1. Introduction

(1) Tomi believed [that the paper had been written by Ann and himself].

Despite extensive research, the distribution of non-clause bound (NCB) reflexives (e.g., *himself*) in American English remains largely unknown (Baker 1995: 74). Additionally, the distribution of reflexives in American English may be changing (Fasold 2003). Cross-linguistic research suggests that the distribution of NCB reflexives differ across languages and dialects (Cole et al. 2001). This paper examines the distribution of NCB reflexives in Northeast Ohio English (NOE), which are licensed by Point of View, as a step toward understanding the current distribution of American English reflexives.

2. Overview of NCB reflexives
NCB reflexives typically share a number of characteristics across languages: (i) they lack some or all markings for person, number, or gender (Pica 1987); (ii) they occur in non-finite, subjunctive, or nominal clauses (Pica 1987); (iii) they occur in non-argument positions in English (Reinhart & Reuland 1993); and (iv) they are licensed by pragmatic environment (e.g., Sells 1987, Zribi-Hertz 1989). Sells (1987: 455) claims that pragmatically licensed NCB reflexives are a result of the interaction of the following three primitive notions: (i) SOURCE: The one who makes the report; (ii) SELF: The one whose “mind” is being reported; and (iii) PIVOT: The one from whose physical point of view the report is made.

Effects of these primitive roles on NCB reflexives have been found in various languages. For example in some languages, coreference with a higher nominal expression is “blocked” when there is an intervening subject that does not match a lower subject for person (Mandarin, Cole & Sung 1994: 363). Huang and Liu (2001) claim that Blocking is due to a conflict between the internal and external SOURCE in a sentence. Below is an example of blocking in Mandarin.

(2) *Zhangsan renwei [ni j zhidao [Wangwu xihuan ziji].]

‘Zhangsan thinks that you know Wangwu like self.’

Furthermore, a NCB reading is prevented in some languages when the embedded clause contains *when* but not *because* (Japanese, Sells 1987:455). Sells claims this difference is due to SELF effects since *because*, but not *when*, denotes that the external speaker is making a judgment about the causal relation between two events from the internal protagonist’s point of view.

(3) Takasi wa [Yosiko ga mizu o zibun, no ue ni kobosita {node/*toki}] nurete-simatta

‘Takasi got wet {because/*when} Yosiko spilled water on self.’

Lastly, verbs like *come*, but not *go*, allow for NCB readings of reflexives (Mandarin, Liu 1999). Liu (1999) claims that this distribution is due to PIVOT effects: a “deictic center,” which indicates physical point of view, can license NCB reflexives.

---

1 Thanks to Stephanie Chenevert, who helped with data collection and organization. Thanks also to the Northeast Ohio and Minneapolis/St. Paul area English speakers who participated in the study. All errors are mine.

2 Mandarin Blocking Effects are asymmetrical: 1st and 2nd person pronouns can block a 3rd person noun from being NCB, but a 3rd person noun cannot prevent a 1st or 2nd person pronoun from being NCB (Huang & Liu 2001).
(4) Mama shuo [jia chuqu-de nuer yijing hui {lai/*qu} ziji-de jia le].
Mother say marry go-out daughter already return come/go self's home SFP
“Mother said that [the married daughter], already came/*went back to self's home.”

3. Methods
18 speakers of NOE, who were all affiliated with Cleveland State University, participated in the study (ages 18-41, M=25.4, SD=7.2). Northeast Ohio is part of the Inland North dialect area (Labov et al 2006). To my knowledge, no literature suggests that NOE syntax is non-standard. Previously collected judgments of similar sentences from 12 English speakers from Minneapolis, MN and St. Paul, MN (MSP) were used as a control (Loss 2011; ages 23-56, M=36.5, SD=9.66). Stimuli included both non-clause bound oneself and himself/herself as well as clause bound reflexives in a variety of environments. The stimuli were delivered in a random order using the E-Prime 2.0 software (Psychology Software Tools, Pittsburgh, PA). Each stimulus began with a short situation that supported a specific (NCB or clause bound) reading. Next, there was a target sentence that indicated intended coreference with capital letters. Finally, there was an open field for the naturalness rating. Naturalness judgments were collected using Magnitude Estimation (Bard et al 1996). Magnitude Estimation allows informants to “build” their own naturalness rating scale, which is advantageous because it does not restrict participants to a set scale. Results were normalized following Engen (1971); statistics analysis used Program R (2012).

4. Results
NOE speakers were more likely than MSP English speakers to rate sentences with NCB reflexives as natural (p=.027; M=8.39, M=1.3):

(5) Sam, hopes [that his parents forgive himself].
NOE speakers rated sentences with NCB himself and oneself similarly, though NCB oneself was rated more natural than NCB himself (p=0.09; M=5.77, M=10.04):

(6) {He/One} hopes [that others will vote for {himself/oneself}].
This trend is not surprising since, cross-linguistically, NCB reflexives lack some or all person, number, and gender features (Pica 1987). Due to this trend, most of the analyses were done using sentences with NCB oneself rather than himself/herself.

Interestingly, NOE speakers overwhelmingly preferred use of the reflexive pronoun over the personal pronoun in adjunct position (p=0.03; M=10.02, M=3.78).

(7) One, hopes [a banker will loan money to {oneself/*one}].
In NOE, an intervening first person or second person subject or object prevents a NCB reading (p=0.05; M=5.59, M=3.79, M=10, respectively):

(8) a. One, hopes [that {*?I/*you/a banker} will loan oneself, money].
b. One; might hear from {*?me/*you/someone} [that people will vote for oneself].
Similarly, an intervening third person subject prevents a NCB reading of myself (p=0.05):

c. *I, think [my goldfish loves myself.] (M=4.37; Fasold 2003)
In contrast, an intervening nominal expression in subject position that does not match the reflexive for number did not prevent a NCB reading (p=0.2; M=6.32):

d. One; hopes [that they will loan money to oneself].
Because, but not when, allows a NCB interpretation (p=.05; M=5.13, M=8.4):

e. One; cries [{?when/because} a jerk hits oneself].
Finally, NCB reflexives can come after both come and go. (p=0.9174; M=7.48, M=6.1):

f. One, may want [famly to {come/go} visit oneself].
Thus, NOE exhibits NCB reflexives. NCB oneself is slightly preferred over himself. NCB reflexives can originate in finite clauses in both argument and non-argument positions. Finally, NCB reflexives can corefer with nominal expressions in subject or object position. A non-clause
bound interpretation is not allowed in the following two environments: (i) when there is an intervening subject or object that does not agree with the reflexive for person and (ii) when the embedded clause begins with *when* rather than *because* or *that*.

5. **Analysis** Recent research by Guéron and Haegeman (2012) claims that Point of View is licensed by syntax in West Flemish since there is an overt POV morpheme. Therefore, the following is a syntactic analysis for the distribution of NCB reflexives in NOE that capitalizes on the role of point of view. I propose an Agree operation and covert raising to a POV-op Head to account for NCB interpretations (c.f. Chou 2012). I assume a phase based analysis using Chomsky’s (2001: 14) version of the Phase Impenetrability Condition.

Following Chou (2012), Huang and Liu (2001), and Tenny (2006)’s analyses of NCB reflexives in Mandarin and Japanese, I assume a functional head in the left periphery of phases (i.e., CP and vP) allows for full interpretation of the attitude bearer. I follow Chou’s (2012: 12) formalization of the functional head as a Point-of-View-op (POV-op), which includes values for [discourse participant] ([d]) and [addressee] ([a]), illustrated below:

![POV features of POV-op diagram](image)

Logophoric expressions, which are often considered to be doubly anaphoric, have unvalued [u] and [ua] features. These features are valued via a probe-goal relation between a noun and the POV-op. Logophoric expressions raise in LF to the POV-op to create an input for self-ascription of *(de se)* attitude (Huang & Liu 2001, Chierchia 1989). Crucially, all POV (d, a) features must match at their final, raised position to ensure correct ascription of attitudes (Chou 2012:15).

Below are examples of full derivations: the first derivation does not have Blocking Effects, and the second derivation has Blocking Effects. Some successive-cyclic movements are not illustrated for readability.

g. One hopes [that a banker will loan oneself money].  
   a. \([vP \text{ oneself}[^{[d, a, uVAR]}-POV-op[^{[d, a]}]}] \ldots t]\)  
   b. a banker \(\ldots [vP \text{ oneself}[^{[-d, -a, uVAR]}-POV-op[^{-d, -a}]}] \ldots t]\)  
   c. \([CP \text{ oneself}[^{[-d, -a, uVAR]}-POV-op[^{[d, a]}]}] \text{ a banker} \ldots [vP \text{ t-POV-op[^{-d, -a}]}] \ldots t]\)  
   d. One \(\ldots [CP \text{ oneself}[^{-d, -a, VAR}]-POV-op[^{-d, -a}]} \text{ a banker} \ldots [vP \text{ t-POV-op[^{-d, -a}]}] \ldots t]\)

An example of a subject triggering Blocking Effects is below:

h. *One* hopes [that *you* will loan oneself money].  
   a. \([vP \text{ oneself}[^{[d, a, uVAR]}-POV-op[^{[d, a]}]}] \ldots t]\)  
   b. you \(\ldots [vP \text{ oneself}[^{[-d, -a, uVAR]}-POV-op[^{-d, -a}]}] \ldots t]\)  
   c. \([CP \text{ oneself}[^{[-d, -a, uVAR]}-POV-op[^{[d, a]}]}] \text{ you} \ldots [vP \text{ t-POV-op[^{-d, -a}]}] \ldots t]\)  
   d. One \(\ldots [CP \text{ oneself}[^{-d, -a, VAR}]-POV-op[^{-d, -a}]} \text{ you} \ldots [vP \text{ t-POV-op[^{-d, -a}]}] \ldots t]\)

If we assume that objects also c-command reflexives and that processes must occur as soon as possible, this analysis also accounts for objects triggering blocking. Moreover, positing a POV-op in the left periphery can account for the blocking effects of *when*, as illustrated above in (11). Recall that *when* prompts an interpretation that represents the speaker’s POV. In contrast, *because* prompts an interpretation that represents the (matrix) subject’s POV (Iida and Sells 1986). Thus, *because* requires that the logophor raise to a position where it is locally c-
commanded by the (matrix) subject, but when requires that the logophor raises to the highest
POV-op. The highest POV is always valued as [+d, +a] to match the speaker of the utterance, so
the POV values cannot match (Chou 2012).

6. Conclusion & Implications Currently, there are two types of reflexives in NOE: locally
bound reflexives and NCB reflexives that are licensed by point of view. The distribution of
reflexives as described by Reinhart & Reuland (1993) is not consistent with NOE NCB
reflexives. Though NCB reflexives in American English seem exceptional, their behavior can be
accounted for by using the infrastructure that is already in place to account for NCB reflexives in
other languages, such as Mandarin and Japanese. This study suggests that a POV-operator is on
the right course for a cross-linguistic pragmatics and syntax interface. This research leads to
questions about how reflexives behave in other regional and social dialects of English.

References
72(1), 32–68.
Cole, P., G. Hermon, & C. L. Lee (2001). Grammatical and discourse conditions on long distance reflexives in two
Linguistic Inquiry, 27(3).
Guéron, J. & L. Haegeman. 2012. Je est un autre. Subject positions, point of view and the neuter pronoun tet in
University Press. 81-91.
141–196.
Amherst, 2: 483–499.
261–303.
Zrihi-Hertz, A. (1989). Anaphor binding and narrative point of view: English reflexive pronouns in sentence and