFF	1.73%	2.47%	-1.00%	-0.11%	-3.10%
¬BOUND	31.64%	23.70%	17.33%	16.79%	10.55%
DIFF	0.60%	4.33%	-1.07%	-0.30%	-3.56%

Table: Collostructional Analysis

Р	LEFT	RIGHT
3.97E-03	ACAD FIC MAG NEWS	SPOK
5.19E-03	ACAD FIC NEWS	MAG SPOK
7.59E-03	MAG NEWS SPOK	ACAD FIC
2.70E-02	ACAD FIC MAG	NEWS SPOK
4.85E-02	ACAD MAG NEWS SPOK	FIC

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Genre (2nd)

Table: Proportion

ТҮРЕ	ACAD	FIC	MAG	NEWS	SPOK
BOUND	6.64%	19.59%	27.43%	12.27%	34.07%
UNBOUND	8.90%	11.19%	36.76%	8.68%	34.47%
DIFF	2.26%	-8.40%	9.33%	-3.59%	0.40%
¬BOUND	8.24%	12.37%	38.89%	7.71%	32.80%
DIFF	1.60%	-7.23%	11.46%	-4.56%	-1.28%

Table: Collostructional Analysis

Р	LEFT	RIGHT
1.78E-05	ACAD MAG SPOK	FIC NEWS
1.76E-04	FIC NEWS SPOK	ACAD MAG
2.83E-04	ACAD MAG NEWS SPOK	FIC
1.40E-03	ACAD FIC NEWS	MAG SPOK
1.74E-03	ACAD FIC NEWS SPOK	MAG

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Genre Analysis

Genre (1st)

Table: Proportion

ТҮРЕ	ACAD	FIC	MAG	NEWS	SPOK
BOUND	15.48%	20.16%	20.30%	16.16%	27.90%
UNBOUND	17.55%	16.25%	13.79%	12.92%	39.49%
DIFF	2.07%	-3.92%	-6.51%	-3.23%	11.59%
¬BOUND	15.81%	17.15%	15.08%	12.40%	39.57%
DIFF	0.33%	-3.01%	-5.22%	-3.76%	11.66%

Table: Collostructional Analysis

Р	LEFT	RIGHT
3.54E-13	FIC MAG NEWS	ACAD SPOK
5.71E-11	ACAD FIC MAG NEWS	SPOK
6.67E-09	ACAD NEWS SPOK	FIC MAG
2.22E-08	ACAD FIC SPOK	MAG NEWS
3.77E-06	ACAD FIC NEWS SPOK	MAG

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My Tentative Proposal

- There are **multiple conditions** for allowing unbound reflexive pronouns.
 - Minimal SC: The binding theroy can be violated iff ...
 - Principle R: Logophoricity, contrastiveness, and discourse prominence can function as a trigger of using reflexive forms even though the antecedent is implicit.
- Using a reflexive pronoun is largely motivated
 - when there is a sufficiently salient coreferent for the reflexive pronoun or
 - **2** when the **narrative point of view** is changed.

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Discourse Salience

• Proper names

- Downing (1996) and Huang (2000) argue that proper names normally take precedence over definite descriptions across languages as a predominant referential form for introducing a known referent into the current dialogue.
- Van Langendonck (2007) argues that when a proper name denotes a unique entity, psychologically it plays a role to make the entity more salient.
- Stojanovic (2010) argues that proper names serve as a pragmatic device to help the addressees understand which the speaker is referring to.
- These previous studies commonly argue that the choice of proper names is pragmatically relevant, and choosing a proper name instead of the alternatives renders the referent more salient.

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Logophoricity

- (2) a. Tom; believed that the paper had been written by Ann and himself;.
 - b. John_i thinks that Mary is taller than himself_i (Kim, 2000:93).

- The reflexives above are not bound in the local domains, but they are licensed by the discourse factor, viz. **point of view**.
 - In the examples, *himself* is used to denote the logophoricity: the sentences are delivered from the viewpoint of Tom and John respectively.
 - When *him* is used instead of *himself*, it indicates an objective report of the speaker.

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Open Questions for Formalism

- The other type of unbound reflexives is being analyzed.
- (3) It felt only awkward that a boy two years older **than myself** was responsible for my laundry.
 - Is it indeed necessary to implement those instances into our grammar?
 - If so, how can we implement unbound reflexives within the HPSG and MRS formalism? (CONT and CTXT)
 - Inon-anaphoric proforms: cataphora, exophora, and logophora
 - 2 binding: speaker and hearer
 - 3 specific constructions: *and myself*, *than myself*
 - g pragmatic conditions: discourse salience, logophoricity
 - Unbound reflexives in other languages; e.g., Norwegian.

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