The Development of Complex Reflexives and Intensifiers in English[*]

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1 Introduction

In presenting our reflections on the historical development of reflexive pronouns and intensifiers in English, we will be advocating an approach to language change that is firmly grounded in cross-linguistic, typological work. Such an approach does not only enable us to distinguish idiosyncratic, language-specific facts from pervasive regularities and the ad-hoc argument from cross-linguistic evidence, it also allows us to discuss and answer intricate questions that are unanswerable on the basis of the historical documents available for one language alone. The domain selected for this discussion is a fragment of the historical development of English, whose basic outlines are reasonably well-known (cf. Penning 1875; Farr 1905; Visser 1970; Mitchell 1985; Ogura 1989; Faiß 1989), but, on closer scrutiny, still presents a large number of unsolved puzzles and riddles. Many important questions remain unanswered and are not even raised in the relevant literature.

Another reason for making this specific selection is the fact that the history of reflexives in English has received a great deal of attention by generative grammarians in recent years in connection with a discussion of Chomsky's Binding Principles (cf. Kiparsky 1990; Keenan 1996; van Gelderen 1996, 1998). The essential problems for these generative discussions is how the distinction between 'pronominals' (personal pronouns) and 'reflexive anaphors' (reflexive pronouns as markers of co-reference) in Modern English developed from a situation in Old English, where no such distinction existed. The organization of our paper is as follows: After a brief discussion of some basic distinctions and facts in section 2 we will sketch the basic outlines of the development of reflexive pronouns in the historical development of English, as they are presented in the traditional literature. This sketch also includes a brief look at the way in which the innovations spread across space and time. This outline will be followed by a discussion of some new questions, hardly ever raised in traditional accounts, but very much in focus of more recent contributions, such as Keenan (1996). The main results of our discussion will be summarized in the final section.

2 Basic distinctions

In order to prepare the ground for the subsequent historical analysis we need to take a brief look at some striking properties of Modern English, introduce some terminological distinctions and present a brief analysis of some relevant phenomena.

In contrast to all other Germanic languages, to all Romance and Slavic languages, Modern English does not formally differentiate between intensifiers, or 'emphatic reflexives' (German *selbst*) and reflexive pronouns (German *sich*). Intensifiers agree with some nominal constituent (their focus) in person, number and gender (also in contrast to German *selbst*) and reflexive pronouns also manifest agreement with their antecedent for the same morpho-syntactic features:

(1) a. Bill Clinton himself will give the opening address.
     b. Bill looked at himself in the mirror.
     c. Bob expected himself to be the one elected.

The only property which differentiates between these two classes of function words is their syntactic position: Intensifiers are used as adjuncts to noun phrases or verb phrases, reflexive pronouns occur in argument positions, i.e. as objects of verbs or complements of prepositions. It is this formal identity between intensifiers and reflexives, a property that English shares with Turkic, Semitic and many Caucasian languages, that may easily give rise to great confusion in the analysis of the development of reflexives in English.

Since reflexive pronouns and intensifiers in Modern English are the result of a process that combined personal pronouns with the intensifier *self* of Old English and Middle English (e.g. *her* + *self* > *herself*), a few remarks have to be made on the meaning of intensifiers. Any account of the historical development of such compounds must explain how the meaning of the compound form (marker of co-reference with an antecedent in a local domain) is derivable from the meaning of the parts, i.e. the meaning of a personal pronoun and the meaning of an intensifier. Intensifiers in Modern English, in German as well as in many other languages have at least three uses, an adnominal and two adverbial ones:

(2) a. The director himself will talk to us. (adnominal)
    b. I am a little short of cash myself. (adverbial, inclusive)
    c. Mary earned that money herself. (adverbial, exclusive)

The distinction between an 'adnominal use' and 'adverbial uses' is based on syntactic considerations. In sentences like (2a) the intensifier combines with a noun phrase to form another noun phrase, whereas it is a part of the verb phrase (or some projection thereof) in the two other examples. The additional labels 'inclusive' and 'exclusive' are meant to indicate that the intensifier in (2b) can roughly be paraphrased by 'too', 'as well', whereas a paraphrase by 'alone' is possible in (2c).

The meaning of Old English *self* (*seolf*/*sylf*) seems to have been very similar to that of German *selbst* or the corresponding forms in Modern English. We can therefore discuss the meaning of adnominal intensifiers in connection with the relevant forms in ModE. What is it that x-*self* contributes to the meaning of a sentence in examples like the following?

(3) a. The director himself will talk to us.
    b. The passengers were only slightly injured. The driver himself died at the scene of the accident.
    c. Mary's husband looks after the children. Mary herself works in a hospital.
    d. He was not particularly tall, a little taller than Jemima herself perhaps, but his shoulders in the tweed suit were broad, giving an air of authority, and he himself, if not exactly heavy, was certainly a substantial man. [Antonia Fraser, *A Splash of Red*, p. 88]

The first thing we may note is that intensifiers, or the focus with which they interact, evoke alternatives to the denotation of the expression they combine with. In all of the examples given above, alternative persons are brought into the discussion by the intensifier; the director as opposed to other possible speakers, the driver as opposed to the passengers, etc. Relating a given value to a set of salient alternative values is a characteristic property of focusing devices, to which intensifiers therefore clearly belong. There is, however, yet another property that intensifiers manifest in the examples under discussion: not only do they evoke alternatives, they also characterize the alternatives in some way. Possible alternatives in an example like (3a) are people inferior to the director in the relevant professional context, i.e. his secretary, his substitute, his collaborators, etc. Generalizing from this example, we can say that intensifiers relate a periphery of alternative values (Y) to a center X, identified by the expression they combine with (cf. König 1991 and Figure 1). A typical, perhaps the prototypical scenario for the use of intensifiers is the situation where the denota-
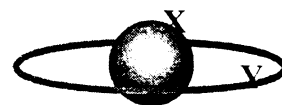

Figure 1

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tion of the noun phrase they combine with holds a high rank in the real world. It is for this reason that expressions like *the gofer himself* or *the dustman himself* are not as easily contextualized as *the Pope himself* or *the President himself.*

How does the distinction between center and periphery apply to the other examples given in (3)? Higher rank or greater importance of a person relative to others may be restricted to certain functions or certain situations. A driver is the center in a traffic accident, a minister in a church service, a guide during an excursion. Thus (3b) is a situation-specific variant of (3a). The higher rank, greater importance or centrality of the driver is restricted to the situation of driving and all its consequences. Another way of making a person central relative to others is the identification of other persons in terms of their relationship to that person: Mary's husband rather than Joseph, or Joseph's wife rather than Mary. The selection of Mary as point of orientation for the identification of another person also makes that person the center for the intensifier. Note that an intensifier after the first subject in (3c) would lead to two inconsistent perspectives or orderings and thus to an unacceptable result:

(4) ?Mary's husband himself looks after the children. Mary works in a hospital.

Finally, a person may become the center and the expression denoting that person may be combinable with an intensifier as a result of being chosen as a center of observation and narration. This is what we find in (3d), where a scene from a murder mystery is described from the perspective of the protagonist Jemima.

In contrast to languages like Turkish, intensifiers in English do not only combine with nouns denoting humans (e.g. *the house itself, the book itself*, etc.). The conditions for the use of adnominal intensifiers in English can thus be stated as follows (cf. Baker 1995):

(5) Conditions for using adnominal HIMSELF: the intensifier relates a set (Y) of alternative values (periphery, entourage) to a centre (X) denoted by its focus:

  1. X has a higher rank than Y in the real world;
  2. X is more important than Y in a specific situation;
  3. Y is identified in terms of X;
  4. X is the centre of observation/narration (logophoricity).

The contribution that adverbial intensifiers make to the meaning of an utterance is much harder to describe and we must confine ourselves to a few preliminary remarks. In their exclusive interpretation (cf. (2c)), adverbial intensifiers assert the involvement of the denotation of the focus as the central or exclusive agent in the relevant situation and thus exclude the involvement of the alternatives evoked. In negative sentences, where the negation takes scope over the adverbial intensifier, this assignment of roles is reversed: It is not the denotation of the focus, typically an agent subject, that is involved in bringing about the relevant situation, but the alternative(s) invoked. A sentence like (6) below asserts that somebody other than Mary earned the money. What this sentence also shows is that an exclusive adverbial intensifier characterizes the denotation of the focus as being most affected, positively or negatively, by the situation described. The effect of this presupposition in (6) is that Mary is seen as owning the money. In other words, an exclusive adverbial intensifier characterizes the focus it interacts with as identificational focus in the sense of Kiss (1998) and carries the presupposition that the denotation thereof is maximally affected by the relevant situation, i.e. profits or suffers from it.

(6) Mary did not earn that money herself.

To give a concise description of the contribution of adverbial inclusive intensifiers is even more challenging and cannot be pursued in detail in the present study. Suffice it therefore to say that this use of adverbial intensifiers turns the proposition in which it occurs into a premise for a conclusion either overtly or covertly

given in the surrounding context. The inclusive intensifier in (2b) suggests that lack of money precludes the lending of it.

None of the analyses proposed so far for the development of reflexive pronouns in English has given any attention to, let alone presented an adequate semantic description for intensifiers, i.e. that component that transforms 'endophoric' personal pronouns into reflexive anaphors. In our opinion, no account can be complete without such a semantic analysis.

3 The historical development of reflexives: Basic outlines

Like in several other Germanic languages (Frisian, Afrikaans, Old Saxon, etc.), there were no reflexive pronouns in Old English. The only exception was the possessive pronoun *sīn*, also found in the modern Scandinavian languages. This possessive reflexive, however, was already archaic and restricted to poetic discourse at the time of our earliest historical documents. In contrast to ModE, where we find some kind of complementarity in the distribution of personal pronouns ('pronominals') and reflexive pronouns ('reflexive anaphors'), personal pronouns did double duty in OE both as markers of disjoint reference (like *him, her*, etc. in ModE) and as markers of co-reference (like *himself, herself* in ModE or *sich* in German):

OLD ENGLISH

(7) hine he bewerað mid wæpnum [ÆlG 96.11]
'he defended himself with weapons'

(8) ða behydde Adam hine & his wif eac swa dyde [Gen 3.9]
'and Adam hid himself and his wife did the same'

Intensifiers in Old English (*self/seolf/sylf*) were more or less used like *selbst* in German or their counterparts in ModE. In their adnominal use we find them particularly often combined with expressions for God, Jesus or the devil, i.e. with expressions for 'individuals' of high rank or great importance, cf. Farr (1905:19):

OLD ENGLISH

(9) and hwæt Crist self tæhte and his apostolas on þære niwan gecyðnisse [ÆGenPref 37]
'and what Christ himself and his apostles taught on the new Testament'

(10) þe þa com on þas woruld þurh ðone Hælend sylfne ... [ÆLet 4 1182]
'which then came into this world through the Saviour himself ...'

(11) forðam þæt mæste yfel cymð to mannum þonne Antecrist sylf cymð [WHom 1b.12]
'for the worst evil comes to mankind when the Antichrist himself appears'

Such intensifiers could also be combined with personal pronouns in object position, where they indicated co-reference with a preceding subject unambiguously:

OLD ENGLISH

(12) se Hælende sealde hine sylfne for us [ÆLet 4 1129]
'The Savior gave himself for us.'

(13) Judas se arleasa þe urne Hælend belæwde for þam lyðran sceatte þe he lufode unrihtlice aheng hine selfne [Admon 1 9.25]
'Judas the disgraceful who betrayed our Lord for that wicked money that he loved unrighteously hanged himself.'

(14) Hannibal ... hine selfne mid atre acwealde [Or 4 11.110.2]
'Hannibal killed himself with poison.'

As is shown by these examples, intensifiers in OE inflect like adjectives and manifest agreement with a preceding noun phrase (their focus). In the course of the historical development of English, intensifiers are combined and fused with the dative or accusative forms of personal pronouns. In many grammars, a series of adjectival forms and a series of nominal forms is distinguished, cf. (15) taken from

Faiß (1989). The hypothesis, originally attributed to J. Grimm, that the -*self* forms of the so-called nominal series result from reanalyzing *self* as an N is rejected very convincingly in Keenan (1996:25f.).[1] This hypothesis is meant to account for the existence of *miself/þiself* and analyzes *mi* and *þi* as possessive adjectives which combine with Ns and hence also with *self*. According to Keenan, however, these forms are due to vowel reduction in unstressed syllables.

(15) a. himself, herself, itself, themselves (adjectival forms)
     b. myself, yourself, ourselves, yourselves, herself (nominal forms)

These compound forms also came to be used as intensifiers in EMidE, thus replacing the old monomorphemic form *self* or *sylf*. Whether prosodic factors, influence from Romance (cf. *elle-même*), analogy or some other factor was responsible for this development is one of the many unsolved puzzles of the history of English. We will return to this point below. Note, however, that the resultant situation is by no means unique or even special among the world's languages. As pointed out above, a wide variety of languages (Celtic, Finno-Ugric, Turkic, Mandarin, Indic, etc.) use the same expressions both as intensifiers and as reflexive pronouns. In other words the target of the relevant change in English is a wide-spread property in the languages of the world:

(16) MANDARIN
     a. Ta ziji hui lai.
       'He himself can come.'
     b. Zhangsan kanjian ziji.
       'Zhangsan is looking at himself.'

As a result of this compounding process, intensifiers were used without preceding pronominal foci, even though they did combine with nominal foci. Thus, to illustrate the relevant fact with examples from ModE, we find sequences like *the Duke himself*, but *himself* instead of *he himself*. Keenan (1996:28f.) points out that in the second version of *Layamon's Brute*, written about 50 – 75 years after the first version, all subject occurrences of *he self* are replaced by *he himself* or just by *himself*. The intensifier *self* fused with a pronominal copy of its focus and the resultant complex intensifiers with incorporated pronominal foci did combine with nominal foci in EModE, but not with pronominal ones. This process of incorporating a pronominal copy of a focus (*I saw the king self* ⇒ *I saw him-self* ⇒ *I saw the king himself*) is in many ways analogous to the development of clitic doubling in Spanish (*Lo vi al rey* – 'I saw him the king') or many Balkan languages. Such complex *self*-forms were also used in subject position:

(17) a. MIDDLE ENGLISH
      Hymself drank water of the wel,
      As dide the knyght sire Percyvell [CT (Tale of Sir Thopas 915)]
     b. EARLY MODERN ENGLISH
      For it engenders choler, planteth anger,
      And better 'twere that both of us did fast
      Since of ourselves ourselves are choleric,
      Than feed it with such overroasted flesh. [Shakespeare, The Taming of the Shrew 4.1]

At this stage intensifiers and reflexive pronouns were, so it seems, neither distinguishable on the basis of their form or on the basis of their distribution. Relics of this situation can still be found in Hibernian English and several other varieties, where the following sentences are acceptable:[2]

(18) a. Himself is not here today.
     b. It's himself is speaking today.
     c. How is yourself?

Such uses of *self*-forms invariably characterize the person referred to as being high in rank, in some way important ('the big boss') or simply salient in some situation and thus clearly fall under the analysis given above. That such a usage may also be ironically exploited is a fact hardly worth mentioning. Note that in ModE intensifiers may combine with a pronominal focus in subject position (*he himself, she herself*), but not in object position (**him himself*).[3]

From EModE (1500) on the modern system is established. Co-reference with an antecedent in the same clause or within some local domain is more and more, and in the end exclusively, signaled by compound *self*-forms (reflexive anaphors), whereas co-reference across clause boundaries is still expressed by personal pronouns:

(19) a. John$_i$ is ashamed of himself$_i$/him$_j$.
 b. John$_i$ said that Mary is ashamed of him$_i$/*himself$_i$.

Thus we find a certain complementarity in the distribution of personal pronouns and reflexive anaphors in ModE, that is captured in Chomsky's well-known Binding Conditions: Anaphors are bound in their local domain, pronominals are free in their local domain (cf. Chomsky 1981).

In ModE intensifiers and reflexive pronouns are differentiated in their distribution. The complex intensifiers (with incorporated focus) are no longer permitted in argument positions without a preceding focus, except in non-standard dialects. In other words, examples like (17) are no longer possible in standard English and have to be replaced by *he himself* and *we ourselves* respectively. The overall effect of these changes is twofold: First of all, the distribution of intensifiers and that of reflexive pronouns is subject to syntactic constraints. Intensifiers occur as adjuncts to noun phrases or verb phrases, reflexive pronouns are only permissible in argument positions. Secondly, a certain complementarity between personal pronouns ('pronominals') and reflexive pronouns ('reflexive anaphors') is established. Reflexive anaphors are bound by an antecedent in a local domain, usually the same clause, which must also govern the reflexive, i.e. have a higher position in the relevant tree. This is to account for the fact that reflexives are excluded from subject positions. Personal pronouns never have an antecedent in the same clause, although they may express co-reference across clause boundaries.

Neither of these two syntactic constraints or distributional principles is without exceptions. The exceptions can roughly be described as follows: There are no reflexive pronouns in certain contexts where we would expect them and they seem to occur in contexts from which they should be excluded. The first type of 'exceptions' to the syntactic regularities mentioned above can be illustrated with examples like the following:

(20) a. He looked about him.
 b. We have a whole week before us.
 c. John has many friends around him.
 d. John left his family behind him.
 e. John has a lot of passion in him.

In contexts such as these the old situation still prevails. A personal pronoun is used to indicate co-reference. These pronouns occur in temporal or local adjuncts and the relevant contexts are often referred to as the 'snake-sentences' because of the notorious example *Bill found a snake near him*. The phenomenon is well-known. What we do not find in the standard historical descriptions of English is an explanation for these facts. We will have to return to that issue below.

The other class of 'exceptions' to the syntactic regularities mentioned above are often referred to as 'untriggered reflexives' or 'creeping reflexives', the assumption being that reflexive pronouns are expanding their territory. The following examples are cases in point:

(21) a. On behalf of myself and USAir, we would like to thank you for ...
   b. I think if somebody would have called and asked, both myself and my husband would have been willing to talk.
   c. It had been an unpremeditated act, that had surprised himself almost as much as it had evidently surprised her.
   d. This would be very difficult for Mary and myself.
   e. He [Zapp] sat down at the desk and opened the drawers. In the top right-hand one was an envelope addressed to himself. [D. Lodge, *Changing Places*, p. 62]

All of the preceding examples are authentic. Large numbers of such data can be found in Zribi-Hertz (1989), Parker et al. (1990), Staczek (1990), Baker (1995), König and Siemund (1998a). As far as standard English is concerned the following hierarchies are relevant for the acceptability of such structures: 1st and 2nd person *self*-forms are better than 3rd person forms, *self*-forms in object position are better than the corresponding forms in subject position, *self*-forms after prepositions are better than the relevant forms in direct object position:

(22) a. 1st, 2nd person > 3rd person
   b. object > subject
   c. prep. object > direct object

If the disfavored option is chosen in all three cases the result is clearly unacceptable, the favored option chosen three times makes the result impeccable, with the other cases ranging in between. Note that it is not perfectly clear whether the *self*-forms in (21) should be analyzed as locally free reflexives (cf. Zribi-Hertz 1989), reflexive pronouns or as intensifiers without a preceding pronominal focus (cf. Baker 1995). As already mentioned, intensifiers can combine with a preceding pronominal focus in subject position (*he himself*), but not in object position (**him himself*). Given the historical development sketched above and given the meaning that the *self*-forms in (21) typically have, it is reasonable to assume that most, if not all of the so-called 'untriggered reflexives' are intensifiers without preceding pronominal heads, rather than reflexive pronouns. Again we will return to this point below.

4 The propagation of change

After having described the basic steps in the development of complex *self*-forms in English we would like to take a brief look at the propagation of the relevant changes through space and time. As far as space is concerned, not very much can be said, except that more older forms are found in the north than in the south and in the areas of Britain where Celtic languages are still spoken. An account of the development through time, by contrast, can be based on figures and statistics given in Keenan (1996).

It is a well-known fact, mentioned in all historical descriptions of English, that there were only modest beginnings in OE of using *self* in order to indicate that a personal pronoun expressed co-reference with a preceding subject. By 1500, however, locally bound *self*-forms had already overtaken bare pronouns as indicators of co-reference in a local domain. According to the statistics given in Keenan, out of 100 locally bound objects in the 1400's 17 were *self*-forms whereas there were 13 cases of pronouns used to express referential identity of two argument positions of a predicate. The remaining 70 cases are non-referential uses of pronouns (so-called 'pleonastic pronouns'). The number of locally bound *self*-forms is increasing rapidly in the subsequent centuries and approaches 100% around 1800. It is important to bear in mind that this rapid growth is due to two processes. On the one hand, there is a slow, but steady increase in *self*-forms used for local binding, on the other hand, the pleonastic pronouns die out very quickly after 1500. In other words, the sigmoidal form of the curve is mainly due to the disappearance of pleonastic pronouns. What we have to exclude from these figures are of course the so-called 'snake' sentences (cf. (20)). Moreover, it can be shown that reflexives with

self are earlier established in direct object position than in indirect object position. In the 16th and 17th centuries, plain pronouns can still be found as markers of co-reference in the position of indirect objects:

(23) a. Not so common as commendable it is, to see young gentlemen choose them such friends with whom they may seeme beeing absent to be present, being a sunder to be conuersant, beeing dead to be alive. [E, p. 197]
b. I made me a large tent. [RC, p. 45]

Moreover, sentences such as (23) are still found in many regional varieties of English:

(24) a. I'm gonna get me a gun.
b. We gonna have us a great time.

With such examples we have also touched upon the question of how the development of reflexive pronouns spread through various contexts. This is another question to which we will have to return in the following section.

5 Crucial questions

After this brief sketch of the main changes and the major steps in the development of complex *self*-forms in English, we can now turn to those questions that are hardly ever raised, let alone answered in the standard historical descriptions of English, the exception being again Keenan's comprehensive and detailed study (Keenan 1996):

a) In which contexts did the development of reflexive pronouns start?

b) Which meaning of the intensifier *self* was involved in this development?

c) Why are reflexive pronouns in ModE only used in their referential function (i.e. as reflexive anaphors)? Why do English reflexives not have any of the other uses typically found for reflexives in the other Germanic, the Romance and the Slavic languages?

d) Why was the monomorphemic intensifier *self* replaced by the compound form also used as reflexive pronoun? To what extent are the so-called pleonastic dative pronouns involved in that process?

e) Which role did the pleonastic pronouns play in the development of reflexive anaphors?

f) In how far does the historical account of the rise of reflexive pronouns explain the distribution of such pronouns as opposed to personal pronouns in ModE?

g) How did the generic reflexive pronoun *oneself* develop? How is it used in ModE?

5.1 Original syntactic and semantic motivation

For languages to develop a distinction between personal pronouns ('pronominals') and reflexive anaphors at least for the third person is to be expected given the semantic distinction between these two subclasses of function words as markers of co-reference and disjoint reference in a local domain. Minimal pairs like the following clearly differ in meaning and are typically differentiated in languages:

(25) a. John admires him.
b. John admires himself.

It is therefore not surprising that English (and also Afrikaans) should have developed such a distinction. On the other hand, Frisian has preserved the situation also found in OE: plain pronouns are used to do double duty, even if intensifiers can be used to disambiguate. The question of initial actuation, i.e. the question under which conditions a specific linguistic change is triggered, is still a major puz-

zle. What can be investigated with a good chance of success is the question in which contexts a specific change started.

As far as the development of reflexive pronouns is concerned, it is quite plausible to assume that the differentiation of co-referent and disjoint readings through the addition of the intensifiers *self* to pronouns began in argument positions. One piece of evidence for this assumption is provided by the so-called 'snake-sentences', cf. (20). The plain pronouns that express co-reference in these examples all occur in local or temporal adjuncts. In object positions only reflexive anaphors can be used as markers of co-reference. The state in the development of reflexive pronouns represented by ModE clearly suggests therefore that co-arguments were treated differently from adjuncts. Further support for our assumption concerning the beginning point of the development of reflexives comes from a general pragmatic principle proposed by several linguists for the unmarked interpretation of pronouns. Farmer and Harnish (1987), for example, propose a 'Disjoint Reference Presumption', namely "that the arguments of a predicate are [preferentially] intended to be disjoint, unless marked otherwise" (1987:557). Such a specific marker signaling the non-stereotypical, marked situation is the intensifier or the doubling of the pronoun also used in some languages to indicate co-reference (cf. Edmondson 1978). What we have here is yet another instance of a typical markedness situation, where languages can leave the opposition totally unmarked (as in OE). If, however, the opposition is marked, it is invariably the co-reference situation that is clearly identified. The origins of such a presumption are left unclear, but it is certainly plausible to assume that "the prototypical action – what is described by the prototypical transitive clause – is one agent acting upon some entity distinct from itself" (Levinson 1991:127).

This, however, is not the whole story. In addition to the 'Disjoint Reference Presumption' an important semantic distinction seems to have played a major role in the rise and development of reflexive pronouns in English: the distinction between preferentially other-directed and preferentially non-other-directed (=self-) activities, or more generally, situations.[4] This distinction plays an important role for the coding of co-reference in the languages of the world. In languages without reflexive pronouns it is primarily a verb expressing a preferentially other-directed activity that needs an intensifier to express co-reference. All activities of grooming, as expressed by verbs like *wash, shave, dress, shower*, etc. are prototypical instances of activities that are not other-directed (i.e. self-directed) and it is therefore not surprising that they are not expressed by verbs with reflexive pronouns or only optionally so in ModE and many other languages. Exactly the same semantic principle is responsible for the fact that we are less likely to use an intensifier in German sentences like (26) than in sentences like (27):

(26) GERMAN
     a. Karl verteidigte sich nur. – 'Karl was only defending himself.'
     b. Karl bereitet sich vor. – 'Karl is preparing himself.'

(27) GERMAN
     a. Karl hat sich selbst beschuldigt. – 'Karl has accused himself.'
     b. Karl liebt sich selbst am meisten. – 'Most of all Karl loves himself.'

In contrast to German, the use of an intensifier is obligatory in the Swedish translations of (27), but not in those for (26). For all these differences the semantic distinction mentioned above seems to be relevant. There are certain activities or states that are typically other-directed: We attack, accuse, love and hate others. Grooming, defending, feeding, by contrast, is typically non-other-directed. Only very young children and the elderly are dressed or washed by others. Another clear contrast of this kind is provided by adjectives, cf. *to be proud, to be ashamed* vs. *to be jealous, to be fond of.* I can only be proud of achievements that are either my own or achievements of persons somehow related to me, people I could subsume

under an inclusive *we*, i.e. my family, my team, my colleagues. Jealousy, by contrast, is other-directed, away from a person, towards the competitor. Interestingly enough, the French counterparts of *proud* and *jealous* function differently in connection with co-referent interpretations of *lui*, as is pointed out by Zribi-Hertz (1995:346ff.). In combination with *fier*, *lui* may express co-reference, whereas an intensifier must be added to *lui* in order to force the co-referential interpretation after *jaloux*:

(28) FRENCH
    a. Pierre$_i$ est jaloux de lui·$_{i/j}$/lui-même$_i$.
       'Pierre is jealous of him/himself.'
    b. Pierre est fier de lui$_{i/j}$/lui-même$_i$.
       'Pierre is proud of him/himself.'

Precisely the same semantic principle can be evoked to explain why *defense* in the following example can be interpreted reflexively whereas *attack* cannot:

(29) a. John's defense was good. (can mean 'John defended himself.')
    b. John's attack was vicious/good. (cannot mean 'John attacked himself.')

On the basis of such comparative evidence we may also hypothesize that intensifiers were primarily added to object pronouns in those cases where a verb expressed an other-directed activity. In such cases a co-referential interpretation of the plain pronoun was the disfavored, marked option and therefore needed a specific marker. Our assumption is partly confirmed by Farr's observation that the intensifier is never necessary "except with one class, verbs of bodily harm *acwellan, ahon*, etc., which always take the compound reflexive", i.e. invariably signal a co-referential interpretation of a pronoun by a following *self* (Farr 1905:25). Doing bodily harm is, of course, a prototypical case of other-directed activities:[5]

(30) OLD ENGLISH
    ac heo lyfde sceandlice swa swa swin on meoxe and mid healicum synnum hi sylfe
    fordyde [ÆlS III.1.528]
    'but she lived shamefully, like pigs on a dunghill; and was destroying herself by
    deadly sins'

On the basis of all these facts it seems reasonable to assume that it was the necessity to overtly mark an unexpected co-referential interpretation of co-arguments as well as the necessity to overtly indicate an unexpected co-referential interpretation for other-directed activities which provided the beginning point for the use of intensifiers after object pronouns and thus for the development of reflexives pronouns.

5.2 The relevant meaning of *self*

One of the questions that is hardly ever raised in discussions of the historical development of reflexives in English is the question of how the meaning of a modern reflexive pronoun as a marker of co-reference in a local domain could have been derived from the meaning of a plain pronoun, which – as we saw – was compatible with both co-referent and disjoint interpretations, and the meaning of the intensifier *self*. If this question is discussed at all, the relevant meaning of *self* is either described as 'contrastive and emphatic' or paraphrased by 'the same', 'no one other than'. The first suggestion ('emphatic') is no more than a label for a problem rather than a solution and cannot be taken seriously. The latter suggestion is supported by the fact that *self* in OE may indeed express identity, just as *derselbe* in German, *idem* in Latin or *le même* in French:

(31) OLD ENGLISH
    a. on ðam sylfan stede – 'at the very same place' [PPs 83.5]
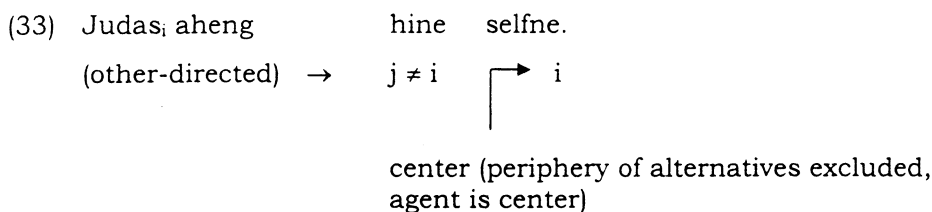   b. in þære seolfan nihte – 'in the same night' [Bede 4 24.338.31]

What these and other examples cited in the relevant literature suggest, however, is that this meaning is only found in connection with the attributive, pre-nominal use of *self*, a situation which is again parallel to that found in French and German. But even if this meaning of *self* could also be shown to occur in post-nominal position, it could never provide a suitable basis for the development of reflexive pronouns and for the compositional derivation of their meaning from that of a plain pronoun and identity. Consider the following example:

(32) OLD ENGLISH
      a. Ne lufað se hine selfne se ðe hine mid synnum bebint [ÆCHom I 23 332.31]
        'he who loads himself with sin does not love himself'
      b. he ... hiene selfne ofslog [Or 4 166.23]
        'he slew himself'

As was pointed out above the plain pronouns in OE are open both for a co-referential and a disjoint interpretation. Given this fact, how can a referentially indeterminate pronoun and an adjective expressing identity ('the same', 'no one other than') combine to a clear signal of co-reference in a local domain? This could only be the case if the referential dependence of the pronoun was established independently of the intensifier. It is the intensifier, however, that makes the co-referential interpretation more likely.[6]

Our analysis of the relevant development is again based on the analysis given above. Adnominal intensifiers relate the referent of their focus, i.e. of the preceding noun phrase, to a set of alternatives and characterize those alternatives as the periphery, entourage, etc. of a center constituted by the referent of the focus. Let us apply these notions to examples like (32), where – in contrast to cases like (12) – the co-referential interpretation is not clearly provided by world knowledge. The manifestation of the relationship between center and periphery relevant for (32) is a more abstract, grammatical version of the fundamental idea. In a situation of killing the activity is typically directed away from an agent to other persons and the same is true, *mutatis mutandis* of a situation of loving. In such situations the center is clearly the agent or the experiencer, the periphery being the persons towards whom such activities or feelings are directed. Given that the relevant situations are instances of conventionally other-directed activities and emotions, the more likely interpretation for the relevant sentences without intensifiers would be a disjoint interpretation for the plain pronouns. What the addition of *self* does is to signal that the referent of the object pronoun is the center rather than the periphery. In other words the referent is the agent in (32b) and the experiencer in (32a). The compositional interpretation of a sentence like (32a) can thus be summarized by the following diagram:

(33)   Judas$_i$ aheng   hine   selfne.

     (other-directed)   →   j ≠ i   ⌐→ i

                               center (periphery of alternatives excluded,
                                agent is center)

So far we have assumed that it is the adnominal use of intensifiers that underlies the development of complex anaphors. However, it is also conceivable that this process was based on the adverbial exclusive use and there are indeed various facts which support such an analysis. Note, first of all, that in languages with morphologically invariant intensifiers the distinction between the adnominal use and the adverbial exclusive use is neutralized in certain context. The sentence in (35) is a possible answer to either question in (34).

GERMAN

(34) a. Wen hat Müller ruiniert? – 'Who did Müller ruin?'

b. Wer hat Müller ruiniert? – 'Who ruined Müller?'

(35) Müller hat sich selbst ruiniert. – 'Müller ruined himself.'

The intensifier *selbst* in (35) can either be adjoined to the reflexive pronoun *sich* and thus be an instance of the adnominal use or it can be adjoined to the VP and thus instantiate the exclusive adverbial use. Interestingly enough, the relevant distinction is also neutralized in languages which do not differentiate between intensifiers and reflexive anaphors, like ModE. Languages like Russian, on the other hand, where intensifiers agree with their focus in case, do differentiate the two uses. In contrast to the adnominal *sam* in (36a), which is adjoined to the reflexive pronoun and therefore coded in the accusative case, the exclusive adverbial *sam* in (36b) appears in the nominative case.

(36) RUSSIAN
    a. Ivan udaril somogo (ACC) sebja. – 'Ivan beat himself.' (adnominal)
    b. Ivan udaril sam (NOM) sebja. – 'Ivan beat himself.' (adverbial)

In the light of such facts, observations made by Farr (1905) and Keenan (1996) acquire a new significance. Both Farr and Keenan point out that the OE intensifier *self* frequently occurs as part of the VP in the nominative case. For Keenan it is the combination of such nominative forms of *self* with pleonastic pronouns in the dative which led to the development of complex reflexives in English, but as observed by both Farr and Keenan, a nominative *self*-form in the verb phrase was by no means restricted to such environments:

(37) OLD ENGLISH
    a. hie hire self gecyð þæt heo nanwuht ne bið [Boe 20.47.7] – 'She told herself that she was nothing.'
    b. Gif he losige, & hine mon eft gefo, forgielde he hine self a be his weregilde [LawAf 1 7.1] – 'If he escapes and then is captured, he may ransom himself with his money'

Further support for the assumption that the exclusive adverbial use of intensifiers may play a significant role in the development of reflexive anaphors comes from languages which have different intensifiers for the adnominal use and the adverbial use. Japanese and Lebanese Arabic are cases in point. In Japanese it is the adverbial intensifier *jibun* rather than the adnominal *jishin* that is also used as reflexive marker:[7]

JAPANESE

(38) Taro-wa   jibun-wo   semeta.
     Taro-NOM   self-ACC   criticised
     'Taro criticized himself.'

(39) Taro-wa   jibun-de   kuruma-wo arata.
     Taro-NOM self-INSTR car-ACC   washed
     'Taro washed the car himself.'

Finally, evidence from first language acquisition shows that the reflexive function and the adverbial exclusive function of *self* are acquired almost simultaneously and that it is often difficult to decide which of the two meanings is intended (cf. König and Siemund 1998b).

These and similar facts suggest that adverbial exclusive intensifiers may have played a significant role in the development of reflexive anaphors, in addition to adnominal intensifiers or even exclusively so. In order to give a plausible reconstruction of the relevant processes we will base our argument on examples from German. Even though German lacks the unspecified bindable expressions (UBEs)[8] of OE, it is much more similar to OE than is ModE. Suppose the contexts that were particularly relevant for the development of reflexive anaphors were contexts of neutralization like (34) – (35). As a starting point, let us therefore assume a context where the subject is questioned, but verb and object are contextually given:

(40) Wer hat Müller ruiniert? – 'Who ruined Müller?'

Let us further assume that there are no pronouns available in German and that proper nouns are the only means of reference to persons. Under these condition, the two NPs in the following answer to the question in (40) will preferentially be interpreted as non-co-referential. They can receive a co-referential interpretation if the first occurrence of Müller is e.g. assumed to stand for the head of a company and the second for the company itself.

(41) Müller hat Müller ruiniert. – 'Müller ruined Müller.'

However, when we add the adverbial exclusive intensifier to this example, the co-referential interpretation appears to be favored, even without additional stipulations. In other words, the intensifier functions as a reflexivizer.[9]

(42) Müller hat Müller selbst ruiniert. – 'Müller ruined Müller himself.'

Note that this reconstruction is fully compatible with our analysis of the semantic contribution that adverbial exclusive intensifiers make to the meaning of a sentence. As outlined in section 2, their meaning comprises the following two components: (i) focusing of the agent subject and thus evoking as well as exclusion of alternative agents and (ii) characterization of the agentive subject as maximally affected. In the context of a *wh*-question like (40), the subject constituent is focused in the answer and this constituent also provides the new information. Given that exclusive adverbial intensifiers exclude alternative agents for a given event whose patient is given, they may also provide the basis for expressing surprising co-reference between a given patient and an agent. Moreover, the characterization of the agent as maximally affected is necessarily satisfied if we construe agent and patient as being co-referential. To sum up, what this alternative analysis shows is that either the adnominal intensifier or the adverbial exclusive intensifier, and maybe even both, can plausibly be assumed to have been involved in the development of complex *self*-forms in English.

As discussed above, it is reasonable to assume that the compounding of pronoun and intensifier started in the third person because it is here where we find referential ambiguity of the pronoun. We are therefore required to account for the extension of the complex reflexive to first and second person, which is a step that, from a functional point of view, need not have been taken. As a matter of fact, many languages (German, Scandinavian, Romance, etc.) only have a reflexive for the third person and use personal pronouns for first and second person. Penning (1875:13) as well as several subsequent studies assume that this extension happened due to analogy: "from the third person this usage was naturally transferred to the first and second persons", and although this can hardly count as a functional explanation, the assumption of a conceptual urge for paradigmatic homogeneity does not seem entirely implausible. Notice, at least, that this development conforms with the typological universal discussed in Faltz (1985), according to which reflexive marking in the first and second person presupposes reflexive marking in the third person, but never the other way round.[10]

5.3 Referential and non-referential uses of reflexive pronouns

In this section we will discuss the question why ModE does not have any of the other uses that reflexives also may have and indeed typically have in Germanic, Romance and Slavic. In other words, how can our account explain that reflexive pronouns in English are reflexive anaphors, i.e. confined to the referential use in which they express co-reference with an antecedent in a local domain? Starting from such a use reflexive pronouns may develop a wide variety of uses in which they function essentially as devices of derived intransitivity. The most typical of these uses are described by the following examples taken from German and Spanish (cf. Haspelmath 1990; Kemmer 1993):

(43) GERMAN

    a. Die Professoren bekämpfen sich. (reciprocal) – 'The professors fight one another'
    b. Paul erhob sich. (bodily motion) – 'Paul got up.'
    c. Die Erde dreht sich um die Sonne. (anticausative/ergative) – 'The earth circles around the sun.'
    d. Dieses Hemd wäscht sich gut. (middle/facilitative) – 'This shirt washes well.'

(44) SPANISH

    a. Se venden coches usados. (passive) – 'Used cars for sale.'
    b. Aquí se habla español. (impersonal passive) – 'Spanish spoken here.'

The historical and implicational connections between these extended uses of reflexive pronouns as intransitivizers are reasonably well-understood. They can be represented by the chain of grammaticalization depicted in Figure 2. This chain does not only represent typical and widely attested historical ex-

Figure 2
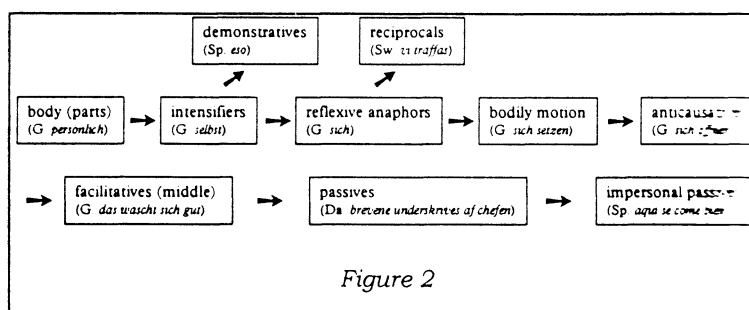
tensions in the use of reflexive pronouns, but also typological connections between the existence of certain uses in a language. Read from left to right it describes the typical order in the historical development of reflexive pronouns across languages Read from right to left, it states that if a language has a certain use of the reflexive at some point to the right, it will also have all uses up to some point further to the left.[11] German manifests the facilitative use of reflexives and all uses to the left up to and including reflexive anaphors, Spanish also has the impersonal use and thus all uses represented in the diagram. English, by contrast, has only the referential use (reflexive anaphors), but none of the others. This restriction seems to be very clearly connected with the fact that reflexive pronouns in English are identical in form to intensifiers. All of the languages examined so far in our project which manifest this identity (Turkish, Arabic, Lezgian, Mandarin, Japanese, Korean, Bengali, etc.) have none of the intransitivizing uses of reflexives. We can therefore formulate the following general hypothesis:

(45) If a language uses the same expression for intensifiers and reflexive anaphors, it manifests none of the extended uses of reflexive pronouns as markers of derived intransitivity.

An explanation of this correlation may reasonably be based on the time depth in the development and existence of reflexive pronouns. As was shown above, reflexive pronouns in English are relatively young. They are therefore weakly grammaticalized and thus have retained most if not all of their original morphological and semantic substance. The processes of grammaticalization that typically lead to the extended uses described above and also to morphological reduction and attrition have not been operative in the history of English. The so called 'strong' reflexives of English are only weakly grammaticalized.

An alternative analysis could make reference to the meaning of intensifiers. As will be shown in the subsequent section, intensifiers always enforce a referential interpretation of the NP with which they are in association. Since the derived uses of reflexives are typically non-referential, this could be the reason why *self*-reflexives do not extend their distribution.

5.4 From *self* to x-*self*

In section 5.2 above we argued that there are good reasons to believe that the source of the ModE compound reflexives must be sought in those object pronouns

of OE which were referentially ambiguous and to which the intensifier *self* was systematically adjoined in order to co-index them with the subject. This view is widely accepted in the literature (Penning 1875; Farr 1905; Mitchell 1985). What our analysis mainly contributes to this discussion is to make clear which of the three possible meanings of the intensifier was involved in that process and how the meaning of the resulting expression can be derived compositionally. By far more puzzling and intricate is the question why the original monomorphemic intensifier *self* was abandoned in the development of English and came to be replaced by the complex form x-*self*, and to date no fully convincing explanation for this process has been put forward. Unfortunately, we too are not in a position to offer a solution to this problem and will therefore restrict ourselves to summarizing the main arguments brought forward so far and to discussing their validity.

To begin with, simple analogy may be held responsible for this development. We have already seen that it is not entirely unconvincing to attribute the extension of the complex reflexive from third to first and second person to analogy and a similar conceptual struggle for paradigmatic homogeneity may be assumed to underlie the development of the complex intensifier. The snag, however, is that intensifier and reflexive do not stand in paradigmatic opposition and many languages (German, Russian, Italian) show that these expressions need not be identical, even though the identical coding of reflexive and intensifier is a widespread feature in the languages of the world. In addition, general insights from grammaticalization theory predict that intensifiers form the basis for the development of reflexive anaphors, but not the other way round (cf. Figure 2 above). Finally, note that a monomorphemic intensifier peacefully coexists with a complex reflexive in Afrikaans (cf. Donaldson 1993), in spite of the fact that the two expressions are morphologically related:

(46) AFRIKAANS
    a. Elke ma moet haarself die volgende afvra.
       'Every mother should ask herself the following.'
    b. Sy het die rokkie self gemaak.
       'She made the dress herself.'

A more substantial explanation for the rise of complex intensifiers, to which also Mitchell (1985:188ff.) appears to subscribe, is offered in Penning (1875), who argues that dative pronouns used pleonastically, which can be found in abundance in OE and MidE, had a major stake in this development. The bulk of these pronouns occurs with verbs of motion, rest, posture, fear, saying, knowing, thinking and Penning regards them by and large as dysfunctional because their "presence leaves the sense of the sentence nearly unaltered" [p. 22]. The important point for his line of reasoning is that these dative pronouns and the intensifier, albeit in the nominative, can quite often be found in sequence:

(47) OLD ENGLISH
    a. He næs na ofslagen, ac he him sylf gewat, ... [ÆLet 4 661]
       'He was not slain, but he departed (died) on his own ...'
    b. 7 he sende of his mannan to þissum lande. 7 wolde cuman him sylf æfter [Chron (E) 1087.60]
       'and he sent his men to that country and wanted to follow later on himself'

Although this observation is empirically correct, it cannot in itself be accepted as a sufficient explanation for the fusion of pronoun and intensifier and consequently Penning's motivation for this process remains relatively weak: "as this dative on account of its pleonastic nature forms no integral part of any other part of the sentence, it is quite natural that it gradually lost its original signification and became closely connected with „seolf"." [p. 22].[12]

Farr (1905:42) takes exception to this analysis mainly on the grounds that complex intensifiers occur systematically while verbs taking pleonastic datives are still

an active construction. They do not occur earlier with the relevant verb classes and neither can they be found more frequently with them. Moreover, these *self*-forms also occur behind pronouns that are not co-indexed with the subject. Against the background of these observations he argues that pleonastic dative and the adjacent intensifier should be analyzed as two separate constructions. The dative pronouns are triggered by certain verbs according to established rules quite independently of the adjacent intensifiers. For these, in turn, there was an option to occur in non-juxtaposed position to the NP with which they were in association. It is quite obvious that the non-juxtaposed *self*-forms are intensifiers in their adverbial use. Judged against the background of our classification of intensifiers as outlined in section 2, (47a) is a clear example of an adverbial exclusive use and the most likely interpretation of the intensifier in (47b) is adverbial and inclusive. Note that these intensifiers can typically be found in the nominative and do not agree with the pronoun in case even in documents which were written in times when writers watched their cases carefully, as e.g. Ælfric (cf. Keenan 1996:15). According to Farr's analysis, the occurrence of intensifiers right-adjacent to pleonastic dative pronouns is the result of unrelated syntactic rules.

As for the origin of the pronominal head found in ModE complex intensifiers, Farr holds case syncretism responsible for its emergence. Given that the intensifier could occur in distant position from its head NP, the loss of case endings may have blurred the relation between the two and subsequently "... the non-juxtaposed *self* of the Nom. lost its power of standing alone. [...] It became necessary then to repeat the subject as a reinforcement to *self*." [p. 42].

Although it appears somewhat difficult to motivate this analysis and is easily possible to produce facts that argue against it (just notice that Germ. *selbst* can occur non-juxtaposed without an additional pronominal copy), we find Farr's idea to consider pleonastic dative and adjacent intensifier as independent structures fully convincing, and can even produce some additional facts in support of it. Note first of all that the verbs taking pleonastic datives by no means form an amorphous group. Authors have used this label as a cover term for cases of inherent reflexivity (mainly in connection with psychological predicates, cf. (48)), beneficiaries ('dativus commodi', cf. (49)) and objects after verbs of bodily motion, which seem to straddle the line between reflexive anaphors and purely grammatical markers of derived intransitivity (50).[13]

OLD ENGLISH

(48) a. ... geswicon þa þaere fyrding. & faerde aelc mann him ham [Chron (E) 1016.8]
'... (they) abandoned then the expedition and every man went home'
b. he him ondræt his deaþes symble [ÆlS (Ash Wed) 86]
'He will ever dread his death.'

(49) wineleas wonsælig mon genimeð him wulfas to geferan [Max I 146]
'The friendless unfortunate man takes wolves as companions.'

(50) and stod him under þam treowe [Gen 18.8]
'he stood under the tree'

As a matter of fact, from a cross-linguistic perspective the distribution of pleonastic pronouns in OE seems quite familiar and resembles in large parts the one of non-referentially used reflexive pronouns in German, Romance, etc. and at least some of these occurrences can be explained as a consequence of reflexive markers entering the path of grammaticalization depicted in Figure 2 above. To assume that OE *self* could be construed with pleonastic datives and that they eventually fused into one complex expression is unlikely because, due to their semantics, intensifiers are restricted to interacting with referential NPs. This is clearly demonstrated by the following pair of sentences where the intensifier in combination with a non-

referential indefinite description (opaque NP) is ungrammatical. The above pleonastic pronouns, however, are strictly non-referential.

(51) a. The general himself ordered the sinking of the fleet.
　　 b. *They are seeking a general himself.

Contrastive evidence from German (and many other languages with non-referential reflexives) yields a similar argument. It is certainly no accident that only referentially used reflexives allow modification by the intensifier. This is why (52b) cannot be interpreted as 'Paul was afraid of himself.'

(52) GERMAN
　　 a. Paul kritisierte [sich selbst].
　　　　'Paul criticised himself.'
　　 b. *Paul fürchtete [sich selbst].
　　　　'Paul feared himself.'

Nevertheless, the intensifier following the reflexive in cases like (52b) is not necessarily ungrammatical; it is only so when in association with the reflexive, i.e. in its usage that we have referred to as adnominal. Intensifiers that are used adverbially are not excluded from occurring right adjacent to non-referential reflexives, however, these are not in association with the reflexives, but with the relevant subjects:

(53) GERMAN
　　 a. Paul fürchtete sich selbst.
　　　　'Paul was afraid himself.'
　　 b. Sie stellte sich selbst neben ihn.
　　　　'She stood herself next to him.'

In sum, Farr (1905) has a strong point in arguing that "in Anglo-Saxon the [pleonastic] pronoun is still felt as a Refl. Dat." and that the intensifier "is emphasizing the Nom. noun or pronoun, with no consciousness of the two forming a compound" [p. 26].[14] Hence, concerning the development of complex intensifiers in English, pleonastic dative pronouns are no more than a red herring.

However, this brings us back to where we started from because now that we know what did not contribute to the emergence of complex intensifiers, we are still in need of a convincing explanation. Another proposal occasionally found in the literature makes influence from Romance responsible for this development. As is well known, English was virtually inundated by French from 1066 onwards and there the intensifier (lui-même) is strikingly similar to the one found in ModE.[15] This proposal is refuted in Farr (1905:41) who argues that complex intensifiers also occur in documents for which the assumption of French influence is highly unlikely. Hence, it appears that we have to content ourselves with the conclusion that the historical development of English still poses intricate problems which have to await a final solution.

In order to finish the present discussion in a positive vein, let us finally discuss the question why pleonastic dative pronouns disappeared with the advent of EModE. Here, at last, a convincing explanation can be put forward and basically two lines of argumentation are feasible. According to Keenan (1996:36) it is the emergence of Principle B of the Binding Conditions "Pronominals are free in their governing category" (cf. Chomsky 1981:188) that forced the dative pronouns to disappear. We, by contrast, believe that the newly developed complex anaphors are to blame. When they took over the territory of personal pronouns used as reflexive anaphors, the semantic link between the referential and non-referential uses of these pronouns was severed and the loss of the referential uses entailed the loss of the non-referential uses. The complex reflexives of ModE, however, either have too much semantic substance to have proceeded significantly on the path of grammaticalization given in Figure 2 above or some semantic factor, which must be clearly

linked to their formal identity with intensifiers, impedes the development of non-referential uses.

5.5 The role of pleonastic pronouns for the development of reflexive anaphors

In section 5.1 we argued that the development of complex anaphors started on referentially ambiguous object pronouns to which *self* could be added in order to resolve the ambiguity. A very different view of the historical development of reflexive anaphors is presented in a recent study by E. Keenan (1996), who argues that both the reflexive anaphors of ModE as well as the formally identical intensifiers derive historically from a fusion of pleonastic pronouns in the dative case and the original intensifier *self* in the nominative. Following Farr (1905) he assumes that pleonastic datives followed by nominative *self*-forms are the product of two independent processes, namely (i) the use of nominative *self* in the predicate (our adverbial *self*) and (ii) the use of non-referential dative pronouns ('non-theta datives' in Keenan's terminology). According to Keenan, the creation of anaphors proceeded along the following two steps.

Starting at around 1000 AD sequences of dative pronouns and nominative *self* came to be interpreted as semantic units. Keenan takes 'contrast' as the basic contribution of *self* and assumes that pleonastic datives heighten the involvement of the subject. The overall contribution of sequences of the two expressions can therefore be described as "contrast & heighten the involvement of the subject of the predicate you are governed by" [p. 16]. His main support for this analysis is that these two predications are distinct but compatible.

In a second step dative pronouns followed by *self* in the nominative become a phonological word and later on also a syntactic unit, i.e. a constituent. This process is completed by around 1275. According to Keenan, it is due to *inertia* that this new complex expression occurs in the position of nominative *self* and also in places where contrastively interpreted dative/accusative pronouns used to be found.[16] The complex *self*-forms take over both the distribution and the meaning of their components. Based on the distribution of their components, the complex *self*-forms come to be used both as intensifiers and as reflexive anaphors. Eventually it is also assigned a theta role and can occur in argument positions. In the course of subsequent centuries *self* and later also the use of pleonastic pronouns die out.

This account, whose basic outlines are summarized above, offers an explanation both for the development of reflexive anaphors and for that of the formally identical intensifiers. A further advantage of that account over our analysis is that it includes the restructuring of the Old English system for marking inherent reflexivity. We do, however, have objections against the following points:

a) Keenan does not have a very clear idea as to how the meaning of intensifiers should be analyzed. The description as 'contrastive' captures the fact that the focusing with which intensifiers interact evokes alternatives, but neglects another important aspect of their meaning.

b) We find it problematic to assume that adnominal intensifiers could occur inside the predicate, or be moved into it as a result of 'floating', without change of meaning. If the assumption is correct that *self* was more or less used like its counterparts (Germ. *selbst*, Norweg. *selv*, etc.) in other Germanic languages, an intensifier with nominative case in the predicate was an instance of an adverbial use.

c) If the pronouns that provide the basis for the development of reflexive anaphors were all pleonastic and merely expressed heightened involvement of the subject and if a following *self* evoked alternatives for the referent of the subject, it is not clear how such a situation can give rise to the development of reflexive ana-

phors, i.e. of markers of co-reference between co-arguments. True pleonastic pronouns and a following *self* were signals of local binding at a certain stage, but their meaning and function was very different from that of markers of co-reference in a local domain in Modern English.

d) If – as we assume – Old English had developed inherent reflexivity for certain verbs (motion, resting, knowing, perception, fear), expressed by personal pronouns, then it is difficult to imagine that these redundant pronouns, which were probably used as purely grammatical signals of derived intransitivity, could play a role in the development of reflexive anaphors. If pleonastic pronouns did play any role, it was probably that subset with the role of a beneficiary.

e) As outlined above, Keenan assumes that pleonastic datives heighten the involvement of the subject, that intensifiers add contrast and that both meaning components enter into the contribution of the resulting expression. This analysis predicts that ModE intensifiers in all three uses heighten the involvement of the NP with which they are in association. However, the assumption of heightened involvement cannot plausibly be maintained for the adnominal use of ModE x-*self* (cf. *I enjoyed the trailer but I didn't like the movie itself.*) and also for the adverbial uses it rather is an effect and not the basic contribution. Moreover, occurrences of OE adverbial *self* alone arguably heighten the involvement of the relevant NP referent: *forðæm ic hit no self nauht ne ondræde* [Boe 20.47.5] – 'I do not fear it myself.'

f) Similarly, the pleonastic pronouns of OE were always co-indexed with the local subject, i.e. they were locally bound. Keenan's prediction hence would be that all complex *self*-forms of ModE are strictly locally bound. However, there are numerous examples of ModE *self*-forms which do not take local antecedents: ... *somehow the gap that had recently formed between herself and Harry didn't let her say this to him.* [J. le Carré, *The Tailor of Panama*, p.144]

It is for these reasons that we did not follow Keenan's account. However, we do not want to entirely exclude the possibility that the pleonastic pronouns found in OE or some subset thereof participated in the creation of ModE complex *self*-forms.

5.6 The distribution of *self*-forms in ModE

Why it is that the situation found in OE persists in the so-called 'snake-sentences' has already been explained. If the use of the intensifier after an object pronoun started as a strategy to invalidate the Presumption of Disjoint Reference for co-arguments, it follows that reflexive forms do not develop in adjuncts. In contexts such as these English differs from languages with strongly grammaticalized reflexives such as German:

(54) a. She pushed the cart in front of her.
b. Sie schob den Wagen vor sich her.

In addition to lacking reflexives in cases where we would expect them, ModE also manifests the problem of using reflexive pronouns, or perhaps we should say '*self*-forms', in cases where they are unexpected, judging on the basis of the regularities found in most other European languages. To explain such untriggered or creeping reflexives we first of all have to be aware of the fact that the fusion between plain pronouns and intensifiers in MidE and the subsequent restrictions imposed on the combination of intensifiers with pronominal heads (foci) in non-subject positions amount to a neutralization of several structures clearly differentiated in languages like German:

(55) a. The director regarded himself in the mirror.
b. Der Direktor betrachtete sich im Spiegel.

(56) a. He was reluctant to admit even to himself that he had no more moves left.
   b. Er zögerte, auch nur sich selbst einzugestehen, daß ...

(57) a. I think Bob sees himself in her. He sees something that reminds him of himself.
   b. ... Er sieht etwas, was ihn an ihn selbst erinnert.

These examples clearly show that it is completely inappropriate to subsume all *self*-forms without a preceding noun phrase under the category 'reflexive pronoun'. In fact it is tempting to analyze all untriggered reflexives, i.e. all *self*-forms without a preceding nominal focus, as intensifiers with incorporated pronominal focus. Such a view has great semantic plausibility, since the relevant forms typically introduce the relevant alternatives in the context:[17]

(58) a. There are groups of people like yourself.
   b. This paper was written by Mary and myself.
   c. Mary wondered if it could happen to anyone but herself.

The restrictions for such forms mentioned in (22), too, are easy to explain, given our semantic analysis of adnominal intensifiers. As a result of the special role speaker and hearer have in a verbal interaction, they are more likely to be chosen as center than a non-speaker or non-hearer. The greater acceptability of untriggered reflexives in object as opposed to subject position has to do with the syntacticization of reflexive pronouns in standard English after the 17th century. Despite the strong evidence for the very simple explanation offered here for the meaning and use of untriggered reflexives, we do not want to completely exclude the possibility that some of the relevant forms do not admit of an analysis as intensifiers with incorporated pronominal foci. It is pointed out in many of the relevant studies that some examples do not have the requisite contrastive meaning. The following examples are cases in point (cf. Zribi-Hertz 1989, 1995; König and Siemund 1998a):

(59) a. John$_i$'s face turned red despite himself$_i$.
   b. John$_i$ couldn't resist the hunger for revenge which filled himself$_i$.
   c. While looking at the still lake, John$_i$ distinctly heard a voice whispering within himself$_i$: 'life is wonderful'.
   d. Slowly, strangely, consciousness changes, and Petworth$_i$ can feel the change taking place within himself$_i$.

In cases such as these an analysis of the *self*-forms as intensifiers without heads is semantically implausible, since no possible alternatives to the person referred by *him* is given in the verbal or non-verbal context. Moreover, if we use a translation into German as a test we get *ihn* (59b) and *in ihm* (59c,d) as translation, rather than the corresponding expressions with intensifiers. As far as we can see, such examples are a clear minority in the long lists of examples given as examples of creeping reflexives in the literature. Most of these forms are easily analyzable as intensifiers with incorporated pronominal foci. Because of examples like (59), however, we cannot completely exclude the possibility that in addition to the structural constraints captured in Chomsky's Binding conditions, we also need something like the discourse principles formulated in Zribi-Hertz (1989) to account for the distribution of reflexive pronouns in ModE.

5.7 The development and distribution of *oneself*

Of all the questions raised above only that after the development and use of the generic reflexive pronoun *oneself* is still to be dealt with. Here we can confine ourselves to two or three remarks. According to the relevant handbooks, the indefinite form *oneself* does not appear until the second half of the 16th century and can therefore be considered a relatively late development (cf. Visser 1970:434). Particularly in the beginning, we often find it printed as two separate words, either *ones self* or *one's self*, and the possessive suffix on *one* suggests that it was formed

in analogy to *my self*, *thy self*, *our self*, etc. Thus, the formation of *oneself* supports the claim occasionally found in the literature that *self* was recategorized as a nominal in MidE (cf. van Gelderen 1996). Incidentally, the indefinite *self*-form emerges precisely at the time when the use of complex *self*-forms as reflexive anaphors begins to stabilize and the pleonastic dative pronouns die out. What is less clear is whether these processes are causally related or not. Although a causal link seems unlikely, we would not want to exclude this possibility entirely.

In EModE the indefinite *self*-form could be used as a reflexive pronoun as well as an intensifier, with the reflexive use apparently established slightly earlier:

(60) a. To exalt ones self aboue other men [1548: R. Hutten *Sum of Diuinitie* Cvjb, OED]
  b. It were folly to sacrifice one's-self for the sake of such [1732: Berkeley *Alciphr.* III §12, OED]

When *oneself* is used as an intensifier, it exclusively appears in an adverbial interpretation:

(61) a. Griefe is felt but by one's selfe [1621: Lady M. Wroth *Urania* 505, OED]
  b. One might wear the articles one's-self [1848: Dickens *Dombey* v, OED]

Interestingly enough, the distribution of *oneself* does not seem to have changed greatly in the subsequent development of English. Also in ModE we find *oneself* in basically two uses, as a reflexive pronoun (62) and as an adverbial intensifier (63):

(62) One can not keep that sort of information to oneself. [BNC]

(63) I now realise that one has to ask the questions oneself. [BNC]

In addition, in our data from ModE the use of *oneself* as an adnominal intensifier with incorporated pronominal focus is attested (cf. (64)). However, we cannot exclude that this use of *oneself* was possible right from the beginning and is simply missing in our historical data.

(64) It is impossible to live in Spain and not be radically changed, not to discover profound truths about life, and about oneself. [BNC]

What is conspicuously absent from the data is the adnominal use with overt nominal focus. The only possible candidate to fill the focus position is the indefinite pronoun *one*. Our frequency count done for adnominal *oneself* in an extensive corpus (BNC) has revealed just one single instance of adnominal *oneself*, and even for this single occurrence it is not entirely clear if its meaning fully corresponds to the one typical of adnominal intensifiers:[18]

(65) That is to say they constructed a picture of the world, a picture which one oneself no longer believes to be viable. [BNC]

What we find here is thus an interesting case of an option made available by the system of Modern English that is hardly ever exploited in actual usage.

6 Conclusions

The approach to linguistic change advocated and used in this paper is an approach firmly grounded in cross-linguistic typological work. Certain questions cannot be discussed or even answered on the basis of the historical evidence provided by one language alone. In many cases, insights provided by language typology, and by grammaticalization theory in particular, can be used to give additional support and plausibility to analyses proposed for a specific language. The development of reflexive pronouns in English is by no means a unique phenomenon even in the context of Europe and neither are the formal means used for this purpose. On the other hand, the relevant phenomena in OE and other West Germanic languages show that the distinctions used in current theorizing about the distribution of per-

sonal pronouns ('pronominals') and reflexive pronouns ('anaphors') are not applicable to some if not many languages in the world.

What our study has also shown is the importance of pragmatic factors for an adequate explanation of linguistic change. The pragmatic factors that seem to play a major role for the development of reflexive pronouns are the Disjoint Reference Presumption and the differentiation between other-directed and non-other-directed situations.

Unfortunately, many points central to the present study could only be touched on or had to be left out entirely. First, it is still a completely open question why the new complex reflexive pronoun x-*self* superseded the monomorphemic intensifier *self*. In a way, the loss of the original intensifier seems to be the reason for the somewhat confusing situation observed in EModE, a situation from which ModE has not fully recovered yet. Intensifiers and reflexive anaphors are identical in many languages but a development of strong reflexives from personal pronouns and intensifiers does not necessarily lead to a replacement of the original intensifier, as is shown by Afrikaans. Secondly, there is to date no study dealing with the semantic development of the intensifier itself. As mentioned before, intensifying x-*self* in ModE shows a variety of uses and it is far from clear that they were all there right from the beginning. Certain uses seem to be more basic than others. Again, such an hypothesis is well in line with our cross-linguistic observations.

It is sometimes assumed that historical data and changes can provide a criterion for selecting between alternative approaches or theories, the assumption being that the data and processes of change are compatible with only one theory and exclude all others. Unfortunately, our study of the development and renovation of reflexives has not confirmed this view. Limited, sketchy and inadequate as they are, the historical data seem to be compatible with quite different theoretical assumptions and approaches. In fact, very different pictures of the development of reflexive anaphors in English are presented in current publications on the topic. It is our contention that historical linguistics should turn to broadly conceived cross-linguistic studies for inspiration and guidance.

Notes

1 Van Gelderen (1996) bases her analysis of the development of *self*-forms in English on precisely this assumption.

2 Such a usage of *self*-forms can also be found in the poetry of Emily Dickinson: *But since Myself – assault ME –* [ED 642]. Similar facts are also reported from Modern Greek (Manney 1998) where the complex *self*-form can be used in both subject and object position:

MODERN GREEK
(i) eɣó   ke   monó   eɣó   pará   kanís   álos   taleporó   ton   eaftó   mu
    I   and only   I   instead no-one other harass   the.ACC   self.ACC   my
    'I and no one else harass myself.'
(ii) o   eaftós   mu   me   talepori   kanís   álos
     the.NOM   self.NOM   my   me   harass   no-one other
     'Myself and no one else harasses me.'

3 Another fact worth mentioning at this point is that *self* is about three times as frequent in EModE as it is in ModE. This is what our frequency counts and a comparison between a corpus of all Shakespearean plays and a corpus of conversational English revealed.

4 The relevance of this distinction was first brought to our attention by a paper on strong reflexives in Germanic given by Paul Kiparsky at a conference in York (1990).

5   Keenan (1996:12) in his seminal study notes that there are 10 verbs in OE with which a reflexively used object pronoun is always followed by the intensifier. These include *acwellan* 'kill', *ahon* 'hang', *fordon* 'destroy', *forseon* 'scorn, renounce', *(ge)haelan* 'cure, castrate', *ofslean* 'slay', *(ge)swencan* 'afflict, oppress', and *þreag(ga)n* 'threaten, torture'.

6   Notice, nevertheless, that *hine selfne* could be used for both the meanings corresponding to German *sich (selbst)* and *ihn selbst*. The non-reflexive interpretation was possible in cases where *hine selfne* had reference to a central or prominent character introduced in the surrounding discourse:

> OLD ENGLISH
> Be ðam cwæð se æðela lareow sanctus Paulus: Ic wille ðæt ge sien wise to gode & bilwite to yfele. Ond eft be ðæm cwæð Dryhten ðurh hine selfne to his gecorenum: Beo ge swa ware sua sua nædran & sua bilwite sua culfran. [CP 35.237.18; Sweet's translation]
> 'Therefore the noble teacher St. Paul said: "I wish ye to be wise for good and simple for evil." And again, the Lord spoke about the same through himself to his elect: "Be cunning as adders and simple as pigeons."'

7   Note that with respect to English, it appears that the adverbial exclusive meaning can be superimposed on the reflexive meaning: *He criticised himSELF* (cf. also Kemmer 1995).

8   In the sense of Zribi-Hertz (1995).

9   In a situation of clear co-reference the correct German sentence could, of course, have the reflexive pronoun *sich* in object position: *Müller hat sich selbst ruiniert*. Given that a question like (40) would make the subject the informational (or identificational) focus of the answer, it is surprising to note that a sentence like *MÜLLER hat sich ruiniert* would not be a possible answer to (40), but to the question *Wer hat sich ruiniert?* – 'Who ruined himself?'

10   Van Gelderen (1996:22) attributes the fact that first and second person pronouns could be used much longer anaphorically than those of the third person to a difference in their φ-features and to the loss of inherent case in English. According to her analysis, "first and second persons have unspecified phi-features and can therefore continue to function anaphorically even though they lose inherent Case; third person pronouns, on the other hand, do not have weak phi-features and when inherent Case disappears, they cease to function anaphorically."

11   Figure 2 does not represent an implicational hierarchy, but only an implicational map. Its major claim is that reflexive markers may only have adjacent meanings or uses. If such markers extend their use to the right, they may however lose their meanings further to the left to different markers.

12   Ogura (1989) proposes that ModE *I myself* or *he himself* are contaminations of *self* in an emphatic use (*ic me selfne*) and in a repetitive use (*ic ... and me self*), but this is more a description of the problem rather than a proper analysis.

13   The distribution of pleonastic datives is even more complex because from OE to MidE dative pronouns are taking over the territory of accusative pronouns and some pleonastic datives may originally have been 'pleonastic accusatives' as e.g. in *he ... astrehte hine to eorþan* [Gen 18.2] – 'He bowed down to the ground.'

14   Note also that sequences of pleonastic dative pronoun and intensifier in which both expressions agree in case do not seem to exist. This is at least what our current evidence suggests and would be another point in favour of Farr's analysis.

15   The same is true of Italian (*lui-stesso*) and Spanish (*él mismo*).

16   Keenan (p. 3) defines *inertia* informally as follows: "Things stay as they are unless a force (including decay) acts upon them."

17   Keenan (1996:18ff.) demonstrates that these 'anomalous' uses of complex *self*-forms can be found right from the beginning of the MidE period (and in disconnected spelling probably even earlier):

(i) Heo feol on hir bedd, / þer heo knof hudde,
     To sle wiþ King loþe / and hurselue boþe [KH 1195]
     'She fell on her bed, / where she hid a knife / to slay the hated king / and herself.'
(ii) Luuie we god mid vre heorte. ... and ure emcristene alse us suelf ... [Lamb PM 77]
     'Let us love God with our hearts ... and our fellow Christians as ourselves ...'

18   There seems to be no similar constraint in German: *Wenn der Spezialist ratlos ist, kann man selbst auch nichts mehr machen.* – 'If the specialist is at the end of his tether, you yourself cannot do anything about it either.'

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