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Reflexive pronouns and other uses of *self*-forms in English

Abstract: Based on recent theoretical studies in the relevant domain and on the findings of a typological research project, this paper proposes a different analysis of the syntax, meaning and use of *self*-forms (*himself*/*herself*, etc.) in English from that found in most major handbooks of English grammar. X-*self* as a reflexive anaphor is distinguished from x-*self* as an intensifier on the basis of various syntactic and semantic criteria. Further sub-instances of these two major uses are then distinguished. Locally free *self*-forms ('untriggered/creeping/logophoric *self*-forms') are shown to share features both with intensifiers and reflexive anaphors, but are also clearly differentiated from these two categories in their distribution and their interpretation.

1. Reflexive pronouns (anaphors)

Even in the newest major reference grammars of English (Quirk et al.: 1985, 355-61; Biber et al.: 1999, 342-6; Huddleston and Pullum: 2002, 1483-98) reflexive pronouns are simply characterized in terms of their morphological make-up: "Reflexive pronouns are inflectional forms of the personal pronouns, formed morphologically by the compounding of *self* with another form: …" (Huddleston et al.: 2002, 1483). In Standard English there are two series of such *self*-forms: (a) one based on the object (originally the dative) forms of the personal pronouns (*himself*, *herself*, *itself*, *themselves*) and (b) one based on the possessive (genitive) forms (*myself*, *yourself*, *ourselves*, *yourselves*). Furthermore, there is the plain, generic form *oneself*. According to this definition all of the following examples contain reflexive pronouns:

(1) a. *John was clearly protecting* himself.
     b. *Fred fancies* himself.
     c. *She poured* herself *another cup of tea.*

(2) a. *The interesting point in this case is that the writer* himself *did not acknowledge the work of his assistants in his papers, so the reader had no knowledge of the writer's separation from his data.* [BNC B25 376]
     b. *His target was the Court rather than the Queen* herself*: "the Queen's entourage," he wrote, "are almost without exception the 'tweedy' sort."* [BNC ADB 63]
     c. *Description is a heading which includes both a description of the work* itself *and of the critic's response to it.* [BNC A04 179]

Even though the *self*-forms in the two sets of examples are completely parallel in their form – they inflect for number, person and also for gender in agreement with some other noun phrase in the sentence – a closer look at distribution and meaning shows that there are some basic differences between the forms in (1) and those in the set of examples under (2): (i) the *self*-forms in (1) occur in object (argument) positions of

transitive verbs, whereas those in (2) are adjuncts to some noun phrase. It follows from these distributional facts that the *self*-forms in (2) can be omitted without making the sentences ungrammatical, whereas those in (1) cannot be left out, since they fill a valency position.[1] (ii) There is also a clear difference in meaning. The *self*-forms in (1) indicate that two participants in the relevant situations (Agent and Patient in (1a-b) and Agent and Recipient in (1c)) have the same referent, i.e. they identify the same person. Such co-reference of *self*-forms with an antecedent (or binding of a reflexive pronoun by an antecedent),[2] typically the subject of the same clause, is usually represented by assigning the same referential index to antecedent and reflexive (*Fred$_i$ fancies himself$_i$*). The *self*-forms in (2), by contrast, do not express such co-reference or binding. These forms are invariably phonologically prominent, i.e. they are focused and therefore stressed. The semantic effect of such focusing is the evoking of alternatives. In other words, what the *self*-forms in examples such as (2) do is to bring alternatives to the value denoted by the preceding noun phrase into the discussion. In the examples given these alternatives are in fact mentioned in the context, e.g. *the writer's assistants* as opposed to *the writer* in (2a), and *the Queen* as opposed to *her entourage* in (2b). (iii) Finally, we should note that the *self*-forms in (1) and those in (2) have different translations in many other European languages: *sich* vs. *selbst* in German, *si/sé* vs. *stesso* in Italian, *sebja* vs. *sam* in Russian, to mention only a few examples.

The grammar handbooks mentioned above as well as numerous studies on reflexivity in English are of course aware of such differences and therefore distinguish a 'basic' or 'complement use' of reflexive pronouns from an 'emphatic use'. The statement that reflexive pronouns may have a 'non-reflexive' or 'emphatic' use seems to us extremely unfortunate, especially since the 'basic' reflexives of type (1) can also be focused and thus be used emphatically:

(3) *Instead of denouncing his opponents, he has clearly denounced* himSELF.

We will therefore use the term INTENSIFIER for the *self*-forms in (2) and keep the term REFLEXIVE PRONOUN (ANAPHOR) for the relevant forms in (1).

This distinction now permits us to define reflexive pronouns (anaphors) not only on the basis of their morphological make-up, but also on the basis of syntactic and semantic criteria roughly as follows (cf. Reinhart and Reuland: 1993):

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[1] Note that this difference is completely parallel to that found between two uses of *-ing* forms, as illustrated by the following two examples:

      (i)   *I enjoyed* reading *your book.*

      (ii)   Reading *your book, I noticed that I had made a mistake.*

The *-ing*-form in (i) (plus its nominal complement) is not omissible, filling as it does a valency position, whereas the omission of the corresponding constituent in (ii) does not render the sentence ill-formed. It is therefore only natural that two different terms (gerund vs. free adjunct/adverbial participle) should be used for the relevant constructions.

[2] We are, of course, fully aware of the fact that a distinction needs to be drawn between co-reference and binding in discussing the meaning of reflexive pronouns, but here as in various other places we will simplify matters for reasons of space and better intelligibility (cf. Reinhart and Reuland: 1993).

D1. Reflexive pronouns (anaphors) are *self*-forms used in order to indicate that a semantic argument[3] of a predicate is co-referent with another argument of the same predicate (a co-argument), typically with the subject. This co-argument is called the antecedent of the reflexive pronoun.

In examples like (1a-c) we only find this use of *self*-forms as markers of co-reference between different arguments of the same predicate.[4] In (4), the *self*-forms indicate that the direct object refers to the same person as the subject and in (5) it is the complement of the prepositional phrase with the role of Beneficiary that is marked as co-referent with the subject. The b-versions of these sentences show that in each case the reflexive anaphor[5] occupies a syntactic position that could also be taken by some other noun phrase:

(4) a. *He was distracting* himself *with his job, distracting* himself *from having to talk to her.* [WSM 433]
     b. *The royal scandal has distracted* media attention *from the economic crisis.* [PONS, s.v. *distract*]

(5) a. *You are not working for* me*, you are working for* yourself.
     b. *John is working for* Microsoft.

There is still one class of cases that our definition of reflexive anaphors ought to include, but so far does not:

(6) a. *John considers* himself *to be the perfect candidate.*
     b. *Suddenly I found* myself *in a large cave.*

In cases like these the *self*-forms are not really semantic arguments of the verbs they follow (*consider* and *find*). In (6a) it is a whole clause (*he is the perfect candidate*) that must be analyzed as the second argument of the verb *consider*, and what the speaker suddenly found in (6b) is his or her presence in a large cave. In other words, the *self*-forms in these two sentences are basically the subjects of the following non-finite

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3   'Semantic arguments' can roughly be defined as the participants implied by the meaning of a predicate, i.e. those noun phrases to which the predicate assigns a semantic role (a so-called '?-role').

4   Among the predicates that may have co-referent arguments and be thus reflexive-marked we also have to include nominalizations of verbs and related nouns. In the following example, the possessive pronoun *her* is the antecedent and co-argument of *herself*: *He did not fight against her determination to isolate herself.*

5   It has been taken for granted so far that reflexive pronouns in the narrow sense of the word are in opposition to some other noun phrase. Those cases where a *self*-form is the only possible object, as *himself* in *He prides himself on his good taste*, are traditionally called 'inherently' or 'obligatorily' reflexive verbs. In order to exclude such (non-referential) cases from a definition of reflexivity, the term *reflexive anaphor* is used in recent theoretical discussions, instead of the more inclusive traditional term *reflexive pronoun*.

(object) clauses, even though they are treated syntactically like direct objects of the verbs in the main clauses. The examples in (6) are, of course, instances of what is called *accusativus cum infinitivo* in grammars of Latin and 'raising' in modern English grammars. A closely related phenomenon is found in resultative constructions like (7), in which basically intransitive verbs like *cry* or *rage* take a verbless 'small clause' as object, with the semantic effect that the activity denoted by the verb is understood to have caused the situation denoted by the small clause (*The child cried until he went to sleep*):

(7) a. *The child cried* himself *to sleep.*
    b. *The storm raged* itself *out.*

The interesting point in the context of the present discussion is that the subject of the verbless clause is again treated like a direct object of the main clause predicate. Since this pronoun is bound by (co-referent with) a syntactic co-argument, i.e. the subject of the main clause, it is a reflexive anaphor.

    All we need to do in order to also cover those cases is to include the specification into our definition that the co-argument marked for co-reference can be either a semantic or a syntactic co-argument:

> D2. Reflexive pronouns (anaphors) are *self*-forms used in order to indicate that a semantic or a syntactic argument of a predicate is co-referent with another argument of the same predicate (a co-argument), typically with the subject. This co-argument is called the antecedent of the reflexive pronoun.

These definitions show that in addition to the use of *self*-forms as intensifiers there is a further widespread use that clearly differs from the syntactic and semantic properties described above and should not be subsumed under the term 'reflexive' for this reason. The following examples are cases in point:

(8) a. *He told us it was asthma, and continued to arrive at Methwold's Estate once a week to sing songs which were, like* himself*, relics of the Methwold era.* [LOLAC 1981.75:2493]
    b. *So what can a fine Tory gentleman like* yourself *have to do with a manufacturing Whig like Braithwaite?* [LOLAC 1985.205:2382].
    c. *The bottom stacks were compressed but the upper layers were soft and would provide comfort for everybody soon, including* myself. [LOLAC 1985.200:2080]
    d. *Silvia was no helpless, downtrodden flower. Which meant that something else, apart from the defence of Silvia, had provoked her own furious outburst yesterday evening. Some more personal resentment that had come from within* herself. [BNC JXT 2086]

The most obvious difference between these instances of *self*-forms and reflexive anaphors is that all these forms can be replaced by personal pronouns without a major change of meaning. Moreover, these *self*-forms do not find their antecedent in the same clause, but in a higher or preceding clause (as in (8a) and (8d)) or outside the verbal context altogether in the speech situation, as in (8b) and in (8c).[6] A wide variety of labels has been introduced for such *self*-forms, each of which is meant to capture some striking property of their meaning or use: 'locally-free *self*-forms', 'untriggered *self*-forms/reflexives', 'creeping reflexives', 'non-standard *self*-forms', 'override reflexives', 'logophoric reflexives', 'non-anaphoric reflexives' and 'unpredictable *self*-forms' are the terms most often found.[7]

Having thus narrowed down the set of *self*-forms that are covered by our definition and can thus be considered as referentially used reflexive pronouns (reflexive anaphors), we can now complete the picture by mentioning a few special cases, special not only in that sense that they deviate from the regularities otherwise found in English, but also in the sense that the observed regularities are surprising from the perspective of German.

1.1 Optional reflexives

In contrast to German, reflexive pronouns are optional in cases like the following:

(9) a. *John saw a snake near* him/himself.
     b. *Mary pushed the brandy away from* her/herself.
     c. *Liz wrapped the rug around* her/herself.
     d. *Bill pulled the blanket over* him/himself.

Even though the *self*-forms in examples like (9) may find their antecedents within the same clause, such forms are not obligatory, but can freely be replaced by the corresponding personal pronouns, possibly with a slight change in the perspective expressed. The verbs in such sentences are typically three-place predicates, but it is not the noun phrase position filled by a pronoun or by a reflexive anaphor that is the third argument and thus the co-argument of the subject, but the whole prepositional phrase, which has either a local or a directional meaning. It is precisely this fact that is assumed to be responsible for the variability observed (cf. Reinhart and Reuland: 1993). What we seem to find here is a conflict between two rules or principles: the principle that co-reference within the same clause is expressed by *self*-forms, and the principle that only such arguments are marked as reflexive anaphors that are co-arguments of the relevant antecedent. Note also that many European languages (like German) would only allow a reflexive pronoun in the prepositional phrase.

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[6] In this respect they are similar to pronouns, which never find their antecedent in the same clause, according to Chomsky's Binding Condition B (cf. Chomsky: 1981, 1986).

[7] Cf. Hernández (this volume) and Hole (this volume) for a detailed analysis of such 'untriggered *self*-forms', as we will call them.

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1.2 Alternation with zero

Among the remarkable phenomena of English in the domain under discussion mention must also be made of the fact that verbs of grooming do not normally take a reflexive marker (cf. (10a/b)), unless some contrast is expressed, as in (10c):

(10) a. *John* washed, showered *and* shaved.
      b. *Mary* dressed *with great care.*
      c. *The barber always* shaves himself *before he shaves his customers.*

Even though we can also speak of 'optional reflexives' in cases like (10a-c), the underlying principle seems to be different from the one observed above. Situations of grooming are the prototypical cases of 'self-directed' situations, i.e. actions that are usually performed on oneself. The fact that Agent and Patient refer to the same person in such situations is stereotypically assumed, so that overt encoding of that fact is not necessary.[8] This explanation is in perfect harmony with the fact that situations of grooming typically have a parsimonious marking in their reflexive interpretation in many languages (cf. Kemmer: 1993, Haiman: 1995, Comrie: 1999, König and Vezzosi: 2002).

1.3 Unexpected personal pronouns

Among the peculiarities of English also the following structures have to be listed:

(11) a. *John did not have any money on* him (/*himself).
      b. *He likes having children around* him.
      c. *Mary has a whole week of travelling before* her.
      d. *Mary put all her problems behind* her.

In sentences such as these reflexive anaphors are excluded. As in (9), the pronouns relate to an antecedent within the same clause and thus do express co-reference. In contrast to (9), however, the prepositional phrases containing these pronouns can in most cases not be regarded as co-arguments of these antecedents. Moreover, semantically, co-reference is the only option here. The pronouns in (11) cannot be replaced by or coordinated with other noun phrases, nor can they be stressed. In other words, Mary cannot leave her problems behind somebody else and John cannot have any money on Bill.

1.4 Inherently reflexive verbs

Finally, a brief remark should be made about those cases where the reflexive pronoun does not contrast with another noun phrase and is thus the only possible 'object' of the relevant verb. In such cases the reflexive pronoun has no referent and is thus meaningless. Again a variety of different labels are used for such cases. We will use the term 'inherently reflexive verbs', since it seems to be the most illuminating

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[8] In English the correlation is not a perfect one: the verb *soap* and the verb *groom* itself do require a reflexive anaphor for the reflexive interpretation.

characterization. There are a large number of such verbs in German (*sich beeilen*, *sich wundern*, *sich schämen*, *sich ereignen*, etc.) and other continental European languages. English, by contrast, has only a few (*to pride oneself, to absent oneself from, to avail oneself of something, to perjure oneself*, etc.), a difference that is clearly connected with the fact that reflexive pronouns in English have more semantic substance than their German counterparts, and are thus less likely to be used in purely grammatical functions. Moreover, they are much younger and thus unlikely to have undergone the relevant historical changes (cf. Geniušiene: 1987, 211).

2. Intensifiers

2.1. The adnominal use

Having thus narrowed down the subclass of reflexive anaphors among the more comprehensive class of *self*-forms, we are now in a position to take a closer look at the two subclasses of *self*-forms excluded above from the class of reflexive pronouns or anaphors by various tests and criteria.

The class of *self*-forms called 'intensifiers' in this paper (cf. Edmondson and Plank: 1978, König: 1991, Siemund: 2000, König and Siemund: 2000a, König: 2001) are identified as reflexive pronouns with an emphatic use in the grammar handbooks cited above. The following examples provide additional exemplification of this use of *self*-forms:

(12) a. *Since cleansing river breezes never found their way through the walls, a patina of stone dust covered everything. Even the artist* himself *wore fine grey powder like a second skin.* [WSM 9]
 b. *The paperwork, phone calls and political manoeuvring could take as much time as the investigation* itself. [PFA 68]
 c. *The surface of the moor* itself *glowed with the flower buds on the grasses and the tiny recumbent plants and there was a feel in the air of new springing life.* [LOLAC 1982.210:1040]
 d. *You are kindness* itself*, Talbot.* [LOLAC 1980.118:1119]

Exactly like the examples given in (2), the sentences in (12) show that there is no formal difference whatsoever between reflexive pronouns and intensifiers. Members of the two categories have the same formal make-up and both agree with a noun phrase in the same clause. It is this formal identity which has led many grammarians to assign them to the same category, viz. that of reflexive pronouns, which are then analyzed as having two different uses, a 'basic' reflexive use and an 'emphatic' use. Where reflexive anaphors and intensifiers differ is their distribution and their meaning. In all of the examples listed under (12) the intensifiers immediately follow the noun phrase with which they agree,[9] in an appositive or adjunct position. This means that they can

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[9] This use of intensifiers is therefore generally called the 'adnominal use', in contrast to two other uses to be discussed later.

be omitted without making the sentence ungrammatical, although their omission would of course slightly change the meaning of the sentence.

Over the last few years great progress has been made in the semantic analysis of this adnominal use of intensifiers. We will only summarize the most basic insights of these analyses and refer the interested reader to relevant literature (König: 1991, 2001, Siemund: 2000, Eckardt: 2002, Hole: 2002). Note first of all that intensifiers are invariably focused, i.e. they always carry a sentential stress. Such focusing and stressing is generally associated with the semantic effect of establishing a contrast, i.e. of bringing alternatives to a given value into the discussion. In the case of intensifiers this focusing and evoking of alternatives functions roughly as follows. Intensifiers express nothing but the identity function ID, which takes a given nominal (or a referent thereof) as its argument and maps it onto itself: ID(x) = (x). Consequently, the meaning of an expression like *Tony Blair himself* is nothing but ID(Tony Blair) = Tony Blair. Given that such a meaning is truth-conditionally trivial, it can only be made relevant through focusing. As a result of this focusing, a set of alternative functions is evoked. Those alternative functions likewise take the head-NP of the intensifier construction (Tony Blair) as an argument, but they map it onto some other value: for example, the identity function ID(Tony Blair) may contrast with the alternative function SECRETARY.OF(Tony Blair), so that *Tony Blair himself* is opposed to *Tony Blair's secretary*. Typically, intensifier constructions evoke a set of alternative referents that are in some way defined or identified in terms of the value given. To illustrate with example (2a) above, the alternatives to the value of *the writer* must be something definable in terms of a writer, and such a value is actually given in the context: *the writer's assistants*, i.e. ASSISTANTS.OF(writers). In fact, we have chosen all our examples in such a way that the alternatives evoked by the intensifiers are given in the context, and are thus easily identifiable. In (12a) *the artist* is opposed to the dust produced by his/her activity as a sculptor; in (12b) an *investigation* is contrasted with the paperwork and phone calls it gives rise to; in (12c) *the surface of the moor* is opposed to the plants growing on it.

The contribution made by intensifiers to the meaning of a sentence often triggers a specific effect: Whenever we identify A in terms of its relationship to B (e.g. *Bill's wife* instead of *Mary* or *Mary's husband* instead of *Bill*), we attribute a certain importance or even 'centrality' to B. Thus, it should not come as a surprise that the alternatives to a given value evoked by an intensifier often assume the character of a 'periphery' relative to a 'centre' (= the value given). Such a stereotypical situation can be found in (2a) above where *the writer's assistants* are opposed *the writer*, or in (2b), where *the Queen* contrasts with *the Court/her entourage*. Similarly, in (12d) the essence of *kindness*, kindness in its pure form, is opposed to one of its manifestations.

2.2. The adverbial uses

The view presented so far that there is only one, i.e. adnominal, use of intensifiers with a clearly definable meaning, needs to be modified now. Most analyses of intensifiers distinguish an adverbial use in addition to the adnominal one, on the basis of both syntactic and semantic criteria. As is shown by the following examples, intensifiers are

not always adjacent to the noun phrase they agree with but seem to be part of the verb phrase in these cases, occurring either on its left or its right periphery:

(13) a. *As for her little bag, might he not carry that? No, no, she said, she always carried that* herself. [LH 17]
    b. *"Because I am an orphan," Doctor Aziz said, "I must come* myself *in place of my family members."* [LOLAC 1981.75:544]
    c. *And if one started to lust after it* oneself*, as much as the men – and let them see that one lusted – then what weapon had one left?* [LOLAC 1985.205:1401]
    d. *"Well, I teach in a theological college."…"Ideal", said Sheldrake. "I am interested in religion* myself*, obliquely," he continued.* [PN 75]

In all of the examples given above the intensifier is not adjacent to the noun phrase it agrees with but follows it at some distance. Moreover, in each case the intensifier follows the predicate and seems to be in the final position of the verb phrase. The term *adverbial* (or *adverbal*) therefore seems quite appropriate to characterize this use of *self*-forms. If in addition to syntactic criteria we also consider semantic ones, a further distinction seems to be in order. The paraphrase required for the intensifiers in (13a/b) is quite different from the one needed for (13c/d). In the first two cases the use of the intensifier raises and excludes the question of delegation, help or joint action. The use of the adverbial intensifier implies that the person interested in the action is also the most directly involved agent. Suitable paraphrases for this use would be expressions like *alone* or *without assistance*. In (13c) and (13d), by contrast, expressions like *also* or *too* rather than *alone* provide a reasonable paraphrase for the intensifier. Accordingly, a distinction between an *exclusive* adverbial use and an *inclusive* adverbial use is often drawn in some recent studies on intensifiers (König: 1991, Siemund: 2000, König: 2001, Hole: 2002). The following sentences do not only provide further exemplification of this distinction, but also reveal certain characteristic properties of the two uses of adverbial intensifiers. There is a clear tendency for the exclusive use to show up in connection with event predicates (cf. (14a/b)), whereas the inclusive use is typically found in connection with states (15a/b):

(14) a. *John always repairs his car* himself.
    b. *To her surprise he had answered the telephone* himself. (exclusive)

(15) a. *If he's busy breaking the rules* himself*, he could hardly demand that they do otherwise.*
    b. *I was not in a terrific shape* myself *and I had a hard time hauling him up the stairs.* (inclusive)

Another clear difference is that an exclusively used adverbial intensifier can be in the scope of negation, whereas an inclusively used intensifier always takes wide scope over negation (cf. also Huddleston et al.: 2002, 1498):

(16) *John certainly did not repair the car* himself. (exclusive)

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(17) *I can't blame her for not buying the picture. I don't particularly like it* myself.
(inclusive)

Given this complementarity in the use of the two types of adverbial intensifiers, it is of course arguable that the two different uses are the result of one general meaning interacting with different contextual factors, rather than manifestations of two different meanings. At the current state of our knowledge there is no clear evidence for deciding this controversy in one way or another.

2.3. Intensifiers and reflexive anaphors: Related meanings

So far we have tried to establish on the basis of both distributional and semantic criteria, as well as the basis of cross-linguistic considerations, that a distinction needs to be drawn between intensifiers and reflexive anaphors and that it is highly misleading, if not downright inadequate, to subsume both under the general category of reflexive pronouns, which are then subdivided into basic reflexives and emphatic reflexives. To insist on the necessity and usefulness of such a distinction does not imply the claim, however, that the formal identity between members of these two classes in English is completely fortuitous and that the meanings of the two types of expressions are totally unrelated. In fact, English does not at all represent a minority pattern in using exactly the same expressions both as reflexive anaphors and as intensifiers. The same kind of formal identity can also be found in Finno-Ugric, in Turkic, Semitic and Indic languages, to name only a few (cf. König and Siemund: 2000a). It is, however, not only the formal identity of reflexive anaphors and intensifiers in a wide variety and possibly the majority of languages that needs to be mentioned here; the following facts also reveal a close semantic relatedness:

- The (original) intensifier *self* is used in de-verbal compounds denoting the nominal counterpart of a reflexive verb (*self-contemplation*, *self-disgust*, *self-help*, *self-control*, etc.). As a result of the well-known process called 'backformation' we may also find compound verbs of this type (*This rocket self-destructs*).
- Reflexive anaphors often develop from intensifiers. In English the dative forms of the personal pronouns and the possessive pronouns were combined with the originally simple intensifier *self* (*him + self > himself*) to renew a category which had disappeared before the time of our earliest written records (cf. van Gelderen: 2000, König and Siemund: 2000b, Keenan: 2001)
- In languages where reflexives and intensifiers differ in form members of the two categories may be combined in order to emphasize the agentive character of the relevant reflexive reading, as in the following example from German:

(18) *Karl hat sich* selbst *angezeigt.*
'Charles reported himSELF to the police.'

Given the formal identity of the two relevant expressions, such combinations are not possible in English. The pattern used in English for precisely this meaning is a single *self*-form with strong stress:

(19) a. *Charles reported* himSELF *to the police*.
     b. *I did not kill them, they killed* themSELVES.
     c. *This silver polishes* itSELF.
     d. *Your argument answers* itSELF.

3. Untriggered *self*-forms

The second major class of *self*-forms that was excluded by our definition of reflexive anaphors (D2) are the so-called 'untriggered' or 'locally free *self*-forms'. According to the characterization given above untriggered *self*-forms are found in argument positions, especially as complements of prepositions, can always be replaced by a simple personal pronoun and do not find their antecedent in the same clause. Since detailed discussions of the distribution and of the meaning of such unpredictable *self*-forms can be found in two other contributions to this volume (Hole, Hernández), we will restrict our discussion to demonstrating that these *self*-forms occupy a place in between reflexive anaphors and intensifiers in the grammar of English, since they share properties with both of these categories.

3.1 Properties shared with intensifiers

Note first of all that untriggered reflexives typically occur in contexts in which contrast or emphasis is meant to be expressed (cf. Baker: 1995, 77). This is clearly a property that they share with intensifiers, which invariably evoke alternatives to the value of the noun phrase they interact with. More often than not this evoking of alternatives is overtly indicated by the context in which untriggered (locally free) *self*-forms occur (coordination, comparatives, prepositions like *including*, *apart from*, *like*, etc.). Furthermore, untriggered *self*-forms fill a gap in the distribution of intensifiers. Intensifiers combine quite freely with personal pronouns in subject positions, as one would expect:

(20) a. He himself *wanted to spring to his feet and pace the room.*
     b. *But Clive would think that* he himself *was responsible for the boy's death.*

What is surprising, however, is the fact that such combinations are not found in other than subject positions (cf. König and Siemund: 2000b, 54). In other words combinations of object pronouns and adnominal intensifiers (like *him himself* or *her herself*) are not admissible or at least strongly disfavoured in English. Note that this gap cannot be the effect of some phonological constraint, since combinations like *us ourselves* are equally unattested in the most comprehensive corpora of authentic data

like the BNC. On the basis of such observations it is argued in Baker (1995) and König and Siemund (2000c) that untriggered reflexives are in fact fused combinations of personal pronouns and intensifiers, i.e. the personal pronoun has been incorporated into (or omitted before) the intensifier as it were, since the latter contains a pronoun as part of its morphological make-up anyway (*him + self*). The fact that untriggered reflexives are translated by precisely such combinations of pronoun + intensifier in languages like German is an additional strong argument for the analysis of untriggered *self*-forms (or at least a major subclass thereof) as intensifiers with incorporated or omitted personal pronouns:

(21) a. *Jemima wasn't quite sure whether he meant Cloë or* herself. (*...Cloë oder sie* selbst.)
   b. *He was the kind of man whose lines of loyalty were very clear; first* himself, *then his family then his friends. (zuerst er* selbst, *dann seine Familie...)*

3.2 Properties shared with reflexive anaphors

Contrary to what the German translations of the examples in (21) suggest, untriggered (locally free) *self*-forms cannot simply be analyzed as condensed compounds of personal pronouns and intensifiers, reflecting synchronically as it were the original composition process of pronoun and the original intensifier *self*. In addition to sharing certain properties with intensifiers they also share some properties with reflexive anaphors, so that their analysis as some kind of untriggered (or locally free, override, non-standard, etc.) reflexives is understandable (cf. Zribi-Hertz: 1989, 1995). The relevant properties are their exclusion from subject position (in Standard English as opposed to Hibernian English)[10] as well as their occurrence in argument position rather than adjunct position:
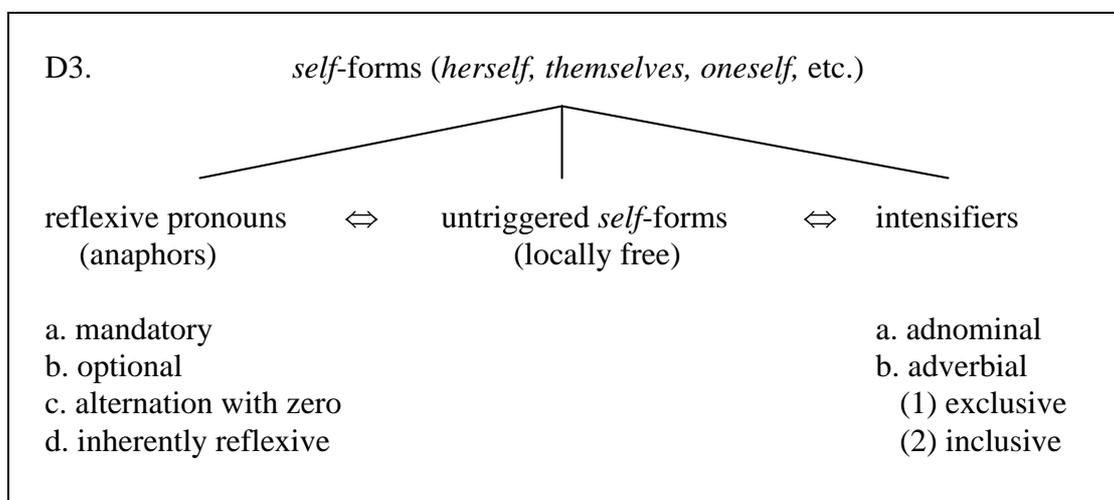
(22) a. Himself *is not in his office right now.* (Irish English)
   b. *She laughed, though even to* herself *the sound was high and nervous.*
      [PFA 165]

There is, however, also an important distinction to be drawn between the distribution of reflexive anaphors and that of untriggered *self*-forms. Even though the latter always occur in argument positions and are thus not omissible, these argument positions are typically not direct or indirect object positions as in the case of reflexive anaphors, but the complement positions of prepositions, or the positions of conjuncts in coordinations and lists. As noted by a variety of different studies, untriggered *self*-forms in object position do occur, but are extremely rare. There are no analogous restrictions on the occurrence of personal pronouns + *selbst* in German.

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[10]   Cf. Hernández (this volume) and Siemund (this volume) for more information on non-standard varieties.

4. Summary

The results of this survey can now be summarized in a diagram. There is a threefold division that needs to be made in the analysis of *self*-forms in English, a division which was not only justified above on the basis of intra-linguistic criteria, but is also plausible and illuminating on the basis of cross-linguistic considerations. Even though the relevant forms are identical in English and a wide variety of other languages, a first distinction needs to be drawn between reflexive anaphors (i.e. reflexive pronouns used referentially) and intensifiers. The former can then be further subdivided depending on whether the reflexive pronoun is in opposition to other possible objects or not and whether it is obligatory or optional as a marker of co-reference or binding. Intensifiers, in turn, can be further subdivided into adnominal and adverbial ones, the latter being further classifiable as either inclusive or exclusive. The so-called untriggered *self*-forms occupy a middle position between these two categories, manifesting clear similarities with but also clear distinctness from both categories.

D3. *self*-forms (*herself, themselves, oneself,* etc.)

reflexive pronouns (anaphors)	⇔	untriggered *self*-forms (locally free)	⇔	intensifiers

a. mandatory
b. optional
c. alternation with zero
d. inherently reflexive

a. adnominal
b. adverbial
  (1) exclusive
  (2) inclusive

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[LOLAC]   Longman/Lancaster English Language Corpus.

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