

A History of English Reflexives: from Old English into Early Modern English

Rebecca Sinar



Submitted in partial fulfilment of the
requirements for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy.

THE UNIVERSITY *of York*

Department of Language
and Linguistic Science

September 2006

Abstract

This thesis examines the variation and change in reflexive pronouns from Old English into Early Modern English covering the period circa 800 to 1639. In Old English the locally bound reflexive form was identical to the ordinary personal pronoun e.g. *him*, but at the start of the Middle English Period a new morphologically complex form emerged e.g. *himself*.

Using data drawn from syntactically annotated corpora of Old English, Middle English and Early Modern English, the distribution of the two reflexive forms is quantitatively compared in order to detail the variation between the two forms and the nature of the change from the old form to the new.

Examination of reflexives in Old English suggests that the origin of the new reflexive is the old reflexive plus the intensifier. By comparing the rates of such constructions in Old English, with the rates of the new reflexive in Middle English, I demonstrate that the frequencies remain broadly stable, suggesting that there is not a significant change between the two periods.

Similarly I provide evidence via multivariate analysis that the same factors determine the distribution of reflexive versus reflexive plus intensifier in Old English as determine the old reflexive versus the new reflexive in Middle English. I therefore advance the theory that the new reflexive in Middle English remains semantically decomposable into reflexive and intensifier. Therefore in Old and Middle English there is really only one reflexive pronoun (*him*) which may or may not co-occur with the intensifier.

The frequency of the 'new reflexive' forms increases in Early Modern English, until by the middle of this period they account for nearly all cases of local binding. This change is explained via two processes; firstly an alteration in the feature specification of pronominals which means that they can no longer function reflexively and secondly the loss of the meaning of the intensifier which is subsequently reanalysed as a morphological element signalling coreference.

Contents

1	Introduction: Questions and Methodology	18
1.1	Introduction	18
1.2	Overview of the development of reflexives in English	20
1.2.1	The origin of the Old English system	20
1.2.1.1	Conclusion	23
1.2.2	Old English and beyond	24
1.3	Existing literature, remaining questions	28
1.4	Theoretical issues	34
1.5	Methodology	36
1.5.1	The early English corpora	36
1.5.2	Problems and limitations	39
1.5.3	The quantitative analysis: an overview	40
1.6	Outline of the thesis	42
2	The Distribution of Reflexives in Early English	44
2.1	Introduction	44
2.2	Description of the reflexives in earlier English	46
2.2.1	Locally bound pronouns	46
2.2.1.1	Old English	46
2.2.1.2	Middle English and Early Modern English	50
2.2.1.3	Summary of the form of locally bound pronominals	51
2.2.2	Reflexive forms with <i>self</i>	51
2.2.2.1	The form of <i>self</i>	51
2.2.2.2	The spelling of reflexive X-SELF	57
2.2.2.3	The form of the pronominal in reflexive X-SELF	59
2.2.2.4	Summary of the form of X-SELF	62
2.2.3	Conclusion	62
2.3	The distribution of reflexives	62
2.3.1	Data collection	63
2.3.2	The overall distribution	64

2.3.3	Comparison with data from Keenan (2002, 2003)	72
2.3.4	Conclusion	74
2.3.5	Alternative classifications of the data	74
2.3.5.1	The pleonastic problem	75
2.3.5.2	Conclusion	82
2.3.5.3	Alternative classifications of the Middle English data	83
2.4	Conclusions	84
3	West Germanic Reflexives: Data and Theory	86
3.1	Introduction: Reinhart and Reuland's (1993) Reflexivity Theory	86
3.2	Reinhart and Reuland's (1993) Condition on Predicates	90
3.2.1	Dutch: <i>zich</i> and <i>zichzelf</i>	90
3.2.2	Present-Day English: \emptyset and <i>himself</i>	99
3.2.3	Frisian: <i>him</i> versus <i>himsels</i>	101
3.2.4	German: <i>sich</i> versus <i>SICH</i>	101
3.2.5	Conclusions	104
3.3	Reinhart and Reuland's (1993) Generalised Chain Condition	105
3.3.1	Dutch: 1st and 2nd person pronouns	106
3.3.2	Afrikaans: all pronouns	107
3.3.3	Frisian: first, second and some third person	108
3.3.4	German: first and second person	111
3.3.5	Conclusions	112
3.4	Towards a Minimalist account	112
3.4.1	Minimalist assumptions	113
3.4.2	An Account of Binding?	114
3.5	Conclusion	117
4	The Distribution and Development of the Intensifier	118
4.1	Introduction	118
4.2	Intensifiers in Present-Day English: meaning and distribution	120
4.2.1	Two types of intensifier	120
4.2.1.1	Adjacent-self	123
4.2.1.2	Summary of adjacent-self forms	130
4.2.1.3	Distant-self	130
4.2.2	Conclusion	133
4.3	The distribution of intensifiers in English	133
4.3.1	Types of <i>self</i> in Old English	135

4.3.2	Overall distribution of ‘non-reflexive’ intensifiers in Old English, Middle English and Early Modern English	142
4.3.3	Properties of adjacent-self	144
4.3.3.1	Form and position	144
4.3.3.2	Properties of the intensified DP	150
4.3.3.3	Referent of the intensified DP	156
4.3.3.4	Summary of the properties of adjacent-self forms in earlier English	162
4.3.4	Properties of distant-self	163
4.3.4.1	Properties of the intensified DP	164
4.3.4.2	Referent of the intensified DP	166
4.3.4.3	Summary of the properties of distant-self forms in earlier English	168
4.4	Conclusions	168
5	Factors Affecting the Distribution of the Reflexive	171
5.1	Introduction	171
5.2	Significant factors	174
5.2.1	Overall distribution	174
5.2.1.1	Referent	174
5.2.1.2	Period	176
5.2.2	Objects of verbs	177
5.2.2.1	Referent	179
5.2.2.2	Period	179
5.2.2.3	Verb type	180
5.2.3	Objects of prepositions	181
5.2.3.1	Preposition type	183
5.2.3.2	Referent	185
5.2.3.3	Period	186
5.2.4	Summary	187
5.3	Non-significant factors	188
5.3.1	Syntactic position	188
5.3.2	Person	190
5.3.3	Number	190
5.4	Conclusion	191
6	Towards a Theoretical Account	192
6.1	Introduction	192
6.2	Bound pronominals in Old and Middle English	194

6.2.1	Inherent Case	196
6.2.2	Weak or clitic pronouns?	199
6.2.3	Underspecification for ϕ -features?	200
6.2.4	Conclusion	201
6.3	The development of the complex intensifier	201
6.4	The development of the complex reflexive	208
6.4.1	Previous analyses of the relationship between intensifiers and reflexives	212
6.4.2	SELF became a noun = change in syntactic structure . . .	214
6.4.3	Semantic reason for combination	216
6.4.4	Conclusion	216
6.5	A summary of the proposed account	217
7	Conclusions	223
7.1	Introduction	223
7.2	Bound pronominals in Old and Middle English	224
7.3	The development of the new reflexive form	225
7.4	The variation between the two forms of the reflexive	226
7.5	The loss of the old reflexive form	227
7.6	Summary	229
7.7	Remaining issues and questions	229
	Appendices	230
A	Texts and Editions used from the York-Toronto-Helsinki Parsed Corpus of Old English Prose (YCOE)	231
B	Texts and Editions used from the York-Helsinki Parsed Corpus of Old English Poetry (YPC)	243
C	Texts and Editions used from the Penn-Helsinki Parsed Corpus of Middle English [Version 2] (PPCME2)	247
D	Texts and Editions used from the Penn-Helsinki Parsed Corpus of Early Modern English (PPCEME)	254
E	Examples of Query Files	280
	Bibliography	297

List of Tables

1.1	The approximate number of words within each corpus (the YCOE, the YPC, the PPCME2 and the PPCEME).	37
1.2	Dates of the sub-periods within each corpus (the YCOE, the PPCME2 and the PPCEME).	38
2.1	The paradigm of OE pronouns.	47
2.2	The frequency of the different Case forms of locally bound pronouns in OE. Data from the YCOE.	49
2.3	The frequency of the different Case forms of reflexively used pronouns (HIM) in OE. Data from the YCOE.	49
2.4	The frequency of the different Case forms of pleonastic pronouns in OE. Data from the YCOE.	49
2.5	The paradigm for <i>self</i> in OE.	53
2.6	The frequency of various inflectional endings on <i>self</i> when adjacent to the reflexive in ME. Data adapted from Peitsara (1997: 283).	54
2.7	The frequency of various inflectional endings on <i>self</i> when adjacent to the reflexive in OE, ME and EMODE. Data from the YCOE, the PPCME2 and the PPCEME.	55
2.8	The frequency of different spellings of X-SELF when an OBJV in the PPCME2 and the PPCEME.	58
2.9	The frequency of different spellings of X-SELF when an OBJP in the PPCME2 and the PPCEME.	58
2.10	The frequency of the different Case forms of the pronominal part of Old English X-SELF.	60
2.11	The percentage of X-SELF in the YCOE. Includes all pleonastics categorised as the HIM-type.	67
2.12	The percentage of X-SELF in the YCOE. Includes pleonastics categorised by whether or not they occur adjacent to <i>self</i>	68
2.13	The percentage of X-SELF in the PPCME2. Includes pleonastics classified as the HIM-type.	68

2.14	Significant chi-square results for the difference between the OE/ME periods and EMODE for the percentage of X-SELF based on data provided in Tables 2.11 and 2.13.	69
2.15	Significant chi-square results for the differences between the periods of OE and ME for the percentage of X-SELF based on data provided in Tables 2.12 and 2.13.	69
2.16	The percentage of X-SELF in the PPCEME. Includes pleonastics classified as the HIM-type.	70
2.17	Significant chi-square results for the difference between the OE/ME periods and EMODE for the percentage of X-SELF. Including all pleonastic constructions classified as HIM.	71
2.18	Significant chi-square results for the difference between the OE/ME periods and EMODE for the percentage of X-SELF. Including pleonastic constructions classified as HIM or X-SELF.	71
2.19	The percentage of X-SELF from 750-1700: data from Keenan (2002: 346).	72
2.20	Percentage of X-SELF: data from the YCOE, the PPCME2 and the PPCEME.	72
2.21	The frequency of HIM versus X-SELF in the YCOE (excluding pleonastic forms).	79
2.22	The frequency of HIM versus X-SELF in the PPCME2 (excluding pleonastic forms).	79
2.23	The frequency of HIM versus X-SELF in the PPCEME (excluding pleonastic forms).	79
2.24	Significant chi-square results for the differences between the periods of OE and ME for the percentage of X-SELF.	80
2.25	Significant chi-square results for the difference between the OE/ME periods and EMODE for the percentage of X-SELF.	80
2.26	A comparison of the percentage of X-SELF in OE poetry and prose. Data from the YCOE and YPC.	81
2.27	The frequency of X-SELF in ME. Data divided by composition date.	83
2.28	The frequency of X-SELF in ME. Excluding data from texts falling in two different sub-periods.	83
3.1	Dutch weak and strong reflexive pronouns with the verb <i>wassen</i> 'wash'.	91
3.2	Comparison of reflexives and intensifiers in West Germanic Languages.	104
3.3	The paradigm of object personal pronouns in Dutch.	106

3.4	The paradigm of subject personal pronouns in Dutch.	107
3.5	The paradigm of object/reflexive pronouns in Afrikaans.	108
3.6	The typology of pronominals and anaphors based on Reinhart and Reuland (1993).	112
4.1	The paradigm of the adjectival inflection of <i>self</i> in OE.	135
4.2	The distribution of the different types of self in the YCOE. Data divided by type of intensifier.	139
4.3	The distribution of the different types of self in the YCOE. Data divided into intensifiers adjacent to a locally bound pronominal and those which are not.	140
4.4	The distribution of the different types of self in the YCOE. Data divided to compare those intensifiers adjacent to a locally bound pronominal and those which are not.	141
4.5	The distribution of ‘non-reflexive’ intensifiers in OE from the YCOE and the YPC.	143
4.6	The distribution of ‘non-reflexive’ intensifiers in ME from the PPCME2.	143
4.7	The distribution of ‘non-reflexive’ intensifiers in MODE from the PPCEME.	144
4.8	Subject type in subject adjacent-self constructions (YCOE).	151
4.9	Subject type in subject adjacent-self constructions (PPCME2).	151
4.10	Subject type in subject adjacent-self constructions (PPCEME).	151
4.11	Object type in object of the verb adjacent-self constructions in the YCOE.	153
4.12	Object type in object of the preposition adjacent-self constructions in the YCOE.	153
4.13	Object type in all object adjacent-self constructions in the YCOE.	153
4.14	Adjacent-self intensifiers in OE, ME and EMODE divided by person.	155
4.15	Adjacent-self intensifiers in OE, ME and EMODE divided by number (singular/plural).	156
4.16	The referents of subject adjacent-self forms in the YCOE.	158
4.17	The referents of subject adjacent-self forms in the YPC.	158
4.18	The referents of the subject adjacent-self forms in the PPCME2.	159
4.19	The referents of subject adjacent-self forms in the PPCEME.	159
4.20	The referents of the object adjacent-self forms in the YCOE.	160
4.21	The referents of the object adjacent-self forms in the YPC.	161
4.22	The referents of object adjacent-self forms in the PPCME2.	161

4.23	The percentage of complex object adjacent-self forms in the PPCEME divided by referent type.	162
4.24	The percentage of complex distant-self constructions in OE, ME and EMODE divided by person.	165
4.25	The percentage of complex distant-self constructions in OE, ME and EMODE divided by number (singular/plural).	166
4.26	The referent of the intensified DP for distant-self forms in the YCOE.	167
4.27	Referents for the distant-self forms in the YPC.	167
4.28	Referents of distant-self forms in the YCOE.	167
4.29	Referents of distant-self forms in the PPCEME.	168
5.1	Percentages and factor weights of X-SELF for OE and ME by referent type.	175
5.2	Percentages and factor weights for the sub-periods.	176
5.3	Significant chi-square results for the differences between the periods of OE and ME for the percentage of X-SELF.	176
5.4	Percentage of X-SELF when an object of a verb in the YCOE, the PPCME2 and the PPCEME.	177
5.5	The percentage of X-SELF when an object of a verb in ME. Data from Peitsara (1997: 288)	178
5.6	Percentages and factor weights of X-SELF when an object of a verb for OE and ME by referent type.	179
5.7	Percentages and factor weights for objects of verbs in the YCOE and the PPCME2 by sub-period.	180
5.8	Percentage and factor weight in PPCME2 by verbal type.	181
5.9	Objects of prepositions.	182
5.10	Percentages and factor weights for OE and ME X-SELF by preposition.	183
5.11	Percentage of X-SELF in EMODE1 by preposition type.	184
5.12	Percentage of X-SELF in EMODE2 by preposition type.	184
5.13	Percentages and factor weights for OE and ME X-SELF by type of referent.	185
5.14	Cross-tabulation of referent and preposition type in OE and ME.	186
5.15	Percentages and factor weights for the sub-periods.	187
5.16	Percentage of reflexives occurring with X-SELF in the YCOE and the PPCME2 by syntactic structure.	188
5.17	Significant chi-square results for the difference between OBJV and OBJP.	189

5.18	Percentage of X-SELF divided by construction type from Keenan (2002: 346)	189
5.19	Percentage of reflexives occurring with X-SELF in the YCOE and the PPCME2 by syntactic structure with pleonastic structures included.	189
5.20	Significant chi-square results for the difference between OBJV and OBJP. Data from the YCOE, including pleonastic constructions. .	190
5.21	Frequency of X-SELF in the YCOE and the PPCME2 by person. .	190
5.22	Frequency of X-SELF in the YCOE and the PPCME2 by number.	191
6.1	The frequency of distant-self in the YCOE, the PPCME2 and the PPCEME. Ambiguous examples included.	206
6.2	The frequency of subject adjacent-self in the YCOE, the PPCME2 and the PPCEME. Ambiguous examples included.	206
6.3	The frequency of object adjacent-self in the YCOE, the PPCME2 and the PPCEME. Reflexive forms excluded.	207
6.4	The distribution of the different types of self in the YCOE. Data divided into intensifiers adjacent to a locally bound pronominal and those which are not.	209
6.5	Comparison of pronouns and anaphors in Dutch and English. . . .	218
7.1	Comparison of reflexives and intensifiers in West Germanic Languages.	228

List of Figures

2.1	The frequency of X-SELF. Data from Keenan (2002: 288).	73
2.2	The frequency of X-SELF. Data from the YCOE, the PPCME2, and the PPCEME.	73
2.3	The percentage of reflexive self-forms (X-SELF) in the YCOE, the PPCME2, and the PPCEME.	79
5.1	Overall Percentage of X-SELF in the YCOE, the PPCME2, and the PPCEME.	172
5.2	Percentage of X-SELF when an object of a verb in the YCOE, the PPCME2, and the PPCEME.	178
5.3	Overall percentage of X-SELF occurring as an object of a preposition in the YCOE, the PPCME2, and the PPCEME.	182
6.1	The development of the complex intensifier.	207

List of Abbreviations

ACC	Accusative (in tables and glosses)
DAT	Dative (in tables and glosses)
DP	Determiner Phrase
ECM	Exceptional Case Marking
eME	early Middle English (c.1150–c.1250)
EMODE	Early Modern English (c.1500–c.1800)
F	French
FEM	Feminine (in tables and glosses)
GCC	The Generalised Chain Condition (Reinhart and Reuland 1993)
GEN	Genitive (in tables and glosses)
L	Latin
LF	Logical Form
MASC	Masculine (in tables and glosses)
ME	Middle English (c.1150–c.1500)
NEUT	Neuter (in tables and glosses)
ND-verb	Neutral-directed verb
NOM	Nominative (in tables and glosses)
OBJP	Object of a preposition
OBJV	Object of a verb
OD-verb	Other-directed verb
OE	Old English (c.800–c.1150)
ON	Old Norse
OV	Object-Verb Order
PDE	Present-Day English (c.1800–onwards)
PF	Phonetic Form
PIE	Proto-Indo European

PL	Plural (in glosses and tables)
PLEO	Pleonastic (in tables)
PP	Prepositional phrase
PPCEME	Penn-Helsinki Parsed Corpus of Early Modern English
PPCME2	Penn-Helsinki Parsed Corpus of Middle English [Version 2]
RFL	Reflexive (in tables)
SD-verb	Self-directed verb
SG	Singular (in glosses and tables)
STR	Strong (in glosses and tables)
VP	Verb phrase
WK	Weak (in glosses and tables)
YCOE	The York-Toronto-Helsinki Parsed Corpus of Old English Prose
YPC	The York-Helsinki Parsed Corpus of Old English Poetry
HIM	A reflexively used personal pronoun, e.g. <i>him</i>
X-SELF	A reflexive self-form, e.g. <i>himself</i>
X-self	A complex intensifier, e.g. <i>himself</i>
self	A simple intensifier, e.g. <i>self</i>

Acknowledgments

Throughout writing this thesis many people have heard me utter a certain two words. When all other words failed me as I struggled to write the thousands which follow, these two words were never far from my lips, and now it gives me great pleasure to add them to the word count. They are, of course, THANK YOU.

These words apply far and wide; from my academic supervisor to the staff at my favourite restaurant and from my family to the stranger who simply smiled and said 'hello'. I hope and trust that those who are not mentioned by name below, do not take it as a sign of ingratitude. It could not be further from the truth; I'm simply tired of writing.

Firstly, my sincerest thanks go to my supervisor Anthony Warner, for his time, patience, enthusiasm, hard-to-answer questions, and of course, his attempts to encourage me to drink wine. My thanks also go to my examiners, Susan Pintzuk and Wim van der Wurff, for the chance to discuss this work in detail and to improve its content.

Thanks to all the staff and students, past and present, at the department of Language and Linguistic Science, University of York, who have provided me with their thoughts, comments, advice and opinions. In particular, I'm thankful to the members of my thesis advisory panel - Bernadette Plunkett, Susan Pintzuk and Ann Taylor - for their time and expertise, and to Jo Close, Chris Harris, Davita Morgan, Hazel Steele, Phillip Wallage and Pam Wells for discussions, advice, moral support and most importantly, for their friendship.

I'm grateful to all those who have helped me with grammaticality judgements - in particular Robert, Nynke, Michel, Marion and Elsie for their help with West Germanic - and to my colleagues at the Norwegian Study Centre for their unwavering support as I juggled starting a new job and finishing the old PhD.

The second and third years of this research were funded by the ESRC, grant number PTA030200300067. It seems that whilst money doesn't grow on trees, it is available to draw them and I'm extremely grateful for that.

Of course, it wouldn't have been possible to undertake this work without the love, support and encouragement of my friends and family. Even using the amount of words which follow in this thesis, I would be unable to adequately

express my thanks to my Nan, Mom, Dad, Barbz, Nan and Grandad Parkinson, Sylvia, John, Helen, Andy and, of course, Billy, or to those who sadly did not live to see this work completed: Grandad Ray, Grandad Jim and Granny Vi.

And finally, my thanks, love and a great big cheeky grin to Ivan for, well, everything.

Declaration

This thesis has not previously been accepted in substance for any degree and is not being concurrently submitted in candidature for any degree other than Doctor of Philosophy of the University of York. This thesis is the result of my own investigations, except where otherwise stated. Other sources are acknowledged by explicit references.

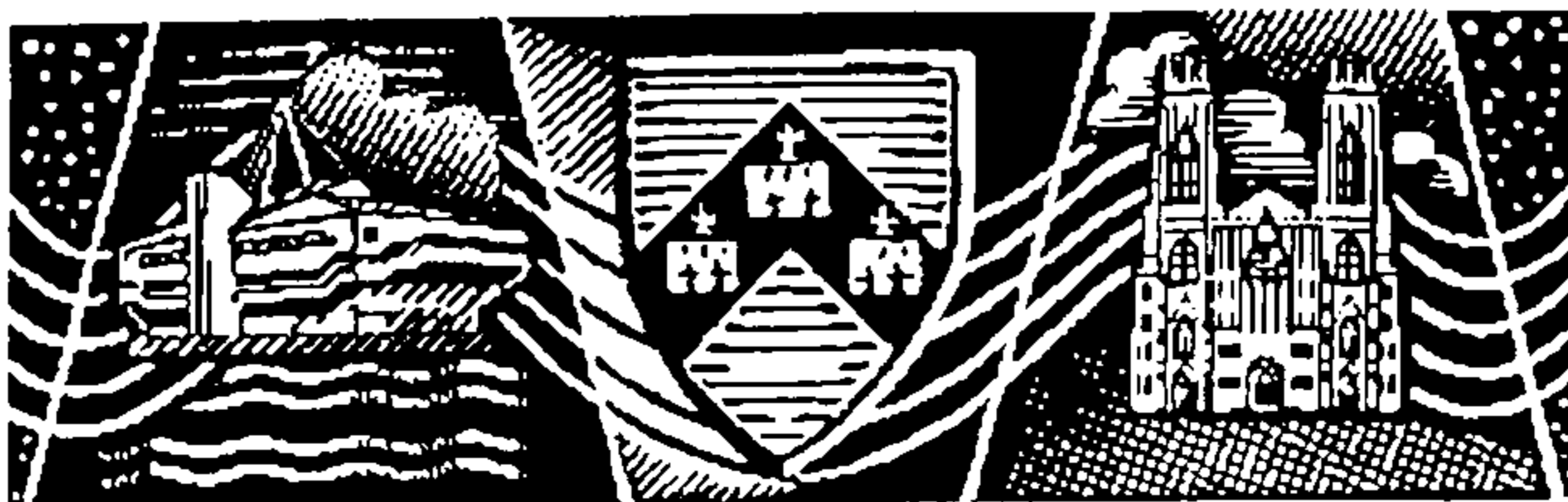
I hereby give consent for my thesis, if accepted, to be made available for photocopying and for inter-library loan, and for the title and summary to be made available to outside organisations.

Signed (candidate)

Date

Parts of the present research have been previously presented or published:

- ‘From *self* to *X-self*: the development of the complex intensifier in English’ in T. Guy and C. Harris (eds.) *York Papers in Linguistics Series 2: including papers from the Fourth York-Holland Symposium on the History of English Syntax*. Issue 6, May 2006. pp. 163–184.
- ‘Him or Himself? *On Variation in Middle English Reflexives*. Paper presented at the Fourth York-Holland Symposium on the History of English Syntax, University of Leiden, 28-29th May 2005.



Chapter 1

Introduction: Questions and Methodology

1.1 Introduction

This thesis traces the development of the form of the reflexive pronoun from Old English (OE, c.800 – c.1150) into Early Modern English (EMODE, c.1500 – c.1800). During this period of time, the reflexive form changes from being morphologically and phonetically identical to the ordinary personal pronouns (e.g. *me*, *him*; henceforth HIM will be used to represent reflexively used personal pronouns), into the morphologically complex form found in Present-Day English (PDE, c.1800 – onwards) (e.g. *myself*, *himself*, henceforth X-SELF). This change can be seen in the difference between the reflexively used OE pronoun *unc* ‘us’ and its PDE translation *ourselves* in (1).¹

- (1) Wit unc wið hronfixas werian þohton.
We us against whale-tusk defend thought.
‘We thought to defend ourselves against whale-tusk.’
(cobeowul,18.539.458)

The literature suggests that the X-SELF form is created at the start of the Middle English period (ME, c.1150 – c.1500) (e.g. see Penning 1875; Farr 1905; Visser 1963; Mitchell 1985; van Gelderen 2000; Ogura 2001; Keenan 2002; Lange 2003). Following the creation of X-SELF, there is a significant period (400–500 years) of variation between the two forms. An example of this variation from the same text and with the same verb is provided in (2).

¹For the reader’s convenience reflexives are underlined in the examples throughout this chapter.

- (2) a. *Wyþ þe tokene he gan hym blesse.*
 With the token he began him bless.
 ‘With the token he began to bless himself.’
 (H. Synne line 3875, Keenan 2002)²
- b. *Hys ry3t hand vp he lyfte and blessed hym-self stedfastly.*
 His right hand up he lifted and blessed himself stedfastly.
 ‘He lifted his right hand up and blessed himself stedfastly.’
 (H. Synne line 3588, Keenan 2002)

This period of variation ends when X-SELF takes over (almost) all cases of local binding and conversely the ordinary personal pronouns (HIM) cease to be used reflexively (except in a few isolated uses). Within the literature, this change is dated to around 1500 (the end of ME/start of EMODE) (see e.g. Spies 1897: 155; Mustanoja 1960: 153; Visser 1963: §454; Brunner 1965: 123-124).

The main empirical and theoretical aims of this thesis are:

- (i) to quantitatively compare the frequency of occurrence of HIM and X-SELF in order to chart the processes of variation and change within the reflexive construction,
- (ii) to use multivariate analysis (GoldVarb, Robinson et al. 2001) to establish the factors which affect the variation between these two forms, and
- (iii) to use the significant factors to advance and inform an analysis of reflexives in earlier English i.e. why did a new reflexive form develop, why did it supersede the old reflexive form, and how can the variation be accounted for under the current syntactic assumptions of the Minimalist Programme (Chomsky 2000, 2001, 2004)?

The purpose of the remainder of this chapter is to establish (i) the main research questions tackled by this thesis and (ii) the methodology employed in tackling these questions. §1.2 discusses the origins of the OE system, before briefly outlining the reflexive system in each of the three periods under consideration in this work (OE, ME, and EMODE), §1.3 outlines previous work on the topic, §1.4 raises a series of theoretical questions, and §1.5 presents (brief) details of the methodology which will be used to address these questions. Finally in §1.6 I provide an outline of the remainder of this thesis.

²In this chapter examples from the literature are used in order to illustrate points. Examples in other chapters are extracted from electronic corpora. For details of these corpora and how the data was extracted see Appendices A-E.

1.2 Overview of the development of reflexives in English

This section is broken into two sub-sections. The first sub-section (§1.2.1) discusses the roots of the OE reflexive system by discussing the languages from which OE descends. It also includes an outline of developments in languages which share the same origins as OE. The second sub-section (§1.2.2) provides a brief outline of the development of the reflexive form in English.

1.2.1 The origin of the Old English system

OE is the language descended from the Germanic tribes of the Angles, Saxons and Jutes who invaded and subsequently settled in Britain from the early fifth century. The invaders originated from the areas now known as Modern Denmark, Schlegswig-Holstein, and the northern coastal areas of the Netherlands. Their language(s) was descended from 'Low Germanic', from which the present-day languages of Dutch (and the related Afrikaans) and Frisian are also descended.

In the language family tree, 'Low Germanic' is a sister to 'High Germanic' from which Modern German and Yiddish are descended. Together, Low and High Germanic make up the West Germanic family. West Germanic is a sister to East and North Germanic.³ The East Germanic family comprises the modern language of Gothic, whereas the North Germanic family comprises the modern Scandinavian languages of Danish, Icelandic, Norwegian and Swedish. All of these language families descend from Proto-Germanic, which in turn descends from Proto-Indo European (PIE).

Lehmann (1974: 128) doubts that there were reflexive pronouns in PIE.⁴ Instead he suggests that reflexivity in PIE was expressed via a verbal affix **s(w)*.⁵ He suggests that the pronominal reflexives developed as the dialects/languages developed and changed from Object-Verb (OV) order to Verb-Object (VO) order (Lehmann 1974: 130, 207). This theory is based on language typology; according to Lehmann only VO languages have pronominal reflexives.

Whilst in the history of English, English changes from OV to VO (see e.g. van Kemenade 1987; Pintzuk 1991; van der Wurff 1997; Fischer et al. 2000), the same motivation for change is not evident. Firstly, OE uses pronominal reflexives and there is no sign of reflexive verbal affixes. Secondly, it is not the case that

³There is not a South Germanic branch.

⁴The term 'reflexive pronouns' refers to both reflexively used ordinary personal pronouns as well as pronominal forms which only function reflexively.

⁵A reflexive verbal affix is found in earlier Scandinavian alongside reflexive pronouns (see e.g. Faarlund 1994: 53; Hopper 1975: 37; Valfells 1970: 81-82; Geniusiene 1987: 299-300).

changes in word order increase the likelihood of *self* and the reflexive occurring together, since they occur together regardless of whether or not they occur before or after the verb.

Contra Lehmann (1974), Hermodsson (1952) and Ogura (1989b) suggest that PIE did have pronominal reflexives. They suggest personal pronouns functioned reflexively in first and second person constructions, but a special reflexive pronominal was used when the construction was third person. This special reflexive pronoun inflected for Case but not person or number: accusative (**se*),⁶ genitive (**sewe*, **sei*), and dative (**sebⁱi* or **sio*).⁷ These forms are said to have developed from an adjective **sew(e)* meaning ‘own’.⁸ Hermodsson (1952: 32) suggests that the *se*-pronouns were not exclusively reflexive, but they also had an intensifying meaning.⁹ In fact, he suggests that these forms were not only more commonly used with the intensification reading, but that the intensification reading existed before the reflexive meaning. The Modern German reflexive *sich* is directly descended from these PIE *se*-forms, but the intensification reading has been lost. This suggests that a pattern of development might be that an intensifier turns into a reflexive, and after a period where both the intensifier and the reflexive are used, the intensifier meaning is lost and only the reflexive form remains.

Proto-Germanic maintains the PIE system and continues to use the first and second person pronominals reflexively as well as the special third person form. The forms for the latter were accusative **sik* and the dative **sis* (Lockwood 1965: 21; Chambers and Wilkie 1970: 124; Faltz 1985: 269-272; Ogura 1989a: 2; Peitsara 1997: 280; van Gelderen 2000: 28).

One suggestion for this person split comes from Lehmann (1974: 207) who claims that the specialised form only occurs in the third person because the change towards this method of reflexivity occurred late within the development of the language and it was thus incomplete. This makes two predictions: (i) change in reflexive forms starts with the third person and, (ii) there should be languages where the change is complete and hence there is a special reflexive for all persons.

⁶Following standard conventions reconstructed forms are marked with an asterisk.

⁷There was not a nominative form, as might be expected from the general lack of nominative reflexives in the world’s languages, the subsequent developments in the Germanic languages, and the meaning of reflexives.

⁸Numerous researchers have noted that the origin of many reflexives are words denoting possession e.g. *own*, or relate to body parts such as the head, arms etc. (Moravcsik 1972; Safir 1996; Schladt 1999; Cohen 2004).

⁹For the similarity of the OE intensifier *self* and *agen* ‘own’ see Ogura (1988, 1989a, 1989b). For more on the link between intensifiers and reflexives see §6.4.1.

English might provide evidence for both of these predictions as numerous researchers have suggested that the development in English began with the third person, before proceeding to the second person, and finally to the first person (van Gelderen 2000; Vezzosi 2002; Lange 2003). However, other researchers have suggested that this is not the case (Peitsara 1997; Sinar 2005).¹⁰

A more fundamental problem for Lehman's account, is that there is no reason why the languages descended from this system would not -or could not- continue with a process of change. Whilst a division is made in terms of the label applied to the language (or even a given time period within a language), it is not the case that these boundaries necessarily coincide with the timings of a particular change. Furthermore, Lehman's account provides no motivation for why the third person forms should change first.

Other suggestions for the person split are based on modern languages descended from this earlier system as it seems likely that the same mechanisms may have been operative in the languages of their origin. One suggestion is that a person distinction arose and is maintained due to the need to disambiguate the reflexive and disjoint readings in the third person but not in the first and second persons (Penning 1875; Siemund 1997). Another suggestion -which is not necessarily mutually exclusive from the previous one- concerns the featural composition of the different pronominals. The idea here is that third person pronouns have different features to first and second person pronouns, which allow the latter but not the former to function reflexively (van Gelderen 1999, 2000).

In the remainder of this section, I examine the development in the languages of the West Germanic family branch. The systems of the modern languages are discussed in detail in chapter 3.

Old High Germanic maintained the special reflexive forms in the third person. These forms were the accusative *sih* and the genitive *sin*. There was not a dative form. 1st and 2nd person pronouns continued to function as the reflexive (see e.g. Lockwood 1965: 21; Chambers and Wilkie 1970: 124).

However, in Low Germanic the special reflexive was lost; for early Dutch see e.g. Gardiner (1927:40); Hermodsson (1952: 263); Faltz (1985: 210), Old Low German (spoken in North Germany) see e.g. Lockwood (1965: 43), and early Frisian see e.g. Geniusiene (1987: 240); Hoekstra and Tiersma (1994: 515). Motivation for this loss is not provided within the literature which generally concentrates on explaining the creation of new specialised reflexive forms, rather than their demise. One reason for their loss might simply have been analogy with the first and second person forms, where a special reflexive was not required. This

¹⁰For more discussion of person distinctions in the history of English see both the following section, and chapter 5, in particular §5.3.2.

is opposite to the general direction of development of reflexives observed in the literature. Therefore it is in Low Germanic that we find the origin of the OE system; ordinary personal pronouns functioned reflexively.

In their Middle Periods, both Dutch and Low German borrowed the special reflexive forms from Middle High German. For Dutch see Hermodsson (1952: 263); Everaert (1986: 3); Burridge (1992: 160) and Schutter (1994: 462); for German see Lockwood (1965: 43) and Chambers and Wilkie (1970: 124). Like the source language, they only used these forms for the third person.

The following motivations for borrowing are found within the literature: borrowing a prestige form to disambiguate disjoint and coreferential readings (Michel Verhagen, p.c.), a change in the ϕ -feature composition of Dutch third person pronouns meant they could no longer function reflexively, therefore a new form was required (Postma and Verhagen 2004), or restructuring of the Case system meant that a new form was required (Burridge 1992: 158-159).

1.2.1.1 Conclusion

Study of the earlier forms of the languages most closely related to English, suggest the following motivations for change in the form of the reflexive from ordinary personal pronoun to a specialised reflexive form:

- Borrowing prompted by the prestige of the language from which the feature was borrowed.
- Borrowing prompted by the need to disambiguate third person constructions.
- Borrowing following a change in the features of the pronominal resulting in it no longer being able to function reflexively.

As earlier English was in frequent contact with the languages of Old Norse (ON), (Norman) French (F), and Latin (L) the issue of borrowing will be discussed briefly in §§4.3.3.1 and 5.1.¹¹

In the discussion of PIE and Proto-Germanic an alternative to borrowing was suggested. Hermodsson (1952) suggests a link between the specialised reflexive form and intensifiers. It might therefore be possible that the reflexive developed from the intensifier, and that in later stages the intensification reading was lost. However, this does not explain why this process should happen;

¹¹Vezzosi (2002) has recently suggested that the reflexive developed under the influence of Celtic. I find this an unlikely explanation since among other things, there is no evidence for a dialectal difference which would be expected under such an analysis.

why should there be a link between intensifiers and reflexives and why should the intensification reading subsequently be lost? These questions are discussed further in chapters 3, 5 and 6.

1.2.2 Old English and beyond

In OE ordinary personal pronouns function as the reflexive, both as an object of a verb (OBJV) as in (3) and as an object of a preposition (OBJP) as in (4) (see e.g. Penning 1875: 8; Visser 1963: §§426-478; Mitchell 1985: §§265-278; van Gelderen 2000: chapter 1; Keenan 2002: 331).

- (3) *Hine_{i/j}* he_i beweradh mid wæpnum.
 Him he defended with weapons.
 ‘He_i defended him_{*i/j} with weapons.’
 or: ‘He_i defended himself_{i/*j} with weapons.’
 (ÆGram 96.11, Siemund 1997: 44)

- (4) Forðon ic me on hafu bord and byrnan.
 Therefore I me on have shield and coat-of-mail.
 ‘Therefore I shall have on me/myself a shield and coat of armour.’
 (Beowulf, 2523-4, van Gelderen 1999: 191, my translation)

Since the reflexive and the pronominals are homophonous, there are two potential interpretations for examples like (3) as shown in the two different translations; one where *hine* ‘him’ is an ordinary personal pronoun, and hence disjoint from the subject, and the other where *hine* ‘him’ is a reflexive pronoun, and hence co-referential with the subject.¹²

Hopper (1975: 37-38) suggests that syntactic position is used to distinguish these two interpretations:

[...] the reflexive *hine* is placed immediately before the rest of the verbal complex, while the personal pronoun occurs towards the head (i.e. beginning) of the clause with other pronouns.

A thorough examination of the position of different types of pronominals would be a thesis in itself, but a brief survey of the corpora used in this work (see §1.5.1) suggests that there are not exclusive surface positions for the reflexive pronoun (or vice-versa). It seems likely that future research may demonstrate that there are positions in which a reflexively used pronominal more frequently

¹²Within this thesis indices are used in examples where it is necessary to distinguish a particular reading from possible alternatives. Since indices are ruled out by current Minimalist assumptions, these are purely orthographic and not theoretical notation.

occurs than a disjoint one, and even that there may be a small number of cases in which there appears to be an exclusive reflexive position (or vice-versa).

For example, recent work by Taylor (2006: 116-117) and Harris (2006: 38-39) suggest that reflexivity may be a factor in determining whether or not the pronominal object of a preposition occurs either before or after the preposition. Taylor (2006: 116) provides evidence from multivariate analysis that reflexive pronouns more frequently occur postpositionally (before the preposition) in texts translated from Latin, although disjoint pronominals also occur in this position. Harris (2006: 38-39) examines extraposed PPs and shows that whilst all 28 examples with non-reflexive pronouns are of the order Preposition followed by pronoun, when the pronominal is reflexive 4 examples have the pronoun before the preposition and 4 examples have the pronoun after the preposition. These effects might be givenness (Taylor 2006: 117), linked to the prepositional type (van Bergen 2003: 126-127) or to differences in the feature specification of reflexively used pronouns (see §6.2).

Whilst Harris's (2006) work suggests that in a small number of cases reflexives behave differently to non-reflexive pronouns, it generally seems that all (surface) positions which are available to the one are available to the other. This means that for at least the vast majority (if not all) cases, surface position would not be sufficient to distinguish the two readings.¹³

Therefore, it seems that it is context alone which is used to determine whether the meaning is coreferential or not.¹⁴ In the case of (3) the pronominal is used reflexively and hence strictly only the second translation should apply. However, not all reflexive constructions would be ambiguous. For first person constructions such as (4) above and second person constructions as in (5) below, there is only one possible interpretation – that of co-reference.

- (5) Ymbscrydað eow mid Godes wæpnunge þæt ge magon standan
Clothe you with God's armour, that you can stand-firm
ongean deofles syrwingum.
against devil's traps.

'Clothe yourself with God's armour so that you can stand firm against

¹³It is not clear whether or not a reflexively used pronoun occupies the same syntactic position as a disjoint pronoun. Since this thesis is concerned with the form of the reflexive, this is a matter which is left open for future research, and may in part be dictated by the particular syntactic model employed by the researcher. For a discussion of the feature make-up of reflexives in comparison to disjoint pronouns see §6.2.

¹⁴Afrikaans uses the ordinary personal pronominals reflexively. My informants suggest that their language is similar to OE in relying on context in order to distinguish which of the two possible interpretations is intended. See chapter 3 for further details of cross-linguistic evidence, including further data from Afrikaans in §3.3.2.

the devil's traps.'

(cocathom2,+ACHom_II,_12.2123.466.2706)

The OE reflexive could occur adjacent to the word *self* as in (6).¹⁵

- (6) Judas hine selfne aheng.
Judas-NOM him-ACC self-ACC hanged.

'Judas_i hanged himself_i *himself_i*'

(Ælfric Hom, ii, 250, 15, Visser (1963: §432b), translation mine)

However previous researchers are unanimous in stating that whilst such constructions may represent the origin of the PDE reflexive form, at this stage the *self* element is not part of the reflexive (e.g. Penning 1875; Farr 1905; Visser 1963; Mitchell 1979; Mossé 1952; Ogura 1988; Peitsara 1997; van Gelderen 1999; Keenan 2002; Lange 2003). Rather, OE *self* is considered to be an independent item which is either a pronoun or an adjective (see §4.3 for further discussion). Its primary function is as an 'intensifier'.¹⁶

As shown in the translation, OE *self* has also been subject to change in its form (from *self* into *himself*). Since the intensifier develops into a form which is homophonous with the reflexive form several researchers have suggested that they may either impact each other, or even be part of the same change (e.g. Penning 1875; Farr 1905; Lange 2003). Therefore I examine the meaning and distribution of the intensifier in chapter 4 in order to establish the contexts in which it occurs throughout the stages of English. These contexts are then tested on the reflexive data in chapter 5 in order to ascertain whether or not there is evidence for intensification in the complex reflexive form (i.e. X-SELF).

Furthermore, in chapter 6 I examine the development of the complex intensifier and compare it to the development of the reflexive in order to establish whether or not they represent the same change and/or whether or not the development in the one form impacts the development of the other. This is part of a wider discussion in chapter 6 which concerns the relationship between intensifiers and reflexives which is shown in this thesis to exist for earlier stages of English (chapters 2 and 5) and other West-Germanic languages (chapter 3).

According to the literature, the first morphologically complex reflexives (i.e. X-SELF) occur at the start of the ME period (Ogura 1989b; Peitsara 1997; van

¹⁵The translation provided is meant to represent the fact that both the reflexive *hine* and the intensifier *self* have undergone change. The fact that this results in something which is ungrammatical (or at best awkward) in PDE is discussed further in §§4.3.3.2, 6.3, and 6.4

¹⁶This term is used by König and Siemund 2000a whose theoretical account for the meaning of such forms is adopted in this work. Others use the term 'emphatic' (Quirk et al. 1985: 360, Huddleston and Pullum 2002: 1496-1499) or 'intensive pronoun' (Cantrall 1974).

Gelderen 2000; Keenan 2002; Lange 2003). The following questions concerning the development of X-SELF therefore arise:

- Is the timing of this change confirmed in this large scale corpus study? (chapter 2)
- In what contexts did the new form occur? (chapter 5)
- Why did the intensifier and reflexive combine to create a new reflexive form? (chapter 4 for the meaning of the intensifier, chapter 6 for the relationship between reflexives and intensifiers)
- What is/are the motivation(s) for the reflexive to change at this time? (chapter 2, chapter 6)
- What is the syntactic structure of the new form? (chapter 6)

The creation of this new form leads to a substantial period of variation between the two forms of the reflexive (HIM and X-SELF), which lasts throughout the entire ME period and into the EMODE period. Examples of this variation from ME are given in (7):

- (7) a. If he be ranke of blod he will gnappe himsilf and rubbe him
 If he be excess of blood he will snap himself and rub him
 a3ens þe walle.
 against the wall.
 ‘If he [a horse] has an excess of blood he will hit himself and rub himself against the wall.’
 (CMHORSES, 89.33)
- b. So þat hors will rubbe him-self...
 So that horse will rub himself...
 ‘So that horse will rub himself...’
 (CMHORSES, 103.196)

The literature suggests that the second major change in the form of the reflexive occurs at the end of the ME period/start of the EMODE period (e.g. Spies 1897: 155; Mustanoja 1960: 153; Visser 1963: §454; Brunner 1965: 123-124). At this time (around 1500), ordinary personal pronouns (HIM) ceased being used reflexively (except in isolated uses) and most cases of local binding involved X-SELF. The PDE complementarity between pronouns and anaphors (or reflexives) was thus established (8).

- (8) a. Ivan_i hates * him_i / himself_i

b. Ivan_i hates him_j / * himself_j

At this point the following questions arise:

- What is the nature of distribution of the two forms (stable variation, gradual change, catastrophic change)? (chapter 2)
- What factors determine the variation between the two forms? (chapter 5)
- Are these factors attested in other languages? (chapter 3)
- Is the timing of this change confirmed by corpus data? (chapter 2)
- Why is HIM lost? (chapter 6)
- What is the motivation for the timing of this change? (chapter 6)

To summarise, on the basis of the claims in the existing literature on the topic of the history of English reflexives, the following distribution and development is expected:

1. OE used pronouns reflexively (HIM).
2. Around 1250 a new reflexive form developed (X-SELF).
3. For a period of 400-500 years both the new form (X-SELF) and the old form (HIM) were used for the reflexive.
4. Around 1500 the new form (X-SELF) ousted the old form (HIM), establishing the system found in PDE.

In the next section I briefly examine (i) claims concerning the nature of the variation between the two forms, concentrating on claims concerning the nature of their distribution (e.g. stable variation, gradual or cataclysmic change) and (ii) the theoretical accounts which have been proposed for the developments outlined above.

1.3 Existing literature, remaining questions

There have been several recent accounts of the history of English reflexives which like this one are both quantitative and theoretical (e.g. Peitsara 1997; van Gelderen 1999; Keenan 2002; Lange 2003). However these studies argue for different, sometimes conflicting analyses, frequently suggesting that the data patterns in a particular way which is unsubstantiated elsewhere in the literature. In this section I outline the answers found within these works for certain empirical and theoretical questions raised in the previous section.

1. What is the distribution of the new reflexive form (X-SELF) compared to the old reflexive form (HIM)?

In other words, following the creation of the X-SELF form is there a period of (i) stable variation, where the two forms occur at a similar rate, (ii) gradual change, where the new form slowly increases its frequency at the expense of the older form, or (iii) rapid change, where the frequency of the new form increases dramatically?

Some studies suggest that once the new reflexive form (X-SELF) is created, its frequency of use steadily increases throughout the ME period, until it eventually supersedes the old reflexive form (HIM) (e.g. Visser 1963: §454; Peitsara 1997; van Gelderen 2000; Lange 2003). This type of change would be consistent with models of syntactic change which suggest that distributions follow an s-shaped curve (see discussion in e.g. Bailey 1973; Kroch 1989b, 1994, 2001; Fischer et al. 2000; Pintzuk et al. 2000; Pintzuk 2003).

However data from Ogura (2001: 33) and Keenan (2002: 346, 2003: 25) suggest that the relative frequency of X-SELF and HIM remains stable throughout the ME period. This suggests that there is variation between the two forms but not change. In such circumstances we expect that the variation is governed by particular constraints e.g. whether or not the reflexive is third person, and that these remain broadly consistent over time.

If the variation is stable throughout the ME period then the change at the start of EMODE is a dramatic one, whereby there is a sharp increase in the use of the new variant. This would be consistent with a model of language change which suggests that change is cataclysmic (e.g. Lightfoot 1979, 1991, 1999) and that it represents the resetting of a parameter.

Therefore, these two conflicting views of the distribution in ME result in different interpretations of the way the reflexive changes; in the first the change is gradual, whereas in the latter the change is rapid and follows a period of stable variation. The question for this work therefore is: what is the nature of the change involving the two forms (stable and dramatic, or gradual), and how can their distribution be explained within models of syntactic change?

2. In what contexts/ where does the new form first appear?

This question is related to questions concerning which factors affect the distribution of the forms and also why the new form developed. Other questions which build upon this question would include 'how and why does the new form spread from these initial contexts to other contexts?'. Our answer to these questions would of course partly depend upon whether the distribution shows

gradual change (i.e. the new form gradually spreading into other contexts) or rapid change (i.e. a dramatic reanalysis).

In the previous section we saw that PIE and Proto-Germanic had a special reflexive form in the third person, but not the first and second person. On the basis of suggestions made for the present-day languages of German, Dutch, and Frisian, it was suggested that one reason for this might be the ambiguity of third person constructions (see chapter 3 and also Everaert 1986; Reinhart and Reuland 1993; Hoekstra 1994; Reuland 2001; Kiparsky 2002). We have already seen that a similar ambiguity is evident in OE; whilst the third person construction given in (3) was ambiguous between a coreferential and disjoint reading, the first and second person constructions given in (4) and (5) respectively, could only be given the coreferential interpretation.

Given such data, researchers working on the history of English have claimed that ambiguity was the cause of the development of the new reflexive form (Penning 1875: 13; König and Siemund 2000a: 63; Vezzosi 2002: 232; König and Vezzosi 2004: 21). Van Gelderen (1996: 111, 2000: 63) provides quantitative evidence that the third person X-SELF form develops first, although other quantitative studies either do not confirm this development (e.g. Keenan 2002), or suggest that it starts with a different person (e.g. Peitsara 1997 suggests the development starts with the first person, although she provides no motivation for why this should be the case).¹⁷

If ambiguity is the cause of the development, these researchers must then explain why the new reflexive form also occurs with first and second person constructions. Following Penning (1875: 13), most researchers suggest that the development proceeds via a process of analogy and that the new reflexive form spreads from the third person into the second person and then proceeds to the first person, i.e. the development is $3 > 2 > 1$.¹⁸ Since in other West Germanic languages the development has not proceeded beyond third person constructions (see previous section and chapter 3), we may ask ‘why did the form spread/generalise into first and second person constructions in English, but not other languages?’ An answer to this question is suggested in §6.5.

Van Gelderen (2000) further suggests that there is a difference with respect to number, such that the singular forms develop before their plural counterparts. It is unclear to me why this should be the case if ambiguity is the motivation

¹⁷It seems to me that Peitsara (1997) may be being misled by the development of a reflexive which comprises the genitive pronominal plus *self*, e.g. *myself*, as opposed to the oblique pronoun plus *self*, e.g. *himself*. I discuss this development further in §2.2.2.3.

¹⁸We might term this process ‘pattern generalisation’ following Keenan (2002, 2003), although Keenan does not apply the term in this instance.

for the change, since third person plural examples should be equally ambiguous as third person singular ones. I find no support for this claim elsewhere in the literature.

If the change in reflexive form is due to ambiguity then we might expect that it would begin with objects of verbs (OBJV) and objects of prepositions (OBJP) simultaneously, since we might expect that both positions would be equally ambiguous. However numerous researchers have suggested that the new form develops first as an OBJP (Visser 1963; Ogura 1989b; van Gelderen 1996; Lange 2003). Again there is disagreement in this respect as other researchers suggest that it starts in the direct domain of the verb (i.e. OBJV) (König and Siemund 2000a: 52).

An alternative suggestion for the development and distribution of the new reflexive form concerns the type of verb. Numerous researchers have suggested that verbs which might be termed ‘other-directed’ are amongst the first constructions to appear with X-SELF, see e.g. Ogura (1989a,b, 2003); Peitsara (1997); König and Siemund (2000a); Vezzosi (2002: 231); Lange (2003: 123).¹⁹ The theoretical motivation behind this development seems to be the notion that the objects of transitive verbs are typically interpreted as being disjoint. This is discussed under different guises throughout the theoretical literature: ‘the disjoint reference principle’ (Farmer and Harnish 1987), ‘the principle of iconicity’ (Haiman 1983, 1992, 1994; Croft 2003) and ‘the other-directed verb constraint’ (Gast 2004).²⁰ Therefore in the event that a speaker wishes to use a coreferential object, they must mark it in some way. This may be in terms of morphological marking e.g. the addition of *self*, although other languages use other methods (see discussion in Haiman 1983; Smith 2004).

Linked to the question of the verbal type is the issue of the origin of the verb. It is well known that during the course of its history English has been affected by numerous contact-induced changes (from Old Norse (ON) following the invasions and settlement of the Vikings and from (Norman) French (F) and Latin (L) following the invasion and subsequent settlement of the Norman French in 1066). Again there is a mixture of agreement and disagreement over the precise effect that such languages may have had on the form of the reflexive.

¹⁹The term ‘other-directed’ and the classification of verbs is examined further in §3.2 for cross-linguistic data and §5.2.2.3 for the earlier English data. Further theoretical discussion can be found in §6.4.

²⁰See also Comrie (1998); König and Siemund (2000a); Kiparsky (2002); Fruhwirth (2003); Ariel (2004); Haspelmath (2004); Smith (2004) for further discussion.

Scholars agree that since the ON reflexive system was similar to the OE one (e.g. see Faarlund 1994: 48; Barnes 1999: 32, for a description of ON),²¹ loanwords appeared with the old reflexive form (HIM) following the pattern of both the source and the target language. This may have reinforced the use of HIM throughout the late OE and early ME period (e.g. Ogura 2001: 33; Ogura 2003: 552).

Since ON influence was strongest in the North we might then expect a difference in terms of the percentage of X-SELF occurring in these texts compared to those in the South, where ON had less influence. Evidence to this effect is found in van Gelderen (2000: 56-58,61). However, Farr (1905: 42) suggests the opposite, claiming that X-SELF started in Northern texts before spreading to texts from the South.

Some researchers have claimed that French and French/Latin loanwords occur with the old reflexive form (HIM) (Kerkhof 1982: 74; Ogura 1989b: 58; Peitsara 1997: 300). However, the effects of translation from Latin into English are unclear and are only now starting to receive attention within the literature (e.g. Taylor 2006). Ogura (1989b) suggests that translation from Latin produces no effect on the choice of either X-SELF or HIM, but Lange (2003: 75) suggests that texts which are translations from Latin show a higher frequency of X-SELF. However, the effect reported by Lange might not be one of translation *per se*, but rather to do with the style of translation or perhaps the construction types within those texts i.e. if it is the case that third person forms occur earlier than any text with lots of third person forms will have more of the new reflexive than a text which is written almost entirely in the first person.

Finally researchers have discussed the effect of the type of text. Penning (1875: 52) suggests that X-SELF is less preferred in poetry in comparison to prose. Peitsara (1997), Ogura (1989a, b, 2001, 2003) and Lange (2003: 75) suggest that religious texts use X-SELF more than non-religious texts.

According to this brief survey on the existing literature the following factors may influence the choice of the form of the reflexive:

- Language-internal factors: person (1, 2, 3), number (singular or plural), syntactic position (OBJV or OBJP), verbal type (other-directed or not), origin of the verb (OE, ON, F, L).

²¹It is worthy of mention that ON had a special reflexive in the third person alone. It is possible therefore that if third person constructions do develop X-SELF first that it is not exclusively due to ambiguity, although this would seem to be the most likely motivation for such borrowing. Researchers working on earlier Dutch have suggested a similar account; namely the reflexive form *zich* was borrowed under contact with neighbouring German dialects in order to remove ambiguity.

- External factors: the type of text (religious versus non-religious and translation versus original work), the origin of the text (North, South, East, West), and genre (prose versus poetry).

My data was coded for some of these factors and multivariate analysis performed in order to establish which of them significantly affect the distribution of HIM versus X-SELF.²² The results are presented in chapter 5 and discussed in chapter 6.

3. What accounts for the development of the early English system?

We have already seen some of the factors which are considered to have influenced the development, namely the requirement to disambiguate in the case of third person constructions and the requirement to mark the object as being co-referential, altering the expectation that objects should be disjoint. In answering this question therefore I focus on theoretical accounts for why the form developed of which there are two main ideas to be found in the literature.

The first analysis is from van Gelderen (1996, 1999, 2000), who suggests that X-SELF is created when *self* is conjoined to the pronominal for the purposes of disambiguation. Under her analysis this process is one of grammaticalisation (see e.g. Hopper and Traugott 1993), where the original intensification reading of *self* is lost and it is reanalysed as a grammatical marker.

Subsequent changes in the distribution of the differing reflexive forms are related to expansion into other construction types and changes in the feature composition of pronominals meaning they can no longer function reflexively. For van Gelderen therefore, the supersedence of X-SELF over HIM in EMODE results from a gradual process which started with the creation of the new form and ended when other changes occurred within the syntax which meant that pronominals could no longer function reflexively.

²²The listed factors which I did not code for were genre and the origin of the verb. The corpora used only allow comparison of poetry and prose for the OE period. As there is significantly less data and less variation within the poetry I discuss the frequency of occurrence in §2.3.2 and omit this data from the discussion of factors in chapter 5. Comparison of poetry and prose for the later periods is left for future research. I did not code for origin of the verb as other factors which may have suggested such an influence (i.e. whether or not the text was translated) did not prove to be significant. However, I did note that in my data loanwords can occur with both HIM and X-SELF, the precise frequencies however are left for future research. In addition to the factors listed above the data was coded for sub-period, the referent type (an indicator of whether or not there is intensification - see chapter 3), whether or not the reflexive came before or after the finite verb, the type of the subject (pronominal, nominal, or null), whether or not the sentence is negative, and the preposition type.

The second analysis is from Keenan (2002, 2003), who suggests that X-SELF is created due to semantic similarity of the pronominal and *self*.²³ Keenan suggests that the motivation would be that a combined form would cut down on the computational load. Under his account *self* is not semantically bleached, and the form X-SELF is not grammaticalised in early ME when it is first created.

Therefore under Keenan's account subsequent changes in the reflexive relate to the loss of the meaning of the *self* component of the X-SELF form. For him, the change in EMODE is a result of the loss of the meaning of SELF, coupled with the loss of a particular construction which could take non-argumental co-referential pronouns (such pronouns are termed pleonastic which means 'the use of more words than necessary', or 'useless').²⁴

1.4 Theoretical issues

The standard account for the distribution of pronominals and reflexives in generative syntax is the Binding Theory of Chomsky (1981):²⁵

- (9) CONDITION A: Anaphors must be bound in their governing category.
 CONDITION B: Pronouns must be free in their governing category.
 CONDITION C: An R expression must be free.

The binding conditions outlined in (9) depend on the following definitions:

Binding: An anaphor or pronoun is bound if it is c-commanded by a category bearing an identical referential index.

C-command: α c-commands β if α does not dominate β and every γ that dominates α dominates β . (Chomsky and Lasnik 1993: 518)

Conditions A and B require pronouns and anaphors to be in complementary distribution (as is the case for PDE as shown in (8) above, repeated here as (10)). In other words, Condition A requires that the anaphor *himself* is bound (i.e. co-referential with the subject) but Condition B requires that pronominals such as *him* cannot be bound (i.e. be co-referential with the subject). The reverse results in ungrammaticality.

²³There is an additional issue here with respect to precisely which pronoun and which form of *self* combine. I ignore this issue in this introductory chapter, but return to it in §6.4.

²⁴These forms are discussed further in §2.3.5.1. See also Penning 1875; Farr 1905; Visser 1963; Mitchell 1979, 1985.

²⁵There is a rich theoretical literature which exists on this topic. Discussion will necessarily be limited due to scope, time and space.

- (10) a. Ivan_i hates * him_i / himself_i
 b. Ivan_i hates him_j / * himself_j

The early English data pose two main problems for such a theory; firstly Condition B rules out the use of reflexively used pronouns and secondly Condition A makes no provision for variation in the form of the anaphor. Whilst variation in the form of a reflexive is not explicitly ruled out by Condition A, the use of more than one reflexive form is not necessarily expected and nor is its distribution predicted. With respect to the first problem, we might wonder ‘Why do early English pronouns not violate Condition B?’. There seem to be two likely answers; either Condition B does not exist in earlier English, or Condition B requires modification.

Two further theoretical issues are raised by the Minimalist syntactic framework adopted in this work (Chomsky 1993, 1995, 2000, 2001, 2004). The first is a theory internal matter of how to express the Binding Theory in a framework which has removed many of the core components upon which Binding Theory relies (e.g. indices, the notion of government).

The operations available within the strongly derivational approach of Minimalism comprise MERGE, AGREE and MOVE. The purpose of all three of these operations is to value unvalued features. The system works broadly as follows: Syntactic structures are derived from the bottom-up. Items within a numeration are selected and inserted into the structure using the process of MERGE, the process which builds syntactic structures. The process of AGREE is used in order to establish relationships between valued or interpretable features, and unvalued or uninterpretable features. Recent Minimalist accounts (e.g. Hornstein 2001; Kayne 2002; Zwart 2002; Lee-Schoenfeld 2004; Heinat 2006; Hicks 2006) of Binding Theory are discussed in §3.4 and applied to the earlier English data in §§6.4 and 6.5.

The second theoretical issue is how syntactic variation can be accounted for within such a framework. Previous studies of syntactic variation have suggested that an individual might have two different, competing grammars which result in different syntactic outputs (Kroch 1989a,b) whereas others have suggested that speakers might have multiple parametric settings (Henry 1995). Since the framework uses morphosyntactic features in order to drive the syntactic operations, all cases of variation must emanate from the distribution of morphosyntactic features (see e.g. Adger and Smith 2005). Therefore under a Minimalist account there are not two different grammars or parametric settings, but two different morphosyntactic features which essentially allow the phonology to vary but the semantics to remain the same. These issues are discussed further in chapter 6.

1.5 Methodology

In chapter 2, the development of the two reflexive forms is traced quantitatively across three broad periods, OE, ME and EMODE. However the EMODE period is not studied in the same depth as the earlier periods. There are two main reasons for this; firstly, establishing and coding the data set is a lengthy and time-consuming process (see below, and also more specific details in §§2.3.1 and 5.1 and Appendix E). Secondly, the main purpose of this thesis is to examine the change from HIM to X-SELF and the variation which exists between these two forms. Therefore, whilst in chapter 2, I examine the two forms of the reflexive for Early Modern English up to 1639 in order to establish the timing of the second change (i.e. when X-SELF takes over reflexive functions), the data is not coded for additional factors and multivariate analysis is not performed (chapter 5). Moreover, whilst both poetic and prose texts are examined in terms of their overall distribution in OE (chapter 2), I do not consider the poetic texts further in chapter 5 as there is little variation in the forms.

In this section I detail which corpora are used in this study (§1.5.1), the limitations of these corpora and the general limitations of historical work (§1.5.2), and basic details of the treatment of the data (§1.5.3).

1.5.1 The early English corpora

The historical English data is drawn from four syntactically annotated corpora of earlier English: for OE, the York-Toronto-Helsinki Parsed Corpus of OE Prose (YCOE; Taylor et al. 2003) and the York-Helsinki Parsed Corpus of OE Poetry (YPC; Pintzuk and Plug 2001), for ME, the second edition of the Penn-Helsinki Parsed Corpus of Middle English (PPCME2; Kroch and Taylor 2000) and for EMODE, the Penn-Helsinki Parsed Corpus of Early Modern English (PPCEME; Kroch et al. 2004). A list of texts contained within each Corpus can be found in Appendices A-D. Each corpus was searched using the CorpusSearch Programme (Randall 2003); a selection of the query files for each corpus can be found in Appendix E. There are variations in the corpus annotations, necessitating different corpus queries for each period which are detailed further below and in Appendix E.

One advantage of the use of such large-scale corpora is that it allows data to be drawn from a wider selection of texts than has hitherto been possible, meaning that the findings are more representative than was possible in previous studies. An indication of the size of the relevant corpora is provided in Table

Corpus	Number of Words
YCOE	1.5 million
YPC	70 thousand
PPCME2	1.5 million
PPCEME	1.2 million

Table 1.1: The approximate number of words within each corpus (the YCOE, the YPC, the PPCME2 and the PPCEME).

Texts within each period (OE, ME and EMODE) are further subcategorised by the date of their manuscript in order to compare different stages of the language and check for any sign of linguistic change. For the YCOE the texts are dated using those given in Ker (1954) and divided into 3 periods following divisions established in other works (e.g. Wallage 2005). For the PPCME2 the data is divided into four sub-periods following the corpus documentation. Texts are assigned to each sub-period by the date of the manuscript,²⁷ also found within the corpus documentation. Only the first two sub-periods of the PPCEME are used for the quantitative work. Again, I follow the corpus documentation in assigning texts to these periods.²⁸ The dates for each of these sub-periods are provided in Table 1.2.

For some texts the YCOE contains more than one manuscript version. Only one manuscript version is included in the quantitative study, but manuscripts are compared for variations. The text ‘Honorius of Autun, Elucidarium’ (coeluc) is excluded from the analysis of OE as it is included in the PPCME2 as part of the ‘Kentish Homilies’ (CMKENTHO). The PPCME2 contains one poetic text (‘The Ormulum’ CMORM) which is excluded from this study on the basis of genre. All of the PPCEME texts are included for the period(s) under consideration.

²⁶Since I only include some of the PPCEME data the numbers are reduced accordingly. The total number of words for all three periods in the PPCEME is almost 1.8 million.

²⁷I discuss the problems of classification in the following sub-section. In §2.3.5.2 I provide details of alternative classifications in order to show that the same distributional patterns for reflexives are found regardless of the criterion used to classify the texts.

²⁸For the discussion of intensifiers I use all sub-periods of the PPCEME as these elements are tagged within the corpus, making data collection swift. Therefore we might add EMODE3 1640-1710 to Table 1.2.

Period	Dates
OE1	Pre-950
OE2	950-1050
OE3	1050-1150
ME1	1150-1250
ME2	1250-1350
ME3	1350-1420
ME4	1420-1500
EMODE1	1500-1569
EMODE2	1570-1639

Table 1.2: Dates of the sub-periods within each corpus (the YCOE, the PPCME2 and the PPCEME).

1.5.2 Problems and limitations

Grouping texts together into sub-periods raises several issues for the researcher. Firstly, grouping texts together in this manner ignores individual variation (see e.g. Mazzon 2004), although we can counter this by checking for any texts which show significantly different patterns to others within each period.

A more difficult problem for the historical data concerns the dating of texts. Firstly, Medieval texts are hard to date (or localise) since this information is rarely given within the text and secondly, the problem is compounded by the methods of manuscript production. Since methods of printing text were not available until the 15th century, manuscripts were copied by hand by scribes. Scribal practices varied depending upon the scribe and the purpose/audience of the copy they were making.

According to the typology of scribal behaviour which has been developed since the publication of volume one of the Linguistic Atlas of Late Medieval English (McIntosh et al. 1986) and various earlier seminal articles by McIntosh (1963, 1974), some scribes copied ‘cursively’, essentially translating the text into their own language/dialect. This may have been a dialect significantly later than the original, a different dialect to the original, or even both. An example of this is provided by Smith (1986), who states that when comparing Caxton’s text of ‘Malory’ with a modern editor’s version there are numerous differences particularly in terms of spelling. Other scribes copied ‘literatim’, which is to say letter by letter preserving the original forms. This is exemplified in the Cotton Manuscript of ‘The Owl and the Nightingale’ where there are two distinct spelling systems although a single Hand has written the text (see Atkins 1922). Finally, some scribes produced a mixture of the two or a mixture is found within the same text when more than one scribe has been involved with the production of the copy. The language of such manuscripts is called ‘mischsprache’ following Tolkien (1929) and is evident in the Cotton Manuscript version of the ‘Ancrene Riwe’. So there is a very real question concerning the origin and date of the language of the manuscript. Without careful examination of the history of each manuscript this is difficult to determine, although it may have an effect upon the overall results.

This problem is particularly evident in the classification of texts within the PPCME2 since the documentation indicates that the manuscript and composition dates for some texts fall into different sub-periods. The texts are CMAELR3, CMAELR4, CMEDTHOR, CMGAYTRY, CMHILTON, CMJULNOR, CMLAMBx1, CMMIRK, CMROLLEP, CMROLLTR, CMROYAL, CMTRINIT, and CMVICES4. Unless the researcher can spend time looking at the complex his-

tories of each of these texts, they are faced with three alternatives. The first is to exclude these texts from the analysis. Whilst this removes the problem of classification, it further narrows the range of data available. Hence, if possible we would like to include the data in order to maximise the data we have available. Therefore we might either classify these texts under their composition date and risk dating a change earlier by including amongst the period later forms, or classify the texts under their manuscript date, possibly prolonging the occurrence of some earlier forms. In this work I choose the latter option, but I examine the data in alternative classifications and have checked to see whether each of these texts is consistent with the data from the later period (see §2.3.5.2).

Since the production and survival of texts depended on certain extraneous and unpredictable factors (e.g. social changes reflecting the centres of learning or power), unfortunately the surviving texts are not evenly distributed in terms of dialect, genre (or text type) or even period. This leads Labov (1972: 100) to write, ‘historical linguists [...] have no control over their data’.

Therefore despite the best efforts of the compilers of the corpora, texts from certain authors are over-represented. Ælfric in the YCOE, the *Beowulf* poet in the YPC and Chaucer in the PPCME2. Idiosyncrasies in the language of any of these authors could result in significant skewing of the data. However, we can use data from other texts to check how representative these texts are.

Furthermore the texts are not evenly distributed in terms of genre (religious instruction, scientific writing, personal letters etc.), nor are they evenly distributed within each sub-period. For example, in the PPCME2 there are simply more texts available for the later periods than there are for the earlier periods. The earlier sub-periods of ME1 and ME2 are under-represented due to a general lack of surviving texts for these periods, raising important questions concerning precisely how representative the data is of the larger population from the time. This issue is particularly pertinent for ME2, which comprises only 3 texts, although due to the small number of words in one text (‘The Kentish Sermons’ (CMKENTSE) essentially the data comes from only two texts: ‘The Ayenbite of Inwit’ (CMAYENBI) and ‘The Earliest Complete English Prose Psalter’ (CMEARLPS). However, it is the task of the historical linguist to consider these limitations and ‘make the best use of bad data’ (Labov 1972).

1.5.3 The quantitative analysis: an overview

Query files were used to collect reflexive constructions from the computerised corpora. Since the syntactic annotation differs in the YCOE and the YPC compared to the PPCME2 and the PPCEME a different methodology and different

sets of query files were required in order to extract the same information (see Appendix E for details of the queries, and §2.1 for more specific details of the methodology).

In the YCOE and the YPC reflexives are marked (NP-RFL) and can be easily extracted from the corpora. Reflexive forms are further sub-divided into those which are arguments of the verb (θ -occurrences) and those which are not arguments of the verb (non- θ occurrences which are marked with the label -ADT). For various reasons which I outline in §2.3.5.1, the latter are excluded from the analysis of HIM versus X-SELF. Whilst in the majority of cases I agreed with the corpus annotators in their classification of the forms as either argument or non-argument, some constructions were reclassified.

Self is not treated as being part of the reflexive nor is it treated as being an intensifier. It is simply labeled as a noun (N) within the corpora. A list of the different spelling variants for *self* was therefore used to extract these forms (see Appendix E).

In the PPCME2 and the PPCEME the HIM-type reflexive is indistinguishable from the ordinary personal pronouns as both are simply marked as ordinary pronominals (PRO*) which function as ordinary objects (NP-OB*). Therefore a significant undertaking of this work was to identify the reflexive constructions and separate them from those with disjoint objects in the PPCME2 and the PPCEME.

In cases where the subject is a pronominal, it is possible to reduce the workload of ascertaining which examples are reflexive by specifying the form of the subject and the object. This removes all examples of constructions such as *I washed him* which are clearly disjoint. However examples like *He washed him*, which could be either be disjoint or co-referential, must manually be checked for context. Similarly with nominal DP subjects it is possible to specify the requirement that the pronominal is third person, but then the context for each of these examples must manually be checked.²⁹

The non-argument reflexive forms are distinguished from ordinary objects as they are encoded with the label NP-RFL. Therefore these are easily extracted. Again, minor modifications to these classifications were made for the purposes of this study.

Reflexive forms which occur with *self* comprise two sorts; those which are written as a single orthographic unit and hence given the label PRO*+N and those where *self* is separate. Such forms are not given a distinctive label and were found using the list of spelling variants of *self*. Intensifiers which are also

²⁹Since nominals are third person, first and second person pronominal objects cannot be co-referential with them e.g. * *The man_i killed me_i*, but *the man_i killed him_i*.

given the label (PRO*+N) are distinguished from reflexives with the label -PRN, which signals that they are appositives or parentheticals.

Once the data set was established it was coded for various factors which might potentially affect the distribution: sub-period, person, number, verb type, preposition type, whether or not it was an object of a verb or preposition, text type, referent type and whether or not it occurred before or after the finite verb. It is possible to code for some of these factors automatically (see Appendix E),³⁰ but other factors were coded for manually.

The factors coded for were determined by both previous studies on the subject (see above) and factors shown to be evident in related languages (see chapter 3). The coded strings were then extracted from the output file and fed into GoldVarb (Robinson et al. 2001). The factors were then manipulated in order to ascertain which significantly affect the distribution (for more on this process see §5.1).

1.6 Outline of the thesis

The thesis is structured such that the overall distribution of the two forms of the reflexive is detailed in chapter 2 and the remainder of the thesis attempts to provide an account for this distribution by determining the factors which affect the distribution and how this can be embedded into current theoretical thinking. Excluding this chapter there are 5 further chapters, the outline for each of which is presented below.

Chapter 2 provides a detailed account of the overall distribution of the two forms of the reflexive in OE, ME and EMODE. The main questions tackled in this chapter are: When does the new form develop and when does it supersede the old form? What is the nature of the period of variation i.e. is it stable or is there a gradual increase? How can the change be embedded in current theories of linguistic change? Descriptive details about the form of the reflexive e.g. its Case and the endings on *self* are also provided since they are relevant to the later theoretical discussion.

Chapter 3 examines cross-linguistic data from other West Germanic languages in order to (i) ascertain similarities and differences with the earlier English distribution as outlined in chapter 2, (ii) discover the factors which affect the distribution of different forms of the reflexive in these languages, and (iii) examine the extent to which existing theoretical accounts for these languages are able to explain the data. During this discussion I advance an alternative account to

³⁰Although in some cases the automatic coding would result in the incorrect form. Where this is the case, the coding was corrected manually.

address some of the short-comings of existing analyses and embed them within the current syntactic framework.

In chapter 4 I discuss the distribution and meaning of 'non-reflexive' intensifiers in earlier English in order to isolate the contexts in which intensifiers occur. It is shown that one significant factor in determining their distribution relates to the rank of their referent. The reflexive data was coded for this property in order to ascertain whether or not there is evidence for the presence of intensification in X-SELF. This chapter also provides the basis for the theoretical discussion in chapter 6 which addresses the motivation for intensifiers and reflexives to combine and compares the development of the English intensifier and the English reflexive to see whether or not they are part of the same change.

Chapter 5 analyses the factors which account for the distribution of the reflexive form. Multivariate analysis is used in order to ascertain which factors are significant. Data for some of the non-significant factors as detailed elsewhere in the literature are also provided for the purposes of comparison.

Chapter 6 presents a theoretical account for (i) why pronominals can function reflexively in OE and ME and why they are lost in EMODE; (ii) why English developed a complex intensifier; (iii) why English developed a complex reflexive and why it took over all cases of binding in EMODE. The chapter also relates these changes to other changes happening in the language at the time.

Chapter 7 presents a summary of the most important findings of the thesis and provides suggestions for future research.

Chapter 2

The Distribution of Reflexives in Early English

2.1 Introduction

This chapter details and quantitatively compares the distribution of locally bound reflexive objects occurring with and without *self* in Old English (OE, c.800–c.1150), Middle English (ME, c.1150–c.1500) and into Early Modern English (EMODE, c.1500–c.1800). The EMODE period is only detailed up to the year 1639, since this is the point at which it seems the system familiar from Present-Day English (PDE, c.1800–present) is established.

Throughout this work, reflexives which occur without *self* –such as (1a)– will be referred to by the form HIM and all those which occur with *self* –such as (1b)– will be referred to by the form X-SELF.

- (1) a. Ye seyn that if ye governe yow by my conseil...
You say that if you govern you by my counsel...
'You say that if you govern yourself by my counsel...'
(CMCTMELI, 221.C1.142)
- b. ...I woll enforme yow how ye shul governe yourself in chesyng
...I will inform you how you should govern yourself in choosing
of youre conseilours
of your counsellors
'...I will inform you how you shall govern yourself in the choosing of
your counsellors.'
(CMCTMELI, 222.C1.184)

The latter term will be used regardless of whether or not the two words occur separately (2a), as a single orthographic unit (2b), or conjoined with a hyphen

(2c).¹

- (2) a. And pine me seluen on asshen. and on iselen.
And torment me self in ashes. and in embers.
'And I torment myself in ashes and in embers.'
(CMTRINIT,65.887)
- b. For thow thiself hast thrist thiself into wikke thinges.
For you yourself have thrust yourself into wicked things.
'For you yourself have thrust yourself into wicked things.'
(CMBOETH,448.C2.412)
- c. ... tay giue þam-selffe til þe deuil.
... they give them-self to the devil.
'They give themselves to the devil.'
(CMBENRUL,21.735)

Unlike Peitsara (1997) I do not refer to two different reflexive strategies i.e. the 'simple-strategy' and the 'self-strategy' (my HIM and X-SELF respectively). In subsequent chapters evidence is provided that at least until the EMODE period, X-SELF forms are really the reflexive HIM with intensification (i.e. the form is semantically decomposable into its component parts). Therefore they are not two different strategies for achieving co-reference; co-reference is established by the pronominal in both cases.

The first aim of this chapter is to provide descriptive details of the reflexive system in each sub-period (OE, ME and PDE). In particular, I concentrate on describing changes in the inflectional endings of *self* and changes in the form of the pronominal both with and without *self* i.e. HIM and the pronominal part of X-SELF, since it has been argued that changes in these elements are crucial to the development of the X-SELF form (see §6.4).

The second aim of the chapter is to establish the overall pattern of variation between the two reflexive forms, and compare it to the observations discussed both in the previous chapter and to Keenan's (2002, 2003) quantitative study.²

¹Spelling cannot be used as a reliable guide for the status of the X-SELF form i.e. whether or not the two words were considered a single syntactic unit. Many of the hyphens seem to represent later additions from modern editors, and many texts show variation in spelling which may either be due to the fact that spelling was not codified and could therefore vary at the level of the individual, or the 'mixed nature' of manuscript production (see §1.5.2). In the interests of providing a full description of the form of the reflexive, I provide figures for each of these three types for ME and EMODE in §2.2.2.2. Figures are not provided for OE, because all forms of the reflexive occurring with *self* are written as two separate words. The data confirms that variation in spelling persists throughout ME and EMODE and that no firm conclusions can therefore be drawn on the basis of spelling alone.

²Since Peitsara (1997) only includes a subset of the data considered here (OBJV), I compare

The factors which affect the distribution outlined in this chapter are discussed in chapter 5.

This chapter is organised as follows: §2.2 provides a qualitative account of the forms of the reflexive for the three periods under consideration, broken down into two main sub-sections. The first (§2.2.1) details the form of locally bound pronouns, whereas the second details the form of X-SELF (§2.2.2). This section involves discussion of the inflectional endings on *self*, the change in the form of the first and second person pronominal and the spelling of the X-SELF form. The main purpose of §2.3 is to provide a quantitative description of the frequency with which X-SELF occurs relative to the frequency of HIM. This section is subdivided into a discussion of further details of the methodology for data extraction (§2.3.1) and presentation and discussion of the quantitative data (§3.2).

2.2 Description of the reflexives in earlier English

2.2.1 Locally bound pronouns

2.2.1.1 Old English

As outlined in §1.2, there is widespread agreement in the literature that reflexivity in OE is expressed via ordinary personal pronouns as shown in (3) and (4) (see also Penning 1875; Farr 1905; Visser 1963; Mitchell 1985; van Gelderen 2000; Lange 2003). The examples come from poetry (3) and prose (4). In both genres pronominals function reflexively, both as an object of a verb (OBJV) (3a) and (4a), and as an object of a preposition (OBJP) (3b) and (4b).

- (3) a. Wit unc wið hronfixas werian þohton.
 We us against whale-tusk defend thought.
 ‘We thought to defend ourselves against whale-tusk’.
 (cobeowul,18.539.458)
- b. Forðon ic me on hafu bord ond byrnan.
 Therefore I me on have shield and coat-of-mail.
 ‘Therefore I have a shield and coat-of-mail on me’.
 (cobeowul,78.2522.2058)
- (4) a. Pa æteowode se deofol hine þam halgan were.
 Then showed the devil him the holy man.

the findings of her study in §5.2.2. Lange (2003) bases her data on Peitsara’s findings and van Gelderen (1999, 2000) describes the forms found in different texts but does not group her findings, or make it sufficiently clear what she includes or excludes, meaning it is not possible to collate her results.

‘The the devil showed himself to the holy man.’

(cocathom2,+ACHom_II,_1198.206.2039)

b. Ic hæbbe Godes encgel haligne mid me.

I have God’s angel holy with me.

‘I have God’s holy angel with me.’

(coaelive,+ALS[Agnes]131.1801)

In OE object pronominals were marked for Case, number and, in the third person singular for gender. These are shown in the paradigm given in Table 2.1.³ There is already evidence of some accusative–dative syncretism within the paradigm e.g. the first person singular form *me* ‘me’ is both dative and accusative. Historically these forms were distinguished; the accusative (ACC), first person singular form was *mec* ‘me’ but the dative (DAT) form was *me* ‘me’. Other forms which have been lost from the paradigm are *usic* ‘us’ (ACC, 1st person, pl), *þec* ‘you’ (ACC, 2nd person, sg), and *eowic* ‘you’ (ACC, 2nd person, pl).⁴ All of the forms shown in Table 2.1 could function reflexively, although genitive uses were rare (see also Visser 1963: §§426-438; Mitchell 1985: §§266-274).

Person	Case	Singular			Plural
1st Person	ACC	me			us
	DAT	me			us
	GEN	min			ure
2nd Person	ACC	þe			eow
	DAT	þe			eow
	GEN	þin			eower
		Masc	Fem	Neut	All Genders
3rd Person	ACC	hine	hi, hie	hit	hi, hie
	DAT	him	hire	him	him
	GEN	his	hire	his	hire

Table 2.1: The paradigm of OE pronouns.

Dative pronominals (occasionally accusative but never genitive ones) occur in another construction type –the pleonastic– which is closely related to the

³The Table ignores the many spelling variations e.g. *hiene* for *hine* ‘him’ which are found in the available texts. I also omit the forms of the dual, since they rarely occur as reflexives, aside from some isolated uses, which occur mostly in the poetry as in (3a) above.

⁴These forms are not completely absent from my data, although their occurrence in reflexive constructions is mainly restricted to isolated cases in the poetry. We might suppose that this is because the poetry both represents an earlier stage of the language and that often forms are maintained in poetry after they have been lost in the prose.

reflexive (see e.g. Penning 1875: 22; Farr 1905: 8-9; Mustanoja 1960: 100; Visser 1963: §28; Mitchell 1985: §272; Peitsara 1997: 278; Ogura 2003: 537). Such constructions are exemplified in (5)-(8).

- (5) & cwæð, þæt ic me ne ondrede.
 And said, that I me-ACC/DAT not fear.
 ‘And said that I should not be afraid.’
 (cobede, Bede_4:26.354.3.3566)
- (6) Se Godes man hire cwæð to, Gang þe ham ongean,
 The God’s man her said to, Go you-ACC/DAT home again,
 ‘The man of God said to her ‘Go home again.’
 (coaelive,+ALS_[Thomas]:282.7714)
- (7) ...gereste hyne þonne sume hwile.
 ...rested him-ACC thereafter some time.
 ‘... [he] rested thereafter for some time.’
 (coherbar, Lch_I_[Herb]:117.2.1804)
- (8) He him hamweard ferde to his agnum rice.
 He him-DAT homeward went to his own kingdom.
 ‘He went home to his own kingdom.’
 (coorosiu, Or_24.44.7.831)

Since both the pleonastic and the reflexive must be locally bound i.e. they must be co-referential with the subject, previous researchers have included both construction types in their discussions of reflexivity.⁵ However, it will be shown below that there are significant differences between reflexive and pleonastic constructions, which suggest they should be treated separately, particularly in a quantitative analysis.

However, in a study such as this one, which concerns the development of the reflexive, it is not possible to simply ignore or exclude the pleonastic construction from the analysis altogether, since it appears likely that developments in one construction impact the other (and vice-versa).⁶ Therefore in this section I discuss both construction types and simply label them ‘locally bound pronouns’.

The frequency of the different Case forms of all locally bound pronouns (reflexives and pleonastics) in the YCOE are given in Table 2.2. The Case forms of the reflexive pronouns (HIM) are given in Table 2.3, and the pleonastics in Table 2.4.⁷

⁵Pleonastic forms must be locally bound, however reflexive forms can be long-distance bound. This study only concerns examples of local binding.

⁶For further details of the likely impact in the history of English, see §6.4.

⁷Recall that these figures are for pronominals which do not occur with a *self* element. The pronominal forms with *self* are discussed in the next section.

Period	ACC		DAT		GEN		Ambiguous		Total
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N
OE1	304	32.4	522	55.6	4	0.4	109	11.6	939
OE2	737	36.6	808	40.2	5	0.2	462	23.0	2012
OE3	125	28.4	181	41.1	0	-	134	30.5	440
Total	1166	34.4	1511	44.6	9	0.3	705	20.8	3391

Table 2.2: The frequency of the different Case forms of locally bound pronouns in OE. Data from the YCOE.

Period	ACC		DAT		GEN		Ambiguous		Total
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N
OE1	278	41.6	290	43.4	4	0.6	96	14.4	668
OE2	570	39.7	421	29.4	5	0.3	438	30.5	1434
OE3	92	30.1	86	28.1	0	-	128	41.8	306
Total	940	39.0	797	33.1	9	0.4	662	27.5	2408

Table 2.3: The frequency of the different Case forms of reflexively used pronouns (HIM) in OE. Data from the YCOE.

Period	ACC		DAT		Ambiguous		Total
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N
OE1	26	9.6	232	85.6	13	4.8	271
OE2	167	28.9	387	67.0	24	4.2	578
OE3	33	24.6	95	70.9	6	4.5	134
Total	226	23.0	714	72.6	43	4.4	983

Table 2.4: The frequency of the different Case forms of pleonastic pronouns in OE. Data from the YCOE.

The ambiguous forms listed in Tables 2.2-2.4 comprise first and second person constructions. Dative/accusative syncretism (see Table 2.1) means that in constructions like (4b) and (5) above, the pronominal *me* could be either accusative or dative. Therefore the increase in ambiguous forms is due to differences in the number of constructions of first and second person within the different periods, and not due to an increase in Case ambiguity.

Table 2.2 suggests that dative pronominals are more frequently locally bound than accusatives, and that genitive forms are only rarely attested. Separating the reflexives and pleonastics, reveals a slightly different picture. Whilst Table 2.3 shows that dative forms are more frequently used reflexively in OE1, this is not the case in OE2 or OE3, or for the period in general. In these cases more reflexive forms are accusative than dative (see also Visser 1963: §426). When pleonastic dative forms are the most frequent as shown in Table 2.4.

2.2.1.2 Middle English and Early Modern English

Pronominals of all persons continue to function reflexively throughout ME (9), and some isolated uses remain in EMODE (10).

- (9) Ye seyn that if ye governe yow by my conseil...
 you say that if you govern you by my counsel...
 ‘You say that if you govern yourself by my counsel...’
 (CMCTMELI, 221.C1.142)

- (10) And I bought me moch aparelle.
 And I bought me many apparel.
 ‘And I bought myself many clothes.’
 (FORMAN-DIARY-E2-P1,22.353)

However, there are some significant changes in the pronominal system between OE and ME. Firstly, the accusative-dative syncretism already seen in the first and second person forms (cf. Table 2.1) also occurs in the third person. The accusative forms are replaced by the dative forms as shown in (11).

- (11) hine (masc) > him
 hi, hie (fem) > hir(e), her
 hi, hie (pl) > him, hem, heom > thaim, them

The change from accusative to dative starts in late OE and happens in different dialects at different times, but for the most part, the ACC/DAT distinction is lost in early Middle English (eME, 1150-1250) (see also Visser 1963: §439; Allen 1995). Motivation for this change might be the fact that these Cases were no longer distinguished in first and second person. This syncretism results in the

singular and plural forms being the same in some dialects: *him*. In part this may provide the motivation for the subsequent adoption of the *th*-plural pronouns which develop under the influence of Old Norse.

The neuter form is different to the forms outlined in (11) as the accusative form *hit* is maintained, rather than the dative form *him*. This is probably because there was a general movement towards natural gender and a sensitivity to the distinction between human and non-human. The neuter dative form was identical to the masculine and plural forms (i.e. *him*, see Table 2.1), the use of the accusative therefore allowed a distinction to be made. The other major change in pronominal forms occurs in the second person. The singular object form *thee* is replaced with the plural form *you*.

In terms of the reflexive, these changes have little effect, aside from altering the form of the reflexively used pronoun, as they each continue to function reflexively. The effect seen is that the Case distinctions are altered such that they distinguish between nominative and non-nominative (or: oblique). This is part of a wider change, which is discussed further in §6.2.

2.2.1.3 Summary of the form of locally bound pronominals

In OE all object pronominals are able to function reflexively, regardless of person, number, gender or Case. Genitive forms are rarely attested, but dative and accusative forms occur in roughly equal numbers throughout the period, with a slight overall tendency towards the dative Case. Dividing cases of locally bound pronouns up into reflexive and pleonastic uses, shows that pleonastic forms are overwhelmingly dative (and never genitive), whereas the reflexive forms marginally favour the accusative form. In ME the Case distinction is mostly lost, which results in some (major) changes to the form of the personal pronouns. In each case, the pronominals continue to be used reflexively.

2.2.2 Reflexive forms with *self*

2.2.2.1 The form of *self*

There is widespread agreement that the *self* form found adjacent to the reflexive in OE examples such as (12), is *not* part of the reflexive but an intensifier (see Penning 1875; Farr 1905; Visser 1963; Mitchell 1985).⁸ The main reasons for such an analysis are that (i) *self* is not categorical with any verb,⁹ (ii) *self* and

⁸The meaning and distribution of the intensifier is detailed in chapter 4.

⁹However, as will be discussed further in §§5.2.2.3 and 6.4, in OE the following verbs always have the intensifier following the reflexive pronoun in my data: *acwellan* 'kill', *ahon* 'hang', *fordon* 'destroy', *ofslean* 'slay', *(ge)swencan* 'afflict, oppress', and *þreag(g)an* 'threaten,

the reflexive are not written as a single orthographic unit (12) and, (iii) *self* can occur in the same syntactic positions with non-reflexive pronouns (13).

- (12) a. & mid gryne hyne_i sylfne_i aheng.
 And with noose him self hanged.
 ‘And with a noose, he hanged himself.’
 (cowsgosp,Mt_[WSCp]27.5.1999)¹⁰
- b. He bið þurhwuniende on him_i sylfum_i & þurh hine_i sylfne_i.
 He is everlasting in him self and through him self.
 ‘He is everlasting in himself and through himself.’
 (+cocathom1,+ACHom_I,_20336.25.3848)
- (13) For ðan þe hi hæfdon hine_i sylfne_i mid heom,...
 Because they had him self with them,...
 ‘Because they had him himself with them,...’
 (coaelhom,+AHom_8:159.1248)

Since *self* is an adjective or pronominal in OE (Penning 1875; Farr 1905; Visser 1963; Mitchell 1979, 1985), it occurs with adjectival endings which must agree with the element which it intensifies. The difference between the strong and weak adjectival forms depends on its syntactic properties. Namely a weak form is used when the form occurs with a determiner, but a strong form is used when it occurs without. Since the pronominal does not count as a determiner (although it may well occupy the same syntactic position), the most usual form for *self* is the strong form.¹¹ The different forms of *self* are provided in Table 2.5.

From late OE onwards these endings decay as adjectival endings are lost within the language (see Allen 1995; van Gelderen 2000). Most researchers suggest that most adjectival endings are lost by 1200 (Penning 1875: 35). This is confirmed by a survey of the forms both within the corpora under discussion here and in Peitsara (1997: 283) who uses some of the same material as here. The forms of *self* occurring after a reflexive in ME and EMODE as reported by torture. However, with the more frequently used disjoint pronouns, the intensifier is never used.

¹⁰A more literal translation of this sentence would be ‘And with a noose he hanged himself himself’ where the modern developments of both the reflexive and the intensifier are included. Informant judgements vary with respect to whether or not this is grammatical in PDE. It seems likely that the difference in judgements results from the fact that historically the reflexive form carried intensification and hence forms such as ‘himself himself’ were not frequently attested. For further discussion of this, see §§6.4 and 6.5 Throughout I will translate the OE form simply as the reflexive.

¹¹For further discussion of the endings of *self* see §4.3.3.1.

Strong (indefinite)						
	Singular			Plural		
	Masc	Fem	Neut	Masc	Fem	Neut
NOM	self	self	self	selfe	selfa	self
ACC	selfne	selfe	self	selfe	selfa	self
GEN	selfes	selfre	selfes	selfra	selfra	selfra
DAT	selfum	selfre	selfum	selfum	selfum	selfum
Weak (definite)						
	Singular			Plural		
	Masc	Fem	Neut	Masc	Fem	Neut
NOM	selfa	selfe	selfe	selfan	selfan	selfan
ACC	selfan	selfan	selfe	selfan	selfan	selfan
GEN	selfan	selfan	selfan	selfra	selfra	selfra
DAT	selfan	selfan	selfan	selfum	selfum	selfum

Table 2.5: The paradigm for *self* in OE.

Peitsara (1997: 283) are given in Table 2.6, and the forms for the endings on *self* for OE, ME and EMODE for my data are given in Table 2.7.¹²

Table 2.7 confirms that in the majority of cases for the OE data the inflectional endings are those of the strong adjectival paradigm (see also Visser 1963; Mitchell 1985). There are occasional uses of the weak adjectival endings (14), some of which show evidence of leveled inflections with non-standard spellings possibly reflective of the differing pronunciations of the unstressed vowel e.g. *-on* rather than *-an* (or possibly even *-um*) as in (15).

- (14) & þæt þridde hæfð Ægelric mid him sylfan.
And the third has Ægelric with him self.

‘And Ægelric has the third with him.’

(codocu3,Ch₁471_[Rob_101]36.210)

- (15) Se Fæder hæfþ lif on him sylfon.
The father has life in him self.

‘The Father has life in himself.’

(cowsgosp,Jn_[WSCp]:5.26.6107)

In ME the inflectional endings are severely reduced to \emptyset , *-e* and *-en*, in both the singular and plural paradigm as shown in (16) (see also Visser 1963:

¹²Table 2.7 excludes data from the YPC. The data included for the YCOE comprises all examples of reflexively used pronominals which are intensified. Intensifiers which occur adjacent to a locally bound pronominal but are not inflected to agree with it, but rather the subject, are excluded from this table. For further discussion of these forms, see §§2.3.5.1, 4.3.1, 6.3 and 6.4.

Singular	ME1		ME2		ME3		ME4		EMODE1		EMODE2		EMODE3	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
-	11	21	11	85	53	91	52	85	35	36	53	37	125	91
-e	3	6	2	15	2	4	9	15	61	64	89	63	12	9
-ne	3	6	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
-um	1	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
-en	35	65	-	-	3	5	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Plural	ME1		ME2		ME3		ME4		EMODE1		EMODE2		EMODE3	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
-	4	18	2	66.7	12	80	18	57	5	11	-	-	-	-
-e	2	9	1	33.3	3	20	12	39	10	22	-	-	-	-
-en	15	73	-	-	-	-	1	>1	-	-	-	-	-	-
-es	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	29	67	77	100	69	100

Table 2.6: The frequency of various inflectional endings on *self* when adjacent to the reflexive in ME. Data adapted from Peitsara (1997: 283).

Singular	OE1		OE2		OE3		ME1		ME2		ME3		ME4		EMODE1		EMODE2		
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	
Strong																			
-	3	1.2	5	0.8	1	0.7	39	24.7	2	5.9	259	97.7	121	48.4	109	33.1	291	39.1	
-e	35	13.6	36	5.6	12	8.5	9	5.7	30	88.2	4	1.5	105	42.0	220	66.9	454	60.9	
-ne	93	36.2	338	52.3	81	57.4	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
-um	115	44.7	232	35.9	32	22.7	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
-es	5	1.9	7	1.1	2	1.4	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
-re	5	1.9	11	1.7	1	0.7	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
Weak																			
-an	-	-	4	0.6	1	0.7	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
-en	-	-	-	-	10	7.1	110	69.6	2	5.9	2	0.8	24	9.6	-	-	-	-	
-on	-	-	12	1.9	1	0.7	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
-un	1	0.4	1	0.2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
Totals	257		646		141		158		34		265		250		329		745		
Plural																			
Strong																			
-	-	-	-	-	-	-	11	13.3	-	-	90	97.8	39	45.9	37	29.4	10	3.9	
-e	34	59.6	123	73.2	32	59.2	4	4.8	9	90.0	2	2.2	35	41.2	39	31.0	5	2.0	
-um	17	29.8	41	24.4	16	29.6	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
-ra	5	8.8	1	0.6	6	11.1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
Weak																			
-an	1	1.8	-	-	-	-	2	2.4	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
-en	-	-	-	-	-	-	66	79.5	1	10.0	-	-	11	12.9	-	-	-	-	
-on	-	-	3	1.8	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
Plural Marker																			
-es	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
Total	57		168		54		83		10		92		85		126		255		

Table 2.7: The frequency of various inflectional endings on *self* when adjacent to the reflexive in OE, ME and EMODE. Data from the YCOE, the PPCME2 and the PPCEME.

§§448-455).

- (16) a. For with thys swerde I woll sle myselff.
For with this sword I will slay myself,
'I will slay myself with this sword.'
(CMMALORY,65.2210)
- b. Sle myselffe to make the a lyer.
Slay myself to make you a liar.
'I will slay myself in order to make you a liar.'
(CMMALORY,54.1806)
- c. And pine me seluen on asshen. and on iselen.
And torment me self in ashes. and in embers.
'And I torment myself in ashes and in embers.'
(CMTRINIT,65.887)

I do not find evidence of the accusative *-ne* or the dative *-um* in the PPCME2. The evidence for the maintenance of these forms as cited by Peitsara (1997: 283) comes from texts not included in the PPCME2; the *Vespian Homilies* maintains the accusative *-ne* ending and the *Bodley Homilies* maintains the old dative ending (*-um*). Throughout ME the final *-e* appears to simply be an orthographic variant (Visser 1963: §448).

Earlier studies such as Mustanoja (1960: 147); Visser (1963: §447); Brunner (1965: 121-122); Peitsara (1997: 283-284) and Barber (2000: 224) suggest that the s-plurals (*ourselves*, *yourselves* and *themselves*) appear during the end of the 15th century, and become standardised in the mid 1500s. In my corpus they appear in EMODE1 (1500-1570) and represent 39.7% of the plural forms.¹³ In EMODE2 (1570-1640) they show near categorical usage at 94.1% confirming the suggestions in the literature.

Many researchers link the change in the reflexive form to this decay of inflectional endings. The suggestion is often that the lack of inflection meant that the adjectival *self* was no longer clearly marked to agree with the DP it intensifies. In order to maintain the relationship between the intensified DP and itself, *self* adjoined to the DP. It certainly appears to be the case that once adjectival endings are lost (with the exception of *-e* and *-en*), the two words are more frequently written as a single unit as will be shown in the following sub-section.

¹³It seems that the *-s* plurals become more common in the texts after 1530, e.g. TYNOLD.e1 (1530-1534). However, even after this date there are texts which do not use the *-s* plurals or which show variation, sometimes using the *-s* plural and other times not, e.g. MOWN-TAYNE.e1 (1553).

However, we might add to this argument that cross-linguistically not all languages have intensifiers which show agreement with the element it intensifies, e.g. Norwegian (Bokmaal and Nynorsk) and German have intensifiers which do not vary regardless of syntactic position of the element they intensify. Furthermore, it is also not the case that an intensifier must agree with the DP it intensifies for all of the ϕ -features (see also Fruhwirth 2003: 52).

2.2.2.2 The spelling of reflexive X-SELF

In OE, the intensifier and the reflexive are always written as two separate words and therefore there is little evidence that they were considered a single syntactic unit.¹⁴ From ME onwards, the spelling of the form varies between being written as a single orthographic unit (17a), a hyphenated form (17b), or as two separate words (17c).

- (17) a. If he be ranke of blod he will gnappe himsilf and rubbe him
 If he be excess of blood he will snap himself and rub him
 a3ens þe walle.
 against the wall.
 ‘If he [a horse] has an excess of blood he will hit himself and rub himself against the wall.’
 (CMHORSES, 89.33)
- b. So þat hors will rubbe him-self...
 So that horse will rub himself...
 ‘So that horse will rub himself...’
 (CMHORSES, 103.196)
- c. And pine me seluen on asshen. and on iselen.
 And torment me self in ashes. and in embers.
 ‘And I torment myself in ashes and in embers.’
 (CMTRINIT, 65.887)

To some extent this variation is determined by extraneous factors from ME1 to EMODE1 i.e. individual choice or subsequent modifications by editors. However, examination of the various forms in the PPCME2 and the PPCEME (Tables 2.8 and 2.9) does suggest that there was an increasing tendency to use a single orthographic unit as time progressed.

In EMODE2 (and to some extent EMODE1) the variation between the single orthographic unit (18) and two separate forms (19) seems to be governed by whether or not the form comprises an oblique pronoun plus *self* as with the

¹⁴Whilst there are no examples of conjoined reflexives, there are 10 examples of conjoined complex intensifiers in OE. These are discussed in §6.3.

Period	Separate		Hyphenated		Conjoined	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
ME1	114	78.6	28	19.3	3	2.1
ME2	8	34.8	15	65.2	0	-
ME3	40	21.5	39	21.0	107	57.5
ME4	33	14.9	82	36.9	107	48.2
Total	195	33.9	164	28.5	217	37.7
EMODE1	95	35.1	8	3.0	168	62.0
EMODE2	213	29.5	0	-	510	70.5
Total	308	31.0	8	0.8	678	68.2

Table 2.8: The frequency of different spellings of X-SELF when an OBJV in the PPCME2 and the PPCEME.

Period	Separate		Hyphenated		Conjoined	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
ME1	73	76.0	16	16.7	7	7.3
ME2	14	66.7	7	33.3	0	-
ME3	36	21.1	45	26.3	90	52.6
ME4	21	18.6	37	32.7	55	48.7
Total	144	35.9	105	26.2	152	37.9
EMODE1	47	25.5	5	2.7	132	71.7
EMODE2	125	45.1	0	-	152	54.9
Total	172	37.3	5	1.1	284	61.6

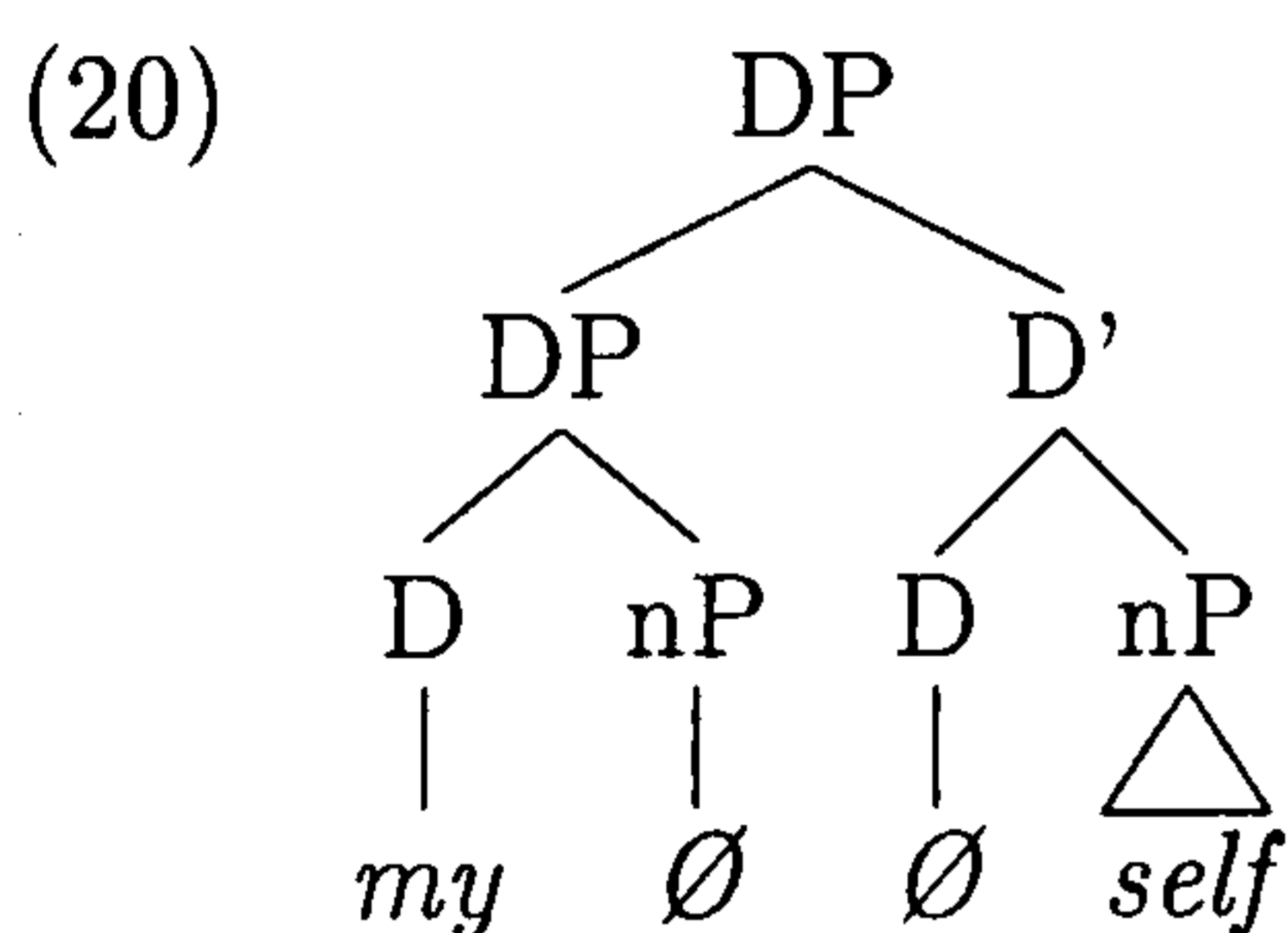
Table 2.9: The frequency of different spellings of X-SELF when an OBJP in the PPCME2 and the PPCEME.

third person forms *himself* and *themselves*, or a genitive form such as *myself* or *yourself*.

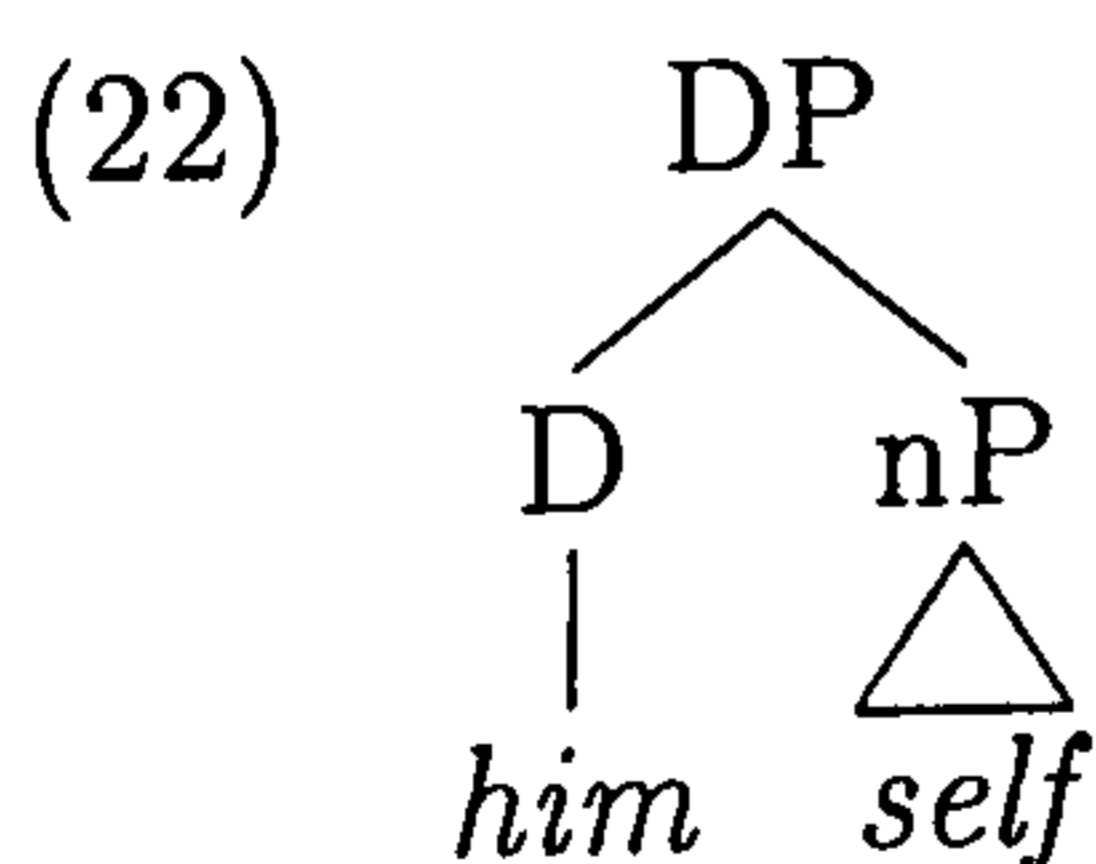
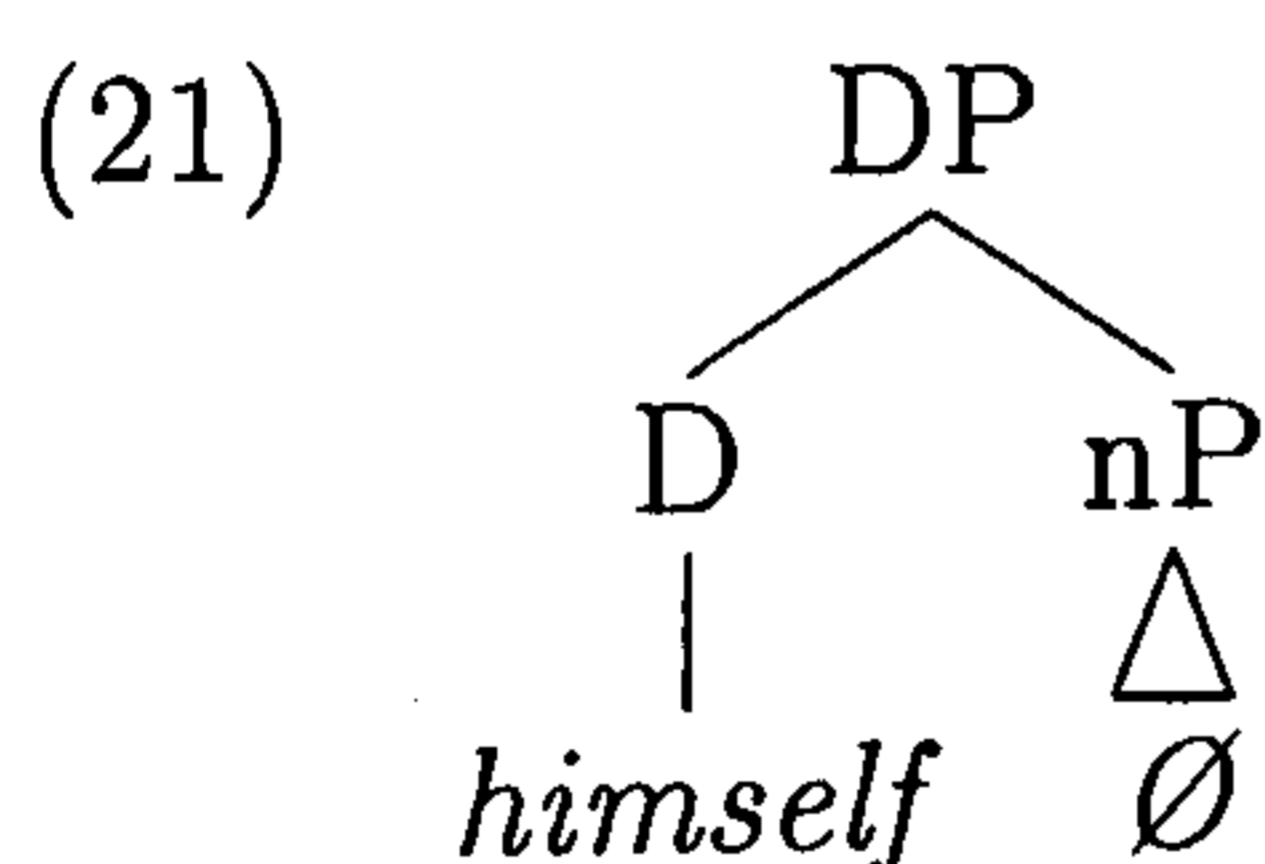
(18) But Iesus did not commit himselfe vnto them ...
(AUTHNEW-E2-H,II,20J.228)

(19) Iesus answered, If I honour my selfe, my honour is nothing.
(AUTHNEW-E2-H,VIII,40J.1165)

As can be seen in (18)-(19) forms which occur with the oblique pronoun are (usually) written as a single unit, whereas those which occur with a genitive form are usually written separately. This distinction seems to conform to the recommendations of the 17th century grammarians (Wallis 1972; Aicken 1967) and may well be linked to the idea that the genitive (or: possessive) pronoun in the first and second person constructions means that structurally *self* must be a noun akin to *ball* in phrases like *her ball*. The assumed structure is provided in (20).



However in cases like (18) there is not similar evidence for a possessive structure, and the structure is more usually considered to be either that provided in (21) or that provided in (22). For further discussion of the structure of the reflexive form see §§3.2.1 and 6.4.



2.2.2.3 The form of the pronominal in reflexive X-SELF

In the YCOE the form of the reflexive pronominal with *self* is usually either accusative or dative (23),¹⁵ following the pattern observed in §2.2.1 for reflexive

¹⁵Below I will argue that pleonastic constructions do not occur with *self*. Hence in the discussion of X-SELF forms, I only refer to reflexive pronouns.

pronominals without *self*. Again there are occasional occurrences of the genitive (24). The frequencies of the different forms are provided in Table 2.10.

- (23) He bið þurhwuniende on him_i sylfum_i & þurh hine_i
 He is everlasting in him-DAT self-DAT and through him-ACC
 sylfne_i.
 self-ACC.
 ‘He is everlasting in himself and through himself.’
 (+cocathom1,+ACHom_I,_ 20336.25.3848)
- (24) He geseah þa sona þæt he his sylfes geweold.
 He saw then at once that he his-GEN self-GEN ruled.
 ‘He saw then at once that he ruled himself.’
 (colsigewZ,+ALet_4_[SigewardZ]:1070.486)

Period	ACC		DAT		GEN	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
OE1	164	52.2	139	44.3	11	3.5
OE2	500	61.4	305	37.5	9	1.1
OE3	125	64.1	62	31.8	8	4.1
Total	789	59.6	506	38.2	28	2.1

Table 2.10: The frequency of the different Case forms of the pronominal part of Old English X-SELF.

Note that unlike the forms provided in Table 2.2, there are no ambiguous forms. This is because the inflectional endings on *self* can be used to determine the Case of the pronominal in the event that the accusative and dative forms are homophonous. Table 2.10 shows that the frequency of the accusative forms is higher than the dative ones and that genitive forms are rare.

In ME1 the pronominal form is inherited directly from OE but as Case syncretism has occurred throughout the paradigm – as outlined above in §2.2.1 – this means that the pronominal is simply the oblique form and the distinction between accusative and dative is lost as in (25).¹⁶

- (25) Ich haue syneged and gabbe me suluēn þeroffe.
 I have sinned and rebuked me-ACC/DAT self thereof.
 ‘I have sinned and rebuked myself thereof.’
 (CMTRINIT,65.886)

From ME2 onwards (i.e. 1250) the form for the first and second person singular changes to the genitive form of the personal pronoun plus *self*, which corroborates

¹⁶As discussed above, the adjectival endings on *self* have also decayed, meaning they cannot be used in order to distinguish Case (if it is still present) in cases like (25).

the findings made elsewhere in the literature for the timing of this change (e.g. Keenan 2002: 343). Nevertheless occasional uses of the older form are still found throughout ME2 and ME3.

The second person plural changes from *ow/3eu/yow/you* to the genitive form *3oure* in ME3 (1350-1420) but the first person plural forms with the genitive pronoun (i.e. *our* rather than *us*) do not gain ground until the ME4 period (1420-1500). There is no evidence for the extension of this paradigm to the masculine third person singular forms which is evident in several present-day dialects (see Kisbye 1972: 107-108; Wales 1996), although some evidence is provided in the literature from manuscript variations as shown in (26).¹⁷

- (26) a. He gaf þe wri3tes þaire mesour and wro3t hisself in þat labour.
(Cursor Mundi (F) 1726, from Ogura 1989a)
- b. He gaf þe writthes þair mesur and wroght himself in þat labur.
(Cursor Mundi (G) 1726, from Ogura 1989a)

There are two possible analyses to be found within the literature for the change in the Case of the pronominal. The first is that it was due to a phonological process (Mustanoja 1960: 146; Peitsara 1997: 280). The pronominals *me* 'me' and *þe* 'you' are the only pronominals within the paradigm which comprise a single light syllable (see Table 2.1 above). All other forms within the paradigm either end in a consonant (*him/hem* 'him/them') or they are disyllabic as in *hire* 'her'. Therefore the first and second person singular forms were more susceptible to reanalysis than the other pronouns.¹⁸ The order of change can then be explained thus: first and second person singular forms change due to a phonological process, and this is then extended to other areas of the paradigm.

The alternative analysis is that the change was due to syntactic reasons (Penning 1875: 35; van Gelderen 2000: Ch3). The suggestion is that *self* was reinterpreted as being the head noun of the reflexive phrase and the pronominal was subsequently interpreted as a possessive form, the structure for which was provided in (21) in the previous sub-section. Further evidence for this analysis is discussed in §6.4.

¹⁷Since the oblique and genitive forms of the feminine third person are morphologically indistinct, it is impossible to tell whether such forms pattern with the first and second person or the masculine singular and plural forms. The neuter form also presents some difficulty in PDE, since its pronunciation is often unclear between *its + self* and *it + self*. However, since *its* does not develop until the 16th century, there is not really any ambiguity in the early English data in this respect. Wallis (1972: 328-329) certainly does not consider the form a substantive in this case and therefore treats *itself* as a single orthographic unit.

¹⁸We might usefully add that the correspondence of OE long close /e/ to ME short /i/ is well attested within the literature (Lass 1992: 47) and that in many PDE dialects forms of *me* and *my* are variable.

2.2.2.4 Summary of the form of X-SELF

This sub-section has shown that there are several changes which take place in the form of X-SELF between OE and EMODE. Firstly, in OE, the reflexive and *self* are not written as a single orthographic unit. However, *self* is inflected to agree with the reflexive in terms of ϕ -features (person, number, gender) and Case. The inflection is usually strong, however, there are occasional uses of the weak inflection, which show some signs of leveling. In ME these inflectional endings decay to just three types: \emptyset , -e, -en, and by the time of EMODE2 the PDE system of inflecting the *self* part in terms of singular (\emptyset) and plural (-es) is established.

Furthermore, it was shown that there was a general increase throughout ME and into EMODE in X-SELF forms written as a single unit. Whilst variation between a hyphenated form and a single orthographic unit was random until EMODE2, it seems that during this period forms of the reflexive which occurred with an oblique pronoun were written as a single word, whereas those with a possessive pronoun were written as two words.

Finally it was shown that the pronominal form of X-SELF underwent change from always being oblique to being possessive (GEN) in the first and second person, possibly due to a change in syntactic structure and subsequent reanalysis or a phonological change.

2.2.3 Conclusion

This section has shown that despite changes in adjectival endings, which affect the endings on the *self* component of X-SELF, general changes in the pronominal paradigm and a change in the pronominal form which occurs with X-SELF, both HIM and X-SELF occur throughout earlier stages of English. In the next section I examine the frequencies with which these different reflexive forms occur.

2.3 The distribution of reflexives

This section presents the overall frequencies for locally bound objects of verbs and prepositions in OE, ME and the first two periods of EMODE. I do not distinguish between prepositional phrases which are arguments and those which are adjuncts since it is not always easy to make this distinction. Furthermore it seems that the important thing is not the status of the prepositional phrase but whether or not the preposition supports a disjoint reference interpretation (see

§5.2.3).¹⁹ All examples of non-locally bound *x-self* forms which are homophonous with the reflexives under consideration here, are excluded. *X-self* forms which occur in a subject-like position are also excluded (27), as are subjects of small clauses as in (28).²⁰

(27) And *hem seluen* eten þe werste þat hie of eorðe tilien.
And them selves eat the worst that they of-the earth plough.
'And they (themselves) eat the worst that they plough from the earth.'
(CMTRINIT, 179, 2441)

(28) ...Þat es þay halde þam selfe vile...
...That is they consider them selves vile...
'... That is they consider themselves vile..'
(CMROLLTR, 1.230)

The section is sub-divided such that the first sub-section (§2.3.1) expands on the general methodology as outlined in §1.5, the second sub-section provides the overall distribution of the forms and compares them to other quantitative studies (§2.3), the third sub-section considers alternative classifications of the data, and the final sub-section presents an overview of how the distribution might be accounted for under theories of syntactic change.

2.3.1 Data collection

Firstly, it is necessary to provide more specific details of the methodology, expanding on the general methodology presented in §1.5. In this sub-section I concentrate on providing specific details of how the corpora were searched. Example query files are provided as Appendix E.

Reflexives are coded in the YCOE and the YPC with the label NP*-RFL; they are further sub-divided into arguments and non-arguments (or: adjuncts), the latter labelled -ADT. Those marked -ADT are often pleonastic constructions. Occasionally I disagree with the classification provided by the corpus annotators, and re-assign constructions accordingly. *Self* is labeled as an adjective which may either occur as part of the NP or separately. In order to search for these forms, a list of the different spelling variations of *self* was constructed using lists of the words found in the corpora.²¹

¹⁹It seems likely that the explanation for the variation in PPs in earlier English which is presented in chapters 5 and 6, could also be used to account for (some of) the notorious snake-sentences which have proven problematic for the Chomskyan Binding Theory (Chomsky 1981, 1986). I leave this open for future research.

²⁰For some (limited) discussion of the subject-like forms, see §6.4.

²¹The list of spellings of *self* is provided in Appendix E. In order to ensure that all forms of

However, searching for reflexives in both the PPCME2 and the PPCEME is not as straightforward. Since the corpus does not mark reflexivity reflexive objects of transitive verbs are indistinguishable from disjoint pronominal objects. Therefore, the only way to ascertain whether an object pronominal is used reflexively is to check the context of each form. This workload can be reduced by specifying the type of subject and the form of the pronominal. For example, using a word list which contains all of the spellings for first person singular objects and a similar word list for first person singular subjects, we can eliminate all examples where the forms cannot be co-referential i.e. *He gave a book to me*. Context still needs to be checked but the number of examples is significantly reduced. Similarly, full nominal subjects can only be coreferential with third person pronominal objects, meaning again we can specify both the subject and the object and reduce some of the workload. Even so, checking context is a time-consuming process which is why it has only been completed for the first two periods of EMODE and further coding for factor groups has not been completed on the EMODE data (i.e. for chapter 5).

Fortunately, X-SELF forms which are conjoined are marked in a specific way, namely as PRO+N for forms containing the oblique pronoun such as *himself* and as PRO\$+N for forms containing the genitive pronoun such as *myself*.²² There are a few other elements marked for this category in the corpora, which are easily identified and eliminated. However, searching primarily for PRO+N/PRO\$+N, would miss out data where *self* and the pronominal are not written as a single unit. Where *self* appears independently it is simply marked as N, for a noun. Therefore, as with the OE data, lists containing spelling variants of *self* were used in order to extract these forms from the corpora.

2.3.2 The overall distribution

In order to detail the overall frequencies of HIM versus X-SELF it is necessary to define exactly what constitutes each data set. In neither case is classification straightforward. In the case of HIM, it was shown above that there are (at least) two different types of locally bound pronouns which occur in two different constructions: a reflexive construction (29) and a pleonastic construction (30).

self were obtained, the list contains some forms which have the mean *silver*. As all examples were manually checked, tokens containing these forms were removed at a later stage.

²²Complex intensifiers which also have the form of PRO*+N are dominated by the node NP-PRN marking that they are not arguments of the verb. Therefore such forms are easily differentiated from the reflexive forms.

- (29) Pa æteowode se deofol; hine; þam halgan were.
 Then showed the devil him the holy man.
 ‘The the devil showed himself to the holy man.’
 (cocathom2,+ACHom_II,_1198.206.2039)
- (30) He; him; hamweard ferde to his agnum rice.
 He him homeward went to his own kingdom.
 ‘He went home to his own kingdom.’
 (coorosiu,Or_24.44.7.831)

In (29) the locally bound pronominal *hine* ‘him’ is an object of a transitive verb and cannot be omitted. Such constructions were termed reflexive. However in (30), the verbs are otherwise intransitive as they cannot take a disjoint object, and the locally bound pronominal *him* ‘him’ can be omitted (as in the PDE translation). Such constructions were termed pleonastic. Whilst the difference in transitivity might suggest that these two construction types should be treated separately, previous researchers who have quantitatively examined the form of the reflexive pronoun have included both constructions in their frequency counts (e.g. Peitsara 1997; van Gelderen 2000; Keenan 2002; Lange 2003). Therefore, in order to allow comparison with other data in the literature I include the pleonastics in my frequency counts in this section. However, in §2.3.5.1 I review whether or not they should be included in the quantitative analysis and present evidence to suggest that in fact these two construction types do behave differently and that the pleonastic data should be excluded from discussions of HIM versus X-SELF.

In the case of X-SELF there are several decisions to make mostly with respect to the treatment of the OE data. In the first instance we must decide whether or not to include the OE data or to omit it based on the fact that previous researchers are unanimous in stating that OE reflexives are pronominals and that there is not a X-SELF form (see §1.2 and e.g. Mitchell 1985: §§273-274). Peitsara (1997: 280-281) adopts this latter view on the basis of the fact that (i) there are no verbs which categorically occur with *self* in OE, suggesting *self* was not a marker of reflexivity, and (ii) the reflexive pronoun and *self* are not written as a single orthographic unit. Peitsara suggests that at the start of ME, *self* is semantically bleached and simply a grammatical marker, not an intensifier.²³ It is at this point that X-SELF is written as a single orthographic unit. She therefore excludes the OE data from her quantitative discussion.

²³Although not mentioned by Peitsara, evidence for change in the meaning of intensifiers might come from the fact that its form also underwent change during this period. For discussion of this change see chapter 4 and §6.3.

However, as will be discussed further in §§5.2.2.3 and 6.4, there are six verbs in my OE data which when used reflexively *always* occur with *self*, but never do so when they are used with disjoint object pronouns. I do not wish to claim that these data represent reflexive uses of *self*, but rather they represent the start of a system which is later evident throughout the entire ME period. Namely that whilst reflexives and intensifiers frequently co-occur (see details presented below), the intensifier is not part of the reflexive, and hence whether or not the intensifier occurs is dictated purely by the requirements of intensification.²⁴ This suggests that whilst there are orthographic changes in the form of the reflexive at the start of ME, the ME system is a direct continuation of OE and a new reflexive form is *not* grammaticalised at the start of ME. Under such an account *self* is not semantically vacuous (*contra* Peitsara 1997) but rather maintains its meaning as an intensifier.²⁵

If this analysis is correct, Peitsara (1997) should exclude the ME data from consideration as *self* is not (purely) a grammatical marker. The alternative is to include both periods and to see whether or not there is any difference in either the frequency of occurrence or the contexts in which each of the forms occur. This is the method pursued in this study.

The second issue concerns what precisely constitutes an X-SELF form. In §2.2.2 it was shown that in the ME and EMODE periods the reflexive pronominal and *self* could either occur as a single orthographic unit, conjoined with a hyphen or be written as two separate words. The first two spellings present little issue, since there is at least some evidence to treat the two words as a single unit, but this is not the case when the words are separate.

We might therefore suggest a definition of X-SELF as: all examples of a locally bound pronominal which occur adjacent to a self-form regardless of spelling (one word, two words, or hyphenated). However, for the classification of the OE data this presents a further issue. As discussed in §2.2.2 the OE intensifier *self* is always inflected to agree with the DP which it intensifies. Whilst in reflexive constructions *self* is inflected to agree with the reflexive to which it is adjacent as in (31), in the pleonastic constructions *self* is *always* inflected to agree with the subject and not the pleonastic pronoun as in (32). If *self* were inflected to agree with the pronominal it would be the dative form *selfum*.

²⁴In chapters 5 and 6 I suggest that certain reflexive contexts more strongly favour intensification than their non-reflexive counterparts, thereby explaining the OE data.

²⁵See also Keenan (2002, 2003) for the idea that *self* maintains its meaning throughout the ME period.

- (31) Ond se cwellere sona hine_i selfne_i ofslog mid ðy
 And the killer immediately him-ACC_i self-ACC_i slew with the
 ilcan sweorde.
 same sword.
 ‘And the killer immediately slew himself with the same sword.’
 (comart3,Mart_5_[Kotzor]Jy7,B.45.1117)
- (32) Ða [se ilca Totilla]_i eode him self_i...
 Then [the same Totilla]-NOM_i went him-DAT self-NOM_i...
 ‘Then the same Totilla went himself.’
 (cogregdC,GD_2_[C]:14.132.9.1278)

The inflectional endings in (31) provide some evidence for considering *hine* and *selfne* as X-SELF, however the inflectional endings in (32) suggest that the pleonastic and *self* should not be treated together.²⁶ We therefore have two possible classifications available to us: (i) treat all forms of a locally bound pronominal adjacent to *self* as an X-SELF form, regardless of the inflection on *self* (ii) only treat forms of the locally bound pronominal adjacent to a *self* which is inflected to agree with that pronominal as X-SELF, and treat all other forms as being of the HIM-type.

In order to ascertain whether or not these two alternative classifications make a difference to the overall pattern of the data, I present the figures for each of the classifications below.²⁷ In Table 2.11 cases like (32) are treated as being of the HIM-type, whereas Table 2.12 treats such examples as being of the X-SELF-type.

Period	X-SELF	HIM	Total	%
OE1	314	939	1253	25.1
OE2	814	2012	2826	28.8
OE3	195	440	635	30.7
Total	1323	3391	4714	28.1

Table 2.11: The percentage of X-SELF in the YCOE. Includes all pleonastics categorised as the HIM-type.

²⁶Based on the discussion of intensifiers in chapter 4, in §6.4 I suggest that the meaning of *self* rules out its use with the pleonastic, thereby explaining why *self* inflects to agree with the subject, even though both the subject and the pleonastic pronoun refer to the same individual and the pleonastic is in fact syntactically nearer.

²⁷Since the numbers in the YCP are low, they are not presented here, but discussed further below.

Period	X-SELF	HIM	Total	%
OE1	353	900	1253	28.2
OE2	911	1915	2826	32.2
OE3	243	392	635	38.3
Total	1507	3207	4714	32.0

Table 2.12: The percentage of X-SELF in the YCOE. Includes pleonastics categorised by whether or not they occur adjacent to *self*.

The examples which are reclassified amount to 184 in number.²⁸ The difference in classification does not alter the pattern of the percentages of X-SELF. Under both classifications there is a slight increase in the percentage of X-SELF between each sub-period. However, there is a slight difference in the overall frequencies, which may alter our perception of whether or not there is change between OE and ME. However, this can be tested with the chi-square test of statistical significance. The ME data is provided in Table 2.13.

Period	X-SELF	HIM	Total	%
ME1	241	413	654	36.9
ME2	44	131	175	25.1
ME3	357	709	1066	33.5
ME4	335	724	976	34.3
Total	977	1894	2871	34.0

Table 2.13: The percentage of X-SELF in the PPCME2. Includes pleonastics classified as the HIM-type.

In Table 2.13 the overall percentages of X-SELF for ME1, ME3 and ME4 are all similar; 36.5, 33.5 and 34.3 respectively, but the percentage in ME2 is slightly lower at 25.1. As there are few texts in ME2 we might suppose this explains the difference in this frequency. In comparison to the OE data, the percentages in ME are slightly higher than those in Table 2.11, and similar to OE2 and OE3 in Table 2.12. Chi-square tests can be used to test for differences between the sub-periods.

For all chi-square tests I take $p \leq 0.01$ as the level for significance and for all chi-square tests where $df = 1$ (i.e. 2 by 2 tables), I apply Yates' correction for continuity (Yates 1934). This adjusts the formula for Pearson's chi-square test by subtracting 0.5 from the difference between each observed value and its expected value. The effect is to increase the p-value and decrease the chi-square

²⁸Note that this classification is not an issue if pleonastics are excluded - see §2.3.5.1. Furthermore, since *self* and the pleonastic pronouns do not occur from ME onwards due to changes in the intensifier (see chapter 4 and §6.3), it is not a problem outside of OE.

value, thereby preventing the over-estimation of statistical significance. In cases of strong significance, the results are the same regardless of application of the correction. In cases of smaller significance, the use of the correction may provide different results to the calculation without. I indicate this in cases where this applies.

Comparison of the overall distribution of each of the periods within OE and ME (i.e. OE1 vs OE2, OE1 vs OE3 etc.) suggest there is a significant difference between some of the sub-periods. The results of the significant chi-square tests for the two different classifications of the OE data are presented in Tables 2.14 and 2.15.²⁹

Period	df	χ^2 value	p value
OE1 & ME1	2	28.38	≤ 0.001
OE1 & ME2	2	19.5	≤ 0.001
OE1 & ME4	2	11.96	$p = 0.0005$
OE2 & ME1	2	6.71	$p = 0.0096$
OE2 & ME3	2	7.86	$p = 0.0051$
ME1 & ME2	2	7.88	$p = 0.0050$

Table 2.14: Significant chi-square results for the difference between the OE/ME periods and EMODE for the percentage of X-SELF based on data provided in Tables 2.11 and 2.13.

Period	df	χ^2 value	p value
OE1 & OE3	2	19.42	$p \leq 0.0001$
OE1 & ME1	2	14.69	$p \leq 0.0001$
OE1 & ME3	2	7.42	$p = 0.0065$
OE2 & OE3	2	8.22	$p = 0.0041$
OE3 & ME2	2	9.76	$p = 0.0018$
ME1 & ME2	2	7.88	$p = 0.0050$

Table 2.15: Significant chi-square results for the differences between the periods of OE and ME for the percentage of X-SELF based on data provided in Tables 2.12 and 2.13.

The results for both data sets are similar. Both Tables 2.14 and 2.15 show statistical differences between OE1 and other periods of OE and ME, which suggests that there may be a difference between early OE on the one hand and late OE/ME on the other hand. OE3 is only statistically significant with respect to the ME2 period (Table 2.12), which is only based on a small number of texts

²⁹Without Yates' correction the difference between OE1 and OE2 in Table 2.15 would also be statistically significant. χ^2 value = 6.7 and $p = 0.009$.

and seems different to the other ME periods. The lack of a statistical difference between the frequencies of late OE and the entire ME period suggest that there is not a significant change between these two periods.

These tables also show that with the exception of a statistically significant difference between ME1 and ME2, there is no statistical difference between the ME sub-periods. This suggests that the situation in ME is essentially stable and there is no evidence for significant change during this period (see also Keenan 2002, 2003 but *contra* van Gelderen 1999, 2000; Lange 2003). This stable variation suggests that there are perhaps specific uses in specific contexts for each of the reflexive forms, and that there are not two competing variants, i.e. this is not a question of grammatical competition.

However, this picture changes when data from EMODE is introduced as shown in Table 2.16.

Period	X-SELF	HIM	Total	%
EMODE1	480	306	786	61.1
EMODE2	1000	218	1218	82.1
Total	1480	524	2004	73.9

Table 2.16: The percentage of X-SELF in the PPCEME. Includes pleonastics classified as the HIM-type.

Table 2.16 shows a rise in the percentage of X-SELF in comparison to both the OE and the ME periods with a percentage of 61.1% for EMODE1, and 82.1% for EMODE2. This appears to confirm the statements made within the literature that there is a second change towards the end of the ME period/ start of the EMODE period. This is confirmed with the chi-square tests which show that the difference between all of the OE and ME sub-periods and EMODE are significant. These results are shown in Table 2.17 for the classification where the pleonastic constructions are all treated as being of the HIM-type. Table 2.18 presents the figures for the alternative classification of the OE pleonastic data.

Period	df	χ^2 value	p value
OE1 & EMODE1	2	261.89	≤ 0.001
OE2 & EMODE1	2	277.05	≤ 0.001
OE3 & EMODE1	2	975.33	≤ 0.001
OE1 & EMODE2	2	804.82	≤ 0.001
OE2 & EMODE2	2	975.33	≤ 0.001
OE3 & EMODE2	2	479.17	≤ 0.001
ME1 & EMODE1	2	82.79	≤ 0.001
ME2 & EMODE1	2	73.06	≤ 0.001
ME3 & EMODE1	2	137.82	≤ 0.001
ME4 & EMODE1	2	157.32	≤ 0.001
ME1 & EMODE2	2	387.92	≤ 0.001
ME2 & EMODE2	2	261.36	≤ 0.001
ME3 & EMODE2	2	555.08	≤ 0.001
ME4 & EMODE2	2	592.77	≤ 0.001
EMODE1 & EMODE2	2	108.35	≤ 0.001

Table 2.17: Significant chi-square results for the difference between the OE/ME periods and EMODE for the percentage of X-SELF. Including all pleonastic constructions classified as HIM.

Period	df	χ^2 value	p value
OE1 & EMODE1	2	214.96	≤ 0.001
OE2 & EMODE1	2	214.67	≤ 0.001
OE3 & EMODE1	2	72.15	≤ 0.001
OE1 & EMODE2	2	722.9	≤ 0.001
OE2 & EMODE2	2	847.14	≤ 0.001
OE3 & EMODE2	2	361.2	≤ 0.001

Table 2.18: Significant chi-square results for the difference between the OE/ME periods and EMODE for the percentage of X-SELF. Including pleonastic constructions classified as HIM or X-SELF.

2.3.3 Comparison with data from Keenan (2002, 2003)

In this sub-section I compare my findings with those reported in Keenan (2002, 2003) who uses a different data set.³⁰ Keenan (2002, 2003) sub-divides his corpus into slightly different periods and he *includes* pleonastic forms within his frequency counts.³¹ The frequencies he provides are given in Table 2.19 and in Figure 2.1. The frequencies and graph for my data are provided in Table 2.20 and in Figure 2.2.

PERIOD	N	%
c.750-1154	110/615	17.9
1154-1303	269/1163	23.1
1303-1400	313/1197	26.1
1400-1495	258/1294	19.9
1495-1605	1523/1981	76.9
1605-1700	1266/1566	80.8

Table 2.19: The percentage of X-SELF from 750-1700: data from Keenan (2002: 346).

Period	N	% X-SELF
OE1 (pre 950)	314/1253	25.1
OE2 (950-1050)	814/2826	28.8
OE3 (1050-1150)	195/635	30.7
ME1 (1150-1250)	241/654	36.9
ME2 (1250-1350)	44/175	25.1
ME3 (1350-1420)	357/1066	33.5
ME4 (1420-1500)	335/976	34.3
EMODE1 (1500-1569)	480/786	61.1
EMODE2 (1570-1639)	1000/1218	82.1

Table 2.20: Percentage of X-SELF: data from the YCOE, the PPCME2 and the PPCEME.

The pattern of distribution of X-SELF and HIM in both studies appears to be broadly similar, showing a broadly stable period of variation throughout

³⁰Since Peitsara (1997) only includes objects of verbs in her study, comparison with her data is provided in §5.2.2.3. Lange (2003) bases her quantitative discussion on the findings of Peitsara (1997). Figures presented in Ogura (1988, 1989a, b) and van Gelderen (1999, 2000) are not collated and cannot therefore be straightforwardly compared.

³¹It is unclear how he deals with the issue of classification of the pleonastic forms occurring adjacent to *self*. In this section for ease of discussion I will classify these forms as being all of the HIM-type, assuming the inflection of *self* is significant in determining whether or not items can be treated as single unit.

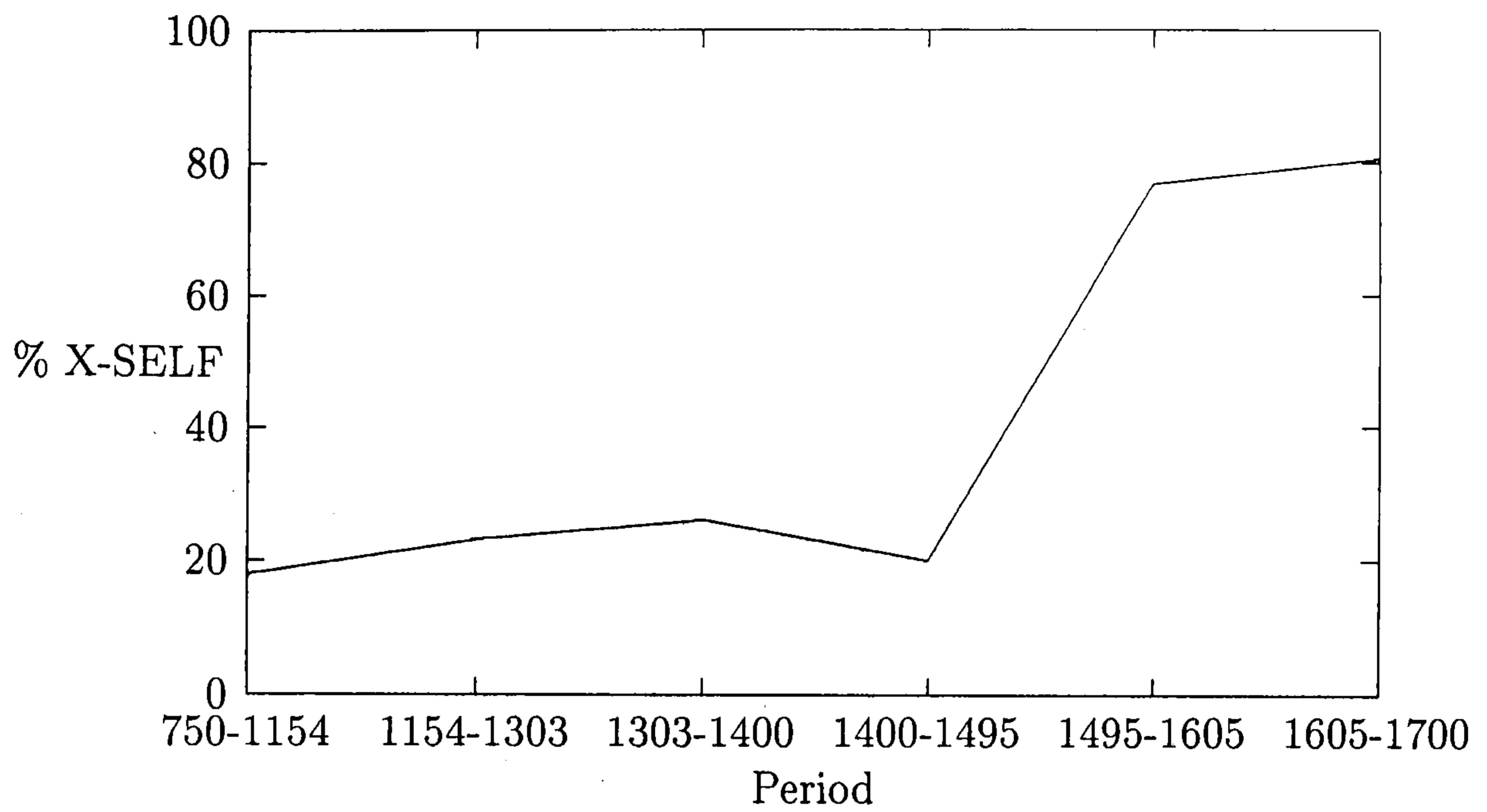


Figure 2.1: The frequency of X-SELF. Data from Keenan (2002: 288).

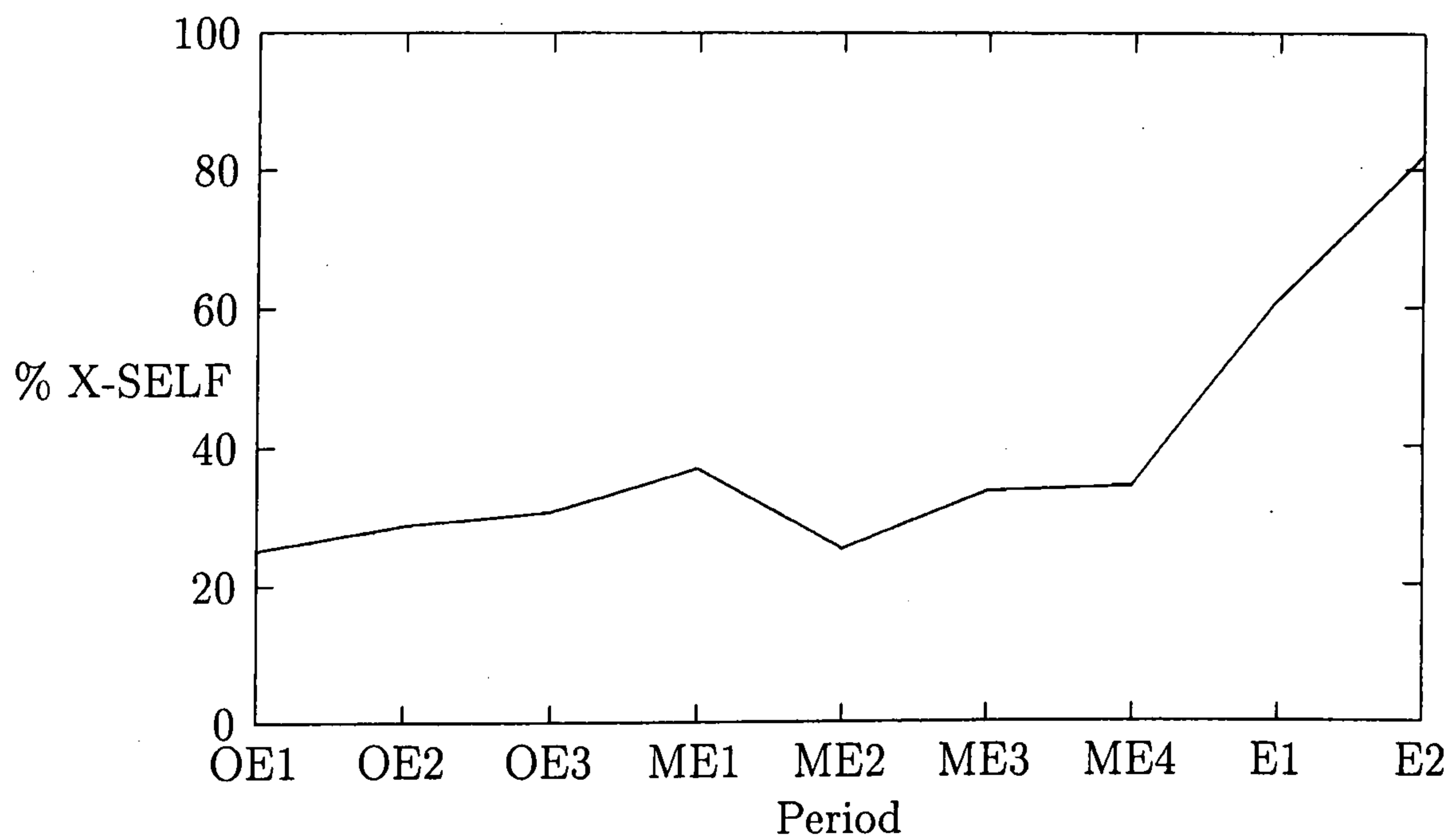


Figure 2.2: The frequency of X-SELF. Data from the YCOE, the PPCME2, and the PPCEME.

OE/ME and an increase in X-SELF at the start of EMODE. This increase is more dramatic in Keenan's data for two reasons; (i) the frequency of X-SELF is lower in Keenan's data throughout OE/ME than in my data and (ii) Keenan's first EMODE period contains some of my EMODE2 period, where in my data there was a further increase in the use of X-SELF.

2.3.4 Conclusion

This section has discussed the overall distribution of locally bound pronominals occurring with and without *self* in the OE, ME and EMODE periods. Chi-square tests of statistical significance suggest the following for my data:

- There is a significant difference between OE1 and the later sub-periods.
- There is not a significant difference between the late OE and any of the ME sub-periods.
- The only difference which was significant between each of the ME sub-periods was the difference between ME1 and ME2.
- All OE and ME sub-periods are significantly different to both EMODE1 and EMODE2.
- There is further change in the EMODE period as the difference between EMODE1 and EMODE2 is statistically significant.

In chapter 1, two models of language change were briefly outlined. In the first, change is gradual and follows an s-shaped curve (Kroch 1989b, 1994), which has a characteristic slow-quick-slow pattern. Under this model of change, we might suppose that the distribution in OE and ME is not stable, but rather shows very gradual change (slow). The EMODE period represents the increase in usage (quick).

An alternative view, would be to consider the second change (between ME and EMODE) as being abrupt, due to the resetting of a parameter (Lightfoot 1999). Such change is necessarily abrupt since a parameter must either be set one way or another, i.e. a parameter is either set to pro-drop or it is not, and variation is therefore not expected.

2.3.5 Alternative classifications of the data

In this sub-section I present two alternative classifications of the data discussed above. In the first, I advocate excluding the pleonastic constructions from the

frequency counts of HIM versus X-SELF, marking a departure from all previous studies on this topic. In the second, I address the issue raised in §1.5 concerning the classification of ME texts.

2.3.5.1 The pleonastic problem

In this section I will suggest that whilst the pleonastic form might have a role within the development of the reflexive forms (see §6.4), previous researchers are mistaken in including them in their frequency counts, since they are fundamentally different to the reflexive form, and crucially they *never* vary with the *self* form; they are either expressed as *him* or omitted \emptyset .

Pleonastic forms are found in all three periods under consideration (33)-(35), although their use in EMODE is restricted to a limited set of contexts. In each of the periods under consideration they occur with a certain set of verbs; namely verbs of motion and certain verbs of emotion.

- (33) a. He him hamweard ferde to his agnum rice.
 He him homeward went to his own kingdom.
 'He went home to his own kingdom.'
 (coorosiu,Or_24.44.7.831)
- b. Cwæð, þæt ic me ne ondrede.
 Said, that I me not fear.
 'Said that I should not be afraid.'
 (cobede,Bede_426.354.3.3566)
- (34) a. And went hym from þe kynges Court.
 And went him from the king's court.
 'And he went from the king's court.'
 (CMBRUT3,7.150))
- b. A man shal remembre hym of his synnes.
 A man shall remember him of his sins.
 'A man must remember his sins'
 (CMCTPARS,290.C1.75)
- (35) a. Goe hye thee soone.
 Go, hasten you immediately.
 'Go with haste, immediately.'
 (STEVENSO-E1-H,12.106)
- b. Then he and all his people about him, were in great doubt of his recouery, saying to Master Story, my grieve I fear me will prooue insauable and deadly.
 (CLOWES-E2-P2,56.63)

The verbs with which they occur are otherwise intransitive. This means that they do not occur with a disjoint object (Peitsara 1997: 279). Researchers therefore suggest that either such verbs do not assign a θ -role, or that there is some process by which the verb is otherwise rendered intransitive. Crucially this makes them different to reflexive constructions where the verbs are transitive, and can support a disjoint object.³²

An intransitive type analysis is supported by the fact that with these verbs pleonastic pronouns are far from being obligatory in either OE or ME (see e.g. Visser 1963; Mitchell 1985; Lange 2003; Ogura 2003). Deletion (or non-occurrence) of the pleonastic pronoun often occurs with the same verbs, in the same texts and in similar contexts, often within only a few lines of each other, as shown in the OE examples in (36).

- (36) a. He *eode* gelome winterlicum cyle to ðære ea.
 He went frequently wintery cold to the river.
 ‘He frequently went to the river in the wintery cold.’
 (cocathom2,+ACHom_II,_23:202.102.4488)
- b. *Eode* him siððan mid ðam ylcum claðum oð þæt hi on his
 went him then with the same clothes until they on his
 lichaman wearmodon and adruwodon.
 body warmed and dried.
 ‘He then went with the same clothes until they became warm and
 dry on his body.’
 (cocathom2,+ACHom_II,_23:202.104.4490)

Given this variation, researchers such as Visser (1963); Mitchell (1985) and van Gelderen (1999) have suggested that the pleonastic is essentially ‘useless’, since it does not obviously convey different meanings given the similarity of the contexts in which it appears or is deleted. However Visser (1963: §328) suggests that there may be a semantic difference:

‘it is possible that they did so [used pleonastics] when circumstances prompted them to give linguistic expression to the notion that the person affected was particularly affected by the result of the action or event.’

It seems likely that Visser is correct in assigning some meaning to these forms, since there is evidence in ME that new verbs occur with the pleonastic, meaning the construction is still productive (cf. Ogura 1989b; Lange 2003). In particular this applies to many French loans (e.g. *repent*, *remember*, *merveillen*, as in

³²For further discussion see §4.3.1 and 6.4.

(34b), above). We might therefore suppose that the fact that French had a similar construction supported its continuation throughout the ME period.

However, it does seem likely that some semantic bleaching has occurred explaining variation within similar contexts. The possible meaning of the pleonastic as given by Visser and the likelihood of semantic decay will be crucial to our understanding of the development of the English intensifier which is discussed in §6.3.

Mitchell (1985: §273) worries about classification of pronominals into pleonastic and non-pleonastic on two grounds. Firstly, that it is not easy for the modern reader to make the distinction between transitive and intransitive (or something in-between) without access to speaker judgements. However, it seems that the absence or occurrence of the intensifier provides distributional evidence for the classification (see also Visser 1963: §328). Similarly, we might use whether or not it is possible for the verb (or particular sense of the verb) to occur with a disjoint object as distributional evidence for classification. I use both of these distinctions, coupled with comparison from other Germanic languages, in order to omit these forms from my analysis.

Secondly, Mitchell notes that there are numerous examples where the pleonastic form occurs adjacent to an intensifier *self* as has already been noted above. An example of such a construction from the YCOE is given in (37).

- (37) Ond [he]_i ferde him *sylf*_i aweg sorhful on mode.
And [he] went him self away sorrowful in mind.
'And (he) went away himself sorrowful in mind.'
(coaelive,+ALS[Agnes]:211.1859)

However in such cases the intensifier is *never* inflected to agree with the pleonastic form (Visser 1963: §328; Traugott 1992: 215). The form of *self* is nominative (*self*) and therefore it agrees with the null subject as shown with the indices. If *self* referred to the pleonastic pronoun then it would require dative Case marking and the required form would therefore be *selfum*.

In the EMODE period the neat complementary which exists in earlier stages of English whereby SELF does not occur with non-argument forms breaks down. Therefore we find both *self* and non-*self* forms coded as NP-RFL* in the corpus:

- (38) ...*endeuoreth* nat him selfe to take from a nother al thing.
(ELYOT-E1-H 150.109)

- (39) Nowe wyll I accordyng to myne accustomed maner *endeuore* me to recreate the spirites of the diligent reder with some delectable histories.
(ELYOT-E1-H,150.111)

In §6.3, I suggest that these examples can be explained within the context of the changes taking place in the language at this time, and that they do not present a problem for the assumption that intensifiers cannot, and in fact do not, intensify null arguments.

In cases where the reflexive pronoun occurs adjacent to *self* in OE, the intensifier *is* is inflected to agree with the reflexive form (again shown with indices in example (40)).³³

- (40) Ond se cwellere sona hine_i selfne_i ofslog mid ðy ilcan
 And the killer immediately him self slew with the same
 sweorde.
 sword.
 ‘And the killer immediately slew himself with the same sword.’
 (comart3,Mart_5_[Kotzor]Jy7,B.45.1117)

In ME the matter is complicated by the fact that inflectional endings decay (as discussed further in the following sub-section). This means that examples which were unambiguous in OE, might be ambiguous in ME. However, in §§6.3 and 6.4, I show that by this point the complex intensifier has developed and that this form never occurs adjacent to the pleonastic either.³⁴

As pleonastic pronouns in OE and ME do not vary with *self*, they should not be included in the counts of HIM versus X-SELF *contra* Peitsara (1997) and Keenan (2002, 2003), who both include them in their frequency counts. However, since pleonastic structures both change and decline at the same time as the development of the PDE system of reflexivisation (i.e. in EMODE1), it seems likely that that these changes are related. I explore this further in §6.4.

Tables 2.21 - 2.23 present the data showing the percentage of X-SELF forms out of all reflexive uses for OE, ME and EMODE **excluding** the pleonastic data.³⁵ Data from all three Tables is presented in Figure 2.3.

³³In some cases morphological marking is not sufficient to establish whether *self* agrees with the subject or the object pronominal, since there is some syncretism of forms.

³⁴This fact may be explained by the fact that the complex intensifier is a combination of the intensifier and the pleonastic pronoun. See §6.3 for further discussion.

³⁵Recall that by X-SELF I mean any form of the reflexive which occurs adjacent to a form of *self*, regardless of how the form is spelt, and that I am not claiming that this is a syntactic unit in OE (or subsequently), but rather testing the hypothesis that nothing alters significantly between OE and ME.

Period	X-SELF	HIM	Total	Percentage
OE1	314	668	982	32.0
OE2	814	1434	2248	36.2
OE3	195	306	501	38.9
Total	1323	2408	3731	35.5

Table 2.21: The frequency of HIM versus X-SELF in the YCOE (excluding pleonastic forms).

Period	X-SELF	HIM	Total	Percentage
ME1	241	331	572	42.1
ME2	44	94	138	31.9
ME3	357	578	935	38.2
ME4	335	495	830	40.4
Total	977	1498	2475	39.5

Table 2.22: The frequency of HIM versus X-SELF in the PPCME2 (excluding pleonastic forms).

Period	X-SELF	HIM	Total	Percentage
EMODE1	455	244	699	65.1
EMODE2	1000	180	1180	84.7
Total	1455	424	1775	82.0

Table 2.23: The frequency of HIM versus X-SELF in the PPCEME (excluding pleonastic forms).

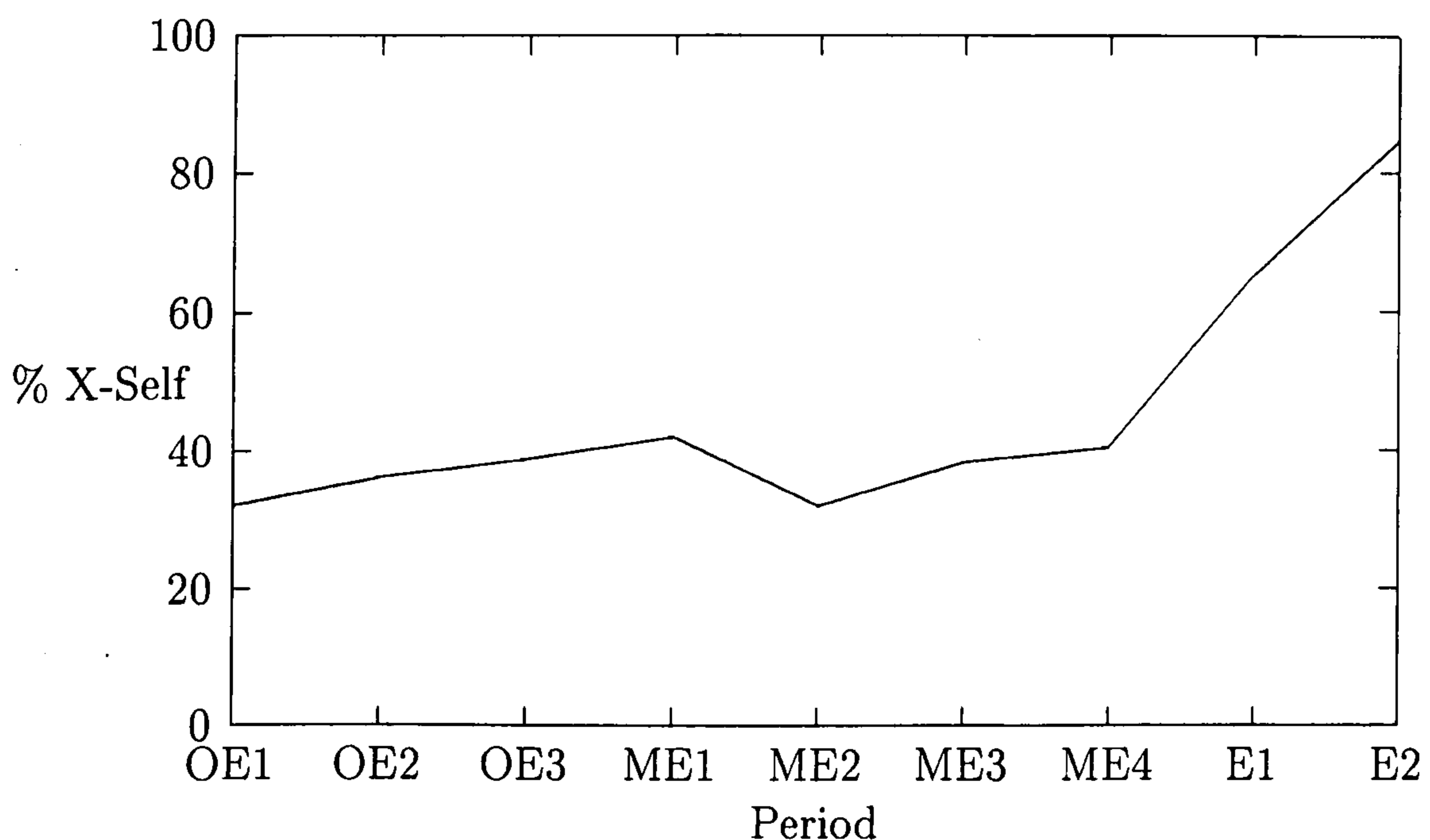


Figure 2.3: The percentage of reflexive self-forms (X-SELF) in the YCOE, the PPCME2, and the PPCEME.

The exclusion of the pleonastic forms raises the overall percentage of reflexives occurring with SELF by approximately 7% for each sub-period. However, these tables and the graph appear to show the same distributional patterns which were seen above when the pleonastic constructions were included. Further evidence for the similarity comes from the fact that chi-square tests on the data excluding pleonastic constructions, show the same patterns of statistical significance. The figures are presented in Tables 2.24 and 2.25.³⁶

Period	df	χ^2 value	p value
OE1 & OE3	2	6.8	p = 0.0091
OE1 & ME1	2	15.8	p ≤ 0.0001
OE1 & ME3	2	7.84	p = 0.0051
OE1 & ME4	2	13.4	p = 0.003
OE2 & ME1	2	6.83	p = 0.0090

Table 2.24: Significant chi-square results for the differences between the periods of OE and ME for the percentage of X-SELF.

Period	df	χ^2 value	p value
OE1 & EMODE1	2	179.11	≤ 0.001
OE2 & EMODE1	2	180.24	≤ 0.001
OE3 & EMODE1	2	79.46	≤ 0.001
OE1 & EMODE2	2	623.88	≤ 0.001
OE2 & EMODE2	2	729.7	≤ 0.001
OE3 & EMODE2	2	357.08	≤ 0.001
ME1 & EMODE1	2	66.02	≤ 0.001
ME2 & EMODE1	2	51.42	≤ 0.001
ME3 & EMODE1	2	114.8	≤ 0.001
ME4 & EMODE1	2	91.95	≤ 0.001
ME1 & EMODE2	2	336.55	≤ 0.001
ME2 & EMODE2	2	206.46	≤ 0.001
ME3 & EMODE2	2	489.85	≤ 0.001
ME4 & EMODE2	2	428.37	≤ 0.001
EMODE1 & EMODE2	2	95.91	≤ 0.001

Table 2.25: Significant chi-square results for the difference between the OE/ME periods and EMODE for the percentage of X-SELF.

Therefore regardless of whether or not pleonastic constructions are included (as in previous work) or excluded (as advocated in this work), the overall dis-

³⁶Without Yates' correction, the distributions of OE2 and ME1 would not be statistically significant in Table 2.24. Pearson's χ^2 value would be 6.58 and the p value would be 0.0103.

tribution suggests that there is not a significant change at the start of ME, but there is a fairly rapid change at the end of the ME period.

The data are indicative of a change in frequency between early and late OE. Further evidence that there may have been an increase in the use of the intensifier between early and late OE comes from a comparison of poetry and prose. In Table 2.26 I compare the frequency of X-SELF to HIM in OE poetry and prose. The table shows that X-SELF is twice as common in the prose (35.5%) than it is in the poetry (12.3%) confirming the observations of Visser (1963) that X-SELF is less common in poetry.

Corpus	X-SELF	HIM	Total	Percentage
YPC	8	57	8/65	12.3
YCOE	1323	2408	1323/3731	35.5

Table 2.26: A comparison of the percentage of X-SELF in OE poetry and prose. Data from the YCOE and YPC.

There may be several explanations for this fact. The first is that amongst the poetic texts the earliest examples of OE writing that are available to us. Therefore the poetic data might provide additional evidence for an increase between early and late OE. An alternative explanation, however, might be that poetic conventions (alliteration) dictate whether or not *self* can occur. For further discussion see §4.3.3.1.

The change at the end of EMODE may be even more dramatic than these figures suggest, as in EMODE1 many of the HIM forms occur with one particular verb, whose status is somewhat uncertain. In EMODE1, 20.5% (50/244) of the examples of HIM occur with the verb *recommend* which is sometimes written as *commend*:

- (41) a. Uncle Plompton, I *commend* me unto you.
(GASCOIGNE-1510-E1-P1,214.4)
- b. Uncle Plompton, I *recomend* me unto you...
(GASCOIGNE-1510-E1-P1,215.18)

Such uses are typically found in 1st person constructions and appear to be part of a politeness strategy which is typical in formal letter openings. They seem formulaic and the verbal meaning seems to have decayed in comparison to the many uses of these verbs which occur with disjoint objects (42).

- (42) a. I *recommend* my Wife, and Son of tender years, unbrought up, to his
Compassion.
(RALEIGH-E2-P1,1,225.362)

- b. Then shee *commended* mee.
(CLOWES-E2-P1,45.240)

Since they both occur with disjoint objects and there are some isolated uses of X-SELF following these verbs as shown in example (43), they meet the criteria for not being pleonastic and hence remain included in the frequency counts.

- (43) a. At first he seemed to design to *recommend* himself to the duke and the ministers.
(BURNETCHA-E3-H,1.2,160.278)
- b. And yet I cannot satisfye myself with silence but hereby to *recommend* myself to your Lordship...
(TALBOT-E2-P2,1.3,39.4)
- c. So *commendinge* myselfe to youre wife my sister I bid you hartely fare well.
(ROXINDEN-1600-E2-P1,1,7.16)
- d. Then he *commended* hymself unto God...
(Malory, Morte Darthur 664, cited in Peitsara 1997)

2.3.5.2 Conclusion

This section has argued that pleonastic constructions should be omitted from any discussion of the frequency of HIM versus X-SELF, since they do not occur with *self* in either OE or ME.³⁷ Exclusion of the pleonastic constructions does not alter the overall pattern of distribution of the forms, which is repeated below from §3.3.4.

- There is a significant difference between OE1 and the later sub-periods.
- There is not a significant difference between the late OE and any of the ME sub-periods.
- The only difference which was significant between each of the ME sub-periods was the difference between ME1 and ME2.
- All OE and ME sub-periods are significantly different to both EMODE1 and EMODE2.
- There is further change in the EMODE period as the difference between EMODE1 and EMODE2 is statistically significant.

³⁷It should be noted that changes in the intensifier (see §6.3) in ME may mean any such examples are impossible to isolate. This is not true for the OE data.

2.3.5.3 Alternative classifications of the Middle English data

One issue presented in §1.5.2 1 concerned the classification of the ME data into sub-periods, since some texts had their composition date in one sub-period, but the manuscript dated from a different sub-period and other manuscripts lacked a composition date. Without careful consideration of the complex histories of each of these manuscripts, it is impossible to be sure of the date of any particular construction within these texts - it might be the earlier date (author), the later date (copying scribe, editor), a date in-between these two dates depending on how many times the text was copied, or a mixture of all of these.

In Tables 2.27 and 2.28 I provide the data under the alternative divisions; the former divides the texts on the basis of composition date and the latter presents the data without the texts which can be classified under two different periods.

Period	N	%
MEx1	68/170	40.0
ME1	173/402	43.0
ME2	98/292	33.6
ME3	485/1150	42.2
ME4	153/461	33.2
Total	977/2475	39.5

Table 2.27: The frequency of X-SELF in ME. Data divided by composition date.

Period	N	%
ME1	176/405	43.5
ME2	46/140	32.9
ME3	355/889	39.9
ME4	159/467	34.0
Total	736/1901	38.7

Table 2.28: The frequency of X-SELF in ME. Excluding data from texts falling in two different sub-periods.

Both of these alternative classifications of the data suggest that the frequency of the ME data is broadly stable over the ME period. In each case there is the ME1 data is higher than the subsequent periods, which is also the case under the classification provided above. For a discussion of why this might be the case, see chapter 5.

2.4 Conclusions

The overall distribution of X-SELF versus HIM is broadly stable throughout OE and ME. This suggests that the creation of X-SELF at the start of ME (as identified in the literature: see §1.2) is really a change in terms of spelling rather than a change in terms of meaning. In other words there may well have been a change in the pronunciation i.e. a change at Phonological Form (PF) which is then represented in the orthography, but there is not a change in meaning i.e. at Logical Form (LF). This suggests that a new reflexive form was *not* grammaticalised at the start of ME (contra van Gelderen 2000) since there is no evidence that *self* is semantically bleached or weakened at this point.³⁸ If *self* were semantically weakened at this point we would expect an increase in its use as it spread to other contexts, but this is not the case.

Therefore I follow Keenan (2002, 2003) in suggesting that the development of X-SELF at the start of ME is not grammaticalisation - the meaning of both parts of the new form remain. It is only over time, that the intensifier *self* loses its semantic effect. This loss, at least in part, explains the second change which occurs in EMODE.

Therefore I propose that X-SELF in ME is the same as it is in OE; it is an intensified reflexive. In order to maintain this account, it is necessary to (a) establish how and why a pronominal could continue to function reflexively in ME (which we need to do for the HIM forms anyway), (b) establish that the same factors are evident in the two distributions, (c) establish where and when the intensifier is used throughout earlier stages of English and show that this equally applies in these cases, and (d) establish the relationship between intensifiers and reflexives. It is to these matters that the rest of the thesis is addressed.

The change in EMODE is a fairly rapid change towards the use of X-SELF. This may be evidence for parameter resetting (Lightfoot 1979, 1999; Clark and Roberts 1993; Briscoe 2000). The idea of parameter resetting being behind linguistic change is based in the Principles and Parameters theory of syntax, which assumes that a difference between structures results from different value setting of one or more parameters. The job of a language-learner therefore is to acquire the parameter settings of the language on the basis of the language production of the older generation (e.g. Anderson 1973: 767; Lightfoot 1979: 148).

The most likely explanation is that in EMODE there is syntactic reanalysis of the X-SELF form. We might suppose that faced with both the loss of the meaning of *self* in the X-SELF form and the loss of the possibility to bind pronominals,

³⁸For the idea that grammaticalisation involves semantic weakening see Hopper and Traugott (1993); Roberts and Roussou (1998).

that X-SELF is reanalysed as being the syntactic marker, thereby creating the complementarity between reflexives and pronominals.

Chapter 3

West Germanic Reflexives: Data and Theory

3.1 Introduction: Reinhart and Reuland's (1993) Reflexivity Theory

The distribution of reflexives in earlier English, as outlined in the previous chapter, raises two broad theoretical issues for generative versions of the Binding Theory as stated in (1) from Chomsky (1981: 188).¹

- (1) CONDITION A: Anaphors must be bound in their governing category.
CONDITION B: Pronouns must be free in their governing category.
CONDITION C: An R expression must be free.

The first issue concerns the variation in the form of the reflexive; namely (i) why are there two different reflexive forms? and (ii), what constrains when the different forms can occur i.e. what are the factors which affect the distribution? Whilst Condition A does not rule out the use of more than one anaphor (so long as it is correctly bound in its governing category), it neither predicts their occurrence nor has anything to say about any constraints governing their use.

The second issue concerns the fact that unlike in Present-Day English (PDE), pronouns and anaphors in earlier English do not occur in complemen-

¹These conditions - sometimes known as principles - remain essentially unaltered in later work e.g. Chomsky (1986, 1995). However, the Minimalist Programme (Chomsky and Lasnik 1993; Chomsky 1993, 1995, 2000, 2001, 2004) removes many of the mechanisms upon which the Binding Theory is based. For example, the Inclusiveness Condition (Chomsky 1995: 225) rules out the use of indices and also the features \pm anaphoric and \pm pronominal since it is unlikely they are inherently present on any lexical item. For recent attempts to reconcile the Binding Theory with Minimalist ideas see e.g. Hornstein (2001); Kayne (2002); Zwart (2002); Heinat (2003, 2006); Lee-Schoenfeld (2004); Hicks (2006) and the discussion in §3.4.

tary distribution, since the former can function as the latter. In other words, it appears that a reflexively used personal pronoun can occur in the same positions as a non-reflexively used pronoun (*contra* Hopper 1975: 37-38).²

So to phrase the issue differently: why can earlier English pronouns function as reflexives when, as pronouns, they should be free in their governing category (Condition B)? The complementary distribution between pronouns and anaphors is not only predicted by the Binding Theory as given in (1), but it is at the very core of the theory. Whilst numerous researchers have shown that there are places where this complementary distribution breaks down, e.g. in locative prepositional phrases (PPs) as in (2), the focus has generally been on showing that these are in some way exempt, and the complementarity otherwise remains (Lakoff 1968; Chomsky 1981; Kuno 1987; Zribi-Hertz 1989).

- (2) a. Ivan_i saw a snake near him_{j/i}.
 b. Ivan_i saw a snake near himself_{*j/i}.

Both of these theoretical concerns equally apply cross-linguistically, including within the other languages of the West Germanic branch (Dutch, Frisian, and German). Languages such as Modern Dutch allow certain pronominals to function reflexively (3),³ and have variation between two anaphors: a simplex anaphor (4), which is termed the SE-anaphor, and a morphologically complex anaphor (5), which is termed the SELF-anaphor.⁴

- (3) Ik_i was me_i.
 I_i wash me_i.
 'I wash (myself).'
- (4) Hij_i wast zich_i.
 He_i washes SE_i.
 'He washes (himself).'

²See the discussion in §1.2.

³In the PDE translations for (3)-(4) the reflexive is presented in brackets since the equivalent constructions in PDE do not have an overt object. Whilst cases such as (i) are grammatical in PDE, in §3.2.1 I will suggest that they correspond to cases where Dutch uses the SELF-anaphor as in (ii). The same contrast is evident in (4) and (5).

- (i) I wash myself.
 (ii) Ik was mezelf.

Furthermore, throughout this work the SE-anaphor -as in (4)- is simply glossed as 'SE' as there is not an equivalent form in PDE. See §3.2.2.

⁴For further details see §§3.2 and 3.3, and Vat (1980); Faltz (1985); Everaert (1986); Koster (1987); Reinhart and Reuland (1993).

- (5) Hij_i wast zichzelf_i.
 He_i washes himself_i.
 'He washes himself.'

Based on examples such as (3)-(5), Dutch is considered to have a three-way distinction of reflexives; reflexively functioning pronominals, SE-anaphors and SELF-anaphors.⁵ Based on this, Reinhart and Reuland (1993) attempt to reformulate the Binding Conditions as a condition on the predicates,⁶ rather than the anaphors or pronouns themselves, marking a return to the more traditional view of anaphors (e.g. Jespersen 1933).⁷ Their reformulated conditions are given in (6), taken from Reinhart and Reuland (1993: 247).

- (6) **Condition A** A reflexive-marked (syntactic) predicate is reflexive.
Condition B A reflexive (semantic) predicate is reflexive-marked.

Condition A governs the use of the bound versus logophoric uses of SELF-anaphors and hence will not be discussed further. However Condition B is such that it should account for the distribution of different forms of the reflexive based on the type of predicate. Reinhart and Reuland (1993) suggest that anaphors and pronouns are differently marked with respect to a feature which they call 'SELF'. Pronominals and SE-anaphors have the feature -SELF, whereas the SELF-anaphors have the feature +SELF. Since only elements which are +SELF are able to function reflexively with a certain set of verbs they are able to distinguish between the distribution of the two different anaphors.

In §3.2 the extent to which Reinhart and Reuland's (1993) Condition B can be used to explain the variation in reflexive forms found in the Modern West Germanic languages of Dutch, Frisian and German is examined. An alternative account for a particular set of verbs is proposed, removing the need to stipulate that certain verbs are listed within the lexicon twice.⁸ The purpose of this section is two-fold; firstly it allows the factors which affect the form of the reflexive in these languages to be drawn out, and subsequently tested on the earlier English

⁵For a similar distinction in Norwegian, see Hellan (1986, 1991); Åskedal (1994); Smith (2004); in Danish, see Vikner (1985); Bergeton (2004); in Swedish, see Everaert (1986); Kiparsky (1990, 2002); and in Icelandic see Sigurjonsdottir (1992). For other languages see Geniesiene (1987); Schladt (1999); Huang (2000); Fruhwirth (2003) amongst others.

⁶This theory is based on earlier work and modified in subsequent work; see Reinhart (1976, 1983); Reinhart and Reuland (1991); Reuland and Reinhart (1995); Reuland (2001).

⁷However, in order to explain the distribution of the SE-anaphor *zich* they also propose the Generalised Chain Condition which is a requirement on the pronouns and anaphors themselves. For further discussion see the following section.

⁸This double listing is also assumed by Everaert (1986); Hellan (1988); Reuland and Everaert (2001); Hicks (2006). However, this unnecessarily increases the size of the lexicon. For further discussion see §3.4.

data (see chapter 5). Secondly, a theoretical account for the distribution of the data is proposed, thereby addressing the first theoretical issue. Furthermore, in chapter 6, I will argue that this account is able to explain both the synchronic and diachronic data for English.

Reinhart and Reuland (1993) address the second theoretical issue of locally bound pronominals by suggesting that elements which can function reflexively have the property of being -R(eferential), whereas elements which cannot function reflexively have the property of being +R. According to their theory elements are marked +R if they are fully specified for ϕ -features and (structural) Case and -R otherwise. They further stipulate that a modified version of the Chain Condition of Chomsky (1981, 1986) accounts for why only -R elements can function reflexively. Reinhart and Reuland's (1993: 696) Generalised Chain Condition (GCC) is provided in (7).

(7) **General Condition on A-chains**

'A maximal A-chain ($\alpha_1 \dots \alpha_n$) contains exactly one link – α_1 – that is both +R and Case marked.'⁹

The GCC states that the head of a chain must be +R and all other links of the chain must be -R, thereby ruling out the reflexive use of any element which is marked +R. This predicts that in the event that pronominals can function as reflexives they are underspecified in some way and hence -R. In §3.3 I examine the extent to which pronominals which function reflexively can be shown to be underspecified.

Furthermore the GCC states that a chain must comprise only one link; in other words it must only have one θ -role. This is discussed further in the following section (§3.2) in relation to verbs which have been termed 'inherently reflexive'.

Finally in §3.4 I provide a flavour of how the ideas of Reinhart and Reuland (1993) might be encoded within the Minimalist Framework, thereby establishing the backbone to the theory proposed for earlier stages of English in chapter 6.

⁹In their 1995 paper this condition is modified slightly, in that Case is not treated as a separate element from the property R. This follows from the fact that in their 1995 paper they consider Case as one of the ϕ -features which determines whether an element is fully referential or not. In their earlier paper Case is separate from the ϕ -features but similarly affects the property R. I follow Chomsky (2000, 2004) in suggesting Case is not one of the ϕ -features.

3.2 Reinhart and Reuland's (1993) Condition on Predicates

This section examines *where*, *when* and *why* languages of the West Germanic branch use different anaphors, e.g. *zich* and *zichzelf* in Modern Dutch. The issue of bound pronominals is considered in the following section.

As shown in the introduction, Reinhart and Reuland (1993: 247) propose that binding is a condition on predicates. I repeat their conditions in (8), with the definitions upon which they depend provided in (9).

- (8) **Condition A** A reflexive-marked (syntactic) predicate is reflexive.
Condition B A reflexive (semantic) predicate is reflexive-marked.
- (9) (i) A predicate is reflexive iff two of its arguments are co-indexed
(ii) A predicate is reflexive-marked iff:
– it is reflexive marked (lexically reflexive)
– one of its arguments is a SELF anaphor
(iii) A SELF-anaphor is a morphologically complex anaphor.¹⁰

Condition B suggests that the differing distributions of the SE-anaphor and the SELF-anaphor relate to the predicate type. I examine this prediction for the modern languages of the West Germanic family branch.¹¹ The discussion is broken into subsections in which the various West Germanic languages are discussed. Since the theory was developed primarily for Dutch, I discuss this first (§3.2.1). Present-Day English (§3.2.2), Frisian (§3.2.3), and German (§3.2.4) are then discussed before conclusions regarding accounting for different forms of the reflexive are drawn (§3.2.5).

3.2.1 Dutch: *zich* and *zichzelf*

As shown in (3)-(5), repeated here as (10)-(12), Standard Dutch reflexives can either be identical to the ordinary personal pronouns (10), an SE-anaphor *zich* (11) or a SELF-anaphor *zichzelf* (12).

- (10) Ik_i was me_i.
I_i wash me_i.
'I wash (myself).'

¹⁰In their 1995 paper this is encoded in a different way. Rather than a requirement that the element must be morphologically complex, the requirement is a structural one; the SELF-anaphor must occupy the head position of the N-projection.

¹¹The history of reflexives within the languages under discussion, is outlined in §1.2.1.

- (11) Hij_i wast zich_i.
He_i washes SE_i.
'He washes (himself).'
- (12) Hij_i wast zichzelf_i.
He_i washes himself_i.
'He washes himself.'

The monomorphemic forms (pronouns and the SE-anaphor) are often termed 'weak reflexives', whereas the morphologically complex SELF-anaphors are termed 'strong reflexives'. A full paradigm of examples with the verb *wash* is provided in Table 3.1.

Person/Number/Gender	Weak	Strong
1st sg	Ik was me	Ik was mezelf
2nd sg (informal)	Jij wast je	Jij wast jezelf
2nd sg (formal)	U wast u	U wast uzelf
2nd sg (formal)	U wast zich	U wast zichzelf
3rd sg (masc)	Hij wast zich	Hij wast zichzelf
3rd sg (fem)	Zij wast zich	Zij wast zichzelf
3rd sg (neut)	Het wast zich	Het wast zichzelf
1st pl	Wij wassen ons	Wij wassen onszelf
2nd pl (informal)	Jullie wassen je	Jullie wassen jezelf
2nd pl (formal)	U wast u	U wast uzelf
2nd pl (formal)	U wast zich	U wast zichzelf
3rd pl (all genders)	Zij wassen zich	Zij wassen zichzelf

Table 3.1: Dutch weak and strong reflexive pronouns with the verb *wassen* 'wash'.

Table 3.1 shows that with first and second person forms the ordinary personal pronoun functions as the weak reflexive, but with third person, and occasionally the 2nd person (formal), the SE-anaphor *zich* is required.¹² The strong reflexive, in each case, comprises the weak reflexive plus *zelf* 'self'. The factor which will be shown to be important between the strong and weak forms is this

¹²In Dutch people can be addressed formally or informally depending upon the relationship of the speaker and the addressee. People who are older than the speaker, and people who have a higher status than the speaker, are generally addressed with the formal (or: polite) pronoun *u* 'you'. The informal (or: familiar) form *jij* 'you' is used otherwise. Informants suggest that *zich* and *zichzelf* can be used in formal settings for the second person, although judgements in this respect were found to vary. For those speakers where this did apply, the forms distributed with third person constructions. It is therefore assumed they are captured via the same account as the one proposed for third person forms and they are omitted from further discussion here.

morphological distinction; namely that one is morphologically heavier than the other.¹³

Barbiers and Bennis (2003) based on data collected for the Syntactic Atlas of Dutch Dialects (SAND 2000) demonstrate a broad range of dialectal variation with respect to the forms used for the SE and SELF-anaphors. For example the strong reflexive -standard Dutch *zichzelf*- has a variety of other forms, the most common being *z'n eigen* 'his own'.¹⁴

Barbiers and Bennis (2003) conclude that with one exception (the Antwerp, South-West and the Central dialects),¹⁵ each of the dialects maintains a morphological distinction between the two anaphoric forms: *zich/zichzelf* (East); *hem/z'n eigen* (East/ West Flanders) and *zich/z'n eigen* (Flemish Limburg), *zijn/zijn zelf*, and *hem/hemzelf* which are sometimes realised as the weak variants *um/umzelf* (Frisian, discussed in its own right in §3.2.3). Since the necessary morphological distinction holds, regardless of the precise morphological form, I assume that the account outlined below also holds for these non-standard forms.¹⁶ Where there is not a difference in morphological forms, future research may prove that the distinction is made in an alternative way, e.g. with stress as will be suggested is the case for German in §3.2.4, or simply that predicate type is not relevant to binding in these dialects, i.e. binding is simply a structural relation between the anaphor and its antecedent. This suggests that the semantics of reflexivity might be encoded in two ways: either by some element marking the predicate as being reflexive (Reinhart and Reuland 1993), or by an anaphor depending directly on its antecedent for its reference (the Classical Binding Theory, Chomsky 1981). We might expect that a language could use either or possibly both of these methods. For further discussion see chapter 6.

In terms of the theory of Reinhart and Reuland (1993), the difference between the strong and weak reflexives as given in Table 3.1 concerns the value of the feature SELF; strong reflexives are valued +SELF, whereas weak reflexives (whether pronominal or the SE-anaphor) are valued -SELF. As shown in the def-

¹³The discussion in the remainder of the section will focus on the distinction between the two anaphors *zich* and *zichzelf*. The distinctions made equally apply to the first and second person forms. The availability of bound pronominals in first and second person, but not third person is discussed further in §3.3.

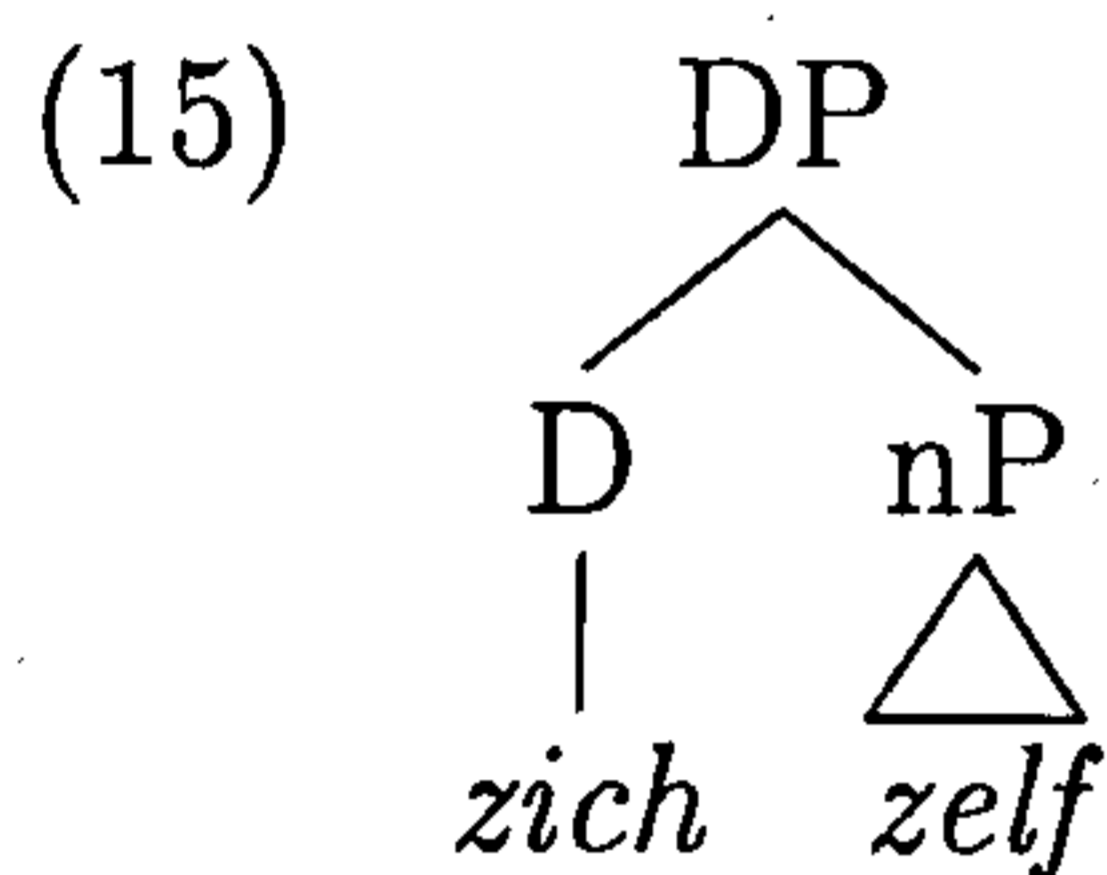
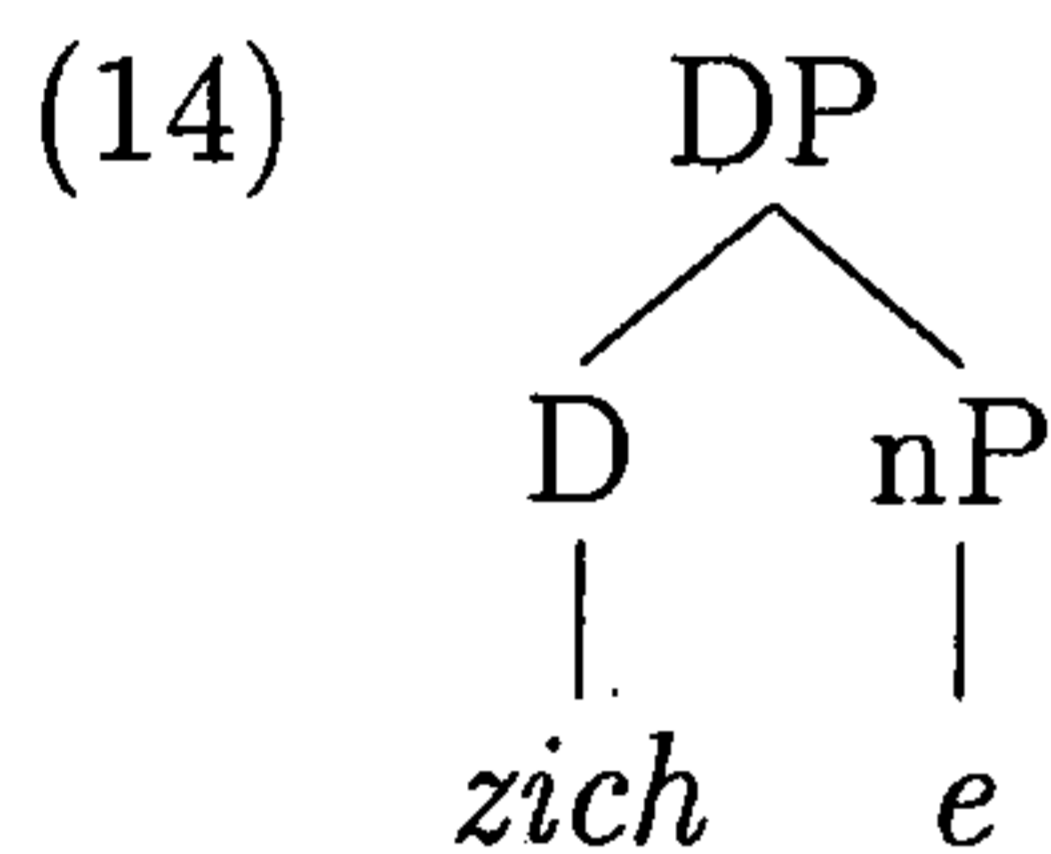
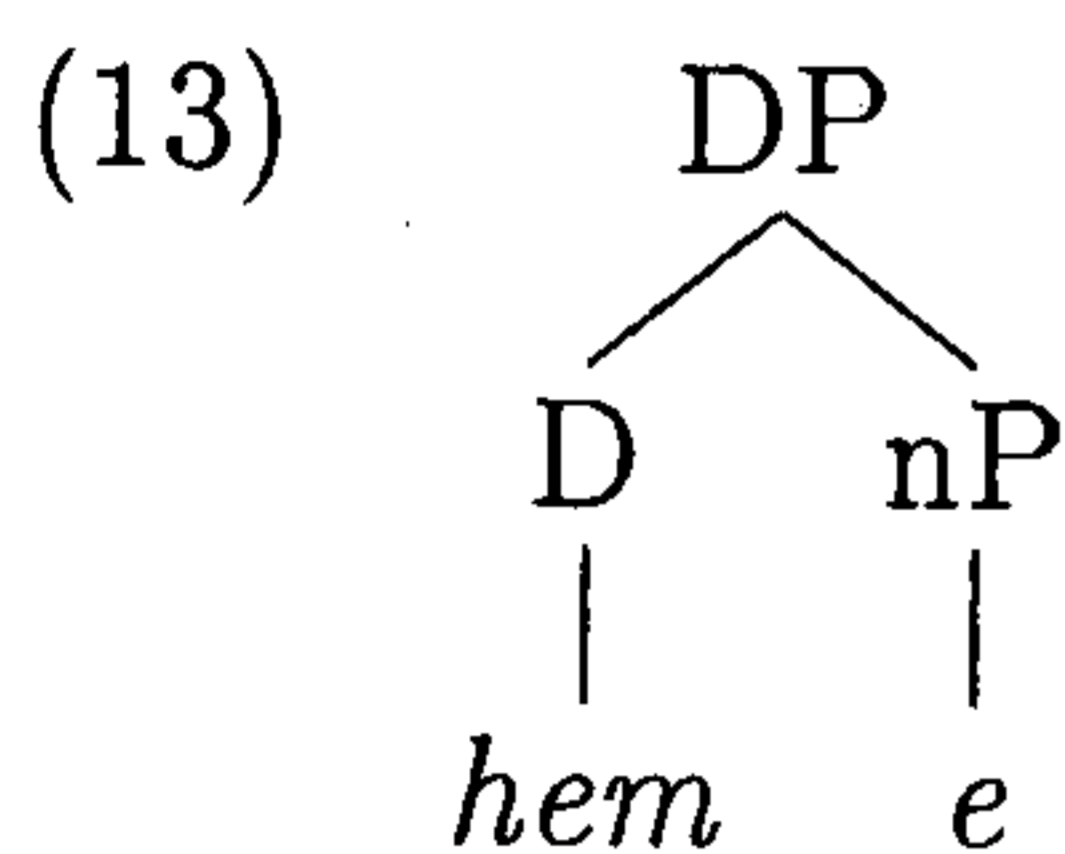
¹⁴Barbiers and Bennis (2003) do not mention first and second person forms, but Wim van der Wurff (p.c.) points out that there is variation here too, e.g. *me/me eigen* 'me'/'my self'.

¹⁵Barbiers and Bennis (2003) suggest that in these dialects the form *z'n eigen* 'his own' is ambiguous between strong and weak as it occurs in positions where both strong and weak forms are found in other Dutch varieties. Why this should be the case in these dialects is a matter for future research.

¹⁶The use of a possessive structure is discussed further in §6.4. For a discussion of the similarity of *own* and *self* see Ogura (1988, 1989a, b).

initions given in (9), this means that only strong reflexives are able to ‘reflexivise the predicate’ (Reinhart and Reuland 1993: 659).

It seems likely that there is also a structural difference which may account for why the SELF-anaphor can reflexivise the predicate, but neither the SE-anaphor nor pronominals are able to do so (see e.g. Everaert 1986, 1991; Reuland and Reinhart 1995: 245; Reuland 2001: 479). As a first approximation, we might assume that the pronoun and SE-anaphor occur in the determiner position of the DP (13)-(14), and that the SELF-anaphor is morphologically analysable, such that there is a pronominal D head, and a nominal complement *zelf* ‘self’ (15).¹⁷



The prediction of Reinhart and Reuland’s (1993) theory is that for verbs which are lexically reflexive (reflexive marked) the weak reflexive is required,¹⁸ but for verbs which are not lexically reflexive (i.e. ordinary transitive verbs), only the strong reflexive will be grammatical. However, we have already seen in Table 3.1 that the verb *wassen* ‘wash’ can occur with both strong and weak reflexives. Therefore the Dutch data can be grouped into three different types of construction based upon the type of reflexive with which they can occur (examples from Reuland and Everaert 2001):

(i) those which always occur with *zich* (19a)

(ii) those which always occur with *zichzelf* (19b) and,

¹⁷For the assumption that pronominals occupy D, see Abney (1987); Longobardi (1994). For the assumption that complex reflexives are analysable in this fashion see Postal (1966); Helke (1970); Solá (1994); Reuland (2001); Déchaine and Wiltschko (2002). For further discussion of the structure of the reflexive form, see §6.4.

¹⁸Although note that there is nothing thus far in the theory which would rule out the use of the strong reflexive in this case. This is discussed further below.

(iii) those which sometimes occur with *zich* and at other times with *zichzelf* (19c).

- (16) a. Max_i gedraagt zich_i /*zichzelf_i /*hem_i.
 Max_i behaves SE_i /*himself_i /*him_i.
 b. Max_i haat *zich_i /zichzelf_i /*hem_i.
 Max_i hates *SE_i /himself_i /*him_i.
 c. Max_i wast zich_i /zichzelf_i /*hem_i.
 Max_i washes SE_i /himself_i /*him_i.

Those of type (19a) are often called ‘inherently reflexive’, which means that the verb cannot occur with a disjoint object; in other words it is always reflexive.¹⁹ Such verbs have also been labelled ‘introverted’ (Haiman 1983, 1994) or ‘self-directed’ (König and Siemund 2000a; Kiparsky 2002; Gast 2004). Following Gast (2004) I will refer to them as SD-verbs, where SD means self-directed. The SD-verbal group comprises words like *zich haasten* ‘hurry’, *zich herinneren* ‘remember’,²⁰ and *zich gedragen* ‘behave’. In PDE such verbs are intransitive and do not (typically) occur with an overt object (see §3.2.2).

As the verb is lexically reflexive, the predicate is reflexive marked. This means there is no requirement for the object to reflexivise the predicate, meaning the feature SELF (at least as the current theory stands) is irrelevant; pronominals or the SE-anaphor are licensed because the verb does not require reflexivising, hence their -SELF feature is not a barrier, but also nor is the SELF-anaphor’s +SELF feature - it is simply superfluous.

In order to rule out the SELF-anaphor, Reinhart and Reuland (1993) are forced to suggest that there is a principle of economy, which states that there is not a requirement to mark the same feature twice. In other words, the predicate is already marked as being reflexive and therefore it does not require further marking with the use of a +SELF element. We might suppose that this is a rule which suggests ‘use the least complex form available’. This will be discussed further below.

In order to distinguish between the SE-anaphor *zich* and the pronominal form *hem* ‘him’ for cases like (19a), Reinhart and Reuland (1993) appeal to the GCC and the property ±R. Third person pronominals, such as *hem*, are fully

¹⁹In this respect these forms are akin to the pleonastic forms found in OE - see §2.3.5.1, for further discussion. However, unlike the OE forms, such constructions are not found without an overt object. It is also noteworthy, that like the OE pleonastic pronouns, *zich* is always subject-orientated.

²⁰Wim van der Wurff (p.c.) notes that there is a transitive use of this verb which can occur with disjoint (i.e. non-reflexive) objects meaning ‘remind’. However, in this case it requires a following PP.

referential in that they are fully marked for ϕ -features and structural Case.²¹ Hence they are +R and unable to form the required Chain. However, the SE-anaphor *zich* is underspecified for person and number. Therefore it is not fully specified for ϕ -features and hence it is -R and able to occur in a Chain.

Verbs of type (19b) are the opposite to SD-verbs as they frequently occur with a disjoint object. In PDE these verbs are always transitive and the object cannot be deleted. Verbs of this type have been labelled 'extroverted' (Haiman 1983, 1994) or 'other-directed' (Peitsara 1997; König and Siemund 2000a; Lange 2003; König and Vezzosi 2004; Gast 2004). Again, following Gast (2004) I will refer to such verbs as OD-verbs, where OD is short for other-directed.

The feature \pm SELF is used to distinguish between the two anaphors in such cases. Since the predicate is not reflexive, it must be reflexive marked, meaning the SELF-anaphor must be used as it has the required +SELF feature. The pronominal and the SE-anaphor are both ruled out on the grounds that they have the feature -SELF, and hence are unable to reflexivise the predicate. Note that the pronominal *hem* 'him' is also ruled out by the GCC as it is unable to form a Chain.²²

If the distinctions shown for the previous two examples hold, then we would predict that for cases like (19c) that verbs like *wassen* 'wash' belong to both the group of SD-verbs (as they occur with *zich*) and the group of OD-verbs (as they occur with *zichzelf*). Since these two groups are by the very nature of their definitions opposites, this would appear to be a significant problem for the theory thus far advanced.

Reinhart and Reuland (1993) stipulate that such verbs are listed within the lexicon twice; once as an SD-verb and once as an OD-verb. When an SD-verb then the predicate is reflexive-marked and the SE-anaphor is licensed, however when an OD-verb the SELF-anaphor is licensed. This seems an unnecessary expansion of the lexicon and we could easily imagine a language where this would apply to the majority of verbs, effectively doubling the size of the lexicon. Therefore I will refer to them as ND-verbs, where ND means neutral direction i.e. they do not specify a direction towards the self (SD) or others (OD). An alternative explanation for which type of anaphor they occur with is then required.²³

It would be theoretically desirable to explain the distribution of the different anaphors for ND-verbs via some other aspect of the grammar. In seeking such

²¹Although see the discussion in §3.3 for more on the feature R, and pronominals which can be locally bound. There is also further discussion in §6.2.

²²For a discussion of why both the GCC and Condition B are required, see Reinhart and Reuland (1993: 702).

²³See also Smith (2004) and Bergeton (2004) for a similar objection to the expansion of the lexicon.

an explanation, it seems to me that the role and meaning of the *zelf*-element is crucial, since it is this element which distinguishes the two anaphors. In Dutch *zelf* 'self' also functions as an independent lexical item. It does not occur in argument positions (i.e. it does not satisfy one of a verb's thematic roles) and its function is to intensify.²⁴

- (17) Jan_i zelf_i zag een slang.
 Jan self saw a snake.
 'Jan_i himself_i saw a snake.'

In reflexive examples occurring with ND-verbs speakers report that the SE-anaphor is used when the action performed conforms to our expectations. In other words, for the verb *wash* our knowledge of society tells us that this is an action which we normally act out upon ourselves. Therefore it does not contrast with another object and to all intents and purposes it is an SD-verb (recall that our definition of an SD-verb is that it is something which cannot occur with a disjoint object, as it is self-directed).

When the SELF-anaphor is used, it either contrasts with another object which is explicit within the discourse or it contrasts with our expectations. So - to exemplify with English examples - when the SELF-anaphor is used it may be within the context of comparing or contrasting, as in *Ivan washed the baby and then he washed himself*. Here the deletion of *himself* would be ungrammatical, since an overt object is expected in order to contrast with the object *the baby* in the first conjunct. For Dutch the distinction is between *zich* and *zichzelf*, where the former seems to correspond to the English \emptyset and the latter to *himself*.

Alternatively, the SELF-anaphor may be used in the context of making a comparison with a more usual situation. For example, our knowledge of our society tells us that babies are unable to wash, clothe and feed themselves. Therefore we expect sentences such as *Ivan washed the baby* but not *The baby washed himself*, which is pragmatically odd (unless uttered by a parent who thinks they have a wonder-baby).

Therefore it seems that rather than each verb being listed in the lexicon twice (as suggested by Reinhart and Reuland), the differing distributions of the anaphor with ND-verbs is related to our world knowledge and whether or not

²⁴Further details of the meaning and distribution of intensifiers (in English) are provided in chapter 4. I attribute a similar meaning to intensifiers in other languages, based on both the judgements of my informants and details found within the literature (König and Siemund 2000a; Eckardt 2002; Hole 2002; Gast 2004). The glosses in the examples show that the corresponding form in PDE is *himself*. However in chapter 1 we saw that the OE form was simply *self*. The development of the English intensifier is discussed in §6.3.

this licenses the use of an intensifier *zelf*. This suggests that the SELF-anaphor is morphologically decomposable: an anaphor *zich* and the intensifier *zelf*.

In fact we might suppose that the three-way distinction of the different behaviours of the three verbal classes actually results from a structural encoding of our world knowledge. We have already seen how such a system would work for ND-verbs and in fact we now have a better explanation than an economy rule to explain why it is not possible to use a SELF-anaphor with an SD-verb; since SD-verbs do not have disjoint objects there is nothing which a reflexive object can contrast with. Therefore the intensifier cannot be licensed and we do not expect to find a SELF-anaphor.

Such a system predicts that we should typically expect the object of a transitive verb to be disjoint. In cases where the object is coreferential, we might then expect some warning that the situation is counter to our expectations. In fact, numerous researchers have suggested that the object of a transitive verb must be disjoint, unless otherwise marked (Farmer and Harnish 1987; Levinson 1991, 2000; Ariel 2004; Haspelmath 2004).

A system along these lines makes several predictions. Firstly, it predicts that in a society where shaving and washing are always performed by others it would not be possible to say *He shaved*, since the verb would require further encoding to mark that the intended interpretation was contrary to expectations. In such a society, *shave* would belong to the class of OD-verbs. Similarly, we might expect that in a society where hatred was an emotion reserved for yourself and not expressed towards others, sentences like *He hated* would be commonplace. In such a society *hate* would be a SD-verb. Therefore we might expect that there are variations cross-linguistically in the verbs found within each class of verbs (SD, OD, or ND). We also might expect that these might alter over time so that, for example, a verb which starts out as being ND becomes OD or SD.

Secondly, it predicts that the SELF-anaphor is semantically decomposable into its component parts: a reflexive and an intensifier. Therefore in cases where *zichzelf* is obligatory i.e. when a predicate is OD and requires reflexivisation, we would be predicting that there is also an element of intensification (or contrast). However, informants suggest that whilst this can be the case, it is not obligatory. We might suppose that in cases where intensification is not evident, this is due to semantic bleaching of the *zelf* element. Under such circumstances *zichzelf* has been reinterpreted as simply being a marker of reflexivity. This process and the syntactic structures involved are discussed further for earlier English in chapter 6. It is anticipated that the account provided there also accounts for the Dutch data.

It therefore seems that for Present-Day Dutch we cannot entirely reduce the pattern of the distribution of reflexives to whether or not the intensifier is licensed, since intensification is not evident in all constructions containing *zichzelf*. However, we cannot simply state, as Reinhart and Reuland do, that the type of reflexive is entirely conditioned by the type of verb as we have seen that for at least the set of ND-predicates intensification is involved.

Therefore, it seems that the system represents partial grammaticalisation of a pragmatic tendency, so that there are on the one hand reflexives occurring with SD-verbs and ND-verbs, where within the latter group the reflexive can be intensified, but on the other hand there are reflexives occurring with OD-verbs which are governed by a structural principle which requires a complex anaphor possibly in order to avoid ambiguity or the violation of a syntactic condition like Chomsky's Condition B.

Further evidence for this account comes from the fact that it is not possible to intensify a SELF-anaphor in Dutch (18a).²⁵ We might suppose that this is because historically there is already an intensifier present within the form. A similar constraint exists in PDE (18b). It seems likely that the PDE distribution can also be reduced to the effect of an earlier system where intensification was used alongside the reflexive (see §6.4).

- (18) a. *Max haat zichzelf zelf.
 b. *Max hates himself himself.

Therefore the following questions are raised to ask of the other cross-linguistic data in the remainder of this section:

- Is the same three-way distinction between pronouns and anaphors evident in other languages? If not, how are these languages accounted for?

²⁵Note that some speakers allow the reflexive and the intensifier to occur within the same sentence if the subject is unambiguously the DP which is intensified (i):

- (i) ?? Max_i himself_i hates himself_i.

Examples such as those in (ii) suggest that the intensifier should be able to occur in sentence final position, whilst still intensifying the subject. Examples in (iii) suggest that it is possible to intensify disjoint objects, although speakers generally consider a, to be less acceptable than b.

- (ii) a. Max_i hates her_j himself_i.
 (ii) b. Max_i hates the Queen_j himself_i.
 (iii) a. Max_i hates her_j herself_j.
 (iii) b. Max_i hates the Queen_j herself_j.

For further discussion of this issue, see §6.3.

- Do all languages have a SELF-anaphor which is semantically decomposable?
- Do all languages show a distinction between three classes of verbs (self-directed, other-directed and neutral)? Are the same verbs found cross-linguistically within each verbal group?

3.2.2 Present-Day English: \emptyset and *himself*

PDE is generally thought to have a two-way distinction between pronominals (e.g. *him*) and anaphors (e.g. *himself*). The PDE pronominals cannot (usually) be bound within their local binding domain. Therefore they must be +R elements and unable to form a chain (GCC). Since the anaphor is morphologically complex, under the theory of Reinhart and Reuland it is a SELF-anaphor. This correctly predicts that this form can occur with OD-verbs and ‘reflexivise the predicate’.

However, this raises the question of whether or not there is a counterpart in PDE for the Dutch SE-anaphor *zich*. If we consider PDE examples with the same verbs as used for Dutch in (16) above repeated here as (19), then it seems that PDE has a null element (represented in the examples with ‘SE’) where Dutch uses the SE-anaphor.

- (19) a. Max_i gedraagt zich_i / * zichzelf_i / * hem_i .
 Max_i behaves SE_{*i*} / * himself_i / * him_i .
- b. Max_i haat * zich_i / zichzelf_i / * hem_i .
 Max_i hates *SE_{*i*} / himself_i / * him_i .
- c. Max_i wast zich_i / zichzelf_i / * hem_i .
 Max_i washes SE_{*i*} / himself_i / * him_i .
- (20) a. Max_i behaves SE_{*i*} / himself_i / * him_i .
 b. Max_i hates *SE_{*i*} / himself_i / * him_i .
 c. Max_i washes SE_{*i*} / himself_i / * him_i .

The three-way distinction can therefore be maintained, if we are prepared to concede that certain verbs (SD and ND-verbs) have a deleted or non-phonetically realised co-referential object in English which is overtly realised in other languages. In fact in chapter 2, we saw that such objects could be phonetically realised in earlier stages of English in pleonastic constructions. We also saw that the same verbs could occur without the pronominal overtly realised and that this option was selected in EMODE for these verbs, thereby providing further evidence that these forms are cross-linguistically analogous.

However, whilst the OD-verb *hates* behaves in the same manner as in Dutch, only allowing the SELF-anaphor, and the ND-verb *washes* also behaves

in the same manner, allowing both the SE-anaphor and the SELF-anaphor, the SD-verb *behaves* behaves in a different fashion; it allows the SELF-anaphor in a position where it is not expected given the predicate is already reflexive marked.

One solution to this problem might be to claim that PDE only distinguishes between two classes of verb - OD-verbs like *kill* and *hate* which require reflexive marking and other verbs (an expanded set of ND-verbs) which can either occur with the SE-anaphor or the SELF-anaphor. Under Reinhart and Reuland's theory this would require an additional mechanism to account for the distribution of the two anaphors in this expanded ND-verbal set. For them these verbs would all have to be reflexive-marked and they would have to explain why sometimes their condition on economy does not apply (i.e. why a verb already reflexively marked is reflexivised).

However, under the theory where intensification is required, there would be no such problem. It could simply be stated that any verb which can occur with a null element (SE-anaphor) or a SELF-anaphor belongs to this class, but that the SELF-anaphor can only occur when there is a requirement for intensification. Instead the problem for such a theory would be that verbs like *behave* should not be able to intensify their object since they do not occur with a disjoint object e.g. '* I behave him'.

In fact, there are several verbs in PDE which do behave like Dutch SD-verbs e.g. *hurry* and *remember* and as predicted these cannot occur with the SELF-anaphor. On the basis of such verbs, we might suggest that either (i) there is an SD-category in PDE but that whilst it contains some of the same verbs as in Dutch, others are categorised differently or (ii) that the same groupings are evident in both English and Dutch and that the SELF-anaphor in the case of verbs like *behave* is not an anaphor at all, but rather a different element.

The most plausible explanation would then be that this is an intensifier (see chapter 4). This would fit with informant judgements that in cases such as *he behaved himself* there is an element of intensification i.e. a contrast between either someone else's behaviour *Helen misbehaved but Billy behaved himself* or their usual behaviour *Normally Helen misbehaves, but today she behaved herself*.²⁶

²⁶Some informants suggest that there is also an interpretation of control when the SELF-anaphor is used. This may be a doppelgänger type effect as has been reported in the literature for Dutch SELF-anaphors with the famous Madame Tussaud's and Münchhausen examples (Voskuil and Wehrmann 1990; Jackendoff 1992; Lidz 1995, 2001; Rooryck and Wyngaerd 1999, 1997; Hole 2003).

3.2.3 Frisian: *him* versus *himsels*

Frisian has a three-way distinction in terms of its verbal types which is similar to Dutch (Faltz 1985; Everaert 1986; Hoekstra 1994; de Swart 2003).²⁷ However Frisian only has a two-way distinction between pronominals (e.g. *him*) and the SELF-anaphor *himsels*. The pronominal *him* functions both as an ordinary personal pronoun (being used in contexts where disjoint reference is required) and as the SE-anaphor (occurring in similar places to Dutch *zich*) as shown in (21).

- (21) a. Max_i hâld him_i / *himsels_i.
Max_i behaves him_i / *himself_i.
'Max behaves (himself).'
- b. Max_i hatet *him_i / himsels_i.
Max_i hates *him_i / himself_i.
'Max hates himself.'
- c. Max_i wasket him_i / himsels_i.
Max_i washes him_i / himself_i.
'Max washes himself'.

The theoretical problem raised by Frisian is therefore not one concerning the distribution of the SE-anaphor versus the SELF-anaphor, but rather the SE-anaphor versus the pronominal. Therefore, I will return to the Frisian data in §3.3.

The Frisian SELF-anaphor is decomposable into the SE-anaphor and the intensifier, since the Frisian intensifier is *sels*. It occurs in the same positions and has a similar meaning to its Dutch counter-part.

3.2.4 German: *sich* versus *SICH*

Like Dutch, German makes a distinction between the ordinary pronominal *ihn* 'him' and an SE-anaphor *sich* in third person constructions (Reinhart and Reuland 1993; Reuland and Reinhart 1995; Steinbach 1998; Abraham 1999).²⁸ However, whilst a similarly analogous, morphologically complex form for the SELF-anaphor is available - *sich selbst* 'him self'- this form is extremely restricted in

²⁷Frisian (or Friesian) is divided into North, East and Western Frisian, the 'standard' language being the Western variety and the one to which most people refer when discussing Frisian (see Sipma 1913; Markey 1981). Here I also refer to the Western variety; however similar facts are evident in the Northern and Eastern varieties.

²⁸German only uses special reflexives in the third person. Ordinary personal pronouns are used in first and second person constructions. See §3.3 for further discussion.

comparison to Dutch.²⁹ In fact, for the most part, it simply does not occur in the same places as *zichzelf* as shown in (22)-(24).

- (22) a. Max_i benimmt sich_i / *sich selbst_i / *ihn_i. (German)
 b. Max_i gedraagt zich_i / *zichzelf_i / *hem_i. (Dutch)
 ‘Max behaves SE / SELF / *him.’
- (23) a. Max_i hasst sich_i / *sich selbst_i / *ihn_i. (German)
 b. Max_i haat *zich_i / zichzelf_i / *hem_i (Dutch)
 ‘Max hates SE / SELF / *him.’
- (24) a. Max_i wascht sich_i / *sich selbst_i / *ihn_i. (German)
 b. Max_i wast zich_i / zichzelf_i / *hem_i. (Dutch)
 ‘Max washes SE / SELF / *him.’

Furthermore, most grammars and work on German do not consider *selbst* ‘self’ to be a reflexive (or even part of the reflexive) but rather an intensifier (Baker 1995; Steinbach 1998; König and Siemund 2000a; Lange 2003) or a focus adverb (Primus 1992; Eckardt 2002). They suggest that *selbst* ‘self’ is used in the following circumstances:

- (i) When the reflexive is plural it can also mean ‘one another’ or ‘each other’ and if ambiguity might arise then *selbst* is added to the reflexive and *gegenseitig* is added where it is reciprocal in order to disambiguate:

- (a) Sie fragten sich selbst ob...
 They asked themselves self whether...
- (b) Sie fragten sich gegenseitig ob...
 They asked each other whether...

- (ii) Where a particular emphasis is required (for more on this see chapter 4 on intensifiers).

Some researchers have therefore suggested that Reinhart and Reuland’s Condition B does not apply in German because there is no evidence that verbs receive different marking depending upon their type (Steinbach 1998). However, Reinhart and Reuland (1993) and Reuland and Reinhart (1995) suggest that different verb types are marked, but rather than the marking being morphological, it is via different stress patterns. When *sich* is unstressed it functions as an

²⁹A more accurate translation for this form might be ‘himself himself’, since *sich* occurs in positions where the PDE SELF-anaphor occurs and *selbst* seems to be more of an intensifier (see more below), which in PDE has the homophonous form *himself*.

SE-anaphor, but when *sich* receives stress it functions as a SELF-anaphor (see also Everaert 1986). This means we might represent the German system as in (25):

- (25) a. Max hasst * sich / SICH / * ihn.
b. Max benimmt sich / *SICH / *ihn.
c. Max wascht sich / SICH / *ihn.

This therefore suggests that a similar distinction between verbs is made in German, but that it is encoded in a different way. Further support for the idea of stress being important in being able to reflexivise a predicate is found in a comparison with Dutch. Unlike German *sich*, Dutch *zich* can never be stressed; instead the *zelf*-element receives the stress (Reuland and Reinhart 1995: 250):

- (26) a. Max haat *zich/ *ZICH / zichZELF.
b. Max gedraagt zich/ * ZICH / *zichZELF
c. Max wast zich / * ZICH / zichZELF.

Several of my informants have suggested that for them *SICH* and *sich SELBST* are identical in meaning, but that in most cases they would prefer to use the former. We might suppose that this is due to some economy constraint. Stressed *SICH* reflexivises the predicate whereas unstressed *sich*, like Dutch unstressed *zich*, requires another element in order for it to be able to reflexivise the predicate i.e. Dutch stressed *ZELF* corresponds to German stressed *SICH*. Essentially therefore they encode the same information, but one is significantly more economical being morphologically simplex.

This seems to suggest that Dutch has two ways of marking a transitive verb as being reflexive, one with stress (as in German) and the other by having a morphologically complex element (as in Frisian and English). Again, informant judgements might provide the answer; some informants suggest that like English, the *zelf* element does not have to carry stress in these constructions. This suggests that it is the *zelf*-element which is important in allowing the element to reflexivise the predicate for Dutch.

In terms of the theory of intensification, the German data suggests that this is one method that a language might employ with particular sets of verbs, but that a language may choose to encode the distinction another way. What seems to be crucial is that the OD-verbs receive more marking than SD-verbs - this may be encoded in having a morphologically heavier element or an element which is phonetically heavier. Language typologists have suggested that where there is a contrast, languages always employ the heavier marking for OD-verbs (see e.g. Haiman 1983; Faltz 1985; Smith 2004.)

3.2.5 Conclusions

In each of the languages discussed where a distinction is made between different forms of an anaphor, the distribution is determined by the type of verb. In each case, it appears that there are three (broad) categories of verbs; SD-verbs which require the SE-anaphor, OD-verbs which require their object to be marked in some way, either with a self-element (English, Frisian), stress (German), or both (Dutch), and ND-verbs. ND-verbs might be considered to be ambiguous between being an OD-verb and an SD-verb (Reinhart and Reuland's double listing); however, I suggest they have one lexical entry which may receive different encoding based upon the way in which we expect the world to be. A summary of the different forms found with the different verb classes is provided in Table 3.2.

Language	Intensifier	SD-verbs	ND-verbs	OD-verbs
PDE	himself	∅	∅/himself	himself
ME	himself	∅/him	∅/him/himself	(him)/himself
OE	self	∅/him	∅/him	him
Dutch	zelf	zich	zich/zichzelf	zichzelf
Frisian	sels	him	him/himsels	himsels
German	selbst	sich	sich/SICH	sich / SICH

Table 3.2: Comparison of reflexives and intensifiers in West Germanic Languages.

Several of the languages (Dutch and Frisian) under discussion use the intensifier as part of their complex reflexive and it seems likely that the English reflexive also used the intensifier in the creation of its complex form. However subsequent changes in the intensifier have resulted in the form no longer being decomposable. Therefore in the following chapter I seek to answer the following questions:

- What is the meaning of intensifiers?
- What determines the distribution of the intensifier?
- Has the meaning or distribution of the intensifier changed during the history of English?

In chapter 6 I seek to answer:

- Why did the intensifier develop into a complex form in English (but not in other West Germanic Languages)?

- What is it about the structure of the SELF-anaphor which allows it to reflexivise a predicate?
- Why do reflexives and intensifiers combine in many languages in order to create a complex form?
- What does this mean, if anything, for the features of verbs?

3.3 Reinhart and Reuland's (1993) Generalised Chain Condition

In the previous section, I discussed the part of Reinhart and Reuland's theory which determines the differing distributions of different anaphors. In this section I concentrate on the property $\pm R$. Reinhart and Reuland suggest that elements which are marked +R are fully specified for ϕ -features and (structural) Case; underspecification for one of these features results in an element being -R.

In the introduction it was claimed that the property of being $\pm R$ governed whether an element was able to function reflexively or not. Due to the GCC given in (3) and repeated here in (27), only elements marked -R are able to function reflexively, since they are the only elements which can appear at the foot of a chain.

(27) General Condition on A-chains

'A maximal A-chain ($\alpha_1 \dots \alpha_n$) contains exactly one link – α_1 – that is both +R and Case marked.' (Reinhart and Reuland 1993: 696)

The GCC predicts that in languages where pronominals function reflexively (e.g. Old and Middle English (all persons), Afrikaans (all persons), Frisian (first and second person, SD and ND-verbs for third person), and Dutch and German (first and second persons only)), the pronominals are -R when functioning reflexively and +R when functioning as a pronoun. In other words this predicts that there are two different pronouns which are (in at least some of these languages) homophonous.³⁰

In this section I therefore examine the extent to which there is evidence that bound pronouns can be considered underspecified. There is no discussion of PDE in this section since with the exception of some dialects ordinary personal pronouns do not function reflexively. I include discussion of Afrikaans since it is related to earlier Dutch and shares certain similarities with earlier English.

³⁰Numerous researchers have noticed that bound and free pronouns cross-linguistically never differ in their morphological form e.g. Zwart (2002); Jacobson (2003); Kratzer (2006).

The order of discussion is Dutch (§3.3.1), Afrikaans (§3.3.2), Frisian (§3.3.3) and German (§3.3.4). Conclusions are drawn in §3.3.5.

3.3.1 Dutch: 1st and 2nd person pronouns

Modern Dutch provides some evidence that pronouns in one and the same language can have different features since it distinguishes between two sets of personal pronouns (den Besten 1989: 25; Cardinaletti and Starke 1996: 43; Zwart 1997: 117-118; Everaert 2000: 65; and Reuland 2001: 11-12). The distinction between these two types is either described as being between strong and weak forms or between stressed and unstressed forms.³¹ I will adopt the former terminology. Only the weak forms can function reflexively and reflexively used pronominals are only licensed for the first and second person as shown in (28).

- (28) a. Ik_i was me_i / * mij_i .
 I_i wash me-WK $_i$ / *me-STR $_i$.
 ‘I wash (myself)’.
- b. Jij_i wast je_i / * jou_i .
 You_i wash you-WK $_i$ / *you-STR $_i$.
 ‘You wash (yourself)’.
- c. He_i wast * m_i / * hem_i .
 He_i washes *him-WK $_i$ / *him-STR $_i$.
 ‘He washes (himself)’.

The weak forms which can function reflexively are emboldened in Table 3.3. The pronouns given in brackets are forms typically only used in the spoken language (Zwart 1997: 33).

Singular	Strong	Weak	Plural	Strong	Weak
1st	mij	me	1st	ons	ons
2nd (informal)	jou	je	2nd (informal)	jullie	(je)
2nd (formal)	u	u	2nd (formal)	u	u
3rd masc	hem	(‘m)	3rd (all genders)	hen (or hun)	(ze)
3rd fem	haar	(‘r)			
3rd neut	het	(‘t)			

Table 3.3: The paradigm of object personal pronouns in Dutch.

³¹Berendsen (1986) and Zwart (1997) assume that the weak forms are clitics, since they occur immediately to the right of the finite verb, cannot be topicalised, nor conjoined with full DPs. However, unlike French clitics (see for example Kayne 1975), they *can* occur as the objects of prepositions. Others e.g. Koster (1987) suggest that there is no reason to assume that weak pronouns are clitics. For further discussion, see §6.2.

Table 3.3 shows that it is only the third person weak forms which are restricted to speech. These forms are also the forms which cannot be used reflexively, instead the SE-anaphor *zich* is required. Reinhart and Reuland (1993) and Reuland and Everaert (2001) assume that *zich* is deficient for number and gender ϕ -features, since it is restricted to 3rd person, but it refers to masculine and feminine, singular and plural.³²

However, it is unclear how the phonological weakness translates into underspecification of ϕ -features in the case of the first and second person pronouns. It also seems unlikely that the underspecification is in terms of Case since the weak object forms contrast with the subject forms in terms of Case. The subject forms are provided in Table 3.4.

Singular	Strong	Weak	Plural	Strong	Weak
1st	ik	('k)	1st	wij	we
2nd (informal)	jij	je	2nd (informal)	jullie	jullie
2nd (formal)	u	u	2nd (formal)	u	u
3rd masc	hij	(ie)	3rd (all genders)	zij	ze
3rd fem	zij	ze			
3rd neut	het	('t)			

Table 3.4: The paradigm of subject personal pronouns in Dutch.

3.3.2 Afrikaans: all pronouns

Afrikaans is a language which is descended from the Dutch spoken by employees of the Dutch East India Company who settled at the Cape from 1652 onwards. It contains many features of seventeenth-century Dutch, but more recently has been heavily influenced by English. Afrikaans has only maintained the strong pronominal forms from Dutch -as shown in Table 3.5- and these function reflexively for all persons as shown in (29).³³

³²Vat (1980) and Everaert (1986) assume that when *zich* occurs with an inherently reflexive verb it is a clitic. Koster (1987) suggests that it is simply a weak pronoun.

³³Boshoff (1961) and Donaldson (2000) claim that there is also the use of a compound pronoun *sigself* (from Dutch) which is used in fixed, traditional expressions:

- (i) Dit is op sigself onbeduidend
This is in itself significant
'This is insignificant in itself'
(Boshoff 1961: 19)

Person	Singular	Plural
1st	my	ons
2nd (informal)	jou	julle
2nd (formal)	u	u
3rd Masc	hom	hulle
3rd Fem	haar	hulle
3rd Neut	dit	hulle

Table 3.5: The paradigm of object/reflexive pronouns in Afrikaans.

- (29) a. Ek_i verdedig my_i.
I_i defend me_i.
'I defend myself'.
- b. Jy_i verdedig jou_i.
You_i defend you_i.
'You defend yourself'.
- c. Hy_i verdedig hom_i.
He_i defends him_i.
'He defends himself'.

Informants confirm that there are weaker spoken equivalents of some of the pronominal forms e.g. *jul* 'you' and *hul* 'them' (for *julle* 'you' and *hulle* 'them') which are often used for reflexives (see also Donaldson 1994: 492). These weaker spoken equivalents may suggest that underspecification is established the same way in Afrikaans as it is in Dutch.

Note that unlike Dutch, Afrikaans does not have a special form for the third person, although some of my informants suggest that Afrikaans is in the process of developing a reflexive form to remove ambiguity. The process involves using the intensifier *self* and may be due to influence from English.³⁴

3.3.3 Frisian: first, second and some third person

In (30) I provide examples for all persons for the SD-verb *hâld* 'behave', in (31) for the OD-verb *hat*, and in (32) for the ND-verb *wask* 'wash' (see also

³⁴Older speakers stress that this is very much a 'last resort' and generally maintain its use for emphatic contexts alone. Younger speakers did not feel the same and use the self-forms more readily. Most suggest that this is to disambiguate, although some also acknowledge it is due to the status which English has and a desire to emulate it. Donaldson (1994: 493) also finds that English is influencing the reflexive strategy in this way although he does not find an age difference.

Hoekstra 1994; de Swart 2003).³⁵ This shows that in Frisian the pronominal is used reflexively with all verb types, except for third person constructions with OD-verbs.

- (30) a. Ik_i hâld me_i .
 I_i behave me_i .
 'I behave'.
- b. Ik_i hate me_i .
 I_i hate me_i .
 'I hate myself'.
- c. Ik_i wask me_i .
 I_i wash me_i .
 'I wash' or 'I wash myself'.
- (31) a. Du_i hâldest di_i .
 You_i behave you_i .
 'You behave'.
- b. Du_i hatest di_i .
 You_i hate you_i .
 'You hate yourself'.
- c. Du_i waskest di_i .
 You_i wash you_i .
 'You wash' or 'You wash yourself'.
- (32) a. Max_i hâld him_i .
 Max_i behaves him_i .
 'Max behaves (himself).'
- b. * Max_i hatet him_i .
 Max_i hates him_i .
 'Max hates himself.'
- c. Hi_i wasket him_i .
 He_i washes him_i .
 'He washes'.

According to grammar books, Frisian does not distinguish phonologically between a strong and weak set of pronouns (the way Dutch does). However some informants suggest that there are phonologically weak versions of some of the pronominals in the spoken language, confirming the findings of Hoekstra

³⁵Informants suggest that it is possible to use the intensifier *sels* 'self' to intensify the first and second person OD and ND-verbs, although this is not always necessary and far less frequent than with third person. Furthermore, unlike with the third person form, the intensifier does not usually combine with the reflexive in order to create a single orthographic unit.

(1994: 515). This makes the Frisian system potentially similar to the one outlined in the previous section for Afrikaans.

Hoekstra (1994) and Hoekstra and Tiersma (1994) discuss the fact that Frisian has two forms for the singular third person feminine pronouns and the third person plural (all genders). The forms are *har* 'her' and *har(ren)* 'them' on the one hand and *se* 'her/them' on the other. These two different forms are used interchangeably. However whilst *har* and *harren* can be locally bound, *se* cannot as shown in (33)-(34) from Reuland and Reinhart (1995: 259).

- (33) a. Jan_i hat har_j / har(ren)_j juster sjoen.
 John_i has her_j / them_j yesterday seen.
 'John saw her/them yesterday.'
- b. Jan_i hat se_j juster sjeon.
 John has her/them yesterday seen.
 'John saw her/them yesterday.'
- (34) a. Mary_i wasket harsels_i / har_i / *se_i.
 Mary_i washes herself_i / her_i / *se_i.
 'MARY washes herself.'
- b. De bern_i waskje harsels_i / har(ren)_i / *se_i.
 The children wash themselves / them / them.
 'The children wash themselves.'

Hoekstra (1991, 1994) suggests that *har/harren* and *se* differ in Case, with *se* requiring structural Case and *har* requiring inherent Case. He presents a series of tests as evidence for this distinction. One such piece of evidence is that within locative prepositional phrases (PPs) *se* is ungrammatical whereas *har* is grammatical. Since prepositions assign inherent case, this is only expected if this pronoun has structural case.

- (35) a. Ik seach wat bewegen efter har.
 b. *Ik seach wat bewegen efter se.
 'I saw something move behind her'.

If structural Case is crucial in marking an element +R, then this difference explains why *se* cannot function reflexively (it is +R), but *har(ren)* can function reflexively because it has inherent Case meaning it is therefore -R, and it does not violate the GCC. In other languages and dialects the availability of inherent Case has similarly been linked to the ability for pronominals to function reflexively (see e.g. Nichols 1997: 79-84 for Zuni, and Abraham 1996 for Southern German dialects).

3.3.4 German: first and second person

First and second person pronouns function reflexively in German (36), but like Dutch there is a special reflexive form in the third person (37).

- (36) a. Ich_i wasche mich_i.
I_i wash me_i.
glt 'I wash myself'.
b. Du_i waschst dich_i.
You_i wash you_i.
'You wash yourself'.
- (37) Er_i wascht sich_i / *ihn_i.
He_i washes SE_i / *him_i.
'He washes himself'.

Cardinaletti and Starke (1996, 1999) note that several German pronominals exhibit 'strange' behaviour, which they attribute to a difference in features. In other words they argue that there are two sets of pronominals in German, akin to the Dutch system. However, unlike the Dutch system they are morphologically indistinct. Cardinaletti and Starke do not describe this behaviour in terms of feature specification, but rather they present structural evidence in support of the differences. The evidence they present is:

- (i) The pronominal *es* 'it' cannot occur in co-ordinated DPs as shown in (38).

- (38) a. [Dieses Buch und diese Zeitungen] sind sehr schön.
This book and these newspapers are very pretty.
b. * [Es und diese Zeitungen] sind sehr schön.
* It and these newspapers are very pretty.

- (ii) *es* 'it' is confined to extremely local positions with respect to its verb which means that it cannot be topicalised unlike full DPs as shown in (39) versus (40).

- (39) a. Hans hat dieses Buch gestern gekauft.
Hans has this book yesterday bought.
'Hans bought this book yesterday.'
b. Dieses Buch hat Hans gestern gekauft.
This book has Hans yesterday bought.
'This book, Hans bought yesterday.'
- (40) a. Hans hat es gestern gekauft.
Hans has it yesterday bought.
'Hans bought it yesterday.'

- b. *Es hat Hans gestern gekauft.
 It has Hans yesterday bought.
 'It, Hans bought yesterday.'

Cardinaletti and Starke (1996) suggest that *es* 'it' has some clitic-like properties but that it does not entirely pattern with clitics. They therefore suggest a third pronominal type: weak pronouns. They suggest that weak pronouns are somewhere in between the other two types of pronoun: strong pronouns and clitic pronouns (Cardinaletti and Starke 1996: 23). Cardinaletti and Starke (1996: 35-36) extend their findings for *es* 'it' to all other pronominals in the paradigm. This is discussed further in §6.2.

3.3.5 Conclusions

For each of the languages which allow pronominals to function reflexively, researchers have shown that there is evidence for some kind of underspecification of those pronominals. I return to discuss this for earlier English in §6.2. In the next section I examine how Reinhart and Reuland's account might be captured within a Minimalist Framework.

3.4 Towards a Minimalist account

In the previous two sections I have discussed the Reflexivity Theory of Reinhart and Reuland (1993). In their theory elements have two features which determine the distribution of pronouns and anaphors. The typology they assume is given in Table 3.6.

Feature	SELF	R
SELF-anaphor	+	-
SE-anaphor	-	-
Pronoun	-	+

Table 3.6: The typology of pronominals and anaphors based on Reinhart and Reuland (1993).

In §3.2 I suggested that the feature \pm SELF was related to the meaning of intensifiers and hence it can (for at least some stages of Dutch and other languages) be eliminated from the theory.³⁶ However in §3.3 the property \pm R was maintained. In this section I examine the extent to which this idea can be captured within a recent Minimalist Framework. In §3.4.1 I outline the assumptions

³⁶However, if the intensification reading is lost, SELF may be re-encoded as a marker of structural coreference.

which I make and suggest an alternative to the GCC. My purpose here is not to provide a fully fledged version of the Binding Theory since that is beyond the scope of this work, but rather to show that the ideas presented here are consistent with more recent theorising.

3.4.1 Minimalist assumptions

Within the Derivation-by-Phase version of the Minimalist framework (Chomsky 2000, 2001, 2004), structures are derived from the bottom-up. Items within a numeration are selected and inserted into the structure using the process of MERGE, the least costly of the syntactic operations (MERGE, MOVE, AGREE).

Following Chomsky (2001) I assume that features are checked in agreement configurations (AGREE).³⁷ Features are attribute-value pairs. Person is an example of a feature attribute and its possible feature values would be 1st, 2nd, or 3rd. Items either enter the numeration valued or unvalued which is notationally represented as [Person: 1st] and [Person:], respectively.³⁸ This notation concerns feature values rather than the notion of semantic interpretability implied by the more common notation of *i* for interpretable and *u* for uninterpretable.

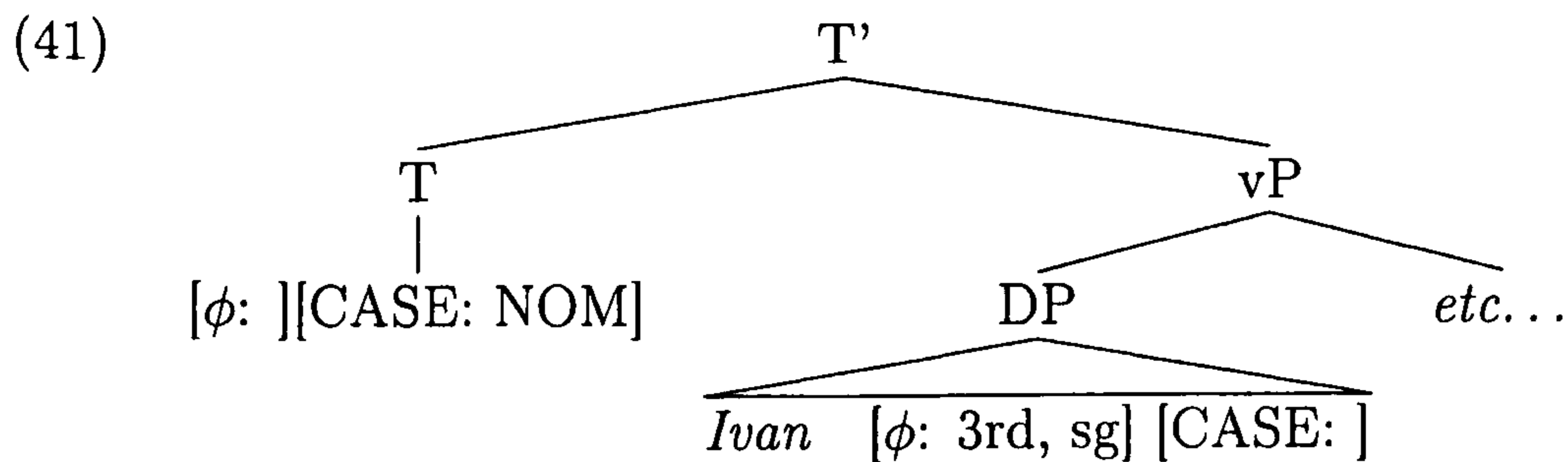
Unvalued (or uninterpretable) features must be the trigger for AGREE. The unvalued feature (called ‘the probe’) probes within its c-command domain for a category bearing a matching valued (or interpretable) feature (called ‘the goal’). When it finds a matching feature, then AGREE operates. Crucially, in the current theory it is only unvalued features which may probe and hence are active features. Valued features may only be probed and are therefore passive. Valued features do not need to enter into a agreement (or: checking) configuration.

This means, for example, that T bears an unvalued ϕ -feature, which probes into its c-command domain. Since it matches the valued ϕ -features of the subject in [Spec, vP], AGREE operates. T therefore receives the ϕ -feature values of the subject as shown in (41).³⁹

³⁷For more on features see den Dikken (2000); Adger (2006).

³⁸Within this work, unless important for establishing whether or not something is underspecified for ϕ -features, I will not show them as separate features but will use the notation [ϕ :] and specify its values e.g. [ϕ : Masc, 3rd, Sg].

³⁹The intuition in Chomsky (2000, 2001, 2004) is that agreement should take place with the closest available goal, thereby ruling out agreement between the features on T and a DP object.



The subject then moves to [Spec, TP] in order to receive Case, since in Minimalism Case valuation is a reflex of agreement (George and Kornfilt 1981; Chomsky 2001). In other words if the DP can value the ϕ -features of T, T values the Case features of the goal. It is unclear why this should be the case, and furthermore it makes Case exceptional since it is not a probing feature. I return to this issue below.

If any unvalued features remain unchecked upon completion of a phase (standardly assumed to be vP and CP) the derivation will crash unless they occupy the edge of a phase e.g. [Spec, vP]. This is known as the principle of ‘Full Interpretation’, which basically states that features which are unvalued at the interfaces are uninterpretable. However, phase edges are escape hatches; elements occupying these positions are available for probing by elements within the next phase. This is known as the Phase Impenetrability Condition (PIC) as stated in (42) from Chomsky (2000: 108).

- (42) $[\alpha [H \beta]]$ PIC: ‘In phase α with head H, the domain of H is not accessible to operations outside α , only H and its edge [its Specifier(s)] are accessible to such operations’

3.4.2 An Account of Binding?

Recent accounts have attempted to reconcile the Binding Theory and Minimalism by either trying to reduce binding constraints to the constraints on MOVE (e.g. see Hornstein 2001; Zwart 2002; Kayne 2002) or those on AGREE (e.g. see Lee-Schoenfeld 2004; Hicks 2005, 2006; Heinat 2006). Approaches based on the former, posit a complex DP which involves (in various forms) the merger of the reflexive and the antecedent. The antecedent then moves out of the complex DP and the locality constraints are reduced to those on MOVE.

The alternative where the constraints are linked to those on AGREE, are similar in many respects to Reinhart and Reuland’s (1993) account; the -R feature is simply replaced with an unvalued (or uninterpretable) feature which requires valuation, whereas the +R feature is valued (or interpretable) and can not therefore enter into a syntactic dependency.

Reinhart and Reuland (1993) suggest that it is either Case or underspecification for ϕ -features which renders an element $\pm R$. However, an AGREE-based approach to binding suggests that this cannot be the case.⁴⁰ If binding is achieved through the process of AGREE, then the features must match. It therefore seems unlikely that Case can be responsible since there is no requirement that the antecedent and the reflexive to bear the same Case feature. For example in an English sentence such as *he killed himself* the subject *he* would bear nominative Case and the reflexive *himself* would (under most accounts) bear accusative Case.

It seems to me that the reflexive must also be specified for ϕ -features since it seems likely that reflexives are able to value the unvalued ϕ -features which exist on *v*, like fully referential disjoint objects can.⁴¹ It is not possible for these values to remain unvalued as this would cause the derivation to crash at the end of the phase due to Full Interpretation. Furthermore, if as appears to be the case, anaphors are cross-linguistically defective in terms of ϕ -features, this rules out agreement between the antecedent and the anaphor as they will not agree for all ϕ -features i.e. it is not a full match.

Therefore *contra* Reinhart and Reuland (1993), I do not suppose that it is ϕ -features (or lack of them) which makes an element underspecified: it is a different feature which relates to the reflexive's referential properties (or lack of them). Ignoring the more complex structure of X-SELF for the time being (see §6.4), we might encode $\pm R$ as a REF feature which is either valued on disjoint pronominals or unvalued on reflexives.⁴² Such a feature does not appear to be merely a stipulation since numerous researchers have suggested that anaphors are not fully referential (e.g. see Bouchard 1983; Keenan 1988; Chomsky 1986; McGinnis 1998).

For 3rd person in Dutch this would mean an unvalued REF feature on *zich* for both SE and SELF-anaphors and a valued REF feature on the pronominal *hem*.⁴³

For 1st and 2nd person it would mean that sometimes the form bears an

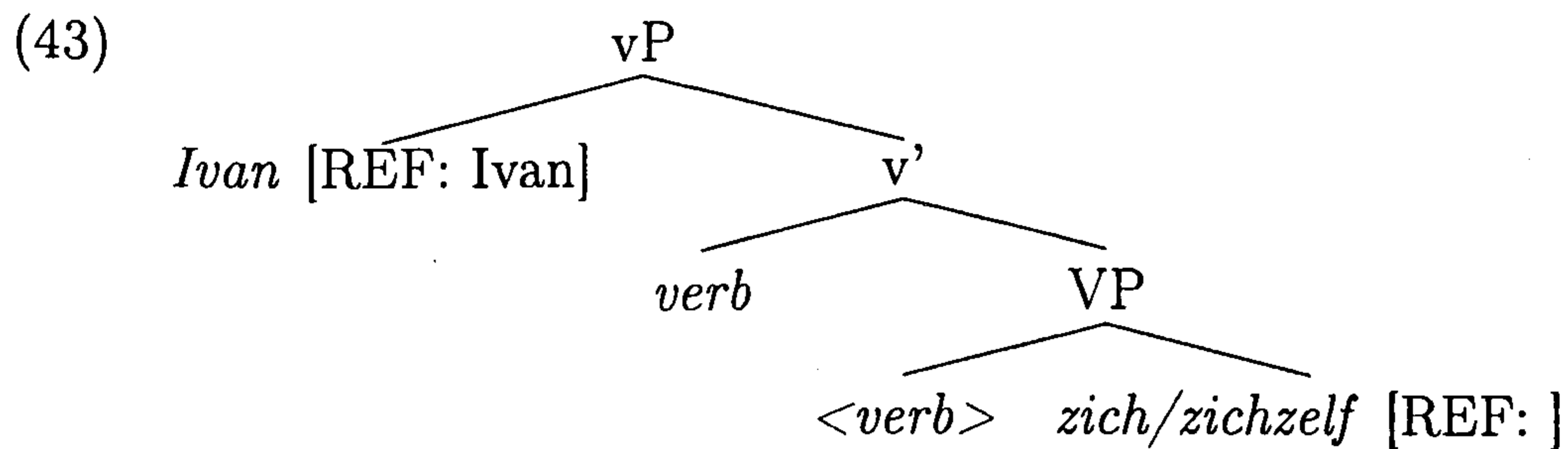
⁴⁰See Heintz (2006) for an account of binding relying on ϕ -feature agreement.

⁴¹The alternative would be to reconsider the way in which features and Case are checked. See for example Hicks (2006: 113) for a discussion of this technical issue.

⁴²Chomsky (1995: 381) seems to warn against such an approach to re-encoding indices. See Hicks (2006) for a more technical instantiation of this, which falls outside the scope of this work. Note also that under an analysis where binding is achieved through features other than the ϕ -features, it would be possible for those features to AGREE, but the ϕ -features not to, and binding to still be established. Such constructions would be ruled out at the point of interpretation.

⁴³For a similar analysis of PDE see Hicks (2005, 2006) and the slightly earlier analysis of German by Lee-Schoenfeld (2004).

unvalued REF feature (when reflexive) and at other times it bears a valued REF feature (when pronominal).⁴⁴ The reflexive case is shown in the tree in (43).



Such an analysis seems to have the immediate advantage of being able to encode the locality restrictions on binding as being within the phase (see Heinat 2003, 2006; Lee-Schoenfeld 2004; Hicks 2005, 2006). This is a desirable result as phases are motivated for independent reasons (see Chomsky 2000; Fox 2000; Nissenbaum 2000 etc.), meaning the former ‘binding domains’ do not have to be stipulated.

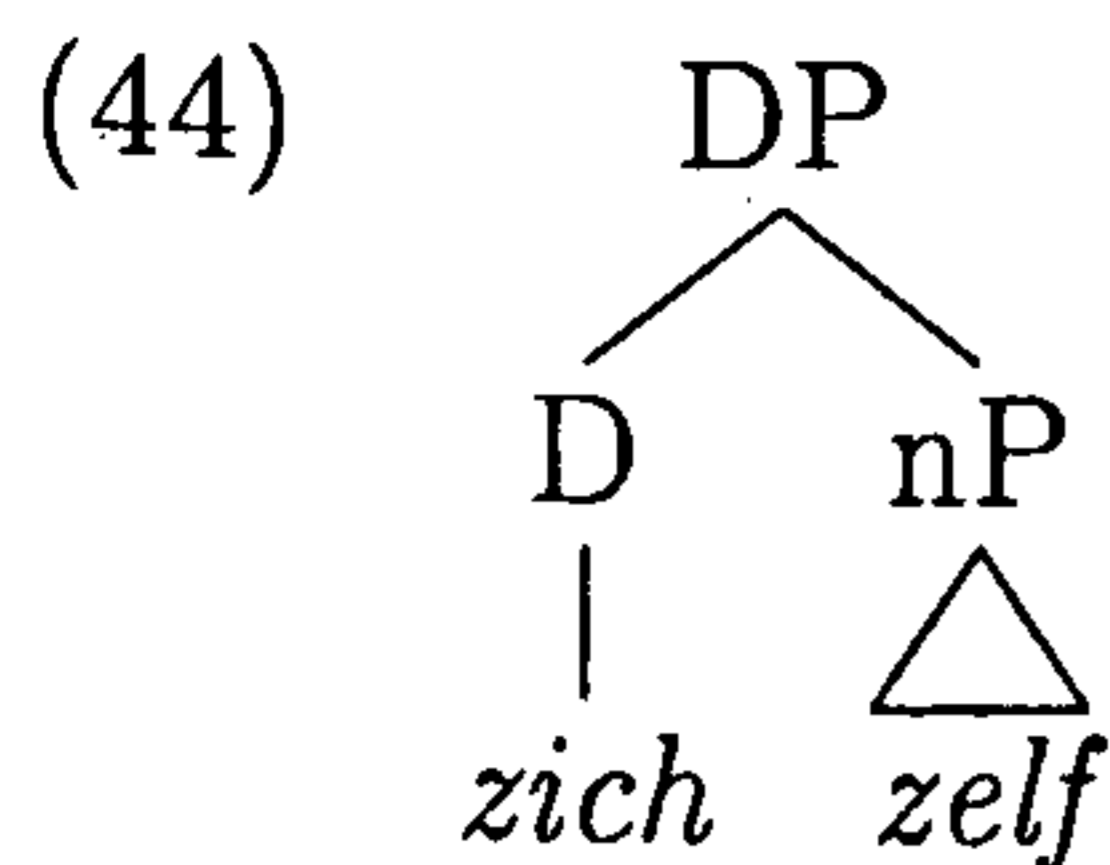
In other words, reflexives must value their features before completion of the vP phase. This agreement between the antecedent and the reflexive is what establishes the binding relation. Since pronominals have a valued REF feature they do not need to enter into an agreement relation and hence do not (and in fact cannot) enter into a binding relation. This analysis therefore encodes the idea discussed above that pronominals which function reflexively are underspecified without recourse to the GCC. The chain is established via the agreement process.

However, such an analysis faces the problem that the REF features shown in (43) should be unable to enter into an AGREE relation under the current assumptions as outlined in the previous section. Since the subject *Ivan* bears a valued REF feature it should be unable to probe. Hence the derivation should crash as the unvalued REF feature on *zich/zichzelf* would remain unchecked at the end of the phase.

However, recent research has suggested that this mechanism of probing needs modification. Razac (2004) suggests that if a probe cannot find a goal within its c-command domain, then the search space is extended outside the c-command domain.⁴⁵ This might be where the split structure of reflexives as suggested in (15), repeated here as (44) might be important.

⁴⁴Recall that Cardinaletti and Starke (1996) provide evidence that there can be two different pronominals (strong and weak) with the same morphological form but different syntactic properties. See §6.2 for further discussion.

⁴⁵Heinat (2006); Hicks (2006); Baker 2007 similarly argue for non-standard approaches to probing. Furthermore, if probing is allowed to extend its domain then it would have the desirable effect that Case would no longer be exceptional as it would be able to probe upwards, once it had exhausted its c-command domain.



In such a case, upon entering into the derivation, *zich*'s unvalued REF feature would probe its c-command domain, which is its nP complement *zelf*. Since *zelf* lacks the necessary valued REF feature, *zich* would have to wait to be valued from above.

3.5 Conclusion

This chapter has shown that cross-linguistically there is a strong link between the intensifier and the reflexive, with the complex reflexive often comprising a reflexive plus the intensifier. The distribution of complex (SELF-anaphors) and simplex reflexives (SE-anaphors) is determined by the properties of the verb. Rather than suggesting that some verbs are listed within the lexicon twice, I suggested that the variation between these two types which exists with the same verb can be explained by the requirements on intensification; the complex form occurs where there is a need to contrast, otherwise the simplex form occurs.

The availability of bound pronominals in some languages was explained via the GCC of Reinhart and Reuland (1993) and subsequent work, which suggests that the pronominals are underspecified in some way. I encoded this into a Minimalist account which reduces the binding domain to the level of the phase and reduces binding to AGREE.

This suggests that in the history of English, pronominals were ambiguous between being marked as fully referential (and hence bearing a valued REF feature), in which case they were interpreted as being disjoint from the subject, and being marked as not-fully referential ([REF:]). This means that during ME there was one reflexive form (HIM, which may or may not occur with the intensifier *self*). Therefore the variation between X-SELF and HIM is really a question of whether or not intensification was required, and therefore must have been governed by the requirements of the intensifier.

The reanalysis which took place in EMODE must therefore be motivated by a change in the features of pronouns, so that they all bear a valued REF feature. At this point *self* is reanalysed as making the reflexive bear an unvalued REF feature, and is therefore simply as a syntactic marker of co-reference. This suggests that in EMODE there are changes in the feature composition of pronouns and that *self* is no longer considered an intensifier. This is explored further in chapter 6.

Chapter 4

The Distribution and Development of the Intensifier

4.1 Introduction

In the previous chapter evidence was presented from the modern West Germanic languages which suggested that both structural and functional (semantic/ pragmatic) factors are involved in determining the distribution of different forms of the reflexive. It seems that there is a pragmatic tendency in many languages to additionally mark the object of a transitive verb in the event that it is co-referential, since the usual interpretation is of disjoint reference. In languages like Standard Dutch, the difference between the two different forms of the reflexive (*zich* and *zichzelf* 'himself') was explained using this general principle.

It was also shown that cross-linguistically intensifiers are often used in order to make this distinction e.g. the Dutch complex-reflexive *zichzelf* 'himself' = the simple-reflexive *zich* plus the intensifier *zelf*. Whilst there is evidence that in some cases the intensification remains in the resulting complex forms,¹ there is also evidence that the intensifier has grammaticalised as a marker of syntactic co-reference, since speakers report that *zichzelf* can be used without an intensification reading. One way to test whether or not intensification remains is to establish the contexts in which intensification is licensed and see whether or not these contexts are also evident in reflexive constructions. If they are, then there is evidence that the intensification meaning remains, if they are not there is evidence that the intensifier is semantically bleached.

Diachronically, the English X-SELF form is similarly decomposable into the Old English (OE) reflexive HIM + the OE intensifier **self**.² Subsequent changes

¹For example, the fact that the complex form can no longer be intensified as was discussed in chapter 3.

²The term **self** (in bold) is used to refer to the simple intensifier e.g. *self*. **X-self** (in bold)

in both the intensifier (to **X-self**) and the reflexive (to **X-SELF**) make the origin of the form synchronically less obvious than is the case with Dutch *zichzelf*. The origin of the form therefore raises a number of questions:

1. Does English have the same pragmatic tendency to mark the object of certain verbs akin to the other West Germanic languages (chapter 3)?
2. How and why might the intensifier **self** combine with the reflexive?
3. Does the reflexive form still have an intensification reading, or has **self** grammaticalised simply as a marker of coreference?
4. If **self** is semantically bleached, when and why does this happen?

In order to shed light on these questions, it is necessary to first establish the meaning, distribution, and development of the intensifiers themselves. Therefore the following questions are addressed in this chapter:

1. What contribution do intensifiers make to the meaning of a sentence?
2. Does the meaning of the intensifier change in the history of English?
3. What is the distribution of intensifiers throughout the various stages of English i.e. where and when are they used?
4. Why does the intensifier develop from **self** into **X-self**?

To answer these questions, the discussion is divided into two sections. The first, §4.2, details the meaning and distribution of intensifiers in PDE. These findings are then compared to the earlier periods of English in §4.3 in order to ascertain whether there has been any change in the meaning or distribution of intensifiers. This section also examines the properties of the intensified DP in order to establish the factors which license the use of an intensifier. These properties are then examined for the reflexive data in the following chapter.

is used to refer to the complex intensifier e.g. *himself*. The reflexive form is written in small caps e.g. **X-SELF** in order to distinguish it from the complex intensifier since in PDE they are homophonous. They are, however, clearly distinguished in the syntax as the reflexive is an argument of the verb and the intensifier is not.

4.2 Intensifiers in Present-Day English: meaning and distribution

4.2.1 Two types of intensifier

The term ‘intensifier’ is used in this work to refer to non-argument uses of either **self** or **X-self** throughout the history of English as shown in examples (1) - (4).³ In this chapter the intensifier is underlined in each example and indices are used to show which DP the intensifier intensifies.

(1) Old English (OE, c.800-c.1150)

- a. And he_i sy_ilf_i ferde afyrht of þære byrig.
And he_i self_i went frightened from the city.
‘And he himself went from the city frightened.’
(coelive,+ALS_[Martin] 1174.6749)
- b. And he_i eode sy_ilf_i ut mid þam scinendan reafe.
And he_i went self_i out with the shining armour.
‘And he went out himself with shining armour.’
(coelive,+ALS_[Martin] 809.6482)

(2) Middle English (ME, c.1150-c.1500)

- a. Pat I_i my-self_i moste gon wip 3ow wip al my power into
That I_i myself_i must go with you with all my power into
Britaign.
Britain.
‘That I myself must go with you with all my power into Britain.’
(CMBRUT3,62.1858)
- b. And than he_i answerd hymself_i
(CMMALORY,632.3712)

(3) Early Modern English (EMODE, c.1500-c1800)

- a. And at the priorie of St. Jilles, wher he_i himsel_ife_i was first a scoller,
ther became he a scolmaster,
(FORMAN-E2-H,11.250)
- b. I_i wold spend my selfe_i a shilling to haue him swinged well.
(STEVENSO-E1-P2,48.222)

(4) Present-Day English, (PDE, c.1800-present)

- a. They_i themselves_i had become so used to warfare... (Tolkien 1995: 970)

³The term should not be confused with ‘intensifier’ referring to adverbs of degree like *very* or *extremely*.

b. I_i feel like singing myself_i. (Tolkien 1995: 220)

Whilst the term intensifier is adopted in many recent studies (e.g. Edmondson and Plank 1978; Ogura 1989a,b; König 1991; König and Siemund 1999a, 2000a; Siemund 2000; Hole 2002; Bergeton 2004; Gast 2003, 2004), there are numerous other labels used within the literature; these include ‘emphatic (reflexives)’ (Moyne 1971; Mitchell 1985; McKay 1991; Kemmer 1995; van Gelderen 1999), ‘intensive reflexive’ or ‘intensive pronoun’ (Leskosky 1972; Edmondson and Plank 1978; Kuno 1987; Cohen 2004), and ‘contrastive expressions’ (Keenan 2002). The term intensifier is used in this work, since the theoretical ideas presented here are similar to those found in König and Siemund (1999a,b, 2000b,a); Siemund (2000); König (2001).

Cross-linguistically, one of the most salient properties of intensifying forms is that they exhibit a considerable degree of positional variability as shown for PDE in example (5) where all positions are grammatical, except immediately following the verb.⁴

(5) Ivan_i (himself_i) may (himself_i) have (himself_i) been (himself_i) painting (*himself_i) the flat (himself_i).

Within the literature these different positions are typically divided into two types which are determined on the basis of the distance that the intensifier occurs from the DP which it intensifies. It either occurs adjacent to this DP (6), or at distance from it (7). These two types will be termed ‘adjacent-self’ and ‘distant-self’ respectively.⁵

(6) ... and the Orcs_i themselves_i were afraid and fell silent. (PDE, Tolkien 1995: 319)

(7) But Gandalf_i chose to come himself_i, and he was the first to be lost. (PDE, Tolkien 1995: 430)

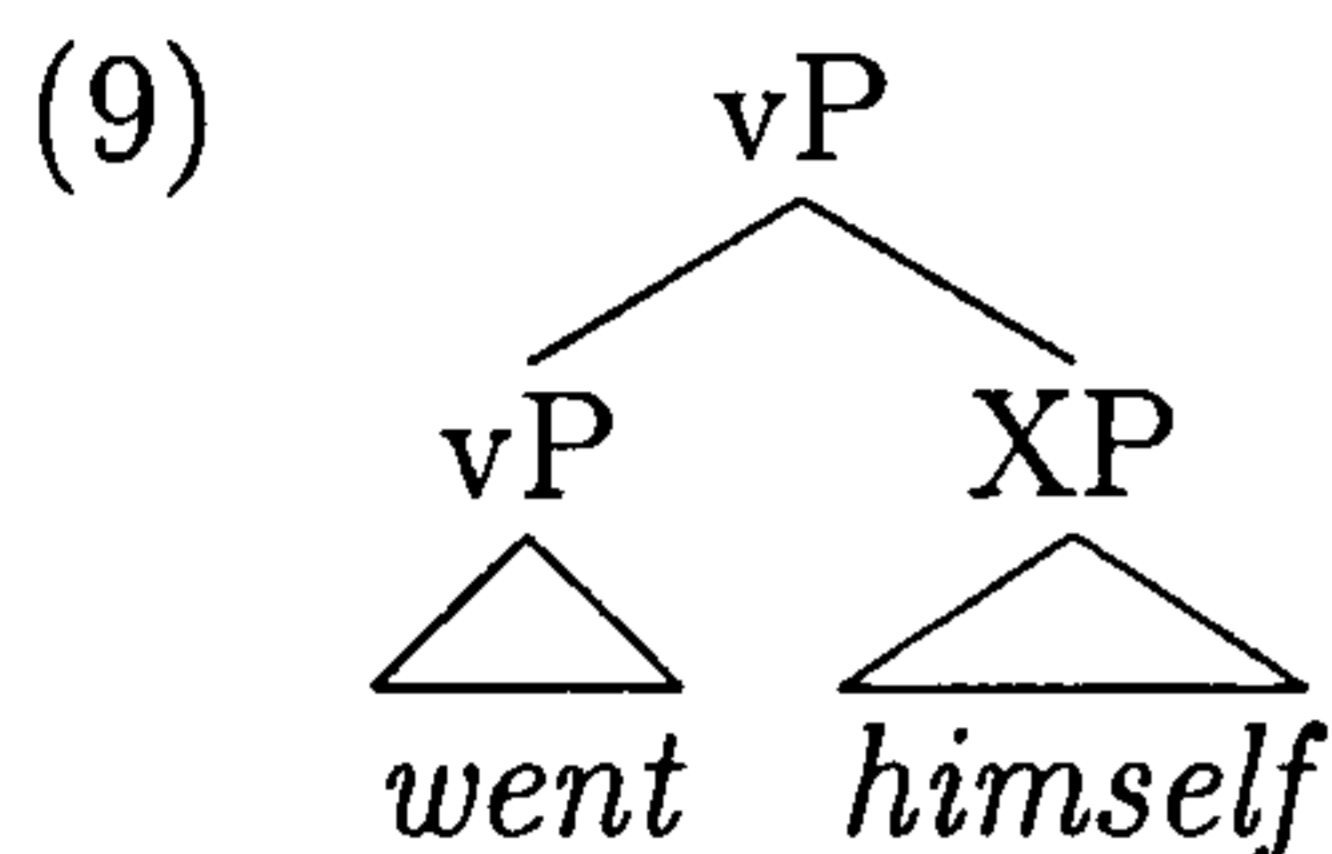
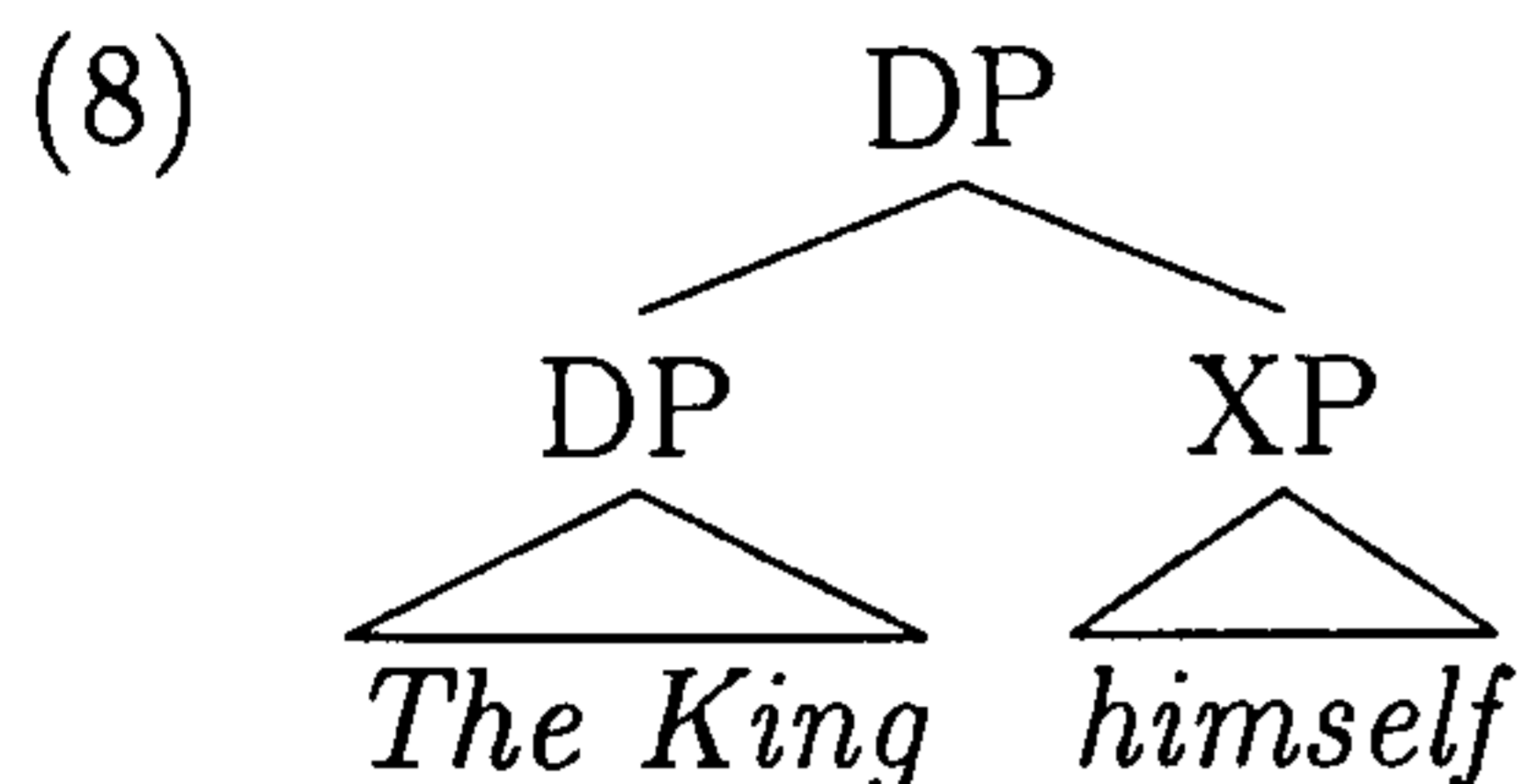
There is some disagreement within the literature concerning whether or not these two different positions mean there are two different types of intensifier, or whether there is simply one intensifier which occurs in different positions due to movement. For example, Moyne (1971); Moravcsik (1972); Leskosky (1972) and Cantrall (1974) suggest adjacent-self can move rightwards to be distant from the DP it intensifies.⁶ However, König (1991); König and Siemund (1999a); Siemund

⁴This position is an argument position and as a non-argument the intensifier is not licensed to appear in it. An *X-self* form in this position is interpreted as the reflexive (X-SELF).

⁵Notice that for an example like (5) this would mean that there are 4 positions in which distant-self occurs: after *may*, *have*, *been* and *flat*.

⁶An alternative account would be to suggest the intensifier is stranded in a similar account to those posited for floating quantifiers.

(2000); Hole (2002); Cohen (2004) and Gast (2004) argue there are two different syntactic positions and therefore two different intensifiers, which differ not only in position but also in meaning. Under their account, the adjacent-self intensifier forms an edocentric expansion of DP as in (8), but distant-self intensifiers attach to the vP/VP like adverbials, as shown in (9).⁷



Within this work I will assume that there are two different types of intensifier, for the following reasons. Firstly, the intensifier in some languages has a different morphological form dependent upon the position in which it occurs (see e.g. Edmondson and Plank 1978; König 1991; McKay 1991; Siemund 2000; Gast 2003). Secondly, more than one intensifier can occur within the same sentence. For such sentences to be derived from movement would require a double headed adjacent form as shown in (10) from Edmondson and Plank (1978: 16).

- (10) a. The president_i himself_i repairs his car himself_i.
 b. * The president_i himself_i himself_i repairs his car.

Finally, it appears that the intensifier appears to have a different meaning in the two different positions.⁸ Evidence for the different meanings comes from negative sentences such as (11) and (12) taken from Gast (2003).

- (11) Max_i himself_i did not mow his lawn, but his brother Bill did.
 (12) Max_i did not mow his lawn himself_i, but his brother Bill did.

Under the sloppy reading of *his* in *his lawn* the meaning of example (11) is that Max's lawn was unmown, but Bill's lawn was mown. However in (12) the meaning of the sentence is different due to the position of the intensifier *himself*. The meaning of this sentence is that Max's lawn was mown but that it was not mown by Max, and Bill's lawn was mown and the mower was Bill.⁹

⁷Since I am not concerned with the part of speech of the intensifier (and there are conflicting accounts within the literature), I simply show the intensifier under the projection XP.

⁸Under the movement account it might be possible to suggest that interpretation is altered by the movement.

⁹For further evidence of a difference in meaning see Gast (2003, 2004) and references cited therein.

Finally, it will be shown below that separating the intensifiers in this way reveals differences in the timing of the change from **self** to **x-self**. Therefore even if adjacent and distant-self are not two different intensifiers, these differences allow us to better understand and explain the pattern of change within the intensifier.

I discuss the meaning, distribution and existing theoretical accounts of these two types of intensifier for PDE in the following two sub-sections. Earlier English data is then compared in §4.3.

4.2.1.1 Adjacent-self

In PDE, adjacent-self can (usually) intensify (i) either a nominal (13a) or pronominal subject (13b), (ii) a nominal object of the verb as in (14a), or (iii) a nominal object of a preposition as in (15a).¹⁰ Intensification of an object pronominal (either as an object of a verb or as an object of a preposition) usually results in ungrammaticality as shown in (14b) and (15b).¹¹

- (13) a. The king_i himself_i will welcome us.
 b. He_i himself_i will welcome us.
- (14) a. I will meet the king_i himself_i on Tuesday.
 b. ??/* I will meet him_i himself_i on Tuesday.
- (15) a. I was given a book by the king_i himself_i.
 b. ??/* I was given a book by him_i himself_i.

Syntactically the intensifier forms a constituent together with the DP it intensifies. This syntactic relation has been described as ‘coreference’ (Cantrall

¹⁰See also e.g. Edmondson and Plank (1978); McKay (1991); Baker (1995); Siemund (2000); Lange (2003); Bergeton (2004).

¹¹The same rule seems to be operative with the reflexive. For examples like (i) and (ii), my informants suggest that the intensifier belongs with the subject and not the reflexive object, meaning the interpretation should be the one of distant-self. This appears to be the case as the intensifier in both cases suggests that the action was carried out by *the king* and no-one else. See the following section for further details of the meaning of distant-self intensifiers.

- (i) The king_i killed himself himself_i.
 (ii) The king_i saw a snake by himself himself_i.

Similar results are reported elsewhere in the literature, with the general assumption being that the reflexive patterns with disjoint objects of verbs and prepositions e.g. see Siemund (2000); Gast (2003), and that whatever accounts for the inability to intensify object pronouns also accounts for the reflexive cases. It seems to me that there is a historical explanation for this distributional fact, which is discussed further in chapter 6.

1974), ‘apposition’ (Hall 1965), ‘ θ -identification’ (Browning 1993), ‘complementation’ (Eckardt 2002; Hole 2002; Gast 2003) and ‘association with a focus’ (König 1991; Primus 1992; Ferro 1993; Siemund 2000). The structure of this form is discussed further in §6.4.¹²

Recent research has sought to identify the restrictions on the properties of the intensified DP (e.g. see Edmondson and Plank 1978; König 1991; König and Siemund 2000a; Siemund 2000; Gast 2003; Cohen 2004). These researchers note that intensifiers are more common with referents of either a high rank in the real world e.g. Royalty and the Deity, or a high rank within the discourse e.g. the lead character in a story. Baker (1995: 80) terms the two factors ‘discourse external’ and ‘discourse internal’, whereas Siemund (2000: 14) terms them ‘situational centres’ and ‘organisational centres’ respectively.

They also note that adjacent-self forms can intensify both singular (16) and plural (17) DPs. However, the plural intensified DP must not consist of two conjoined DPs (18).¹³ The same sentence is grammatical if the pronominal *they* is used and the two individuals have already been established in the discourse (19).

(16) Gandalf_i himself_i cannot be easily destroyed.

(17) The Ringwraiths_i themselves_i cannot be easily destroyed.

(18) # [Frodo and Sam]_i themselves_i cannot be easily destroyed.

(19) They_i themselves_i cannot be easily destroyed.

Edmondson and Plank (1978: 382) note that not all definite DPs can be felicitously intensified and suggest that the important factor is whether an individual is contextually identifiable (specific). Hence (20) is ungrammatical since a specific doctor is not intended (see also McKay 1991; Lange 2003; Bergeton 2004).

(20) * We wanted to call the doctor_i himself_i, but we didn’t know any.

However, Gast (2003: 85) argues that with some additional background, both quantified and indefinite DPs *can* be intensified (see also Siemund 2000: 46-48 and Eckardt 2002: 380). Without context it is difficult to establish the meaning

¹²Within the literature the intensified DP has been termed the ‘focus’, the ‘antecedent’, and the ‘head’. Here I avoid all terms, since each is somewhat misleading - the first in terms of semantics and the latter two with other syntactic uses. Instead, the somewhat awkward term ‘intensified DP’ will be used throughout this thesis.

¹³Here judgements vary. The likely explanation is that for some, *Frodo and Sam* can be seen as a single unit, which can be contrasted with other individuals/groups. However, other speakers want to contrast *Frodo* with *Sam* or do not see them as a single unit, thereby explaining the ungrammaticality of the intensifier for these speakers.

of the intensifier in (21a), since there is no established set of presidents in order to contrast *a president* with, nor is there a set of potential other speech makers from within the existing discourse. However, if this is addressed within the prior discourse, then it is possible to intensify an indefinite DP, as shown in (21b).

- (21) a. */?? I am still hoping a president_i himself_i will come out and make a speech.
- b. The presidents of the EU countries are having a conference. We are waiting for the spokesmen to provide some information about the summit. However, I am still hoping a president_i himself_i will come out and make a speech.

Therefore, it seems that the only restriction on the DP is that its denotation has to be in the propositional background. In other words the DP can be either definite or indefinite, so long as the restriction set is definite.

The requirements on the DP which have been identified all relate to the meaning of the adjacent-self intensifier. Its purpose seems to be to interact with the referential interpretation of that DP and compare it with alternatives. In other words, in an example like (13a) repeated here as (22), the intensifier contrasts the fact that the action will be performed by the king, with the fact that the action could be performed by other people e.g. the servants, the secretary, or the doorman.

- (22) The king_i himself_i will welcome us.

It is this contrast between individuals which has led researchers to suggest that the effect of adjacent-self is roughly paraphrasable as ‘no-one other than’ (König and Siemund 2000a; Siemund 2000; Gast 2003).

Early analyses of adjacent-self intensifiers suggested that they were in fact focus particles which ordered the value of their DP (or: focus) as well as the alternatives which they evoked on a scale of expectancy, making them more or less equivalent to the focus particle *even* (Edmondson and Plank 1978; Primus 1992). Analysing adjacent-self forms as a kind of focus particle explains the following facts about adjacent-self intensifiers (see also Siemund 2000):

- Intensifiers always interact with the focus structure of a sentence.
- Intensifiers can occur more than once in a sentence.
- Intensifiers are homophonous with focus particles in some languages.

However as König (1991) notes, such an analysis is problematic since we would not expect a major focus particle and an intensifier to occur in the same

sentence (23). We would also expect **X-self** and *even* to appear in similar contexts, however this is not the case (24).

- (23) a. Only the president_i himself_i can make this decision.
 b. Even the president_i himself_i can make this decision.
- (24) We do not live in the suburbs anymore.
 a. We live in York_i itself_i.
 b. #/* We even live in York.

Furthermore in PDE, intensifiers must agree with the DP they intensify in terms of ϕ -features e.g. person, number and gender, but this is not the case with focus particles.¹⁴ The examples in (25) are not grammatical because the intensifier and the DP it intensifies do not agree in terms of number (25a), person (26b) and gender (25c).

- (25) a. * I_i ourselves_i gave a speech at the wedding.
 b. * I_i himself_i gave a speech at the wedding.
 c. * She_i himself_i gave a speech at the wedding.

The ϕ -feature agreement is mainly achieved through the pronominal part of **X-self**, but number is also shown on *-self* e.g. *myself* but *ourselves*. This agreement in ϕ -features allows different interpretations to be distinguished in the examples given in (26).

- (26) a. Billy knows [the wife_i of the Mayor of York herself_i].
 b. Billy knows the wife of the [Mayor of York_i himself_i].
 c. Billy knows the wife of the Mayor of [York_i itself_i].

However, since there is no agreement between the DP and the intensifier for Case, not all ambiguity is removed. The example in (26b) is a case in point since it is actually ambiguous between intensifying *The Mayor of York* and *Billy*. If

¹⁴Cross-linguistically not all intensifiers are inflected to agree with the DPs which they intensify e.g. in German the intensifier is *selbst* 'self' regardless of the intensified DP, as shown in examples (i)-(ii).

- (i) Ich_i selbst_i liebe Schokolade.
 I self love chocolate.
 'I myself love chocolate.'
- (ii) Ivan_i selbst_i liebt Schokolade.
 Ivan self loves chocolate.
 'Ivan himself loves chocolate.'

the former, the interpretation is the one of adjacent-self, but if the latter then the interpretation is one of distant-self.

Finally, whilst the scale of 'expectancy' captures much of the data, it crucially does not capture all of it (see König and Siemund 1999a,c; Siemund 2000). For example it is neither remarkable nor unexpected that there would be a captain of an aircraft in example (27)

- (27) The copilot fainted in view of the oncoming aircraft. The captain_i himself_i remained calm and composed.

Drawing on these earlier works, König and Siemund (1999a, 2000a) and subsequent, take intensifiers to essentially be focus particles which assign a specific property; they characterise the referent of their DP as being central and oppose it to alternative values that are peripheral with regard to that central value. That is to say that adjacent-self forms (which they term adnominal intensifiers) (i) evoke alternatives (Baker's 1995 'contrastiveness condition') and (ii) structure into sets (Baker's 1995 'discourse prominence condition'). This allows them to draw up the following list of contexts in which adjacent-self intensifiers occur:

- (28) Adnominal intensifiers structure a set into a central element (X) and a peripheral elements (Y) when:
- X has a higher position than Y in a hierarchy
 - X is more significant than Y in a specific situation
 - Y is defined in terms of X
 - X is the centre of perspective (logophoricity)

I exemplify each of these contexts in examples (29) - (32) taken from König and Siemund (2000a).

- (29) The Queen_i herself_i will welcome us.

- (30) The passengers were unhurt in the accident. The driver_i himself_i was killed.

- (31) Helen's husband looks after the children. Helen_i herself_i works in a hospital.

- (32) He was not particularly tall, a little taller than Barbz_i herself_i perhaps, but...

In (29) *the Queen* is (X) and the peripheral elements (Y) are alternative individuals who are in some way related to the Queen e.g. the secretary of the

Queen, or the Queen's doorman. Each of these alternative individuals would be ranked lower than the Queen on a scale of the importance of these individuals within society (hierarchy). Compare this to (33) which is pragmatically odd without further context:

(33) # The doorman_i himself_i will welcome us.

In (33) *the doorman* in this case would be the centre (X). We might suppose alternatives (Y) may be the doorman's employer (i.e. the queen) and other employees (e.g. the cook, or the secretary). Since *the doorman* is of a lower social rank than his employer it is semantically odd to focus him with respect to her unless further context is given within the discourse. Usually this requires there to be a contrast with respect to some kind of expectation, often related to the behaviour that is expected of specific individuals within a society. For example in (34), the expectation would normally be that a doorman's uniform is chosen by his employer, or dictated by previous tradition.

(34) The doorman_i himself_i should choose his uniform.

Since the doorman is of equal rank to the other employees such as the cook, it is semantically odd to establish a centre/periphery relationship as there is no obvious 'centre'. Therefore whilst informants agree that (35a) is grammatical, they suggest that (35b) is at best questionable.

- (35) a. The Queen_i herself_i will cook the dinner (i.e. rather than the cook).
 b. # The doorman_i himself_i will cook the dinner (i.e. rather than the cook).

Semantically we can capture this idea by further considering the relationship between the centre and the periphery. Gast (2003, 2004) has argued that intensifiers express nothing but the identity function (ID), which takes a given nominal as its argument and maps it onto itself e.g. $ID(x) = x$. So for example in (35a) the function would be $ID(\text{The Queen}) = \text{Queen}$.

This truth-conditionally trivial expression can only be made relevant through focussing; hence the evocation of alternatives. These alternatives also take the intensified DP as an argument, but map it onto some other value e.g. $THE\ COOK\ OF(\text{The Queen}) = \text{'The Queen's cook'}$. This captures the notion that the alternatives must be related to the intensified DP.

In (35b) the problem is that it is hard to construe a relationship along similar lines for individuals of the same rank e.g. $THE\ COOK\ OF(\text{the doorman}) = \text{The doorman's cook}$. These examples are ones where the periphery and centre are built from our expectations about the world (that royalty would have cooks,

secretaries and doormen, but doormen would not have cooks or secretaries). It is possible to establish the same relationship within the discourse, especially within certain syntactic configurations (co-ordinations and comparisons).

In (30), as the person in control of the vehicle the driver (X) is more significant than the passengers (Y). Thus a contrast is established between the person in control and those not in control. In terms of the theory advanced above this would mean the following:

- (36) ID(the driver) = the driver (centre)
 THE PASSENGERS OF(the driver) = the driver's passengers (periphery)

The contrast does not appear to be one of life and death; compare (30) repeated here as (37) with (38):¹⁵

- (37) The passengers were unhurt in the accident. The driver_i himself_i was killed.
- (38) a. # The driver was unhurt in the accident. The passenger_i himself_i was killed.
 b. # The driver was unhurt in the accident. The passengers_i themselves_i were killed.

Rather it seems that it is related to the idea of the centre and periphery. It seems pragmatically odd to have the passengers as the centre and the driver as the periphery, in a context of driving.

- (39) ID(the passenger) = the passenger (centre)
 THE DRIVER OF(the passenger) = the passenger's driver (periphery)

In examples of the type like (31) the centre and periphery relationship is established by virtue of the fact that one individual is defined with respect to the other. So in (31) the person looking after the children (Y) is defined relative to (X). This follows straightforwardly from Gast's semantic analysis, since this is simply the centre ID(Helen) and the periphery HUSBAND OF(Helen).

However example (32) is less straightforwardly captured by this theory. In such examples the intensifier is used to establish the centre of perspective. Therefore the periphery (Y) in this case is an unnamed individual who is defined in terms of (X).

¹⁵Speaker judgements again vary. All speakers consulted suggested that the sentence in (30)/(37) was better than those in (38), but some allowed both of the examples in (38), arguing that they could contrast *the passenger* and *the driver*. The key notion is that there must be some kind of contrast or ordering.

4.2.1.2 Summary of adjacent-self forms

In order for the adjacent-self intensifier to be licensed it seems that the DP to be intensified must be uniquely identifiable and must be able to contrast with other expressions within the context. It is likely that these two ideas are ‘intimately connected’ (Siemund 2000: 170) and it may be possible to derive the former from the latter. Whether this ‘contrast’ is, as König and Siemund (1999a, 2000b,a) suggest, really one of the centre versus the periphery is perhaps more a terminological question. Certainly from this ‘contrast’ we are able to establish why persons of high rank or discourse prominence are likely to appear with intensifiers; they are naturally elements which are central and therefore it is easy to evoke sufficient alternatives to contrast them to. Therefore whilst it may well prove to be the case that such factors are simply context-dependent and not essential in establishing intensification, they are more often present than not when intensification is evident.

4.2.1.3 Distant-self

Distant-self occurs at a distance from the DP it intensifies (40)-(41), which in these constructions is always the subject (42).

- (40) Ivan_i repaired the computer himself_i.
(41) Barbz_i is a bit short of money herself_i.
(42) a. Michael_i will give June_j the game himself_i.
b. * Michael_i will give June_j the game herself_j.

It is not possible to analyse **X-self** as forming a constituent with the object *the computer* in (40) or *money* in (41) because as we saw in the previous section PDE intensifiers must agree with the DP it intensifies in terms of ϕ -features. In order to intensify *the computer* or *money* the **X-self** form would therefore need to be *itself*, and of the adjacent-self type.

Two different interpretations for distant-self have been identified in the literature. The first is that distant-self excludes the possibility that the action under discussion was carried out by someone other than the subject referent (i.e. one of the evoked alternatives). For example, in (40), the interpretation is that Ivan repaired his computer alone and no-one helped him i.e. his computer was not repaired by a computer technician, his mum or anyone else. In addition there is a presupposition that even if Ivan is not the agent, he still stands in some thematic relation to it (e.g. beneficiary, causer). These relations hold under negation (43).

(43) Ivan_i did not repair his computer himself_i.

The meaning of this is such that whilst Ivan did not repair the computer himself, he either caused the computer to be repaired (e.g. we might add *...but he took it to the computer technician*), or that he in some way benefitted from the repair (e.g. *...but he's delighted that it's working again*).

The second interpretation of distant-self differs from the first in that rather than excluding others from the alternatives, it includes the subject referent within the set of alternatives. In other words, in an example like (41) the interpretation is such that Barbz is a member of the set of individuals who are 'a bit short of cash'. We might therefore suggest that a paraphrase for this use of the intensifier would be 'also' or 'too'.

A wide-variety of terms are used within the literature to describe distant-self. Most do not distinguish between the two types, calling both of them things like 'agentive intensifiers' (Kemmer 1995; Hole 2002), 'predicate emphasisers' (Driven 1973), 'head-distant intensifiers' (Gast 2003), and 'non-head bound intensifiers' (Edmondson and Plank 1978). Those who do distinguish the two types call type (40) 'adverbial exclusive intensifiers' (König and Siemund 1999b, 2000a,b) or 'actor oriented intensifiers' (Gast and Siemund 2002), and the type (41) 'adverbial inclusive intensifier' (König and Siemund 1999c, 2000a,b) or 'agent orientated intensifiers' (Gast and Siemund 2002).

In discussing the historical data, I will not distinguish between these two different types of distant-self, since in the absence of speaker judgements it is impossible to be certain of a difference in semantics and syntactic positions are not clear enough to be able to distinguish these two types, whereas in the majority of cases there is sufficient evidence to distinguish between adjacent-self and distant-self.

The intensified DP subject of distant-self can either be singular (44) or plural (45), pronominal (44a, 45a) or nominal (44b, 45b). Unlike adjacent-self forms the plural subject can be a conjoined DP (45c).

(44) a. He_i will paint the flat himself_i.

b. Ivan_i will paint the flat himself_i.

(45) a. They_i will paint the flat themselves_i.

b. The boys_i will paint the flat themselves_i.

c. Ivan and Paul_i will paint the flat themselves_i.

Researchers suggest that distant-self is more liberal with regard to the referential properties of the DP it intensifies, than the adjacent-self intensifier is with the DP it intensifies (see Moravcsik 1972; Siemund 2000; Lange 2003).

It allows all the referents which adjacent-self intensifiers allow, plus indefinites which have not been introduced into the propositional background, as shown in (46) from Moravcsik (1972: 274). Quantified subjects and even wh-words are also licensed.

- (46) a. An engineer_i should know this himself_i.
b. # An engineer_i himself_i should know this.

However, unlike adjacent-self forms they are semantically/pragmatically odd with inanimate subjects, as shown in the following examples:

- (47) The gardens are quite ugly, but the minster_i itself_i is not.
(48) My hamster_i opened the fridge door herself_i.
(49) # The wind_i opened the fridge door itself_i.

Many researchers have tried to derive the meaning of the distant-self forms from the adjacent-self forms. Siemund (2000: 254) relates their meaning to the notion of centre and periphery thus:

- (50) [Distant-self] intensifiers structure a set of possible agents in a situation (S) into a central agent (X) and oppose it to peripheral agents (Y). Instances of centrality in a situation:
- X is responsible for [a situation] S.
 - X is the beneficiary of S.
 - X is the maleficiary of S.

In other words the idea is that the agent is contrasted to a set of possible other agents within a particular situation. A more technical definition of the same idea is provided in Gast and Siemund (to appear: 14):

- (51) ... are used to relate a proposition π to a set of alternative propositions $R = \{p_1, p_2 \dots p_n\}$ in such a way that:
- a. in the alternative propositions p_i , the actor-role is assigned to some individual (Y) other than the referent (X) of the associated DP, and
 - b. X has a different thematic role in the alternative propositions, e.g. that of an external causer or beneficiary

4.2.2 Conclusion

From the above empirical and theoretical discussion, the following conclusions about PDE can be drawn:

- Variation in syntactic position correlates with a difference in meaning. The adjacent-self forms evoke alternative referents, but the distant-self forms evoke alternative propositions.
- The intensifier is inflected to agree with the DP which it intensifies.
- The requirements on the intensified DP vary depending on:
 - (i) syntactic position (object adjacent-self forms are dispreferred and barred when pronominal)
 - (ii) intensifier type (distant-self forms are more liberal in allowing indefinite and quantified DPs to be the DP which it intensifies).
- With both types some kind of contrast (centre/periphery) is required.

4.3 The distribution of intensifiers in English

The purpose of this section is to provide an inventory of intensifiers in the history of English. By examining *where* and *when* intensifiers occur in earlier stages of English, light can be shed not only on questions pertaining to the development of intensifiers themselves, but also on those concerning the development and distribution of the reflexive form.

Since the data discussed here is historical, the various tests used within the literature to distinguish between these two types are unavailable in the absence of speaker judgements for both syntax and semantics (see e.g. Cohen (2004); Gast (2004) and the references therein). Furthermore, since OE word order is much freer than PDE it is harder to distinguish the precise syntactic position of *self* (see also Lange 2003 for further discussion of this problem). It is, however, possible to make a distinction between ‘adjacent-self’ (52) and ‘distant-self’ intensifiers (53) for all three periods (OE, ME and EMODE. See also Golde 1999a,b,c).

- (52) a. And he_i sylf_i ferde afyrht of þære byrig.
And he_i self_i went frightened from the city.
‘And he himself went from the city frightened.’
(OE, coelive,+ALS_[Martin]:1174.6749)

- b. Pat I_i my-self_i moste gon wiþ 3ow wiþ al my power into
That I_i myself_i must go with you with all my power into
Britaigne.
Britain.
'That I myself must go with you with all my power into Britain.'
(ME, CMBRUT3,62.1858)
- c. And at the priorie of St. Jilles, wher he_i himsel_i was first a scoller,
ther became he a scolmaster,
(EMODE, FORMAN-E2-H,11.250)
- (53) a. And he_i eode syf_i ut mid þam scinendan reafe.
And he_i went self_i out with the shining armour.
'And he went out himself with shining armour.'
(OE, coaelive,+ALS_[Martin]809.6482)
- b. And than he_i answerd hymself_i
(ME, CMMALORY,632.3712)
- c. I_i wold spend my selfe_i a shilling to haue him swinged well.
(EMODE, STEVENSO-E1-P2,48.222)

Lange (2003: 123-125) argues that this syntactic distinction cannot be made for OE. She provides examples of **self** adjacent to the DP which it intensifies, which she analyses as having one of the distant-self interpretations. However, for each of the examples she provides, it is possible to analyse them with an adjacent-self interpretation.

Moreover, whilst she argues that the meanings are available, she suggests that there are not sufficient numbers of **self** occurring separate from the DP it intensifies for there to be a syntactic differentiation in OE. Rather, she suggests on the basis of scanning through PPCME2 that this differentiation first occurs in ME. Below I provide quantitative evidence that there is no significant change between OE and ME in this respect. There is, however, as Lange suggests, an increase in the relative frequency of distant-self intensifiers which starts in the middle of the ME period and continues throughout the EMODE period. I provide an account for this difference below.

The section begins with a broad examination of the OE intensifier **self** and seeks to isolate the contexts in which we can be certain of intensification but not reflexivisation. This is a necessary distinction if we are to be able to examine the impact of the two on each other.

In subsequent sub-sections, I trace the development of these 'pure' intensifiers through the four electronic corpora.¹⁶ This provides empirical support

¹⁶For details of the corpora see §1.5.1 and Appendices A-D.

for the theoretical account advanced in the previous section. Furthermore, it allows a list of contexts in which intensifiers typically occur to be established. These properties are then used in chapter 5 to establish whether or not intensification is present in forms which are ambiguous between purely reflexive or reflexive+intensifier.

4.3.1 Types of *self* in Old English

In OE *self* is declined as an adjective (e.g. Penning 1875; Farr 1905; Visser 1963; Mitchell 1979, 1985; Ogura 1988; Keenan 2002, 2003).¹⁷ Weak (or definite) inflection occurs when the head noun is accompanied by a definite article, otherwise the strong (or indefinite) inflection is required. Since inflectional endings will play some part in the subsequent discussion, the different forms of *self* provided earlier in §2.2.2 are repeated here in Table 4.1.

Strong (indefinite)						
	Singular			Plural		
	Masc	Fem	Neut	Masc	Fem	Neut
Nom	self	self	self	selfe	selfa	self
Acc	selfne	selfe	self	selfe	selfa	self
Gen	selfes	selfre	selfes	selfra	selfra	selfra
Dat	selfum	selfre	selfum	selfum	selfum	selfum
Weak (definite)						
	Singular			Plural		
	Masc	Fem	Neut	Masc	Fem	Neut
Nom	selfa	selfe	selfe	selfan	selfan	selfan
Acc	selfan	selfan	selfe	selfan	selfan	selfan
Gen	selfan	selfan	selfan	selfra	selfra	selfra
Dat	selfan	selfan	selfan	selfum	selfum	selfum

Table 4.1: The paradigm of the adjectival inflection of *self* in OE.

The word *self* occurs in a variety of other syntactic positions in OE (and beyond) which differ from the use under consideration here. Since my purpose here is only to detail the distribution and development of *self* in relation to the reflexive, other constructions discussed within the literature are excluded (see Visser 1963; Mitchell 1985; Ogura 1988, 1989a,b; Lange 2003). They are: the attributive use of *self* as in (54), where *self* functions like PDE *own*, constructions in which *self* is modified by *own* as in (55) and uses where ‘self’ occurs between

¹⁷I am not concerned with the actual syntactic category of intensifiers but rather their development.

the determiner and noun with a meaning like PDE *same* or *very* as in (56). Examples occurring in complex DPs e.g. [*Ivan, Jo and myself*] played *Mario Kart* are also excluded. Examples like (57) where **X-self** is in a subject-like position are also excluded since their status is uncertain. They are discussed in §6.4.

- (54) Swa þonne nu mid him byrnan sceolan þa þe heora *sylfra* saula
 As then now with them burn should who their own souls
 forhycggaþ for feos lufan, & unrihtgestreon lufiaþ.
 reject for riches love and unrighteous gain love.
 ‘As now should burn with them, those who reject their own souls for love
 of riches and who love unrighteous gain.’
 (coblick,HomS_17_[BIHom_5]:63.142.765)
- (55) The Prynce was jugge ys owne *sylfe*.
 The prince was judge his own self.
 ‘The prince was the judge his own self’
 or: ‘The prince was the judge himself.’
 (CMGREGOR,212.1948)
- (56) As ofte as I sey ’alle þe creatures þat euer ben maad’, as ofte I
 As often as I say ‘all the creatures that ever been made’, as often I
 mene, not only þe *self* creatures, bot also alle þe werkes and þe
 mean, not only the very creatures, but also all the works and the
 condicions of þe same creatures.
 conditions of the same creatures.
 ‘Whenever I say ‘all the creatures that have ever been made’, I mean not
 only the very creatures, but also all of the works and conditions of the
 same creatures.’
 (CMCLOUD,24.170)
- (57) And vpon þat same he shall sytte at the day of doom right as *him*
 And upon that same he shall sit at the day of Doom right as him
self seyde.
 self said.
 ‘And upon that same throne he shall sit on the day of judgement just as
 he (himself) said.’
 (CMMANDEV 65, 1615)

The remaining uses of *self*, are divided into two broad types on the basis of meaning, syntactic position, cross-linguistic/typological data and the theoretical account provided in the preceding section: (i) adjacent-self and (ii) distant-self. Within these broad groups there are several subtypes which I illustrate with examples from YCOE.

Type 1 : Adjacent-self intensifiers

In OE adjacent-self constructions, **self** may occur adjacent to either the subject (58) or the object (59). The latter may usefully be broken into objects of the verbs e.g. (59a) and objects of prepositions (59b).

(58) Type 1a - Subject adjacent-self

a. *Nominal*

And Crist_i sylf_i þonne bið him eallum ælc ðing,
and Christ_i self_i then be him all each thing,

‘And Christ himself is all things for all of them.’

(coaelhom,+AHom_11:558.1782)

b. *Pronominal*

Se Hælend him sæde þæt þæt he_i sylf_i wiste.
The Lord him said that that he_i self_i knew.

‘The Lord said to him that he himself knew that.’

(coaelhom,+AHom_13:178.1968)

(59) Type 1b - Object adjacent-self

a. *Nominal - Object of the verb (OBJV)*

Hy fortredon mid teonfullum þeawum, and God_i sylfne_i
They trampled with harmful customs, and God_i self_i
forseon...
rejected...

‘They trampled with harmful customs, and rejected God himself...’

(coaelhom,+AHom_15:101.2189)

b. *Nominal - Object of a preposition (OBJP)*

And eft, þa þa hi comon to Criste_i sylfum_i...
And after, when they came to Christ_i self_i...

‘And afterwards when, they came to Christ himself...’

(coaelhom,+AHom_5:279.854)

c. *Disjoint Pronoun - OBJV*

For ðan þe hi hæfdon hine_i sylfne_i mid heom,...
Because they had him_i self_i with them,...

‘Because they had him himself with them,...

(coaelhom,+AHom_8:159.1248)

d. *Disjoint Pronoun - OBJP*

Ealle þa synna þe we her wyrceað, ealle hi beoð eft on us;
All the sins which we here perform, all they be after in us;
sylfum_i gesewene & geopenode,...
self_i seen and opened,...

‘All the sins which we perform here will afterwards be visible and evident in ourselves,...’

(coaelhom,+AHom_28:121.4069)

e. *Coreferential Argument Pronoun - OBJV*

Ond se cwellere sona hine_i selfne_i ofslog mid ðy ilcan
And the killer immediately him_i self_i slew with the same
sweorde.
sword.

‘And the killer immediately slew himself with the same sword.’

(comart3,Mart_5_[Kotzor]Jy7,B.45.1117)

f. *Coreferential Argument Pronoun - OBJP*

Ac se ylca Drihten dyde þæt þurh hi, swa swa he dyde
But the same Lord did that through them, just as he did
ær þurh hyne_i sylfne_i on hys andweardnysse.
before through him_i self_i in his presentness.

‘But the same Lord did that through them, just as he did before through himself in his presentness.’

(coaelhom,+AHom_6:324.1028)

Type 2: Distant-self intensifiers

In OE, distant-self intensifiers occur either inside or outside the VP/vP. **Self** is nominative/uninflected and therefore the subject is unambiguously the element which **self** intensifies, since the intensified DP and the intensifier must agree for Case. Like its PDE counterpart, it additionally interacts with the predicate meaning and emphasises that this action was carried out by the subject referent and no-one else. In order to answer questions concerning the development of both X-SELF and X-self, I divide these into two types: uninflected **self** next to a coreferential pronoun (60) and uninflected **self** which does not occur adjacent to a coreferential pronoun (61).

(60) **Type 2a - Distant-self adjacent to a Coreferential Pronoun**

Pa se ilcā Totilla_i eode him self_i...
 Then the same Totilla_i went him self_i...

‘Then the same Totilla went himself.’

(cogregdC,GD_2_[C]:14.132.9.1278)

(61) **Type 2b - Distant-self without a Coreferential Pronoun**

He_i æt þa sylf_i.
 He_i ate then self_i.

‘He himself then ate.’

or: ‘He ate then himself.’

(coaelhom,+AHom_7:136.1122)

In each case of Type 2a, the coreferential pronominal is not an argument of the verb, but rather one of the pleonastic pronouns which were identified and excluded from the overall distribution of the reflexives in §2.3.5.1.

Recall that in §2.3.5.1 I claimed that pleonastics never occur with **self**. Comparison of the argument co-referential pronoun (59e) and the non-argument coreferential pronoun (60) shows that it is only in the former that **self** is inflected to agree with the reflexive. In the latter it is inflected to agree with the subject. This marks the two constructions as being sufficiently different with respect to the intensifier.¹⁸

The distribution of the different types of **self** is provided in Table 4.2.

	Adjacent-self				Distant-self				Total
	Subject (1a)		Object (1b)		Pleo. (2a)		Non-Pleo. (2b)		
Period	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	
OE1	169	27.5	348	56.6	39	6.3	59	9.6	615
OE2	740	38.7	986	51.6	97	5.1	87	4.6	1910
OE3	252	40.0	283	44.9	48	7.6	47	7.5	630
Total	1161	36.8	1617	51.3	184	5.8	193	6.1	3155

Table 4.2: The distribution of the different types of **self** in the YCOE. Data divided by type of intensifier.

Table 4.2 shows that overwhelmingly **self** is used adjacent to the DP it intensifies (88.1% of cases (2778/3155)). Distant-self is much less common, accounting for only 11.9% (377/3155) of attested examples. The table also shows

¹⁸§2.3.5.1 also suggested other differences; namely (i) pleonastics are non-arguments whereas reflexives are arguments, (ii) pleonastics cannot occur as the objects of prepositions unlike reflexive pronouns, and (iii) pleonastic forms vary between \emptyset and HIM, whereas the reflexive varies between X-SELF and HIM.

that for the whole OE period **self** is more frequently adjacent to an object, than a subject (51.3% versus 36.8%). However, the OE sub-periods provide evidence to suggest that the frequency of subject adjacent forms is increasing (27.5 - 38.7 - 40.0) and frequency of the object adjacent forms is decreasing (56.6 - 51.6 - 44.9). Comparison of the distant-self forms suggests that they occur adjacent to a coreferential pronoun approximately half of the time. There does not appear to be evidence for an increase or decline in either of the Type 2 constructions.

However, dividing the data in the manner of Table 4.2 fails to reveal any tendency that there might be for locally bound pronominals and intensifiers to occur adjacent to one another. Recall that locally bound pronominals occur in two construction types: pleonastic constructions and reflexive constructions. A sub-set of pleonastic forms occur adjacent to **self** and make up all of the examples of Type 2a.¹⁹ A sub-set of the reflexive constructions occur adjacent to **self** which is inflected to agree with the reflexive. Such constructions are a sub-set of the examples classified as Type 1b in Table 4.2.

There are two ways in which to reclassify the data in order to reveal any tendency for reflexives and intensifiers to co-occur. The first is to divide all of the data from Table 4.2 by whether or not the intensifier occurs adjacent to a reflexive. This classification is shown in Table 4.3.

	Bound pronominal				No bound pronominal					
	RFL (1b)		Pleo (2a)		Subject (1a)		Object (1b)		Distant (2b)	
Period	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
OE1	314	51.1	39	6.3	169	27.5	34	5.5	59	9.6
OE2	814	42.6	97	5.1	740	38.7	172	9.1	87	4.6
OE3	195	31.0	48	7.6	252	40.0	88	14.0	47	7.5
Total	1323	41.9	184	5.8	1161	36.8	294	9.3	193	6.1

Table 4.3: The distribution of the different types of **self** in the YCOE. Data divided into intensifiers adjacent to a locally bound pronominal and those which are not.

Table 4.3 shows that in almost half of the occurrences of the intensifier **self** in the YCOE, **self** is adjacent to a locally bound pronominal (1507/3155 = 47.8%). This suggests there is a strong link between reflexivity and intensification. Of the 1507 examples where the intensifier and a locally bound pronoun co-occur, 87.8% (1323/1507) are reflexive constructions, which means that in the majority of cases **self** agrees with the locally bound pronoun. Conversely, 12.2% are pleonastic constructions, where **self** does not agree with the locally bound

¹⁹See chapter 2 for details of the frequency of pleonastic and reflexive constructions, with and without an adjacent **self**.

pronominal, but the subject.

The alternative classification is to compare the frequency of locally bound pronominal versus non-locally bound elements (\emptyset , DP or pronoun) within a particular construction type (i.e. within object adjacent-self constructions and within distant-self constructions). This classification is provided in Table 4.4.

Period	RFL (1b)	non-RFL (1b)	%	Pleo (2a)	Non-Pleo (2b)	%
OE1	314	34	90.2	39	59	39.8
OE2	814	172	82.6	97	87	52.7
OE3	195	88	68.9	48	47	50.5
Total	1323	294	81.8	184	193	48.8

Table 4.4: The distribution of the different types of **self** in the YCOE. Data divided to compare those intensifiers adjacent to a locally bound pronominal and those which are not.

Table 4.4 shows that in the case of object adjacent-self constructions, it is overwhelmingly reflexive objects which are intensified with an overall percentage of 81.8%. The remaining 18.2% (294/1617) of examples comprise both nominal and pronominals as the intensified DP. The frequency of nominal versus pronominal in such contexts is discussed further below.

It seems likely that constructions (or a sub-set thereof) where a locally bound pronominal and **self** co-occur are the origin of the complex intensifier (**X-self**) and the complex reflexive (**X-SELF**).²⁰ It is particularly difficult for the modern reader to ascertain whether **self** in reflexive object adjacent-self constructions is purely an intensifier (Ogura 1989a) or whether occasionally it was simply part of the reflexive (van Gelderen 2000), since there is little doubt that in the course of the history of the language it started as the former and is now used as the latter and that at some point during this development the intensification reading of the self-component was lost.

This problem is even more evident for later stages of English, where increasingly **self** is fused to an adjacent pronoun as the complex reflexive develops. Unfortunately since spelling was not standardised such fusion cannot be used as a gauge for the meaning or status of the form i.e. it is not necessarily the case that *himself* is simply a reflexive but *him self* is still reflexive + intensifier.

One way to establish whether or not intensification is (still) involved in such examples is to establish a series of contexts/factors in which intensification alone is licensed and empirically test whether these factors are also present in such ambiguous examples. Since it is my purpose in this chapter to establish the

²⁰Of course, the origin of the two forms does not have to be identical. The development of the two forms is discussed and compared in chapter 6.

former and in chapter 5 to perform the latter, examples including coreferential pronouns (both reflexive and pleonastic) are *excluded* from the remainder of this chapter.²¹ I will call the remaining intensifiers ‘non-reflexive’ intensifiers.

4.3.2 Overall distribution of ‘non-reflexive’ intensifiers in Old English, Middle English and Early Modern English

The discussion starts with the overall distributions of the three remaining subtypes (1a, (some of) 1b, and 2b) in the three periods (OE, ME and EMODE). The variation and change within each period is then detailed further in §4.3.3 for adjacent-self forms and §4.3.4 for distant-self forms.

The construction types under consideration are exemplified in (62)-(64). Tables 4.5 - 4.7 provide the frequency for each of these types for OE,²² ME, and EMODE respectively.

- (62) a. And Crist_i sylf_i þonne bið him eallum ælc ðing,
and Christ_i self_i then be him all each thing,
‘And Christ himself is all things for all of them.’
(OE, coaelhom,+AHom_11:558.1782)
- b. And kynge Pellam_i hymself_i arose up fersely.
And king Pellam_i himself_i arose up fiercely.
‘And king Pellam himself arose fiercely.’
(ME, CMMALORY,64.2140)
- c. The witches_i themselves_i haue confessed thus much.
(EMODE, GIFFORD-E2-P1,C3V.114)
- (63) a. Hy fortredon mid teonfullum þeawum, and God_i sylfne_i
They trampled with harmful customs, and God_i self_i
forseon...
rejected...
‘They trampled with harmful customs, and rejected God himself...’
(OE, coaelhom,+AHom_15:101.2189)
- b. & þei wold puttyn schirtys þerup-on & kyssyn it as
And they would put shirts there-upon and kiss it as
þei it had ben God_i hym-selfe_i.
though it had been God_i him-self_i.

²¹Type 2a constructions (pleonastics) are excluded because even though I do not consider them reflexive, they are co-referential and this may interfere with the findings.

²²11 examples included in the figures for OE Type 1b actually occur separated from the intensified DP. Each of these examples has an impersonal verb, where the object pronominal occurs in a subject-like position.

‘And they would there-upon put shirts and kiss it as though it was God himself.’

(ME, CMKEMPE,77.1752)

- c. And can slide a goat by himselfe, as Leonard did, fall out, curse, sweare, and batter heauen; itselfe; with humour of folly.

(EMODE, ARMIN-E2-P2,33.131)

- (64) a. And he; eode syf; ut mid þam scinendan reafe,
And he went self out with the shining armour,
‘And he went out himself with shining armour.’

(coelive,+ALS_[Martin]809.6482)

- b. And kynge Arthure; seyde hymself; they were the doughtyeste knyghtes that ever he sawe

(ME, CMMALORY,57.1903)

- c. In Northumberland, Ethelred; having caus’d three of his Nobles, Aldwulf, Kinwulf, and Ecca, treacherously to be slain by two other Peers, was himself; the next year driv’n into banishment,

(EMODE, MILTON-E3-P2,X,185.127)

Period	Type 1a		Type 1b		Type 2b		Total
	N	%	N	%	N	%	
OE1	169	64.5	34	13.0	59	22.5	262
OE2	740	74.1	172	17.2	87	8.7	999
OE3	252	65.1	88	22.7	47	12.1	387
Total	1161	70.4	294	17.8	193	11.7	1648
Poetry	47	40.9	32	27.8	36	31.3	115

Table 4.5: The distribution of ‘non-reflexive’ intensifiers in OE from the YCOE and the YPC.

Period	Type 1a		Type 1b		Type 2b		Total
	N	%	N	%	N	%	
ME1	49	58.3	12	14.3	23	27.4	84
ME2	4	80.0	0	0	1	20.0	5
ME3	61	54.0	22	19.5	30	26.5	113
ME4	35	37.6	10	10.8	48	51.6	93
Total	149	50.5	44	14.9	102	34.6	295

Table 4.6: The distribution of ‘non-reflexive’ intensifiers in ME from the PPCME2.

Period	Type 1a		Type 1b		Type 2b		Total
	N	%	N	%	N	%	
EMODE1	69	35.9	26	13.5	97	50.5	192
EMODE2	131	46.5	44	15.6	107	37.9	282
EMODE3	63	33.2	51	26.8	76	40.0	190
Total	263	39.6	121	18.2	280	42.2	664

Table 4.7: The distribution of ‘non-reflexive’ intensifiers in MODE from the PPCEME.

Table 4.5 shows that OE intensifiers differ in their distribution depending on whether or not they are in poetry or in prose. This difference most likely comes from poetic conventions, namely the requirements of alliteration. I will discuss this further in the following section. All texts in the ME and EMODE corpora are prose texts,²³ meaning this difference cannot be tested for these later periods.

Type 1a (Subject adjacent-self) intensifiers are the most frequent type in OE, but proportionately to the other types of intensifier they decline throughout the history of English as can be seen by the overall percentages for each period (70.4 – 50.5 – 39.6). The decline in Type 1a intensifiers corresponds to an increase in Type 2b (non-pleonastic distant-self), the percentages being 11.7 – 34.6 – 42.2.²⁴

The increase in Type 2b occurs most sharply between ME3 and ME4; until ME4 Type 2b intensifiers had consistently accounted for around 25% of intensifier uses but in ME4 this percentage increases to 51%. This increase is maintained into the EMODE period, although subsequently there is a slight decline.

The form and distribution of each of the different intensifier types is discussed in the following sub-sections.

4.3.3 Properties of adjacent-self

4.3.3.1 Form and position

Throughout English, the adjacent-self intensifier usually appears immediately to the *right* of the intensified DP and when inflected (OE, eME), the inflection is

²³There is in fact one poetic text in the PPCME2 (*The Ormulum*), which has been excluded from these figures.

²⁴Note that there is some difficulty with this division since some of the PPCME2 and the PPCEME examples occur with pleonastic taking verbs, but since they comprise a complex intensifier the intensifier no longer occurs adjacent to a pleonastic form. In fact, following the creation of the complex-intensifier the excluded Type 1a disappears. This may explain some of the increase in Type 2b constructions. For further discussion of this issue, see §6.4.

strong. Example (65) is from OE poetry, (66) from OE prose, (67) from ME and (68) from EMODE.

- (65) Secge ic þe to soðe, sunu Ecglafes, þæt næfre Grendel swa fela
 Say I you in truth, son Ecglafes, that never Grendel as many
 gryra gefremede, atol æglæca, ealdre þinum, hynðo on Heorote,
 horrors performed, terrible monster lord thine, harm in Heorot,
 gif þin hige wære, sefa swa searogrim, swa þu; self;
 if you resolved were spirit as fierce in conflict as you; self;
 talast.

consider;

‘For I say to you in truth, son of Ecglaf, that Grendel, terrible monster, would have never performed so many horrors on your lord, in Heorot such havoc if your spirit/heart had been as fierce in conflict as you yourself consider.’

(cobeowul,20.590.498)

- (66) Crist; sylf;_i is se lareaw,
 Christ; self;_i is the teacher,

‘Christ himself is the teacher,’

(coaelhom,+AHom_14:136.2073)

- (67) a. Crist; self;_i us tahte hu we scolden don,
 Christ; self;_i us taught how we should do,
 ‘Christ himself taught use how we should do/behave,’
 (CMVICES1,141.1760)

- b. And kyng Pellam; hymself;_i arose up fersely.
 and king Pellam; himself;_i arose up fiercely.
 ‘And king Pellam himself arose fiercely.’
 (CMMALORY,64.2140)

- (68) And what Mr. Trefry had told 'em was here confirm'd; of which he;
himself;_i before had no other witness than Caesar himself.
 (BEHN-E3-H,187.123)

However there are some notable exceptions in terms of both inflection and position.

As early as Penning (1875) it was noted that **self** sometimes occurred with weak inflection (see also Ogura 1988, 1989b). Mitchell (1985: §§472-476) pinpoints such usages to nominative singular forms following a pronominal or nominal. There are 144 such examples in YCOE which amounts to 12.4% of all subject adjacent-self constructions. 34.0% (49/144) of the examples with weak inflection occur with a nominal DP and 66.0% (95/144) occur with a pronominal DP. Of the nominal DPs 89.8% (44/49) refer to God, The Lord or Christ. The

remaining 5 examples all refer to *se cyning* 'the king'. There is variation in the same text between the strong and weak forms as shown in examples (69) and (70).

(69) ... þæt he se cyning_i seolfa_i, se ðe Scyttisc fullice geleornad hæfde,
 ... that he the king_i self_i, he who Scottish fully learned had,
 '... The king himself who had fully learned Scottish ...'
 (cobede,Bede_3:2.158.19.1528)

(70) Ond he se cyning_i seolf_i wæs wallende in his geleafan;
 And he the king_i self_i was stranger in his belief.
 'And he, the king himself, was a stranger in his belief.'
 (cobede,Bede_3:1.154.24.1480)

Of the pronominal DPs, 76.8% are third person constructions (73/95), compared to 14.7% which are first person constructions (14/95), and 8.4% which are second person constructions (8/95). Most of the intensified DPs which are third person refer to God, the Lord or Christ. Many of the constructions (for all persons) occur with verbs of 'saying' as shown in (71).²⁵

- (71) a. Ða ongeat ic_i selfa_i & geseah of dæle þæt me þa
 Then understood I_i self_i and saw of part that me the
 earfeðu becwoman.
 hardship came.
 'Then I myself understood and saw in part that the hardship came
 to me'
 (coalex,Alex:10.10.75)
- b. & þa þe þu_i sylfa_i ne spræce...
 And then to you you_i self_i not speak...
 'And then you did not speak to yourself...'
 (cogregdC,GD_2_[C]:16.139.7.1672)

²⁵The two versions of *Gregory's Dialogues* differ with respect to the endings on **self**. In the earlier H manuscript (cogregdH), **self** is always uninflected (the strong ending) as in (i), however in the later C manuscript (cogregdC), the forms are frequently weak as in (ii). Such differences may provide evidence for later confusion of inflectional endings.

- (i) He_i sylf_i on lichaman lifde ...
 He_i self-STR_i in body lived ...
 (cogregdH,GD_1_[H]:9.59.19.572)
- (ii) He_i sylfa_i leofode on lichaman ...
 He_i self-WK_i lived in body ...
 He himself lived in body ...
 (cogregdC,GD_1_[C]:9.59.19.666)

- c. Ac writ þæt he_i sylfa_i cwæde þæt he wære Iudea rex
 But wrote that he_i self_i said that he was Jews King.
 ‘But wrote that he himself said that he was the King of the Jews’.
 (coverhom, HomS_24_[ScraggVerc_1]: 211.224)

Mitchell (1985: §478) and Ogura (1989a) suggest that in poetry forms can occur to the left of the intensified DP. There are 12 such examples in the YPC. In 10 of these cases, which are spread across 5 different texts, the intensified DP is a subject nominal relating to *se cyning* ‘the king’ (72). The remaining 2 cases are objects of verbs and occur with a pronominal. There is an isolated use in the prose (73) which is adjacent to a subject pronominal. Mitchell (1985: §472) suggests this ‘may be a deliberate departure from the norm for emphasis and rhythm’.

- (72) // swylce self_i cyning_i
 // also self_i king_i
 of brydbure, // beahhorda weard,
 of women’s-chamber, // ring-hoard keeper,
 tryddode tirfæst // getrume micle,
 stepped glorious // troop great
 cystum gecyþed,
 excellence made known.
 ‘Also the king himself, keeper of the ring-hoard, glorious troop, stepped from the women’s chamber, his great excellence made known’
 (cobeowul,29.918.771)

- (73) Se ebreisca cwæð: sylf_i ic_i swelte þonne.
 The Hebrew said: self_i I_i will die then.
 ‘The Hebrew said: ‘Then I myself will die.’
 (coaelive, +ALS, [Basil 591:876], also cited in (Mitchell 1985: §472))

Old Norse (ON) displayed similar variation with respect to positioning of the intensifier relative to the intensified DP (74) and (75). Faarlund (2004: 76, 90) states that the variation is determined by the type of intensified DP; if the DP is nominal, left-adjacent **self** is more common than right-adjacent **self**, but with pronouns the reverse is the case.

- (74) Grani rann at þingi, gnýr var at heyra enn þa Sigurðr_i
 Grani ran to the Thing, clatter was to hear but thence Sigurd_i
sialfr_i eigi kom.
 self_i not came.
 ‘Grani ran to the Thing, there was clatter to hear, but Sigurd himself never came.’(Edda, Oddrunargratr, quoted in Gast 2004: 45)

- (75) ... sverða deili, sem siálfri_i mér_i.
 ... sword giver, like self_i me_i.
 ‘... the sword-giver, like myself.’ (Edda, Oddrunargratr 33,4, quoted in Gast 2004: 45)

It is tempting to suggest that the variation in OE is governed by the same factor since 10/12 examples occur with a nominal and within these texts all cases of **self** which occur with a pronominal DP occur on the *right*. However, we find variation in the position of intensifiers relative to their nominal DPs within the same manuscript; compare (72) above, with (76).

- (76) // Samod ærdæge
 // Together with daybreak
 eode eorla sum, // æþele cempa_i
 went warrior one, // noble champion_i
self_i mid gesiðum // þær se snotera bad,
 self_i with companions // to where the wise man waited
 hwæþer him alwalda // æfre wille
 whether for him Almighty // ever will
 æfter weaspelle // wyrpe gefremman.
 after tidings of woe // change contrive.
 ‘Together with the daybreak, a certain warrior himself, a noble champion, went with his companions to where the wise man waited, to see if the Almighty would change these tidings of woe.’
 (cobeowul,41.1311.1089)

Whilst it could be the case that the same factor evident in ON was once operative in OE, and these examples represent remnants of the old grammar, an alternative explanation is available. It is possible that OE versification is responsible.

The OE poetic line consists of two half lines. I have represented the caesura between these half lines with ‘//’. The half-lines themselves contain two units, normally with a stressed and an unstressed syllable. The two half lines are linked by alliteration. The first stressed syllable of the second half-line has to begin with the same sound as one or both of the stressed syllables in the first line. The second or last stressed syllable in the second half line must not alliterate. **Self** could count both for stress and alliteration as shown in (76) above and (77) below (see also Mitchell 1979: 44; Ogura 1989: 46).

- (77) Hi hyne þa ætbæron // to brimes faroðe,
 They him then carried // to sea's edge,
 swæse gesipas, // swa he_i selfa_i bæd,
 beloved followers, // as he_i self_i bade
 þenden wordum weold // wine Scyldinga;
 while words ruled // friend Danes;
 'They, his beloved followers, then bore him to the seas's edge as he
 himself bade, whilst he, the friend of the Danes, still ruled words.'
 (cobeowul,4.28.27)

In example (72) repeated here as (78), reversal of the order of *self cyning* 'self king' would result in **self** being the final stressed syllable of the second half line. This would result in a violation of the constraints on alliteration, since the alliteration for this line is on /s/. The same account can be provided for each of the left-adjacent poetic forms.

- (78) // swylce self_i cyning_i
 // also self_i king_i
 of brydbure, // beahhorda weard,
 of women's-chamber, // ring-hoard keeper,
 tryddode tirfæst // getrume micle,
 stepped glorious // troop great
 cystum gecyþed,
 excellence made known
 'Also the king himself, keeper of the ring-hoard, glorious troop, stepped
 from the women's chamber, his great excellence made known'
 (cobeowul,29.918.771)

There is one example in PPCME2 where the intensifier appears to the left (79), although all other examples from this text appear to the right (80).

- (79) And him-self_i Arthur_i hade of his owen Londe...
 And himself_i Arthur_i had of his own land...
 'And Arthur himself had from his own land...'
 (CMBRUT3,83.2522)

- (80) And Vter_i him-self_i duellede awhile at 3ork.
 And Uter_i himself_i dwelled awhile at York.
 'And Uter himself dwelled for a while at York.'
 (CMBRUT3,65.1963)

According to Lange (2003), Layamon's Brut has lots of examples of left dislocation of the subject intensifier, which is a stylistic device (topicalisation) in this text:

(81) In þon castle he dude hende. / six hundred of his cnihten. Him-self_i
 In the castle he did place. / six hundred of his knights. Him-self_i
 mid his fenge./ he_i to wode ferde.
 with his hostages./ he_i to woods went.
 ‘In the castle he placed 600 of his knights, himself he went with his
 hostages to the woods.’
 (Lay (Caligula) 309)

(82) Vs selve_i we_i habbet cokes./ to quecchen to cuchene. // us sulue we
 Us selves we have cooks./ to go to kitchen. // us selves_i we_i
 habbet bermen./ 7 birles inowe.
 have porters./ and cup-bearers enough.
 ‘Ourselves, we have cooks to go to the kitchen; ourselves, we have porters
 and cup-bearers enough.’
 (Lay (Caligula) 1656/57)

4.3.3.2 Properties of the intensified DP

For subject adjacent-self forms throughout all stages of English the intensified DP could either be a pronominal (83) or a nominal (84), as shown in Tables 4.8–4.10.

(83) *Pronominal subject adjacent-self*

- a. And he_i sylf_i ferde afyrht of þære byrig.
 And he_i self_i went frightened from the city.
 ‘And he himself went frightened from the city.’
 (OE, coelive,+ALS_[Martin]:1174.6749)
- b. Pat I_i my-self_i moste gon wiþ 3ow wiþ al my power into
 That I_i myself_i must go with you with all my power into
 Britaigne,
 Britain,
 ‘That I myself must go with you with all my power into Britain.’
 (ME, CMBRUT3,62.1858)
- c. And at the priorie of St. Jilles, wher he_i *himsel*_i was first a scoller,
 ther became he a scolmaster,
 (EMODE, FORMAN-E2-H,11.250)

(84) *Nominal subject adjacent-self*

- a. God_i sylf_i bebead on þære ealdan æ...
 God_i self_i commanded in the old law...
 ‘God himself commanded in the old law...’
 (OE, coaelhom,ÆHom_31:75.4171)

- b. And kynge Pellam; *hymself*; arose up fersely.
 And king Pellam; himself; arose up fiercely.
 ‘And king Pellam himself arose fiercely.’
 (ME, CMMALORY,64.2140)
- c. The witches; *themselves*; haue confessed thus much.
 (EMODE, GIFFORD-E2-P1,C3V.114)

Period	Pronoun		Nominal		Total
	N	%	N	%	
OE1	137	81.1	32	18.9	169
OE2	497	67.2	243	32.8	740
OE3	162	64.3	90	35.7	252
Total	796	68.6	365	31.4	1161

Table 4.8: Subject type in the subject adjacent-self constructions in the YCOE.

Period	Pronoun		Nominal		Total
	N	%	N	%	
ME1	6	12.2	43	87.8	49
ME2	2	50.0	2	50.0	4
ME3	23	37.7	38	62.3	61
ME4	14	40.0	21	60.0	35
Total	45	30.2	104	69.8	149

Table 4.9: Subject type in the subject adjacent-self constructions in the PPCME2.

Period	Pronoun		Nominal		Total
	N	%	N	%	
EMODE1	35	50.7	34	49.3	69
EMODE2	50	38.2	81	61.8	131
EMODE3	26	41.3	37	58.7	63
Total	111	42.2	152	57.8	263

Table 4.10: Subject type in the subject adjacent-self forms in the PPCEME.

For every period in the YCOE, there are more intensified pronominal DPs than nominal ones. This dramatically changes in the PPCME2 and the PPCEME where intensification of nominal DPs is preferred. This contrast is starkest in ME1 where only 12.2% of cases have an intensified pronominal DP. In §6.4 I will argue that this change is linked to changes in the intensifier which occur at the point that the complex intensifier is created.

For the object adjacent-self forms there are in fact two types - those which are the objects of verbs (61.9%) and those which are the objects of prepositions (38.1%).²⁶ In the YCOE it was possible to intensify either a pronominal or a nominal in both construction types as shown in (85) for objects of verbs and (86) for objects of prepositions. Table 4.11 provides the figures for objects of verbs, Table 4.12 for objects of prepositions and Table 4.13 combines the results of the previous two tables.

(85) a. *Nominal object of verb, adjacent-self*

Hy fortredon mid teonfullum þeawum, and God_i sylfne_i
 They trampled with harmful customs, and God self
 forseon...
 rejected...

‘They trampled with harmful customs, and rejected God himself...’
 (OE, coaelhom,+AHom_15:101.2189)

b. *Pronominal object of verb, adjacent-self*

For ðan þe hi_j hæfdon hine_i sylfne_i mid heom,...
 Because they had him self with them,...

‘Because they had him himself with them,...’
 (OE, coaelhom,+AHom_8:159.1248)

(86) a. *Nominal object of preposition, adjacent-self*

And eft, þa þa hi comon to Criste_i sylfum_i...
 And after, then they came to Christ_i self_i...

‘And afterwards then, they came to Christ himself’
 (OE, coaelhom,+AHom_5:279.854)

b. *Pronominal object of preposition, adjacent-self*

Ealle þa synna þe we her wyrceað, ealle hi beoð eft on
 All the sins which we here perform, all them be after in
 us_i sylfum_i gesewene & geopenode,...
 us_i self_i visible and evident,...

‘All the sins which we perform here will afterwards be visible and
 evident in ourselves,...’
 (OE, coaelhom,+AHom_28:121.4069)

²⁶The figures for the YCP are: objects of verbs 78.1% (25/32) and 21.9% (7/32) for objects of prepositions. I do not break these down into nominal and pronominal since the numbers are already small.

Period	Pronoun		Nominal		Total
	N	%	N	%	
OE1	20	87.0	3	13.0	23
OE2	92	80.7	22	19.3	114
OE3	29	64.4	16	35.6	45
Total	141	77.5	41	22.5	182

Table 4.11: Object type in object of the verb adjacent-self constructions in the YCOE.

Period	Pronoun		Nominal		Total
	N	%	N	%	
OE1	5	45.5	6	54.5	11
OE2	33	56.9	25	43.1	58
OE3	13	30.2	30	69.8	43
Total	51	45.5	61	54.5	112

Table 4.12: Object type in object of the preposition adjacent-self constructions in the YCOE.

Period	Pronoun		Nominal		Total
	N	%	N	%	
OE1	25	73.5	9	26.5	34
OE2	125	72.7	47	27.3	172
OE3	42	47.7	46	52.3	88
Total	192	65.3	102	34.7	294

Table 4.13: Object type in all object adjacent-self constructions in the YCOE.

In the PPCME2 and the PPCEME this system changed, such that there are no examples of intensified pronominal objects of the verb, and only one example of an intensified pronominal object of the preposition, which is provided in (88c). Intensification of nominal objects of verbs and prepositions continues as shown in (87) and (88) respectively.

(87) a. *Nominal object of verb, adjacent-self*

& þei wold puttyn schirtys þerup-on & kyssyn it as
 And they would put shirts there-upon and kiss it as
 þei it had ben God_i *hym-selfe_i*.
 though it had been God him-self.

‘And they would there-upon put shirts and kiss it as though it was God himself.’

(ME, CMKEMPE,77.1752)

b. And can slide a goat by *himselpe_i*, as Leonard did, fall out, curse, swears, and batter heauen_i *itselfe_i* with humour of folly.

(EMODE, ARMIN-E2-P2,33.131)

c. *Pronominal object of verb, adjacent-self*

#/* I will meet him himself. (ME, EMODE, PDE)

(88) a. *Nominal object of preposition, adjacent-self*

... it is told in the same bookis by Jerom_i *hym self_i*;
 ... it is told in the same books by Jerome him self;

‘... it is told in the same books by Jerome himself.’

(ME, CMPURVEY,I,1.52)

b. Rodolph is, by the Duke_i *himselpe_i*, sent out of the Realm on his Message, and not return’d.

(EMODE, THOWARD2-E2-P2,112.959)

c. *Pronominal object of preposition, adjacent-self*

I know he will run litle risque from you_i your self_i,

(EMODE, LOCKE-E3-P2,68.64)

d. #/* I will be given a certificate by him himself. (ME, EMODE, PDE)

Again, in chapter 6 I will argue that this change results from the creation of the complex intensifier (**x-self**) and the complex reflexive (**X-SELF**), and the general change in the ability to intensify pronouns which was seen in the tables showing the overall distributions.

Adjacent-self intensifiers occur with all persons as shown in the following examples from ME:

- (89) Ic_i seolf_i beo mid eow alle da3en aþet endunge þissere weorlde.
 I_i self_i be with you all days until end of-this world.
 ‘I myself will be with you every day until the end of this world.’
 (CMLAMBX1, 119. 1167)
- (90) For thow_i thiself_i hast thrist thiself into wikke thinges.
 For you_i yourself_i have thrust yourself into wicked things.
 (CMBOETH 448 C2 412)
- (91) And þei_i hem-silf_i ben þrallis in synne and seruauntis of fleischli
 And they_i themselves_i are servants in sin and servants of fleshly
 corrupcion.
 corrupcion.
 (CMHILTON 14.98)

Table 4.14 shows that the majority of forms occur with the third person. This is to be expected since there are proportionately more third person forms in the corpora than first or second person ones. Object adjacent-self forms in the PPCME2 and the PPCEME are all third person, since they are all nominal and are therefore not included the Table as there can be no variation.

Period	1st Person		2nd Person		3rd Person		Total
	N	%	N	%	N	%	Total
YCOE (subjects)	116	10.0	86	7.4	959	82.6	1161
OE Poetry (subjects)	7	14.9	6	12.8	34	72.3	47
PPCME2 (subjects)	4	2.7	5	3.4	140	94.0	149
PPCEME (subjects)	34	12.9	16	6.1	213	81.0	263
YCOE (objects)	39	13.3	25	8.5	230	78.2	294
OE Poetry (objects)	2	6.2	1	3.1	29	90.6	32
Total	202	10.4	139	7.1	1605	82.5	1946

Table 4.14: Adjacent-self intensifiers in OE, ME and EMODE divided by person.

Both singular and plural examples occur for all persons in each period. Singular intensified DPs are more frequent in each period, as there are proportionately more singular constructions within the corpora as a whole. The figures relating to the number (singular or plural) of the intensified DPs are provided in Table 4.15.

Period	Singular		Plural		Total
	N	%	N	%	Total
YCOE (subjects)	1001	86.2	160	13.8	1161
OE Poetry (subjects)	45	95.7	2	4.3	47
PPCME2 (subjects)	140	94.0	9	6.0	149
PPCEME (subjects)	226	85.9	37	14.1	263
Subjects Total	1412	87.1	208	12.8	1620
YCOE (objects)	283	96.3	11	3.7	294
OE Poetry (objects)	31	96.9	1	3.1	32
PPCME2 (objects)	43	97.7	1	2.3	44
PPCEME (objects)	103	85.1	18	14.9	121
Objects Total	460	93.7	32	6.5	491
Total	1872	88.7	240	11.4	2111

Table 4.15: Adjacent-self intensifiers in OE, ME and EMODE divided by number (singular/plural).

4.3.3.3 Referent of the intensified DP

Above we saw that adjacent-self intensifiers in PDE typically intensify DPs which are of a high rank i.e. royalty or the deity. It was shown that this ‘high rank’ status marked the referents as being central and that such centrality allows easy evocation of peripheral individuals e.g. Kings are usually surrounded by servants, doormen, and their own personal chefs. Each of the latter would be the periphery.

The same factor is evident throughout the earlier stages of English as shown in the following examples (see also Farr 1905: 19; Ogura 1989a: 50; König and Siemund 2000a: 45; Lange 2003: 117):

(92) Old English

- a. God_i sylf_i bebead on þære ealdan æ....
 God_i self_i commanded in the old law.
 ‘God himself commanded in the old law...’
 (coaelhom,ÆHom_31:75.4171)
- b. Soðlice Benedictus wæs bebyrged in ðære cyrcan þæs eadigan
 Truly Bendictus was buried in the church of the blessed
 fulluhteres Iohannes, þa he_i sylf_i getimbrode...
 baptist John, which he_i self_i built...
 ‘Truly Benedict was buried in the church of the blessed baptist John,
 which he himself built...’
 (cogregdC,GD_2_[C]:37.176.10.2151)

- c. Pa wæs eac se cyning; sylf; onwænded to begangenne þæs
 Then was also the king; self; changed to respect of the
 biscopes arwyrðnysse,
 bishop's honour.
 'Then the king himself changed also to respect the Bishop's honour.'
 (cogregdC,GDPref_and_3_[C]:11.195.9.2504)

(93) **Middle English**

- a. Þe kyng; hymselfe; met a swyven.
 The king; himself; met a fornicator.
 (CMMIRK 98.2648)
- b. And Arthure; him-self; went a3eyne toward þe Marche of
 And Arthur; himself; went again toward the Marche of
 Scotland.
 Scotland.
 (CMBRUT3 71.2154)
- c. ...God ne uoryefð na3t ous oure misdeeds as he; him-zelf; zayð to
 ...God not forgives not us our misdeeds as he; himself; says to
 us ine þe godspelle.
 us in the Gospels.
 (CMAYENBI 114.2196)

(94) **Early Modern English**

- a. Yet on Twesdaies and Thursdaies the King; himselfe; sits in Judge-
 ment of all causes.
 (COVERTE-E2-H,37.162)
- b. Also Claius; himselfe; saith that in the tables set downe by him in
 quarto, you may sometime make the totall Sine to be but 100\$\$\$000,
 so as you cut off the two last figures on the right hand in euey Sine.
 (BLUNDEV-E2-H,49R.39)
- c. Then thou saydst that God; himself; was the greatest good & blisse,
 of whom no man was made blessed, but he that was lyke to him, And
 that thou gauest for a reward.
 (BOETHEL-E2-P2,72.280)

Tables 4.16 - 4.19 provide the figures for the subject adjacent-self forms in OE, ME, and EMODE. The data is grouped so that it shows the referents when the intensified DP is nominal, pronominal and both of these combined (i.e. overall percentages for each referent type). The tables are divided to show high rank individuals, other third person forms where centrality is established via different means, and first and second forms.²⁷

²⁷I include first and second forms as separate categories since the speaker and the addressee frequently have a different status within the discourse than third parties.

Referent	Pronoun		Nominal		Total	
	N	% of Forms	N	% of Forms	N	%
God	80	10.1	115	31.5	195	16.8
Christ	87	10.9	104	28.5	191	16.5
Lord	25	3.1	61	16.7	86	7.4
Devil	6	0.8	17	4.7	23	2.0
Royalty	15	1.9	15	4.1	30	2.6
Named	218	27.4	28	7.7	246	21.2
High Rank Total	431	54.1	340	93.1	771	66.4
Specific	74	9.3	9	2.5	83	7.1
non-specific	61	7.7	7	1.9	68	5.9
Non-human	11	1.4	8	2.2	19	1.6
Quantified	17	2.1	1	0.2	18	1.6
First Person	116	14.6	0	0	116	10.0
Second Person	86	10.8	0	0	86	7.4
Total	796		365		1161	

Table 4.16: The referents of subject adjacent-self forms in the YCOE.

Referent	N	% of Forms
High Rank Total	33	70.2
Non High Rank Total	1	2.1
First Person (Speaker)	7	14.9
Second Person (Addressee)	6	12.8
Total	47	

Table 4.17: The referents of subject adjacent-self forms in the YPC.

Referent	Pronoun		Nominal		Total	
	N	% of Forms	N	% of Forms	N	%
God	4	8.9	39	37.5	43	28.9
Christ	3	6.7	25	24.0	28	18.8
Lord	0	0	12	11.5	12	8.1
Devil	0	0	1	1.0	1	0.7
Royalty	4	8.9	12	11.5	16	10.7
Named	13	28.8	11	10.6	24	16.1
High Rank Total	24	53.3	100	96.2	124	83.2
Specific	5	11.1	3	2.9	8	5.4
Non-specific	1	2.2	0	0	1	0.7
Non-human	1	2.2	1	1.0	2	1.3
First Person	4	8.9	0	0	4	2.7
Second Person	5	11.1	0	0	5	3.4
Total	45		104		149	

Table 4.18: The referents of the subject adjacent-self forms in the PPCME2.

Referent	Pronoun		Nominal		Total	
	N	% of Forms	N	% of Forms	N	%
God	0	0	12	7.9	12	4.6
Christ	4	3.6	4	2.6	8	3.0
Lord	0	0	4	2.6	4	1.5
Devil	0	0	2	1.3	2	0.8
Royalty	2	1.8	30	19.7	32	12.2
Named	35	31.5	33	21.7	68	25.9
High Rank Total	41	36.9	85	55.9	126	47.9
Specific	16	14.4	16	10.5	32	12.2
Non-specific	3	2.7	3	2.0	6	2.3
Non-human	0	0	48	31.6	48	18.3
Quantified	1		0	0	1	0.4
First Person	34	30.6	0	0	34	12.9
Second Person	16	14.4	0	0	16	6.1
Total	111		152		263	

Table 4.19: The referents of subject adjacent-self forms in the PPCEME.

Tables 4.17 - 4.19 show that the semantic restrictions placed on the occurrence of **self** seem to be somewhat looser when the intensified DP is a pronoun rather than a fully referential lexical item (see also Lange 2003: 116; Keenan 2002, 2003). Whilst in the YCOE 93.1% of nominals have a high rank, only 54.1% of pronominals have a high rank. In the PPCME2 the figures are 96.2% and 53.3% respectively, and in the PPCEME, they are 55.9% and 36.9%. Whilst there is a significant dip in the percentages for this latter period, the overall pattern remains the same.

The percentages for pronominals occurring with high rank individuals increase if the first and second person forms are excluded. In the YCOE 72.6% (431/594) of third person occurrences with intensified pronominal DPs occur with those of high rank. The figures for the PPCME2 and the PPCEME are 66.7% (24/36) and 67.2% (41/61) respectively. For the YPC the figure is 97.1% (33/34).

The same patterns as shown above for Subject adjacent-self forms hold for the Object adjacent-self intensifiers in the YCOE as shown in Table 4.20. Again, if the figures for first and second forms are excluded, the figure for high rank referents increases, going up to 64.8 % (83/128). OE poetry has a similar distribution, as shown in Table 4.21.

Referent	Pronoun		Nominal		Total	
	N	% of Forms	N	% of Forms	N	%
God	27	14.1	53	52.0	80	27.2
Christ	8	4.2	13	12.7	21	7.1
Lord	15	7.8	10	9.8	25	8.5
Devil	1	0.5	3	2.9	4	1.4
Royalty	6	3.1	0	0	6	2.0
Named	26	13.5	5	4.9	31	10.5
High Rank Total	83	43.2	84	82.4	167	56.8
Specific	25	13.0	5	4.9	30	10.2
Generic	11	5.7	1	1.0	12	4.1
Non-human	4	2.1	12	11.8	16	5.4
Quantified	5	2.6	0	0	5	1.7
First Person	39	20.3	0	0	39	13.3
Second Person	25	13.0	0	0	26	8.8
Total	192		102		294	

Table 4.20: The referents of the object adjacent-self forms in the YCOE.

Referent	N	% of Forms
High Rank Total	24	75.0
Non High Rank Total	5	15.6
First Person	2	6.2
Second Person	1	3.1
Total	32	

Table 4.21: The referents of the object adjacent-self forms in the YPC.

Recall that in the PPCME2 and the PPCEME the intensified DP is always nominal (never pronominal) which is the same as the PDE situation. The PPCME2 has the expected distribution of 84.1% of intensified DPs referring to an individual of high rank as seen in Table 4.22. The distribution in the PPCEME is different as there is a large increase in the use of intensification following a non-human DP as seen in Table 4.23. This change seems to be due to the development of the neuter form *itself* and an increase in the amount of scientific writing sampled within this period.

	Nominal	
Referent	N	% of Forms
God	21	47.7
Christ	6	13.6
Lord	5	11.4
Royalty	2	4.5
Named	4	6.8
High Rank Total	38	84.1
Specific	2	4.5
Generic	2	4.5
Non-human	2	4.5

Table 4.22: The referents of object adjacent-self forms in the PPCME2.

Referent	Nominal	
	N	% of Forms
God	10	8.8
Devil	1	0.9
Royalty	14	12.3
Named	11	9.6
High Rank Total	36	31.6
Specific	13	11.4
Generic	10	8.8
Non-human	69	60.5
Total	121	

Table 4.23: The percentage of complex object adjacent-self forms in the PPCEME divided by referent type.

4.3.3.4 Summary of the properties of adjacent-self forms in earlier English

The survey of the distribution and properties of the ‘non-reflexive’ adjacent-self forms in Earlier English in the previous section suggests the following:

- There is a dramatic decline in the use of intensifiers between OE and ME.
- There is a dramatic change in the frequency of pronominals which are intensified. Whilst this is more common in OE, from ME onwards intensification is more frequently applied to nominals.
- There is a change in the ability to intensify object pronominals between OE and ME.
- The adjacent-self intensifier frequently intensifies DPs which have a high rank e.g. God, Christ and royalty.
- The adjacent-self intensifier intensifies both singular and plural DPs. The former are slightly more frequent but this appears to be linked to the more frequent occurrence of singular constructions rather than a person split with respect to intensification.
- The adjacent-self intensifier intensifies DPs of all persons. Like with the number distinctions, there are more third person forms which are intensified; however this likely results from a higher proportion of such constructions within the corpora.

4.3.4 Properties of distant-self

Recall that in PDE distant-self forms appear in the vP/VP, typically occurring at the end of the sentence as in (95). It is possible for the intensifier to occur between verbs (96), but not immediately following the verb since an ‘X-self’ form in this position receives a reflexive interpretation (i.e. is X-SELF) and receives a θ -role from the verb (97). Distant-self does not occur to the left of the verb since this is interpreted as an adjacent-self form (98).

- (95) Ivan_i will have bought the flat himself_i.
(96) a. Ivan_i will himself_i have bought the flat.
b. Ivan_i will have himself_i bought the flat.
(97) Ivan_i will have bought himself_i the flat.
(98) Ivan_i himself_i will have bought the flat.

Examples in both ME and EMODE typically follow this pattern as in (99)-(100), although there is evidence that the intensifier could still appear in the ‘object’ position as late as EMODE (101)-(102).

- (99) And kynge Arthure_i seyde hymself_i they were the doughtyeste knyghtes
that ever he sawe,
(CMMALORY,57.1903)
(100) And Oroonoko_i, whose honour was such as he never had violated a word
in his life himself_i...
(BEHN-E3-P2,180.154)
(101) I_i wold spend my selfe_i a shilling to haue him swinged well.
(STEVENSO-E1-P2,48.222)
(102) I suppose he_i will returne himselpe_i his acknowledgm=ts= to you for your
thoughts of him,
(MONTAGUE-E3-P2,1,217.64)

The system in OE is different: **self** typically occurs adjacent to the finite verb (either to the right as in (103)-(104) or to the left as in (105)-(106)). The former is the more common structure.

- (103) Se hælend him cwæp to, Ic_i beo sylf_i mid þe,
The Lord him said to, I_i am self_i with you,
‘The Lord said to him ‘I am with you myself’.’
(coaelive,+ALS_[Julian_and_Basilissa]16.942)

- (104) And he_i eode syf_i ut mid þam scinendan reafe,
 And he_i went self_i out with the shining armour,
 ‘And he went out himself with shining armour.’
 (coelive,+ALS_[Martin]809.6482)
- (105) And þu_i swa þurh Godes mihte syf_i bist gehæled.
 And you_i thus through God’s might self_i are healed.
 ‘And through God’s might, you are healed yourself.’
 (coelive,+ALS_[Swithun]356.4448)
- (106) Tetradius_i þa syf_i com,
 Tetradius_i then self_i came,
 ‘Tetradius then came himself.’
 or: ‘Tetradius himself then came.’
 (coelive,+ALS_[Martin]513.6290)

There are occasional uses preceding the verb where **self** is separated from the finite verb as in (107)-(108). It is possible to analyse some of these examples as being adjacent-self forms which have been separated from the intensified DP by movement of either the intensifier, or the intensified DP.

- (107) He_i soðlice syf_i þus cwæþ...
 He_i truly self_i thus says...
 ‘He truly says himself thus...’
 (cobenrul,BenR5.20.17.311)
- (108) Ne gelyfde ic æniges monnes gesegenum swa fela wundorlicra þinga
 Not believed I any man’s sayings as many wonderful things
 þæt hit swa beon mihte ær ic_i hit self_i minum eagum ne gesawe.
 that it as be might before I_i it self_i my eyes not see.
 ‘I did not believe any man’s tales about the many wonderful things there
 might be, before I had seen it myself with my eyes.’
 (coalex,Alex3.2.10)

4.3.4.1 Properties of the intensified DP

For distant-self the properties and referent of the DP which is intensified are similar to those detailed above for the adjacent-self forms.

The forms occur with DPs of all persons (1st, 2nd and 3rd) as shown in the following examples:

- (109) a. And þu cwyrðst þæt ic_i sceolde syf_i hine towurpan.
 And you say that I_i must self_i him destroy.
 ‘And you say that I must destroy him myself.’
 (coelive,+ALS_[Thomas]375.7780)

- b. And þonne þu me witnast, þu_i bist syf_i gewitnod.
 And when you me punish, you_i are self_i punished.
 ‘And when you punish me, you are yourself punished.’
 (coelive,+ALS_[Vincent]112.7866)
- c. Ac he_i eode syf_i to þam yttran gete,
 But he_i went self_i to the last gate.
 ‘But he went himself to the last gate.’
 (coelive,+ALS_[Martin]1166.6740)
- (110) a. I_i wil my self_i in my persone helpe therto al that I maye.
 (CMREYNAR,54.371)
- b. And gaf hym nomore than the grate or bones / whyche ye_i myght
 not ete your self_i.
 (CMREYNAR,9.84)
- (111) a. I_i haue sworne the oth my self_i.
 (MROPER-E1-P2,529.77)
- b. So, quoth he, now mayst thou_i fet water thy self_i without fear of
 rayn.
 (MADOX-E2-P1,100.227)
- c. These particulars S=r= Arthur desired me to acquainte y=r= Ex=cy=
 w=th=, he_i being not yett so well recovered as to be able to write
himself_i,
 (AUNGIER-E3-P1,60,A.11)

Table 4.24 shows that 3rd person forms are proportionately more common with the intensifier (as was the case with the adjacent-self constructions). Again, this is because they are more common generally within the corpora.

Period	1st Person		2nd Person		3rd Person		Total
	N	%	N	%	N	%	Total
YCOE	22	11.4	11	5.7	160	82.9	193
Poetry	6	16.7	4	11.1	26	72.2	36
PPCME2	10	9.8	14	13.7	78	76.5	102
PPCEME	79	28.2	24	8.6	177	63.2	280
Total	117	19.1	53	8.7	441	72.2	611

Table 4.24: The percentage of complex distant-self constructions in OE, ME and EMODE divided by person.

Similarly, whilst constructions with singular and plural intensified DPs both occur, as shown in (112)-(113), it is the former which occur with greater frequency, as shown in Table 4.25.

- (112) a. For I_i haue chastysed þe my-self_i as I wolde be many gret
 For I have chastised you my-self as I would by many great
 dredys & turmentrijs þat þu hast had wyth euyl spyritys bop
 dreads and torments that you have had with evil spirits both
 in slepyng & wakyng many 3erys.
 in sleeping and waking many years.
 ‘For I have chastised you myself as I would by many great dreads
 and torments that you have had with evil spirits both in sleeping
 and waking for many years.’
 (CMKEMPE,51.1156)
- b. For she offered Adam no worsse fruit than she_i had eten her self_i.
 (MROPER-E1-P2,529.82)
- (113) a. &, yf euyr sche come ageyn, we_i xal bren hyre owr-self_i.
 And, if ever she come again, we shall burn her our-self.
 ‘And if ever she comes again, we shall burn her ourselves.’
 (CMKEMPE,134.3144)
- b. For the dammes_i wil waxe drye, and wayne theyr lambes theym-selfe_i.
 (FITZH-E1-H,44.263)

Period	Singular		Plural		Total
	N	%	N	%	
YCOE	161	83.4	32	16.6	193
YPC	34	94.4	2	5.6	36
PPCME2	85	83.3	17	16.7	102
PPCEME	231	82.5	49	17.5	280
Total	511	83.6	100	16.4	611

Table 4.25: The percentage of complex distant-self constructions in OE, ME and EMODE divided by number (singular/plural).

4.3.4.2 Referent of the intensified DP

Like the adjacent-self forms, the referent of the intensified DP with distant-self constructions is often a person of high rank, but like the intensified pronominal DPs in the adjacent-self constructions, the restrictions on the intensified DP of distant-self seem to be looser with pronominals than when the intensified DP is a nominal. The results for the three periods are provided in Tables 4.26-4.29.

Referent	N	% of Forms
God	9	4.7
Christ	14	7.3
Lord	3	1.6
Devil	2	1.0
Royalty	4	2.1
Named	76	39.4
High Rank Total	108	56.0
Specific	35	18.1
Non-specific	9	4.7
Non-human	3	1.6
First Person (Speaker)	22	11.4
Second Person (Addressee)	11	5.7
Total	193	

Table 4.26: The referent of the intensified DP for distant-self forms in the YCOE.

Referent	N	% of Forms
High Rank Total	19	52.8
Non High Rank Total	7	19.4
First Person	6	16.7
Second Person	4	11.1
Total	36	

Table 4.27: Referents for the distant-self forms in the YPC.

Referent	N	% of Forms
God	6	5.9
Christ	3	2.9
Lord	1	1.0
Devil	1	1.0
Royalty	4	3.9
Named	32	31.4
High Rank Total	47	46.1
Specific	21	20.6
Generic	4	3.9
Non-human	2	2.0
Quantified	4	3.9
First Person	10	9.8
Second Person	14	13.7
Total	102	

Table 4.28: Referents of distant-self forms in the YCOE.

Referent	N	% of Forms
God	7	2.5
Christ	3	1.1
Royalty	15	5.4
Named	66	23.6
High Rank Total	91	32.5
Specific	60	21.4
Generic	15	5.4
Non-human	9	3.2
Quantified	2	0.7
First Person	79	28.2
Second Person	24	8.6
Total	280	

Table 4.29: Referents of distant-self forms in the PPCEME.

Just as with the adjacent-self examples, exclusion of the first and second person forms increases the percentage of intensified DPs which have a high rank. For the YCOE the percentage is 67.5 % (108/160), for the YPC it is 73.1% (19/26), for the PPCME2 it is 60.3% (47/78) and the for PPCEME it is 60.3% (47/78).

4.3.4.3 Summary of the properties of distant-self forms in earlier English

The discussion of the distribution of non-reflexive distant-self forms in Earlier English suggests the following facts:

- There are proportionately more distant-self constructions from ME3 onwards. This may be linked to changes in the form of the intensifier.
- Like adjacent-self, distant-self occurs more frequently with DPs which have high rank referents.
- Distant-self intensifies both singular and plural DPs.
- Distant-self intensifies DPs of all persons.

4.4 Conclusions

To conclude, answers to the questions set out in the introduction are summarised:

1. What contribution do intensifiers make to the meaning of a sentence?

There are two main types of intensifier, both of which make a similar contribution to the meaning of a sentence. Adjacent-self forms relate the DP they intensify to a set of alternatives, whereas distant-self forms relate a proposition to an alternative set of propositions.

2. Does the meaning of the intensifier change in the history of English?

Without native speaker judgements it is difficult to ascertain whether precisely the same meanings were evident in earlier stages of English. However there is evidence that the properties of the DP which the intensifier intensifies have remained fairly constant throughout the earlier stages of English. This provides some evidence that the meaning of intensifiers has remained essentially the same.

However differences in terms of the distribution of the intensifier –in particular the dramatic decline of the overall use of the intensifier which occurs between OE and ME, and the change in the frequency with which pronominals are intensified, also between OE and ME–suggest that the intensifier did undergo some kind of change between OE and ME. This is discussed further in §6.3.

3. What is the distribution of intensifiers throughout English i.e. *where* and *when* are they used?

From the examination of adjacent-self and distant-self forms in earlier stages of English, the following facts about distribution can be concluded:

- Adjacent-self forms are more frequent throughout the history of English.
- Adjacent-self forms after the subject are more common than following an object.
- Proportionately distant-self forms decline throughout English. The number of adjacent-self forms proportionately increase (11.7 – 34.6 – 42.2). One reason for this may be that there is less movement in later stages of English, another is that due to the loss of inflectional endings, adjacent forms were preferred.
- There is a strong tendency for the intensified DP to refer to high rank individuals/groups with both types of intensifier.
- The constraints on the referent (in terms of high rank status) of the intensified DP are looser when pronominal than when the intensified DP is nominal.

- Intensifiers occur with *all* persons (1st, 2nd, 3rd) although there are proportionately more 3rd person forms, reflecting the fact that there are more third person constructions within the corpora.
- Intensifiers occur with both singular and plural intensified DPs, although there are proportionately more singular forms used. Again this seems to be related to the fact that there are more of these constructions within the corpora.
- In OE the intensified DP was more frequently a pronominal. From ME onwards it is nominal DPs that were more frequently intensified.
- After the OE period intensifiers did not occur adjacent to pronominal object DPs.
- OE poetry and OE prose have different distributions of the types of **self**.
- Use with non-human subjects (*itself*) developed late (in EMODE).

Chapter 5

Factors Affecting the Distribution of the Reflexive

5.1 Introduction

In chapter 2 the distribution of reflexives occurring with or without *self* for Old English (OE), Middle English (ME) and Early Modern English (EMODE) up to 1639 was outlined. Those reflexives which occur with *self* as in (1a) are termed X-SELF and those which occur without *self* –and are therefore identical to ordinary personal pronouns– as in (1b) are termed HIM.

- (1) a. So þat hors will rubbe him-self...

So that horse will rub himself...

‘So that horse will rub himself...’

(CMHORSES, 103.196)

- b. If he be ranke of blod he will gnappe himsilf and rubbe him

If he be excess of blood he will snap himself and rub him

a3ens þe walle.

against the wall.

‘If he [a horse] has an excess of blood he will hit himself and rub himself against the wall.’

(CMHORSES, 89.33)

Statistical tests (Chi-square tests) suggested that the percentage of X-SELF increased between OE1 and OE2, but thereafter it remained essentially stable throughout the remainder of OE and throughout ME.¹ In other words there was

¹When pleonastic forms were included there was a statistical difference between ME1 and ME2, but not between any of the other ME sub-periods. Based on the percentages alone, ME2 had a much lower overall percentage X-SELF than the other sub-periods. It was suggested in chapter 2 that ME2’s lower frequency might be due to the fact that the ME2 period is poorly represented with only three texts.

no statistical difference between any of the sub-periods of late OE (OE2/OE3) and ME (although see footnote 1).

In EMODE there was a sharp increase in the number of X-SELF forms, matched by a similar sharp decline in the number of HIM forms.² The graph of the overall distribution is repeated from chapter 2, as Figure 5.1.

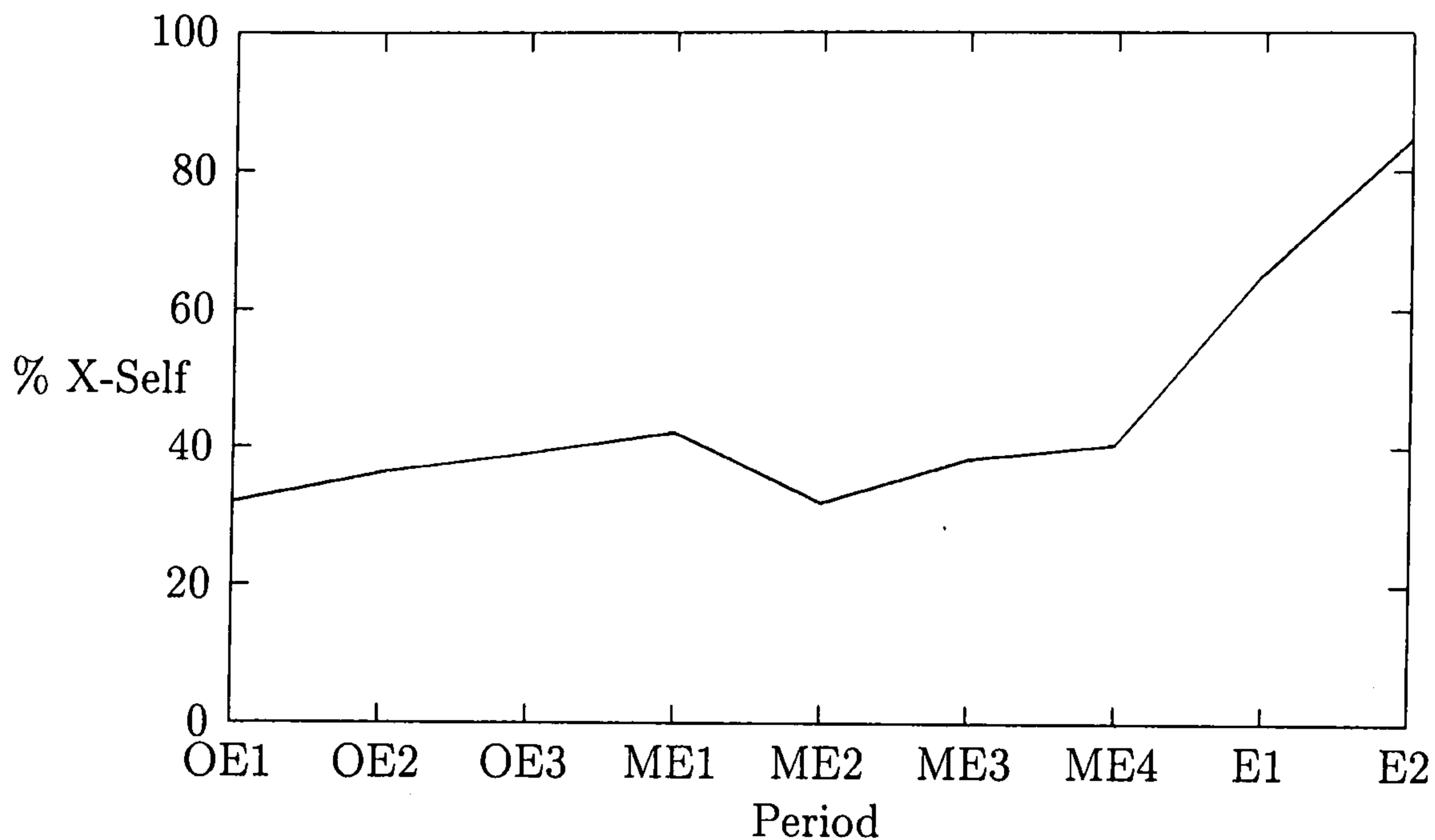


Figure 5.1: Overall Percentage of X-SELF in the YCOE, the PPCME2, and the PPCEME.

This chapter examines the factors which affect this distribution for OE and ME. Multivariate analysis (GoldVarb, Robinson et al. 2001) is used in order to establish which of these factors significantly affects the distribution. For the EMODE data multivariate analysis is not performed as coding the data represents a significant undertaking and unfortunately fell outside the time-scale of this work. Some observations about the EMODE data are made, but a more sophisticated treatment awaits future research.

Multivariate analysis is used because the factors affecting whether or not X-SELF occurs overlap, i.e. each factor is present in each construction, meaning it is not possible to get an accurate effect of each of the factors by looking at percentages alone. GoldVarb is a probabilistic-based multivariate regression

²Whilst pleonastic constructions were excluded from these frequency counts, as they are in this chapter (see discussion in §2.3.5.1), it was noted that their inclusion did not alter the overall pattern of distribution, but rather lowered the overall percentage of X-SELF by about 7% for all periods. The lower overall frequency during OE/ME makes the change in EMODE more dramatic. Furthermore, it was noted that at the same time, that the pleonastic forms became severely restricted, only occurring with a small number of verbs. I return to discuss the significance of this in §6.3.

procedure that looks at how different factors contribute to the overall variability of fluctuating forms. In order to perform a GoldVarb analysis coded files are recoded and manipulated in order to obtain the clearest results. In order to run the variable rule program, groups of tokens which do not exhibit variation have to either be removed or regrouped. The result of a multivariate analysis using GoldVarb is a probabilistic weight for each factor centred on 0.5. Factors with a weight above 0.5 *favour* the variant under consideration (i.e. reflexives are more likely to occur with SELF), whereas factors with a weight below 0.5 *disfavour* it (i.e. factors are less likely to occur with SELF). A weight of 0.5 neither favours nor disfavors the variant under consideration. The weight for each factor is that factor's effect on the application value (reflexives with *self* i.e. X-SELF) when all other factors are kept constant.

The factors investigated were taken both from the existing literature (as outlined in chapter 1) and the theoretical and empirical findings from cross-linguistic data (as outlined in chapter 3) and evidence from intensifiers (as outlined in chapter 4). The factors investigated include: sub-period, the referent of the subject (following the same categories as for intensifiers as established in chapter 4), person (Farr 1905; Peitsara 1997; van Gelderen 2000, cross-linguistic evidence), number (van Gelderen 2000), syntactic position (i.e. object of a verb (OBJV) or object of a preposition (OBJP), Visser 1963), whether or not the reflexive occurs to the left or right of the finite verb, preposition type, whether or not the sentence was negative, the subject type (pronominal, nominal, null), givenness, and for ME only whether or not the text is a translation (Ogura 1989b; Lange 2003), what text type it is (religious or not, Ogura 1989b; Lange 2003), and the dialect area of the texts (north, south, east, west).³ Verbal type (other-directed (OD), neutral directed (ND) or self-directed (SD)) is also investigated for ME. OE is excluded from this categorisation, although the origin of the ME system is evident in OE meaning more work in this direction would be welcome.

I divide the discussion into two broad sections: one on the factors which are found to significantly affect the distribution (§5.2) and one on some of the factors which do not affect the overall distribution but have been significant to the discussion and analyses within the existing literature (§5.3). In §5.2 I report the findings for three different GoldVarb runs, one on the overall distribution

³The factor of dialect type was included as a crude means to establish whether or not there might be an influence of Old Norse (ON). Since there does not appear to be dialectal differences, this suggests that there was no influence. Given the similarity to the OE system (see chapter 1), this is perhaps unsurprising. For example, unlike in the case of Dutch *zich*, most likely borrowed under contact with German, ON did not provide an alternative form for the reflexive. However, a full investigation of the origin of all verbs might reveal otherwise. This is a matter left for future research.

(§5.2.1), one on those forms which are objects of verbs (§5.2.2) and one for those forms which are objects of prepositions (§5.2.3).

5.2 Significant factors

5.2.1 Overall distribution

Multivariate analysis of the distribution of reflexives in OE and ME suggests that the significant factors affecting the distribution are the time-period and the referent type. Other factors which have been suggested to be significant are shown not to have an effect. These are syntactic position (*contra* König and Siemund 2000a, who suggest that X-SELF is favoured when the object of the verb, and *contra* Visser 1963; van Gelderen 2000, who suggest that X-SELF is favoured when an object of the preposition), person (*contra* Penning 1875; Farr 1905; Peitsara 1997; van Gelderen 2000; Lange 2003) and number (*contra* van Gelderen 1996, 1999, 2000). I present figures regarding these factors in §5.3 below. Other non-significant factors which will not be considered further include: whether or not the subject is a pronominal, null or a nominal, whether or not the sentence is negative, the position of the reflexive with respect to the verb, whether or not the text is a translation, the type of text (religious versus non-religious) and the dialect in which the text is written.⁴

In each subsection, factors are discussed in order of their relative strength of significance –from highest to lowest. This is calculated by subtracting the lowest probabilistic weight from the highest for each group. In the case of the overall distribution, referent type has a stronger effect than period (0.594 versus 0.214).

5.2.1.1 Referent

The percentages and factor weights for the different referent types are provided in Table 5.1.⁵

⁴All of the probabilistic weights are taken from the best stepping up run of the binomial variable rule analysis. The results of the best stepping up and the best stepping down runs should be identical. If they are not then this suggests some uncertainty about the factor group which is excluded under one run, but included under the other. Often this is due to the fact that factors are not entirely discrete and that there is interference between them. Cross-tabulation of the different factor groups allows the researcher to identify such problems and re-code. This does not apply to any of the figures presented here. In each case the two runs were identical.

⁵It is possible for the speaker or the addressee to refer to God, Christ or a named individual, meaning there is some overlapping of factors in this and subsequent tables. However, the distinction is maintained, since the way in which intensification is established is different in

Referent	X-SELF	HIM	Total	Percentage	Weight
Christ	107	20	127	84.3	0.905
God	128	32	160	80.0	0.867
Lord	79	51	130	60.8	0.726
Devil	13	9	22	59.1	0.702
Non-human	57	55	112	50.9	0.654
Specific	649	1031	1680	38.6	0.564
Named	553	958	1511	36.6	0.500
Non-specific	180	424	604	29.8	0.435
Speaker (1st Person)	212	408	620	34.2	0.400
Addressee (2nd Person)	272	764	1036	26.3	0.347
Royalty	50	154	204	24.5	0.311

Table 5.1: Percentages and factor weights of X-SELF for OE and ME by referent type.

For the most part the factor weights represent the percentages, although this is not always the case, as seen here by the fact that when the referent is the speaker (1st person) the percentage of X-SELF is 34.2 and the factor weight 0.400. However, when the referent is non-specific the percentage is 29.8% (a lower percentage than the 1st person) but the factor weight is 0.435.

Most of the referents which affect the distribution are of high rank or importance and are precisely the referents which were shown in chapter 4 to regularly occur with the intensifier. Those which favour X-SELF are the deity (Christ, God, the Lord and the devil), specifically identified (but not named) individuals and surprisingly, non-human referents.

This seems to add weight to the argument that the X-SELF form maintains its intensification reading throughout OE and ME. Unfortunately without speaker judgements it is not possible to ascertain for certain whether intensification is present in a particular sentence, particularly given that it is easy to force one, resulting in a highly subjective approach which relies on the interpretation of the researcher. However the evidence from reference type does not suffer in this respect and provides strong support for a remaining intensification reading.

However, whilst the position of the non-specific referents and the 1st and 2nd person referents are expected, the factor weights for both named individuals and, in particular, royalty are surprising. Given the meaning of intensifiers (and the discussion in chapter 4), we would expect both of these forms to favour X-SELF. Below I will provide evidence that this anomaly for the analysis can be explained with reference to another significant factor - that of preposition type.

the case of first and second person (see Siemund 2000 for further discussion).

5.2.1.2 Period

The percentages and factor weights for each of the sub-periods are provided in Table 5.2. The table is arranged by the weight of the factor rather than chronologically by period.

Period	X-SELF	HIM	Total	Percentage	Weight
ME1	241	331	572	42.1	0.621
ME4	335	495	830	40.4	0.593
ME3	357	578	935	38.2	0.576
OE3	195	306	501	38.9	0.491
ME2	44	94	138	31.9	0.467
OE2	814	1434	2248	36.2	0.448
OE1	314	668	982	32.0	0.407

Table 5.2: Percentages and factor weights for the sub-periods.

The factor weights suggest that ME1, ME3 and ME4 favour X-SELF, but that OE1, OE2, OE3 and ME2 disfavour X-SELF. These results are somewhat surprising and difficult to interpret, for two reasons. Firstly, the chi-squared tests as presented in chapter 2 suggested that there was not a significant difference between the OE and ME. In chapter 2 it was shown that regardless of whether or not pleonastic constructions were included, it was mostly between OE1 and the other subperiods that there was a statistical significance. I repeat the table of chi-squared values from the classification where pleonastic forms were excluded, as Table 5.3.

Period	df	χ^2 value	p value
OE1 & OE3	2	6.8	p = 0.0091
OE1 & ME1	2	15.8	p ≤ 0.0001
OE1 & ME3	2	7.84	p = 0.0051
OE1 & ME4	2	13.4	p = 0.003
OE2 & ME1	2	6.83	p = 0.0090

Table 5.3: Significant chi-square results for the differences between the periods of OE and ME for the percentage of X-SELF.

On the basis of these results it was suggested that there might be a difference between early OE and the remaining periods. However GoldVarb runs suggest that there is a change between OE and ME, which would confirm claims made in the literature that there was a new reflexive form created at the start of the ME period (e.g. Penning 1875; Farr 1905; Visser 1963; Mitchell 1985).

Secondly, the results are confusing since the periods do not appear to follow the chronological order which we might expect. If a new reflexive is created in

ME1, then the expectation would be that its use would increase in the later ME sub-periods. However, the results in Table 5.2 do not conform to this pattern, as it is ME1, rather than ME4, which most strongly favours the X-SELF form. I return to this issue in the following section. The position of ME2 is less problematic, since it seems likely that this results from the paucity of the data within this period.

Finally, the fact that referent type has a much stronger effect on whether or not X-SELF occurs, suggests that the analysis in chapter 2 is broadly correct; the development of the form was not due to semantic bleaching of *self*.

5.2.2 Objects of verbs

In this sub-section I examine the factors affecting the distribution of the form of the reflexive when it occurs as an object of a verb (OBJV). The overall distribution for OBJV is presented in Table 5.4 and in Figure 5.2.

Period	N	%
OE1	202/640	31.6
OE2	550/1572	35.0
OE3	165/378	43.7
ME1	145/386	37.6
ME2	23/93	24.7
ME3	186/591	31.5
ME4	222/549	40.4
EMODE1	271/343	79.0
EMODE2	723/772	93.7

Table 5.4: Percentage of X-SELF when an object of a verb in the YCOE, the PPCME2 and the PPCEME.

Table 5.4 and Figure 5.2 show the expected increase in frequency of X-SELF at the end of EMODE. However, in the preceding sub-periods the graph and figures do not appear as stable as was the case with the overall frequencies of X-SELF. The graph and percentages show that there is an increase in frequency between early OE (OE1/OE2) and the OE3 period, which continues into ME1. Whilst there is a decline in ME2, we have already seen that the data for this period should not necessarily be taken too seriously. However, in ME3 and ME4 the frequencies remain lower than those of OE3 and ME1, which is somewhat surprising.

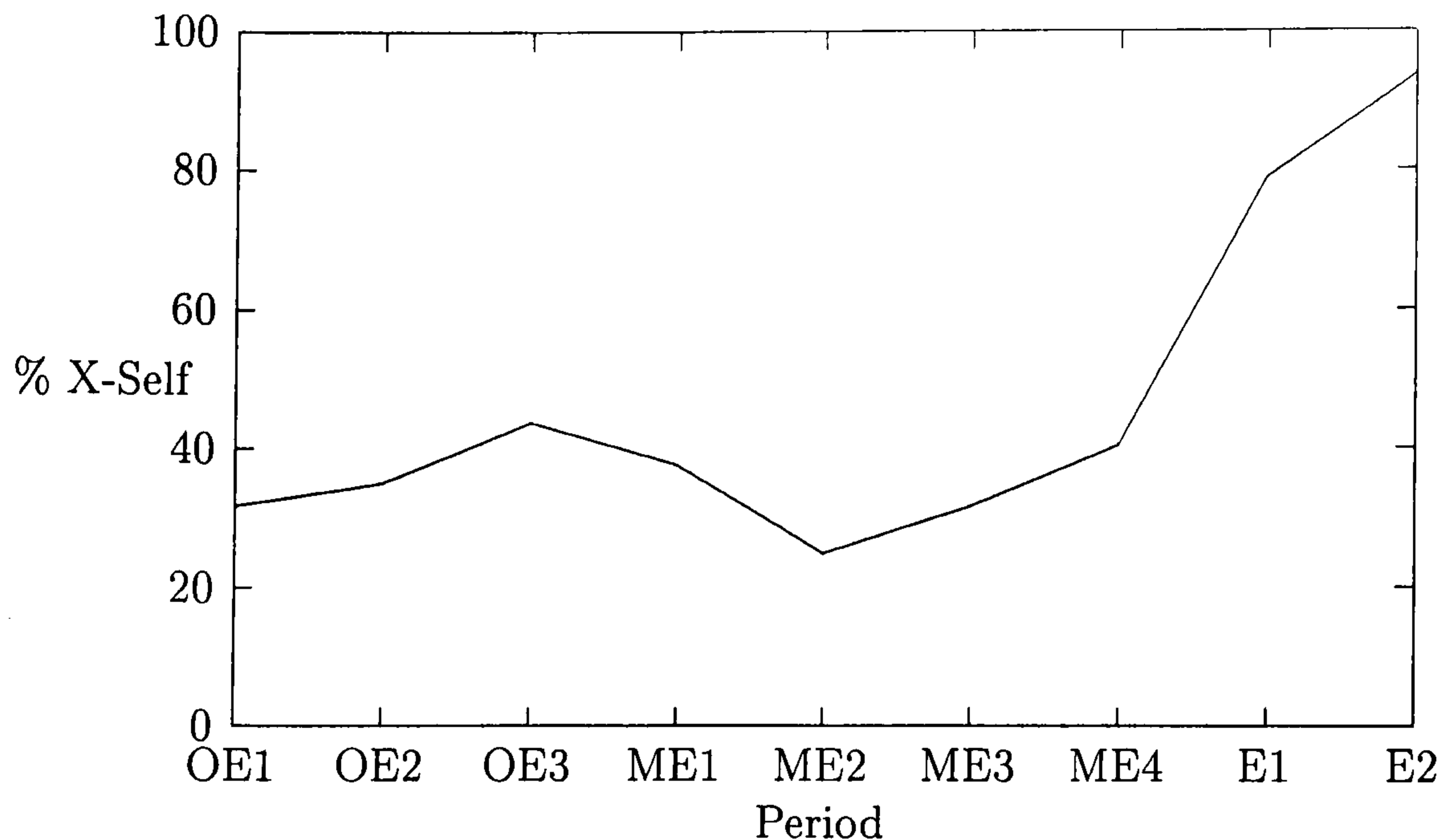


Figure 5.2: Percentage of X-SELF when an object of a verb in the YCOE, the PPCME2, and the PPCEME.

Before presenting the factors which significantly affect this distribution, I compare these findings to those reported by Peitsara (1997). Table 5.5 presents Peitsara's findings for ME and EMODE.⁶

PERIOD	N	%
ME1	75/151	49.7
ME2	16/145	11.1
ME3	73/307	23.8
ME4	92/328	28.0
EMODE1	140/210	66.7
EMODE2	219/249	88.0

Table 5.5: The percentage of X-SELF when an object of a verb in ME. Data from Peitsara (1997: 288)

Table 5.5 also shows the expected increase in frequency between ME4 and EMODE1. However, like with my data (of which Peitsara's is a sub-set thereof) the distribution does not show a steady increase in the frequency of X-SELF during the ME period (*contra* e.g., Visser 1963; Mitchell 1985).

In fact, Peitsara's data shows a stronger discrepancy between the ME1 data and the remaining ME periods, than appeared to be the case in my data. This is particularly interesting given the discussion in the previous section concerning the fact that X-SELF was most strongly favoured in ME1. Whilst Peitsara (1997)

⁶Recall that Peitsara (1997) excludes OE from the frequency counts because there are no verbs which categorically appear with X-SELF. For further discussion see §2.3.

comments on the unexpected distribution of ME1 in her data, she is similarly at a loss to explain the reason for it.

In the remainder of this sub-section, I examine both the OE and ME data in order of the most significant factor (referent type) to the least significant (period), then I consider the verbal type for the ME data alone.

5.2.2.1 Referent

Table 5.6 provides the percentages and factor weights for the referent in reflexive constructions which are the object of the verb.

Referent	X-SELF	HIM	Total	Percentage	Weight
Christ	51	9	51/60	85.0	0.911
God	86	25	86/111	77.5	0.858
Lord	37	29	37/66	56.1	0.696
Devil	7	7	7/14	50.0	0.633
Royalty	28	42	28/70	40.0	0.553
Specific	438	720	438/1158	37.8	0.541
Named	377	583	377/960	39.3	0.537
Non-human	15	34	15/49	30.6	0.479
First Person	131	316	131/447	29.3	0.434
Non-specific	132	342	132/474	27.8	0.425
Second Person	194	609	194/803	24.2	0.355

Table 5.6: Percentages and factor weights of X-SELF when an object of a verb for OE and ME by referent type.

The ordering of the referents within the table is similar to the one for the referents in all constructions (see Table 1 above). Christ, God, the Lord and the devil occupy the top four spots again and all favour X-SELF and specific referents also continue to favour X-SELF. Royalty changes from disfavouring X-SELF to favouring X-SELF as we would expect if intensification is involved in the X-SELF form. Named individuals also change from neither favouring nor disfavouring the X-SELF form, to favouring it. Again this is expected under the analysis presented here.

5.2.2.2 Period

The percentages and factor weights for the sub-periods when an object of a verb are given in Table 5.7.

Period	X-SELF	HIM	Total	Percentage	Weight
OE3	166	213	379	43.8	0.589
ME4	222	327	549	40.4	0.568
ME1	145	241	386	37.6	0.556
OE2	552	1022	1574	35.1	0.483
ME3	186	405	591	31.5	0.477
OE1	202	438	640	31.6	0.437
ME2	23	70	93	24.7	0.362

Table 5.7: Percentages and factor weights for objects of verbs in the YCOE and the PPCME2 by sub-period.

Table 5.7 shows that OE3, ME1 and ME4 favour X-SELF, whereas OE2, ME3, OE1 and ME2 disfavour X-SELF, conforming to the description of Figure 5.2 presented above. Cross-tabulation of the factor groups suggest the distribution is affected by the referent type, whereby OE3 has more high rank referents and hence more X-SELF than for example ME3.

5.2.2.3 Verb type

In the discussion of West Germanic reflexives in chapter 3, it was shown that verbal type determined the type of reflexive. On the basis of the distributional patterns of the two different anaphors in Dutch -*zich* and *zichzelf*- three different types of verb were proposed. They were: other-directed verbs (OD-verbs), self-directed verbs (SD-verbs), and neutral-directed (ND-verbs). It was claimed that with OD-verbs the morphologically complex reflexive was required, since there was a pragmatic requirement to mark the object as being other than disjoint (the more usual interpretation). SD-verbs were the opposite in that they were 'inherently reflexive' and were mostly unable to occur with a disjoint referent. I suggested that as they were unable to occur with a disjoint referent that there was no requirement to mark such objects as counter to our expectation. In fact, given the meaning of intensifiers (chapter 4), we do not expect them to be able to occur with such verbs as without the possibility of alternative referents, it is not possible to create the required centre/periphery (or: contrast) effect. Finally, the third verb class (ND-verbs) occurred with both types of reflexive. Rather than stipulating that these verbs were listed twice in the lexicon, I suggested that the distribution of the reflexive form depended upon whether or not intensification was required.

In order to ascertain whether the same system was evident in the ME data, I coded the verbs as one of these three types. Verbs were divided into classes based on cross-linguistic evidence, lists presented elsewhere in the literature and

counts determining whether there were significantly more uses of the verb with a disjoint object. Verbs classified as OD include *hate*, *love* and *kill*. Verbs classified as ND include *defend* and *hide*. Verbs classified as SD include transitive verbs of motion or posture e.g. *lay* and *withdraw*.

The category SD-verbs is a particularly difficult one for the frequency counts as presented here, since many of the occurrences which might be considered SD have been excluded since they occur with pleonastic pronouns and hence never occur with the X-SELF form. Were these occurrences included, then the effects presented here would be even more significant.

Table 5.8 presents the results for the type of verb on a GoldVarb run just on the ME data. The other factors (referent type and period) remained significant, but of them all this was the most significant.

Type of Verb	X-SELF	HIM	Total	% X-self	Weight
Other-directed	336	51	387	86.8	0.941
Neutral-directed	178	361	539	33.0	0.512
Self-directed	62	631	693	8.9	0.170

Table 5.8: Percentage and factor weight in PPCME2 by verbal type.

The results strongly suggest that verbal type influences the choice of the strategy. This provides some (further) evidence that the same constraints as were outlined for other West Germanic languages in chapter 3 were also evident in the earlier stages of the language.

It is also worthy of note, that verbs which have been categorised in ME as being other-directed have a higher percentage of occurrence with *self* in OE, than those categorised as neutral or self-directed, suggesting the same system was evident in OE. In fact, there are six verbs in the YCOE which always occur with *self*, which are all other-directed: *acwellan* 'kill', *ahon* 'hang', *fordon* 'destroy', *ofslean* 'slay', *(ge)swencan* 'afflict, oppress', and *preag(g)an* 'threaten, torture'.

5.2.3 Objects of prepositions

In this sub-section, I look at the factors affecting the distribution of the form of the reflexive when occurring as objects of prepositions (OBJP). No distinction is made between whether or not the prepositional phrase is an argument or adjunct, since this distinction is not always easy to make. The distribution is provided in Table 5.9 and as a graph in Figure 5.3.

The data presented in Table 5.9 and Figure 5.3 has a distribution which looks unlike either the overall distribution or the distribution for OBJV. Perhaps the most noticeable thing is that the increase between ME4 and EMODE is far

Period	SELF	without SELF	Total	Percentage
OE1	112	230	342	32.7
OE2	262	412	674	38.9
OE3	29	93	122	23.8
ME1	96	90	186	51.6
ME2	21	24	45	46.7
ME3	171	173	344	49.7
ME4	113	168	281	40.2
EMODE1	184	172	356	51.7
EMODE2	277	131	408	67.9
Total	1265	1505	2770	45.7

Table 5.9: Objects of prepositions.

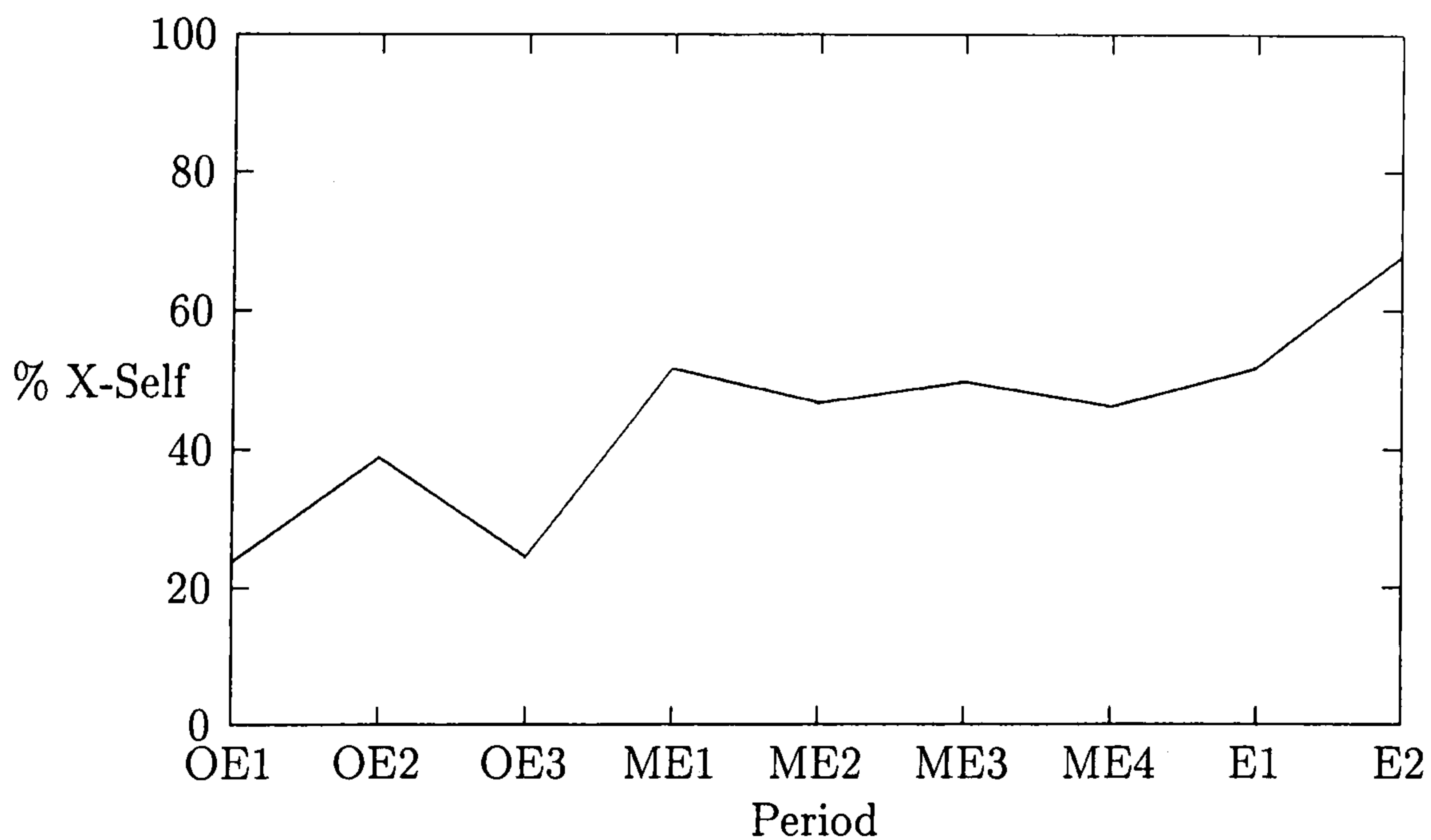


Figure 5.3: Overall percentage of X-SELF occurring as an object of a preposition in the YCOE, the PPCME2, and the PPCEME.

less dramatic. In part, this is because the overall frequency of X-SELF during ME is higher, but it is also because the numbers in EMODE are lower. It is also noticeable that there appears to be an increase in the frequency of X-SELF between OE and ME1, which in part is accentuated by the fact that OE3 appears to have a lower frequency than OE2.

Below I present the percentages and factor weights for three factors which affect whether or not SELF occurs with the reflexive in OE and ME in order from most significant to least significant. The ordering is therefore: preposition type (818), referent (569) and period (195).

5.2.3.1 Preposition type

Prepositions occurring more than 30 times in OE and ME are included as separate groups; all others are included under a single group, 'other prepositions'. The distribution and factor weights of each is provided in Table 5.10.

Preposition	X-SELF	HIM	Total	Percentage	Weight
of	88	9	97	90.7	0.937
by	132	17	149	88.6	0.928
for	31	7	38	81.6	0.879
through	71	16	87	81.6	0.836
in	203	100	303	67.0	0.781
on	19	20	39	48.7	0.578
other prepositions	88	145	233	37.8	0.506
to	78	168	246	31.7	0.428
from	15	38	53	28.3	0.394
upon	12	58	70	17.1	0.275
mid 'with'	31	179	210	14.8	0.252
with	15	127	142	10.6	0.177
between	21	306	327	6.4	0.119
Total	804	1190	1994	40.3	

Table 5.10: Percentages and factor weights for OE and ME X-SELF by preposition.

This distribution again seems to be linked to intensification, since those prepositions which disfavour X-SELF are typically self-directed. For example in a sentence like *Ivan took the hamster with him*, it is impossible to replace the pronominal with a pronoun referring to another e.g. **Ivan took the hamster with her*.

Other prepositions have a different meaning. For example the preposition *by* is used in order to express that something was done alone e.g. *he did it*

by himself. Under this non-locational reading it is impossible to get a disjoint reading but the phrase is inherently contrastive, thereby explaining the use of X-SELF.

The following two tables present the data for prepositions in the first two periods of EMODE. Whilst I have not performed multivariate analysis on these figures, it seems that the same prepositions function with a higher rate of X-SELF.

Preposition	X-SELF	HIM	Total	Percentage X-SELF
For	23	0	23/23	100.0
By	19	0	19/19	100.0
Of	44	2	44/46	95.7
In	23	6	21/29	79.3
To	26	15	26/41	63.4
Unto	13	12	13/25	52.0
Other Prepositions	18	18	18/36	50.0
Upon	5	20	5/25	20.0
With	13	74	13/87	14.9
About	0	15	0/15	0
From	0	10	0/10	0
Total	184	172	184/356	

Table 5.11: Percentage of X-SELF in EMODE1 by preposition type.

Preposition	X-SELF	HIM	Total	Percentage X-SELF
Of	48	0	48/48	100.0
For	46	0	46/46	100.0
By	28	0	28/28	100.0
To	45	6	45/51	88.2
In	23	5	23/28	82.1
Among(st)	12	6	12/18	66.7
Unto	16	9	16/25	64.0
Other Prepositions	32	29	32/61	52.5
With	21	50	21/71	29.6
Upon	6	26	6/32	18.8
Total	277	131	277/408	

Table 5.12: Percentage of X-SELF in EMODE2 by preposition type.

5.2.3.2 Referent

As with both the overall distribution and the distribution when an OBJV, the referent type is significant in determining whether or not X-SELF occurs when an OBJP. The percentages and factor weights are presented in Table 5.13.

Referent	X-SELF	HIM	Total	Percentage	Weight
God	42	7	49	85.7	0.828
Christ	56	11	67	83.6	0.824
Devil	6	2	8	75.0	0.625
Lord	42	22	64	65.6	0.607
Speaker	81	92	173	46.8	0.591
Inanimate	42	21	63	66.7	0.567
Specific	211	311	522	40.4	0.518
Named	176	375	551	31.9	0.496
Addressee	78	155	233	33.5	0.381
Non-specific	48	82	130	36.9	0.373
Royalty	22	112	134	16.4	0.259
Total	804	1190	1994	40.3	

Table 5.13: Percentages and factor weights for OE and ME X-SELF by type of referent.

It is hardly surprising that God, Christ, the Devil and the Lord favour X-SELF as we have already seen that this is the case for both the overall distribution and the OBJV and that it likely relates to the fact that intensification is required in order to license the X-SELF form.

However, unlike with the OBJV distribution, royalty strongly disfavours X-SELF. It is obviously its occurrence as an OBJP which affects the weight in the overall distribution. An explanation for this distribution might be found in another significant factor - the preposition type as discussed in the previous subsection. Cross-tabulation between these two factors suggests significant interaction between them; God, Christ and the Devil typically occur with prepositions which strongly favour the self form i.e. *of*, *by*, *through* and *for*, whereas royalty more frequently occurs with prepositions which strongly disfavour X-SELF i.e. *with* and *between*. In Table 5.14, prepositions which favour X-SELF are grouped together and calculated as a percentage of all occurrences for each referent type.⁷

The figures in Table 5.14 show that there is not a one-to-one correspondence between the two factors. Were that the case we would expect the referents to be ordered according to the ranking given in the furthestmost left-hand column

⁷Grouped are *of*, *by*, *for*, *through*, *in*, and *on*. Other prepositions neither favour nor disfavour, or disfavour the occurrence of X-SELF so are not included in the group.

Rank	Referent	Significant Prepositions	Total Prepositions	% All Tokens
3	Devil	8	8	100.0
6	Inanimate	46	63	73.0
1	God	35	49	71.4
2	Christ	47	67	70.1
4	Lord	40	64	62.5
10	Non-specific	58	130	44.6
9	Addressee	87	233	37.3
7	Specific	184	522	35.2
5	Speaker	60	173	34.7
8	Named	131	551	23.8
11	Royalty	17	134	12.7
	Total	804	1994	

Table 5.14: Cross-tabulation of referent and preposition type in OE and ME.

which is based on the ordering found in Table 5.10. However, it does demonstrate an interaction between the two factors on two levels. Firstly, it demonstrates the importance of the preposition type; royalty frequently occurs with prepositions which disfavour self, typically since their meaning does not evoke a contrast and therefore the intensifier is not licensed. This effect over-rules the one of referent, thereby explaining why royalty runs counter to our expectations.

Secondly, it shows that preposition type alone is not sufficient to explain the spread of the data. Were that the case then both inanimate and non-specific referents should have been ranked higher in the referent list since they frequently occur with self-favouring prepositions. However, since such referents are not typically licensed with the intensifier, we do not find the expected frequency.

5.2.3.3 Period

Again the period was found to be a significant factor in determining whether or not X-SELF occurred. The percentages and factor weights are given in Table 5.15. Once again the periods fluctuate and this fluctuation seems to be tied to the occurrence of the other significant factors (e.g. preposition type and referent).

Period	X-SELF	HIM	Total	% X-self	Weight
OE3	29	93	29/122	23.8	0.589
ME4	113	168	113/281	40.2	0.568
ME1	96	90	96/186	51.6	0.556
OE2	262	412	262/674	38.9	0.483
ME3	171	173	171/344	49.7	0.477
OE1	112	230	112/342	32.7	0.437
ME2	21	24	21/45	46.7	0.362

Table 5.15: Percentages and factor weights for the sub-periods.

5.2.4 Summary

Analysis of the overall distribution and the distribution divided into the objects of verbs and the objects of prepositions reveal that the following three factors are significant throughout OE and ME in determining the form of the reflexive:

- When an Object of a Verb, the verbal type is most significant i.e. whether it is other-directed, self-directed or is neutral in its direction. This seems to be linked to a cross-linguistic tendency to mark objects of verbs which are typically interpreted as being disjoint. We might consider this to be a way of ‘marking the more unusual’.
- When an Object of a Preposition the type of the preposition is the most significant factor. This seems to be related to a similar pragmatic tendency as explains the verbal type. Namely, when the preposition is typically (or exclusively) self-directed then it occurs as HIM. When either the preposition is contrastive (e.g. *by*) or it can occur with a disjoint reference then X-SELF is required.
- When the overall distribution is considered the most important factor is the referent of the subject. This is also a significant factor in the two different construction types (OBJV and OBJP). Referents of high rank favour X-SELF whereas referents which do not usually occur with intensifiers (see chapter 4) disfavour SELF.
- In all three cases there are differences within each period. Overall these differences result in a stable situation. These fluctuations represent variations in the referents and prepositional and verbal properties within the texts within each sub-period.

5.3 Non-significant factors

In this section I present the percentages of some of the factors which were claimed in the literature to affect the distribution. The percentages generally confirm the findings of these studies, but the multivariate analysis reveals that they are not significant differences.

I begin with a discussion of the syntactic position i.e. whether or not the reflexive is an object of a verb or the object of a preposition.

5.3.1 Syntactic position

In the previous section I presented the frequencies of the reflexive in two different syntactic positions; the object of a verb and the object of a preposition. These figures are presented together in Table 5.16.

Period	ObjV		Obj P		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
OE1	202/640	31.6	112/342	32.7	314/982	32.0
OE2	550/1572	35.0	263/675	39.0	813/2247	36.2
OE3	165/378	43.7	30/123	24.4	195/501	38.9
Total OE	917/2590	35.4	405/1140	35.5	1322/3730	35.4
ME1	145/386	37.6	96/186	51.6	241/572	42.1
ME2	23/93	24.7	21/45	46.7	44/138	31.9
ME3	186/591	31.5	171/344	49.7	357/935	38.2
ME4	222/327	40.4	113/281	40.2	335/830	40.4
Total ME	576/1619	35.6	401/856	46.8	977/2475	39.5

Table 5.16: Percentage of reflexives occurring with X-SELF in the YCOE and the PPCME2 by syntactic structure.

Chi-square tests reveal that the difference between the two structures is significant for OE3, ME1, ME3 and ME4, as shown in Table 5.17.⁸

This suggests that whilst there is a difference in frequency (chi-square tests), there is not a difference in terms of the factors affecting the frequency (GoldVarb).

The OE3 data is different to the other sub-periods in having a lower percentage of X-SELF forms with OBJP. The other OE periods (OE1/OE2) are different to the sub-periods of ME, as the difference between OBJV and OBJP is not statistically significant.

⁸Without Yates' correction, the distribution in ME2 would also be significant. The figures are Pearson's chi-square value is 6.72, and $p = 0.0095$, and Yates' chi-square value is 5.75, and $p = 0.0165$.

Period	df	χ^2 value	p value
OE3	2	13.68	p = 0.0002
ME1	2	9.59	p = 0.0020
ME3	2	23.78	p ≤ 0.0001
ME4	2	45.68	p ≤ 0.0001

Table 5.17: Significant chi-square results for the difference between OBJV and OBJP.

PERIOD	N	%	N	%	N	%
c.750-1154	89/508	17.5	21/117	17.9	110/615	17.9
1154-1303	167/902	18.5	102/261	39.1	269/1163	23.1
1303-1400	191/944	20.2	122/253	48.2	313/1197	26.1
1400-1495	203/1118	18.2	55/176	31.3	258/1294	19.9
1495-1605	1232/1523	80.9	291/458	63.5	1523/1981	76.9
1605-1700	930/1068	87.1	336/498	67.5	1266/1566	80.8

Table 5.18: Percentage of x-SELF divided by construction type from Keenan (2002: 346)

Keenan (2002) similarly presents figures which suggest the earlier period (OE) lacks a difference, but ME does not. His figures are presented in Table 5.18. In Keenan's data there is a 20% difference between the frequency of x-SELF in OBJV and OBJP constructions for the ME period, which is similar to my data.

However, Keenan (2002) includes pleonastic forms in his frequency counts, whereas they are omitted in mine. Inclusion of these forms for ME, makes the difference between OBJV and OBJP around 28%. Including the pleonastic data for the OE data alters our perception, as then there is a statistically significant difference between OBJV and OBJP in OE1 and OE2, however the difference in OE3 is no longer significant. The frequencies are provided in Table 5.19, and the chi-square results in Table 5.20.

Period	ObjV		ObjP		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
OE1	202/911	22.2	112/342	32.7	314/1053	29.8
OE2	550/2150	25.6	263/675	39.0	813/2825	28.8
OE3	165/512	32.2	30/123	24.4	195/635	30.7
Total	917/3573	25.7	405/1140	35.5	1322/4713	28.1

Table 5.19: Percentage of reflexives occurring with x-SELF in the YCOE and the PPCME2 by syntactic structure with pleonastic structures included.

Period	df	χ^2 value	p value
OE1	2	14.25	p = 0.0002
OE2	2	44.23	p ≤ 0.0001

Table 5.20: Significant chi-square results for the difference between OBJV and OBJP. Data from the YCOE, including pleonastic constructions.

5.3.2 Person

Recall that numerous researchers have suggested that X-SELF develops in third person constructions first due to the requirement to disambiguate (e.g. van Gelderen 2000; König and Siemund 2000a) and that this has been shown to be the case for other languages cross-linguistically. GoldVarb runs suggest that this is not the case for the earlier English data, and that all persons occur equally. This is explained via the fact that intensifiers can occur with all persons; it is not a question of ambiguity but rather contrast. Table 5.21 provides the percentages for the occurrence of X-SELF divided by person.

Period	1st		2nd		3rd	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
OE1	14/42	33.3	20/89	22.5	280/851	32.9
OE2	92/273	33.7	68/332	20.5	654/1643	39.8
OE3	22/64	34.4	25/94	26.6	148/343	43.1
ME1	24/80	30.0	52/156	33.3	165/336	49.1
ME2	3/14	21.4	1/20	5.0	40/104	38.5
ME3	25/72	34.7	38/153	24.8	294/710	41.4
ME4	32/74	43.2	67/193	34.7	236/563	41.9

Table 5.21: Frequency of X-SELF in the YCOE and the PPCME2 by person.

The table shows that there is a similar percentage of X-SELF for both first and third person throughout the OE and ME periods. Second person forms occur at a lower frequency, mostly because of imperative constructions. The fact that imperative constructions occur with a lower frequency receives a natural explanation under the analysis presented here; imperative constructions instruct someone to perform a particular action and are therefore typically self-directed; therefore we expect them to appear with a lower frequency of X-SELF.

5.3.3 Number

Van Gelderen (2000) is unique in suggesting that the reflexive occurs in singular constructions earlier and more frequently than in plural constructions. I provide the relevant figures from my data in Table 5.22.

Period	Singular		Plural	
	N	%	N	%
OE1	253/684	37.0	61/298	20.4
OE2	643/1531	42.0	171/717	23.8
OE3	140/324	43.2	55/177	31.1
ME1	157/372	42.2	84/200	42.0
ME2	34/105	32.4	10/33	30.3
ME3	265/630	42.1	92/305	30.2
ME4	250/646	38.7	85/184	46.2

Table 5.22: Frequency of X-SELF in the YCOE and the PPCME2 by number.

The figures for OE1 and OE2 would seem to support van Gelderen's idea. However, it is possible that the lower figure for the plural forms in the first two periods relates to other factors e.g. prepositions which disfavour X-SELF. Therefore, I suggest again that these differences are accounted for under the analysis here by assuming differences in the requirement to intensify.

5.4 Conclusion

In this chapter I have presented evidence that the distribution of the reflexive form is determined by the following factors: verbal type, prepositional type and the referent of the subject. Each of these factors is related to the requirements of intensifiers, suggesting that the X-SELF form is governed both by the requirements of reflexivisation and intensification.

Factors which have been observed elsewhere in the literature to have an effect on the form of the reflexive are found to be insignificant, despite there being differences in the percentages. Any differences which are to be found in the frequency of X-SELF occurring in a particular construction, such as for example between singular and plural, are determined by whether or not intensification is licensed. Therefore a high percentage of third person forms might be explained via there being a high percentage of high ranking individuals within that text.

Chapter 6

Towards a Theoretical Account

6.1 Introduction

Chapters 2 and 5 have shown that throughout the Middle English (ME) period there is variation in the form of the reflexive; it can either be a form which is identical to the personal pronoun as in (1) (throughout this work referred to as HIM), or it can occur as a morphologically complex form which consists of the pronoun plus *self* as in (2) (throughout this work referred to as X-SELF).¹ Reflexive forms of X-SELF are distinguished throughout from non-argument intensifiers (X-self) as in (3).

- (1) If he be ranke of blod he will gnappe himself and rubbe him a3ens
If he be excess of blood he will snap himself and rub him against
þe walle.
the wall.

‘If he [a horse] has an excess of blood he will hit himself and rub himself
against the wall.’

(CMHORSES, 89.33)

- (2) So þat hors will rubbe him-self...
So that horse will rub himself...

‘So that horse will rub himself...’

(CMHORSES, 103.196)

¹All forms of the reflexive which occur with *self* are classified as this type regardless of whether or not they are written as two separate words, a single orthographic unit, or conjoined with a hyphen. This is because it is impossible to tell whether the orthography represents the original language, the language of a scribal copyist, or the language of a subsequent editor. See discussion in §§1.5.2 and 2.1.

- (3) Pat I my-self moste gon wip 3ow wip al my power into Britaign.
 That I myself must go with you with all my power into Britain.
 ‘That I myself must go with you with all my power into Britain.’
 (CMBRUT3,62.1858)

Unlike in most previous works (e.g. philological works such as Penning 1875; Farr 1905; Visser 1963; Mitchell 1985 and quantitative works such as Peitsara 1997), the Old English (OE) data was treated in the same manner as the ME data and any occurrence of the reflexive HIM which occurred adjacent to the intensifier *self* was treated as being of the morphologically complex type i.e. X-SELF.² This new approach to the data reveals that there is no significant change in the form of the reflexive between OE and ME.³ This is supported by the fact that the frequency of HIM versus X-SELF remains broadly consistent over the two periods (chapter 2) and that the same factors determine the distribution (chapter 5).

The significant factors are (i) the type of the verb, where typically other-directed verbs (OD-verbs) favour X-SELF,⁴ (ii) the type of preposition, where prepositions which can have a disjoint object more frequently occur with X-SELF, and (iii) the type of referent, where referents which were shown in chapter 4 to frequently occur with the intensifier were shown to be more frequently found with X-SELF.⁵ This provides support for an analysis where the complex form retains its intensification reading.

Therefore the questions set out at the start of this thesis must be slightly modified since there is no longer a requirement to explain the creation of a new form at the start of ME.⁶ The question therefore changes from ‘why was a new reflexive form created?’ to: ‘why did the intensifier and reflexive frequently co-occur in OE and ME?’. The question concerning the second change however

²In chapter 2 I discussed two different constructions which contain locally bound pronouns. One of these constructions -the pleonastic- was found to only occur with otherwise intransitive verbs. Whilst the pleonastic pronoun and *self* co-occur, *self* is never inflected to agree with the pleonastic. On this basis, such constructions were excluded from the quantitative work in §2.3.5.1.

³Confusingly GoldVarb runs appear to suggest that there may be some differences between periods, although these are not always chronological. An explanation for these findings is not immediately obvious, and require further investigation in order to establish whether they might be explained via some other factor which is not investigated in this work.

⁴See also e.g. Ogura (1989b); Peitsara (1997); Fruhwirth (2003); Smith (2004).

⁵See also Farr (1905); Ogura (1989a,b); Lange (2003) for the suggestion that reflexives frequently occur with referents of high rank.

⁶However, we do need to explain why there is a slight increase in the use of X-SELF between OE and ME, which whilst statistically insignificant with χ -square tests (chapter 2), shows some significance in the GoldVarb runs (chapter 5).

remains unaltered: ‘why did X-SELF take over all local binding in the Early Modern English Period (EMODE)?’ It is impossible to attempt an answer to either of these questions without first considering the answer to another of the main research questions as set out in chapter 1: ‘why could ordinary personal pronouns function reflexively in OE and ME but not in EMODE?’

Therefore in this chapter, using insight gained from the theoretical discussions in chapter 3 concerning reflexives in other West Germanic languages, and in chapter 4 concerning the meaning of intensifiers, I provide an account for each of these developments. There is necessarily some overlap between them; however they are divided into the following sections: §6.2 provides an account for bound pronominals, §6.3 for the change in the intensifier and §6.4 for the change in the reflexive. A sub-section of §6.4 explores the relationship between intensifiers and reflexives. §6.5 summarises the account provided in this work.

6.2 Bound pronominals in Old and Middle English

In the discussion of the West Germanic reflexives in chapter 3, it was shown that numerous researchers have followed Reinhart and Reuland (1993) in suggesting that any element which is not fully referential (i.e. -R) can function reflexively due to the Generalised Chain Condition (GCC), repeated here in (4). The GCC allows any element which is -R to occur at the foot of a chain, but rules out the use of a +R element in the same position.

(4) General Condition on A-chains (GCC)

‘A maximal A-chain ($\alpha_1 \dots \alpha_n$) contains exactly one link – α_1 – that is both +R and Case marked.’

(Reinhart and Reuland 1993: 696)

Reinhart and Reuland (1993) suggest that the property -R is determined by deficiency in terms of either ϕ -features or Case, where inherent Case is considered to be deficient or underspecified. Numerous researchers have presented evidence for a deficiency in these terms for languages where pronominals function reflexively in at least part, if not all; of the pronominal paradigm e.g. inherent Case (as in Frisian, Hoekstra 1994; Hoekstra and Tiersma 1994 and for some German dialects, Keller 1978; Abraham 1996), number (French, Kayne 1975), gender, or person (OE, van Gelderen 1996, 1999, 2000). It was also shown in chapter 3 that cross-linguistically pronouns which were either clitics or weak pronouns were more likely to function reflexively than strong pronouns. Again this

seems to suggest that the ability to function reflexively is somehow linked to the feature specification of the pronominals.

In chapter 3, I suggested that an alternative to the underspecification of ϕ -features was a feature which concerned the referential interpretation of an element. This feature was encoded into a Minimalist Framework as an unvalued REF(erence) feature which is valued by the syntactic operation AGREE during the derivation.⁷ Following recent accounts of binding (Heinat 2006; Hicks 2006) it was suggested that an AGREE-based approach to binding had the advantage that the binding domain of earlier generative versions of the binding theory was reduced to the Phase, which is required within the syntax for independent reasons.

In the only other syntactic account of early English bound pronominals, van Gelderen (1999, 2000) also attempts to show that the pronominals are -R.⁸ She claims that pronominals can be bound in OE because of the availability of inherent Case which would make OE similar to accounts of bound pronominals in Frisian.⁹ However, since inherent Case is lost in early ME and pronominals continue to function reflexively, van Gelderen is forced to suggest that there is alternative underspecification of pronominals in the ME period. She argues that there is a person split with respect to the occurrence of reflexives, with third person forms unable to function reflexively after the loss of inherent Case, but first and second person forms able to continue to function reflexively as they are underspecified for person and number.

In the next sub-sections I therefore examine the features of earlier English pronouns and suggest that *contra* van Gelderen (2000) it seems likely that it is not underspecification for ϕ -features or the availability of inherent Case which allows the reflexives to function reflexively but rather it is the unvalued REF feature which I posited in §3.4.

⁷It was necessary to modify the constraints on probing in order for AGREE to take place in this case. The standard assumption is that any unvalued feature probes into its c-command domain in order to find a matching feature. However, this poses the problem that in reflexive constructions, it is the goal which c-commands the probe and not vice-versa. For further discussion of this issue see §3.4.

⁸Other accounts, such as Keenan (2002, 2003), concentrate on providing theoretical motivation for the appearance and distribution of the *self*-forms, but not for the older means of using pronominals reflexively.

⁹Encoding the reflexive relationship via AGREE seems to rule out the use of Case as a means in which to establish binding, since there is no requirement for the antecedent and the reflexive to agree in terms of Case, and therefore the agreement relation is not established. Furthermore, it is unclear to me why Case (inherent or otherwise) should either (i) mark an element as not fully referential or (ii) allow it to function reflexively.

6.2.1 Inherent Case

Numerous researchers have noted that OE has inherent Case which is sometimes referred to as lexical or morphological Case (see e.g., van Kemenade 1987: ch3; Allen 1995 and van Gelderen 2000: ch5). In this section I explore the evidence for inherent Case in OE and the evidence for when inherent Case was lost, in order to determine the likelihood of its involvement in allowing pronouns to function reflexively and whether its demise might also explain the demise of reflexively functioning personal pronouns.

Firstly as evidence for inherent Case, we might cite the fact that in OE different verbs assign different Cases to their objects (see e.g. Visser 1963; Mitchell 1985; Allen 1995; Fischer et al. 2000). This suggests that rather than being linked to structural position, Case is assigned by the verb to its θ -role. Similarly, prepositions assign specific Cases to their objects. An example of different Case assignments for reflexive objects of prepositions is provided in (5). In this example the preposition *on* 'in' assigns dative Case, but the preposition *þurh* 'through' assigns accusative Case as is seen with the different forms of the pronominal and the inflectional endings on the intensifier *self*.

- (5) He bið þurhwuniende on him_i sylfum_i & þurh hine_i sylfne_i.
He is everlasting in him self and through him self.
'He is everlasting in himself and through himself.'
(+cocathom1,+ACHom_I,_20336.25.3848)

Furthermore, as inherent Case is tied to the θ -role rather than the structural position, when an inherently Case marked element undergoes movement it is expected to retain its Case, whereas if an element has structural Case we expect the element to display the Case of its new position. Both dative Case and genitive Case were regularly preserved under passivisation in OE (6), however this is not the case with accusative Case (7).

- (6) Hi ne demað nanum men, ac him bið gedemed.
They not judge no-DAT man-DAT, but them-DAT is judged.
'They will not judge any man, but they will be judged.'
(Ælc.P.XI.369, Allen 1995: 27)

- (7) a. Gregorius hine aflige.
 Gregory him-ACC put to flight.
 'Gregory put him to flight.'
 (ÆHom 22.624, Fischer et al. 2000: 41)
- b. Ða wearð se god afiged of þære fulan anlicnysse.
 Then was the god-NOM expelled from the foul idol.
 'Then the god was expelled from the foul idol.'
 (ÆHom 22.593 Fischer et al. 2000: 41)

This suggests that in OE accusative Case is structural but that dative Case is inherent. This makes OE akin to Modern German,¹⁰ which retains dative case under passivisation as in (8), but does not retain accusative case in the same context as in (9).

- (8) a. Sie hilft ihm.
 She helps him-DAT.
 'She helps him'.
- b. Ihm wurde geholfen.
 Him-DAT was helped.
 'He was helped'.
- c. *Er-NOM wurde geholfen.
 He was helped.
 'He was helped'.
- (9) a. Sie sieht ihn.
 She sees him-ACC.
 'She sees him'.
- b. *Ihn wurde gesehen.
 Him-ACC was seen.
 'He was seen'.
- c. Er wurde gesehen.
 He-NOM was seen.
 'He was seen'.

However, in order to maintain her account that it is inherent Case which makes OE pronouns -R, van Gelderen (2000) must claim that accusative Case is not structurally assigned, since accusative (as well as dative and occasionally genitive) pronouns can function reflexively as shown in the following example.

¹⁰See also chapter 3.

- (10) Ond se cwellere sona hine_i selfne_i ofslog mid ðy ilcan
 And the killer immediately him self slew with the same
 sweorde.
 sword.
 ‘And the killer immediately slew himself with the same sword.’
 (comart3,Mart_5_[Kotzor]Jy7,B.45.1117)

In fact in chapter 2 it was shown that in OE there are slightly more accusative reflexives than either dative or genitive ones. In 39.0% (940/2408) of cases of the reflexively used pronominal without *self* the pronominal was accusative compared to 33.1% (797/2408) where the pronominal was dative.¹¹ When the reflexive pronominal was intensified by *self* the percentage of accusative forms was 59.6% (789/1323), compared to 38.2% (506/1323) of dative forms. Therefore out of all reflexive uses this means that there were 46.3% (1729/3731) which were unambiguously accusative and 34.9% (1301/3731) which were unambiguously dative.

It seems unlikely that language learners would suppose that accusative Case was anything other than structurally assigned, given not only the evidence from passivisation as cited in (6)-(7) above, but also evidence from impersonal constructions and possible Accusative-cum-Infinitive (ACI) constructions.

For the former, only dative pronominals are used in the subject-like position in the impersonal construction (see, for example, Fischer and van der Leek 1983; von See Franz-Montag 1983; Allen 1995; Sinar 2002). Accusative-cum-Infinitive (ACI) constructions, such as (11), provide evidence that accusative case must be structurally assigned.

- (11) Se ealdormon sceal læten hiene selfne gelicne his hieremonnum.
 The ruler shall let him self resemble his subjects.
 ‘The ruler shall let himself resemble his subjects’.
 (van Kemenade 1987: 70)

If *hiene* ‘him’ is the subject of the embedded clause, then its accusative must be structurally assigned since it is not associated with the θ -role but rather the position. An alternative analysis would be to propose that *hiene* is an object of *læten* and the other object is the embedded clause: [PRO gelicne his hieremonnum]. This would suggest that such verbs have a type of double object construction.

¹¹The number of dative forms increase if pleonastics are also counted amongst these figures (see chapter 2 for details). However, what is crucial for the argument here is not the proportional frequency, but rather that accusative forms occur in sufficient numbers to not be considered errors.

Los (1999: 184) compares verbs such as *hatan* and *læten* to unequivocal double object constructions e.g. involving verbs such as *persuade*. She argues that the accusative object is more often animate with the latter than with *hatan* and *lætan*, indicating that the accusative object of *hatan* is really the subject of the infinitive.

Further problems for van Gelderen's reliance on inherent Case concern the timing of the change; under an account where inherent Case allows ordinary personal pronouns to function reflexively, we would expect the loss of inherent Case to be the end of the ME period, since this is the point when ordinary personal pronouns cease functioning reflexively (chapter 2, chapter 5, Penning 1875; Farr 1905; Ogura 1989; van Gelderen 2000; Lange 2002; Keenan 2002, 2003). However, it seems likely that inherent Case is lost before this date. For example, van Gelderen (2000: 90) dates the loss at 1250 and Allen (1995: 219) writes:

'It is clear that the domain of lexical Case marking was greatly reduced by the Middle of the thirteenth century in all dialects of English except Kentish'

However, some evidence for a special status of Case in some constructions remained until the end of the ME period. Allen (1995) presents evidence that certain impersonal constructions survived the loss of inherent Case. Interestingly for our purposes here, she times the change of the decline of these constructions to the end of ME. Therefore at the same time as these impersonal constructions are lost, so too are the HIM-type reflexives and pleonastics.

6.2.2 Weak or clitic pronouns?

In chapter 3 it was shown that in languages such as Dutch which have two sets of pronouns (strong versus weak/clitic), that the weak/clitic pronouns can be locally bound, whereas the strong pronouns can not. It has long been noticed that OE pronouns have special properties; for example they can occur in syntactic positions in which full nominal DPs cannot, in double object constructions they have a strict ordering which nominals lack, and they can move leftward out of the prepositional phrase (see e.g. van Kemenade 1987; Pintzuk 1991; Koopman 1990, 1997; Hulk and van Kemenade 1995; Morgan 2004; Harris 2006). Whilst several researchers have used these different properties to claim that (at least some) OE pronouns are clitics, Koopman (1997) has compared their position to those outlined by Kayne for clitics in Romance and suggests that they only share some of the properties. For example, whilst OE pronouns are similar to

Romance clitics in terms of their positioning with respect to each other, adverbs and negation, they are different in not always being adjacent to the verb and not moving with the verb when it moves to C.

This may mean that some OE pronouns are clitics but that either we need to alter our definition of clitics or concede that there are certain cross-linguistic differences. Alternatively, we may suggest that they are weak pronominals along the lines of those suggested elsewhere in Germanic by Cardinaletti and Starke (1996, 1999).

For the purposes of this discussion the crucial thing is that it seems that certain pronominals in OE behave differently and this is strong evidence that, whilst homophonous, pronominals in OE had different featural compositions. The fact that some behave in a clitic-like manner suggests that like clitics they are in some way underspecified (Abraham 1996; Grohmann 2000). Precisely how they are underspecified and how many different types of pronominal there are is a matter beyond the scope of this research. It is sufficient to accept that there is a certain amount of syntactic evidence which makes pronominals consistent with the current theoretical account.¹²

Another matter for future research concerns how the feature composition of pronominals has changed throughout the history of English. With the well documented changes in word order (van Kemenade 1987; Koopman 1990; Lightfoot 1991; Pintzuk 1991; van der Wurff 1997), the positions of pronominals change. However, there remains evidence in the present-day spoken language that there may be at least two sets of pronominals with weak forms such as *'im*, *'em* and *'er* used alongside strong forms such as *him*, *them* and *her* (Wales 1996).

6.2.3 Underspecification for ϕ -features?

Van Gelderen (2000) suggests that, whilst in OE the pronominals function reflexively because they have inherent Case, once this is lost in early ME only the first and second person pronominals can continue to function reflexively. She suggests that this is because unlike 3rd person forms they are underspecified for both person and number features. She cites as evidence differences in terms of pro-drop and verbal agreement. However, her account faces several problems. Firstly multivariate analysis does not confirm that there is the person split that

¹²Note that it seems unlikely that the reason OE pronouns can function reflexively is simply because they are clitics/weak, as this would incorrectly suggest that all clitic/weak uses would have to be reflexive. The evidence presented here is intended to show that there is evidence for homophonous pronouns having different features, and that interestingly OE has clitic/weak pronouns which have been shown to be important for allowing bound pronominals in other languages.

van Gelderen suggests exists both in her data and in her theoretical account. Secondly, under such an account it is unclear why following the loss of inherent Case, third person pronominals continue to function reflexively throughout the remainder of the ME period.

6.2.4 Conclusion

Having reviewed the potential elements which could lead to pronominals being considered to be underspecified under the account of Reinhart and Reuland (1993) (i.e. ϕ -features and Case), I find no convincing evidence to suggest that these are responsible for the availability of bound pronominals in OE and ME. Instead, it seems likely that an alternative feature - perhaps the REF feature as suggested here - was responsible for the reflexive use of pronominals.

6.3 The development of the complex intensifier

In chapter 4 we saw that intensifiers can occur in two syntactic positions: adjacent to the DP which it intensifies as in (12) or at distance from the DP which it intensifies as in (13). In both of these constructions, the intensifier could occur adjacent to a pronoun, meaning either (or both) types of intensifier could be the origin of the complex intensifier (**x-self**).¹³

- (12) Ond se cwellere sona hine_i selfne_i ofslog mid ðy ilcan
 And the killer immediately him_i self_i slew with the same
 sweorde.
 sword.

‘And the killer immediately slew himself with the same sword.’

(comart3,Mart_5_[Kotzor]Jy7,B.45.1117)

- (13) Pa se ilca Totilla_i eode him self_i...
 Then the same Totilla_i went him self_i...

‘Then the same Totilla went himself.’

(cogregdC,GD_2_[C]:14.132.9.1278)

We might imagine that an account based on adjacent-self fusing to its pronominal DP might suggest either the clitic-like status of pronominals (see above) and/or the decay of the inflectional endings of *self* (see chapter 2), for the motivation for fusion of the two elements. The latter argument would run as

¹³Note that in the case of distant-self (13), the pronoun is always a pleonastic pronoun and hence coreferential with the subject. In the case of adjacent-self, the pronominal could be either reflexive, as shown in (12), or in a minority of cases disjoint. For further details see chapter 4.

follows: following the loss of inflectional endings in early ME certain constructions would become ambiguous, and fusion of the pronoun and *self* would remove this ambiguity. For example whilst in OE the example in (14) is unambiguously of the adjacent-self type and it unambiguously intensifies *Criste* 'Christ', following the loss of adjectival inflections, either of the two readings given in (15) would be possible:

- (14) And eft, þa þa hi_j comon to Criste_i selfum_i...
 And after, when they came to Christ self...
 'And afterwards then, they came to Christ himself...'
 (coaelhom,+AHom_5.279.854)
- (15) a. They_i came to Christ_j self_i.
 b. They_i came to Christ_j self_j.

Fusion with the pronominal/addition of a pronominal copy, would allow the intensifier to maintain some of the distinctions which were being lost e.g. agreement with its DP for ϕ -features (but not Case). However, note that whilst this would be sufficient in many cases, that in others ambiguity would remain, as shown in (16).

- (16) a. He_i came to Christ_j himself_i.
 b. He_i came to Christ_j himself_j.

Moreover, such an analysis predicts forms which are not attested; in object position we correctly predict the form *the king himself*, but incorrectly predict the form **him himself*. Similarly in subject position we would predict the forms **he heself* and **The king heself* neither of which are attested in the literature or my data.

Several solutions to the problem of **him himself* have been proposed in the literature (e.g. Baker 1995; König and Siemund 2000b; Siemund 2000; Bergeton 2004). One solution which is proposed is that *him* is a fused copy of the intensified pronominal akin to some of the analyses of PDE logophoric forms (Baker 1995; König and Siemund 2000b), although the problem of unpredicted forms would remain since we could easily expect the subject form to fuse in the same manner, providing the unattested form **heself*. To answer this problem we might suggest that this fusion is only possible where the two forms agree in terms of case or are phonologically identical (haplology) e.g. fusion can occur with **him himself* as the pronominal is identical *him*, but no fusion can take place with *he himself* as there is a nominative form *he* and the oblique form *him*. However, such an analysis faces the problem that object forms with first person constructions are equally ungrammatical **us ourselves*, despite the fact that the pronominals *us*

and *our* have both a different morphological/phonological form and different case.

Alternatively, we might take the approach of Baker (1995) and suggest that the lack of **him himself* falls from the meaning of the intensifier. Since the intensified DPs are normally prominent within the discourse, we might expect that subjects are more likely than objects to be intensified. The data presented in chapter 4 is consistent with this idea, showing subject adjacent-self forms to be the most commonly used intensifier structure in OE, ME and EMODE (when reflexivity is not involved in these constructions). However, these data also show that it is possible to intensify an object, even though it is a less frequently attested construction.

Recall that these constructions showed evidence for change within the history of English: in OE it was possible to intensify both nominals and disjoint pronominals,¹⁴ but from ME onwards it was only possible to intensify nominal objects. This suggests that either the meaning of intensifiers has changed, placing stricter requirements of prominence on the DP to be intensified, or that another change has impacted upon these constructions. Below I will argue for the latter analysis.

A further problem for an analysis which suggests the complex intensifier starts with the object pronominal and the adjacent-self intensifier is that if the development starts with the objects, how does it spread to the subject position? If this is via a process of either pattern generalisation or analogy, the problem will remain that this predicts unattested forms.

One possible solution to this problem would be to say that the complex intensifier is analysed as intensifying a null object i.e. \emptyset **X-self** as proposed in Bergeton (2004) and Bergeton and Pancheva (2004). If this form then replaced all cases of OE *self*, we would correctly predict that subject forms would be of the type *he himself* and have the structure *he \emptyset himself* and we would also be able to explain why the pronominal part of the complex intensifier is never nominative.

However, one problem for this account is that the object forms would then intensify a null element, which is not consistent with the properties of intensifiers in general, since we do not expect a null element to be of high rank. Finally, it is unclear to me why the intensifier would be a non-argument element, since under this analysis it comprises both an argument of the verb and the intensifier. It also remains unclear why the argument would lose its status under such an account.

¹⁴It remains possible to intensify disjoint pronominal objects in the modern languages of Danish and Norwegian, which like the OE data, suggests that an analysis based on the meaning of the intensifiers is not on the right track.

Alternative analyses might instead take the constructions such as (13) and suggest that the complex intensifier resulted from a fusion of distant-self to the non- θ pleonastic pronouns. Motivation for such an account might be the loss of inflectional endings on *self*, that the pleonastic form was useless (see Penning 1875), or that the two elements have a similar meaning (see also Keenan 2002, 2003). Regarding the first motivation, we might suppose that as this intensifier occurs at distance from the DP it intensifies that it would be more important for this intensifier to maintain its agreement properties.

The second motivation, that the pleonastic pronouns were useless, is based on the fact that they were frequently omitted in similar contexts to those in which they occur, often within the same text, and even within a few lines of each other. This suggests that the pleonastic pronoun contributes little to the meaning of the sentence. The analysis therefore runs that learners might postulate that the pleonastic and *self* are a unit, since they frequently co-occur. As under this analysis *self* has meaning, and the pleonastic does not, the meaning of *self* would remain essentially unaltered. The main problem for this account, is that pleonastic pronouns were still productive during this time - they occurred in new constructions with newly borrowed verbs, which suggests they were not entirely 'useless'.

The third motivation is advanced in Keenan (2002, 2003), although not exclusively in relation to the development of the intensifier. Keenan suggests that the intensifier and the pleonastic might combine due to a similarity in meaning; the pleonastic heightens the involvement of the subject, and the intensifier contrasts the subject with other potential subjects meaning it essentially also heightens the involvement of the subject. Combination of the two forms would therefore mean the subject only had to be identified once, therefore reducing the computational load. This seems to me to be the most plausible explanation for fusion of the two elements.

Some support for the suggestion that the change began with the distant-self forms comes from the fact that there are 10 examples in OE where the pleonastic pronoun and *self* are written as a single unit. These are the only examples where this applies in OE. Furthermore as will be shown in Tables 6.1-6.3 below, the complex intensifier occurs first in distant-self constructions.¹⁵

One immediate advantage of this analysis over the previous is that both of the fused elements are non- θ , meaning there is no need to explain either why an argument and non-argument fuse, or why the former loses its status as an argument. However, it remains unclear *how* and *why* a change in the distant-self

¹⁵Note that this correctly predicts that the first complex distant-self forms occur with verbs which take pleonastic pronouns, and that later this spreads to non-pleonastic taking verbs.

intensifier would cause a change in the adjacent-self constructions.

It seems likely that the answer to this question lies in a set of examples which would become ambiguous given (i) the loss of Case endings, and (ii) an increasing tendency for the pleonastic form and *self* to co-occur and be treated as a single unit.

- (17) a. Swa Swa *he him sylf* sæde...
Just as he him self said...
'Just as he said himself...'
(coaelhom, +AHom_17:103.2415)
- b. Ða awrat *se hælend him sylf* þis gewrit,
Then wrote the lord him self this scripture,
'Then the lord wrote this scripture himself.'
(coaelive, +ALS_[Abdon_and_Sennes]:102.4787)
- (18) a. Ðat I *my-self* moste gon wip 3ow wip al my power into
That I myself must go with you with all my power into
Britaigne,
Britain,
That I must go with you myself with all my power into Britain.
or: 'That I myself must go with you with all my power into Britain.'
(CMBRUT3,62.1858)
- b. And *Arthur him-self* went aZeyne towarde þe Marche of
And Arthur himself went again toward the Marche of
Scotland.
Scotland.
'And Arthur went again himself toward the Marche of Scotland.'
or: 'And Arthur himself again went toward the Marche of Scotland.'
(CMBRUT3, 71.2154)

Language learners confronted with the ambiguous examples above would have the following options for analysis (as represented in the two different translations for the ME data):

1. Distant-self with an intervening pronominal (i.e. continuation of the OE system), or
2. Adjacent-self with a complex intensifier (i.e. the PDE intensifier).

In the following Tables the distribution for each of the types of intensifier for OE, ME and PDE is provided. The figures in the table are broken into three construction types: the monomorphemic *self*, *self* occurring adjacent to a pronominal which it does not intensify which may either be written as two separate words

or be hyphenated, and the complex intensifier *self*. The results from the Tables are shown in Figure 6.1.

Period	[...] self	[...] him(-)self	[...] himself	Total
OE1	59 (60.2%)	39 (39.8%)	0	98
OE2	87 (47.3%)	90 (48.9%)	7 (3.8%)	184
OE3	47 (49.5%)	45 (47.4%)	3 (3.2%)	95
ME1 + ME2	0	39 (92.9%)	3 (7.1%)	42
ME3	0	41 (71.9%)	16 (28.1%)	57
ME4	0	40 (63.5%)	23 (36.5%)	63
EMODE1	0	88 (65.2%)	47 (34.8%)	135
EMODE2	0	77 (51.0%)	74 (49.0%)	151
EMODE3	0	43 (43.4%)	56 (56.6%)	99

Table 6.1: The frequency of distant-self in the YCOE, the PPCME2 and the PPCEME. Ambiguous examples included.

Period	subject self	subject him(-)self	subject himself	Total
OE1	169 (96.0%)	7 (4.0%)	0	176
OE2	740 (99.2%)	6 (0.8%)	0	746
OE3	252 (84.8%)	45 (15.2%)	0	297
ME1 + ME2	35 (66.1%)	18 (33.9%)	0	53
ME3	1 (3.2%)	27 (87.1%)	3 (9.7%)	31
ME4	0	15 (42.9%)	20 (57.1%)	35
EMODE1	5 (7.2%)	38 (55.1%)	26 (37.7%)	69
EMODE2	0	44 (33.5%)	87 (66.4%)	131
EMODE3	0	23 (36.5%)	40 (63.5%)	63

Table 6.2: The frequency of subject adjacent-self in the YCOE, the PPCME2 and the PPCEME. Ambiguous examples included.

Period	object self	object him(-)self	object himself	Total
OE1	34 (100%)	0	0	34
OE2	172 (100%)	0	0	172
OE3	88 (100%)	0	0	88
ME1 + ME2	12 (100%)	0	0	12
ME3	3 (13.6%)	7 (31.8%)	12 (54.5%)	22
ME4	1 (10.0%)	3 (30.0%)	6 (60.0%)	10
EMODE1	7 (26.9%)	6 (23.1%)	13 (50.0%)	26
EMODE2	0	15 (34.1%)	29 (65.9%)	44
EMODE3	0	23 (45.1%)	28 (54.9%)	51

Table 6.3: The frequency of object adjacent-self in the YCOE, the PPCME2 and the PPCEME. Reflexive forms excluded.

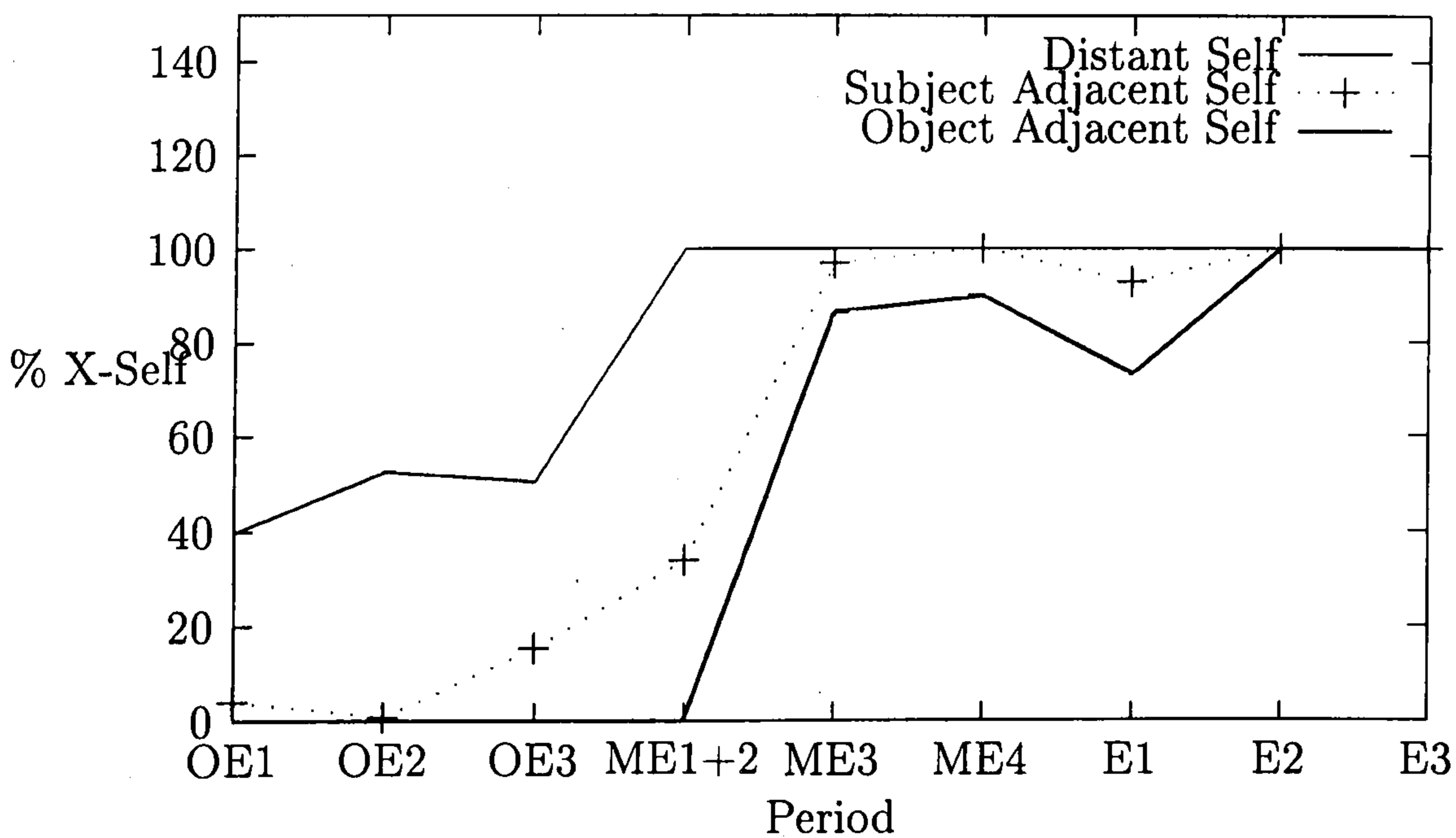


Figure 6.1: The development of the complex intensifier.

These tables and the graph suggest that the change starts in the distant-self constructions and spreads to the subject adjacent-self ones, before finally spreading to the object-adjacent constructions.¹⁶ We might therefore suppose that the development is as follows: distant-self conjoins with the pleonastic pronoun due to a similarity in meaning. For a certain sub-set of examples this causes ambiguity. Learners then analyse these forms as being a complex adjacent-self form adjacent to the subject, rather than a subject pleonastic pronoun and intensifier. The complex form then spreads to the object adjacent-self form, due to pattern generalisation.

6.4 The development of the complex reflexive

There is disagreement in the literature over the precise origin of the morphologically complex reflexive (X-SELF). Some researchers suggest that *self* fused with the pleonastic pronoun (e.g. Penning 1875; Mitchell 1985), whereas others suggest that the fusion was between the intensifier and the reflexive argument (e.g. Farr 1905; van Gelderen 2000; Lange 2003). The empirical evidence and theoretical argument presented in this work suggest that the latter is the case; a position I further defend in this section.

The focus for the discussion of the component parts of the complex reflexive form (X-SELF) must necessarily first be *self* occurring adjacent to a coreferential pronominal. In chapter 4, it was shown that in almost half of the constructions containing an intensifier in the YCOE, the intensifier and the locally-bound pronominal were adjacent to one another ($1507/3155 = 47.8\%$), which suggests that there was a strong link between reflexivity and intensification.¹⁷

Furthermore, it was shown that these 1507 examples fall into two types. The first type is a minority pattern where distant-self occurs adjacent to a pleonastic pronoun.¹⁸ In such constructions the intensifier is not inflected to agree with the pleonastic form, but rather the subject as in (19). Such constructions account for 184 of all intensifier uses ($184/3155 = 5.8\%$) or 12.2% of the constructions which occur with a locally bound pronominal adjacent to the intensifier (184/1507).

¹⁶The different distributions of the types of intensifier provides support for the notion that they are two different types, rather than the same intensifier which is in a different position due to movement.

¹⁷See chapter 3, where a similar relationship between the intensifier and the reflexive is shown for other Germanic languages and chapter 4, where this data is first presented.

¹⁸Recall that pleonastic pronouns occur with otherwise intransitive verbs, which suggests that they may in fact be non-thematic pronouns. They are always locally bound by the subject.

The more frequent pattern is where adjacent-self occurs adjacent to a reflexive pronoun which is an argument of the verb as in (20). In this latter case SELF is inflected to agree with the reflexive pronoun.¹⁹ Such constructions account for 41.9% of all intensifier constructions (1323/3155) and 87.8% of the constructions which occur with a locally bound pronominal adjacent to the intensifier (1323/1507).

(19) *Pleonastic pronoun + distant-self*

& lædde him syf his halgan bec mid him in fellenum sæccum,
 And carried him self his holy books with him in fur sacks,
 þa wæron alegd his on þa swiþran healfe & on þa wynstran.
 they were hanging his on the right half and the left.

‘And he carried himself his holy books with him in fur bags, they were hanging on his right side and on his left.’

(cogregdC,GD_1_[C]:4.34.11.374)

(20) *Reflexive pronoun + adjacent-self*

þa Darius geseah þæt he oferwunnen beon wolde, þa wolde he
 when Darius saw that he overcome be would, he wanted to
hiene selfne on þæm gefeohte forspillan.
 destroy him self in the fighting.

‘When Darius saw that he would be overcome, he wanted to destroy himself in the fighting.’

(coorosiu,Or_3:9.70.2.1369)

The frequencies of these constructions, alongside those without a locally bound pronominal are provided in Table 6.4 repeated from chapter 4.

	Bound pronominal				No bound pronominal					
	RFL (1b)		Pleo (2a)		Subject (1a)		Object (1b)		Distant (2b)	
Period	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
OE1	314	51.1	39	6.3	169	27.5	34	5.5	59	9.6
OE2	814	42.6	97	5.1	740	38.7	172	9.1	87	4.6
OE3	195	31.0	48	7.6	252	40.0	88	14.0	47	7.5
Total	1323	41.9	184	5.8	1161	36.8	294	9.3	193	6.1

Table 6.4: The distribution of the different types of **self** in the YCOE. Data divided into intensifiers adjacent to a locally bound pronominal and those which are not.

¹⁹There are no examples where SELF occurs adjacent to a θ reflexive pronoun but is inflected to agree with the subject.

It was shown in chapter 4 that the percentage of distant-self forms versus the adjacent-self forms is approximately 10% to 90%. This is regardless of whether or not reflexivity is involved. Furthermore, it shows that for both constructions under consideration, they occur adjacent to a reflexive approximately 50% of the time.

Whilst I provided evidence in the previous section that the intensifier develops from the distant-self type, I do not believe that it is the origin of the reflexive form for the following reasons:

1. Such constructions make the wrong predication concerning the verbal type with which we find X-SELF in early Middle English (eME). In eME the complex reflexive occurs with other-directed verbs not the verbs of motion and emotion with which we typically find the non-thematic pronouns in OE. These verbs of emotion and motion are self-directed verbs and hence do not occur with X-SELF.
2. Both distant-self and the pleonastic pronoun are non-argument elements, meaning we would not expect a form comprised of these two parts to subsequently, and particularly not immediately, appear in an argument position.²⁰
3. Whilst fusion in terms of semantics seems logical for the intensifier,²¹ it is less so for the reflexive. A reflexive does not mean 'contrast and heighten the involvement of the subject', but rather it signals that the subject and the object are coreferential.
4. The pleonastic form does not occur after prepositions. But the evidence suggests that the complex reflexive develops simultaneously in constructions involving the object of the verb and the object of the preposition.
5. The complex intensifier develops rapidly at the start of ME. The development of the complex reflexive occurs at the end of the period, after a period of stable variation.

On the other hand, if the complex reflexive contains a reflexive pronoun, some of these objections are immediately removed, although further questions are raised. With respect to the first objection concerning verbal type, no specific

²⁰Again, verbal type is a factor here. The verbs typically occurring with non- θ pronouns are otherwise intransitive (i.e. do not have an object). Since reflexivity concerns object pronominals, it is unlikely that constructions with verbs without object pronouns would be used in the development of a new reflexive pronoun.

²¹As supported by the meaning of intensifier for PDE.

predictions are made; we simply expect that the new form can appear where-ever the old form occurred (cf Keenan's (2002, 2003) notion of *inertia*). Therefore the following (related) questions are raised:

- Why does the complex form not appear in all cases where the simple reflexive formerly appeared?
- Why does the complex reflexive appear with other-directed verbs?

It is likely that the answer to these questions concerns verbal type. Recall that in many Germanic languages a complex reflexive (typically made up of the simple form + an intensifier), is required when the verb is other-directed. However when the verb is self-directed, the simple form is used (see chapter 3). In chapter 5 I demonstrated that the same factor is evident in earlier stages of English, thereby providing both an explanation to these questions and a possible reason for fusion - *self* fuses to the simple reflexive in other-directed situations since the 'unexpected coreference' needs to be marked.

The second objection is simply not an issue, since the pronominal in this case *is* an argument of the verb. Therefore we would expect the new compound form to be able to appear in argument positions.

Likewise, the third objection does not stand, since we might reasonably assume that the meaning of a reflexive has remained consistent – it is simply the form and where it can and cannot occur which have changed. However, it is not immediately obvious, *how* or *why*, the adjacent-self form might combine to the reflexive.

As reflexive pronouns do occur following a preposition, the fourth objection is likewise removed. However, it should be noted that analysis of the factors affecting the distribution of the X-SELF form presented in chapter 5, did suggest that some prepositions did not allow disjoint reference (or at least strongly preferred it), suggesting that at least some of these pronouns are in SD-type constructions. However, the fact remains, that pronominal objects of prepositions cannot be omitted, and hence they are crucially unlike the pleonastic forms.

The final objection -that the changes occur at different times- is quite expected if they are different changes. Therefore, once again, this objection is removed if the origin of the reflexive form is the reflexive and the intensifier.

Therefore, in the next section I briefly examine previous theoretical accounts for the relationship between intensifiers and reflexives. Using insight gained from this discussion I then evaluate previous accounts of the diachronic data, before providing my own account.

6.4.1 Previous analyses of the relationship between intensifiers and reflexives

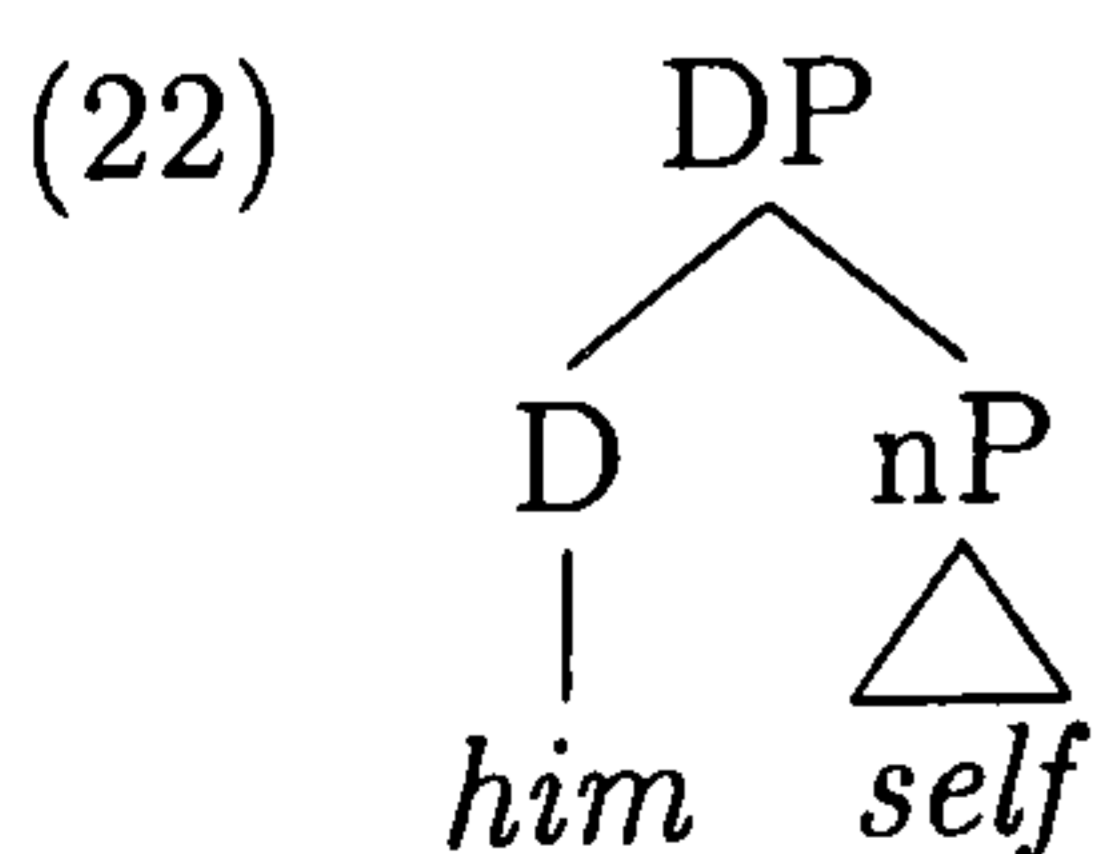
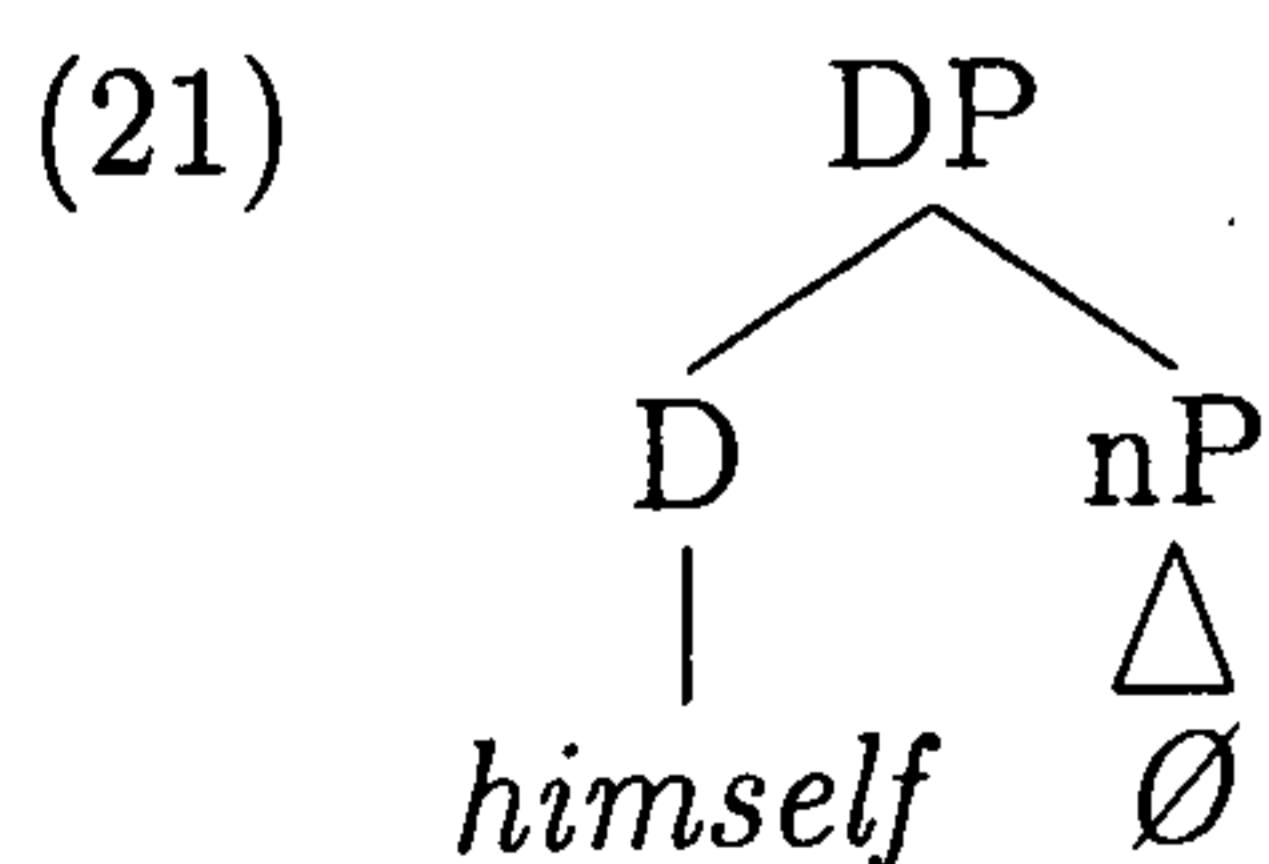
In chapter 3 we saw that there is a cross-linguistic tendency for a complex reflexive to be decomposable into the SE-anaphor and the intensifier e.g. Dutch *zichzelf* = *zich zelf*. It was also suggested that this requirement was in some way linked to the nature of the verb which determined whether or not the SELF-anaphor or the SE-anaphor was required.

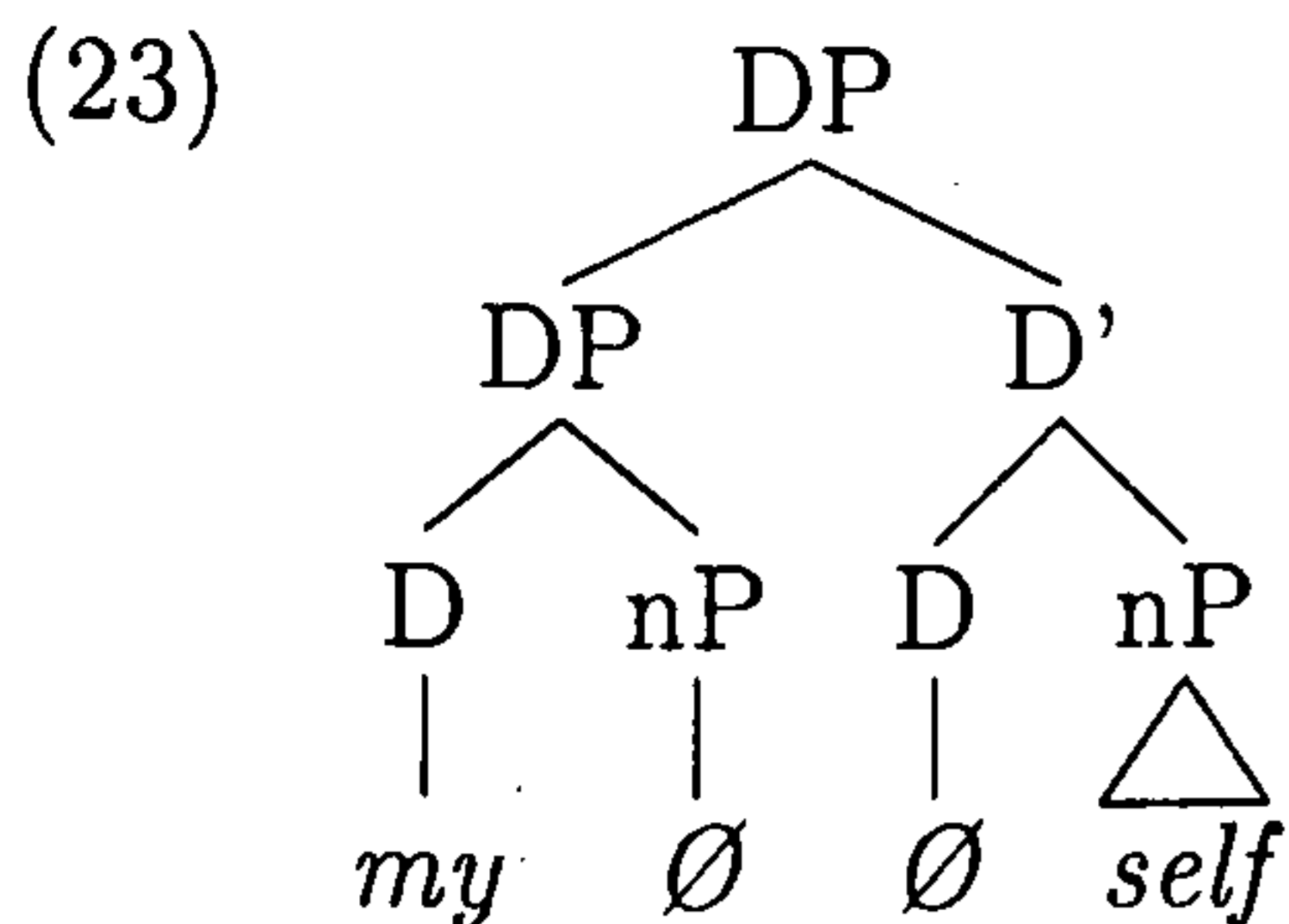
Now that it has been shown that a similar system is evident in the earlier stages of English, we must ask: why do intensifiers and reflexives typically occur with OD-verbs? And why do these two elements frequently fuse together in certain languages?

Previous analyses of the relationship between reflexives and intensifiers can be broken into those dealing with synchronic data (e.g. Hall 1965, Moyne 1971, Cantrall 1973, Browning 1993, Jayaseelan 1988, Jayaseelan (1996), Reuland 2001) and those, like this one, dealing with diachronic data.

One of the more recent and prevalent ideas in the literature in the synchronic accounts is the idea that the intensifiers frequently become adjoined to the pronouns to create a reflexive because they are able to ‘protect’ the pronominal from violating Chomsky’s Condition B (see e.g. Jayaseelan 1988, 1996, Reuland 2001).

Jayaseelan argues that *taan* the reflexive in Malayalam ‘is like a reflexive in requiring an antecedent; but it is like a pronoun in obeying Condition B’ (Jayaseelan 1996: 193). The function of the intensifier therefore is to change the structural position of ‘taan’ in order to prevent a violation. Therefore a possessive-like structure is suggested for the reflexive, where the key factor is that there is a complex DP. In chapter 2, several such structures were proposed, each allowing the pronominal to escape Condition B effects by being part of a more complex DP. These are repeated here as (21)-(23)





However, the analysis of Jayaseelan says nothing about the semantics of intensifiers and it also neglects the relevance of the semantics of the predicate; some pronominals can be bound with self-directed predicates, but not other-directed ones, which suggests that rather than being a condition on the pronominals, it is something to do with predicates. However, I will return to this notion that intensifiers can be used as a ‘trick’ to get around Condition B (Reuland 2001), in the following two sections.

Gast (2002, 2004) similarly argues that the complex reflexive is a ‘trick’. He suggests that intensifiers represent an identity function which interacts with the focus structure of the sentence. Reflexives are similarly identity functions, but rather than interacting with the focus structure, the interaction is with syntactic rules concerning the interpretation of the arguments of a given predicate. In other words the ID function which is represented by the relevant self-morpheme is used to prevent a violation of the syntactic restraint that the subject and object of an other-directed verb cannot be co-referential. Therefore, the function of the self-morpheme is to ‘shift’ the object DP to a different structural position (akin to ‘his’ in ‘his wife’), allowing it to be bound and its meaning to stay the same. This would make the development of the complex reflexive a functionally motivated change.

Within the diachronic literature there are two prevalent ideas. One is that intensifiers develop into reflexive markers because they mark the object as being different to expectations (Faltz 1985, Levinson 1991). Faltz (1985: 240) writes that ‘the emphatic is added to an NP as a warning to the hearer that the intended referent of that NP is unusual or unexpected’. Under this analysis, the change from intensifier to reflexive is a grammaticalisation of the instruction for finding the referent; the intensifier says ‘find the unlikely referent’.²²

The first problem with this account is that intensifiers do not mark the intensified DP/NP as having an unexpected referent as was discussed in chapter 4. Levinson (1991:30) similarly assumes that the arguments of a predicate are typically disjoint in reference. Under his analysis, the use of a SELF-form rather than the pronoun breaks the Gricean maxim of manner (be brief) which trig-

²²See also chapter 3 for further discussion of the notion of disjoint referents and requirement to code the ‘unexpected’.

gers an M-implicature. Upon hearing this M-implicature the hearer infers that something is different from the prototypical situation (disjoint reference) and will therefore assume the arguments are coreferential. These two analyses will form part of my analysis but are insufficient as they stand.

Levinson's account doesn't explain why it is a SELF element; it could be any element which increases the morphological complexity and violates the Gricean maxim. Furthermore, these accounts, would predict a complex form when there is disjoint reference with predicates we typically expect to be coreferential. Yet this is not the case.

Numerous researchers have suggested that intensifiers develop into reflexive markers because they characterise their referent as being the central participant in an event (König 1991; König and Siemund 1999; 2000a, b, c; Siemund 2000; König 2003 but see also Baker 1995; Kemmer 1995; Kemmer and Barlow 1996; Zribi-Hertz 1989; 1995). However, it seems to me that these accounts do not account for Dutch without mention of the structural implications - therefore such accounts which focus on semantics/pragmatics underestimate the importance of the structural aspect of the use of intensifiers. Furthermore we might worry about whether the notion of centrality versus periphery is really a linguistic primitive, although such an account has more recently been encoded within more formal semantics (see e.g. Hole 2002 and Gast 2002).

Two distinct hypotheses for the creation of the complex reflexive are found in the literature: one is that 'self' is reanalysed from an adjective to a noun, altering the syntactic structure (cf Peitsara 1997; van Gelderen 1999, 2000), the other focuses on semantics and why semantically the two elements combine (cf König and Siemund 2000 etc.). I discuss each of these in turn.

6.4.2 SELF became a noun = change in syntactic structure

van Gelderen (1999: 219, 2000: 104) has argued that the reflexive form developed in about 1250 when *self* changed from being an adjective to a noun and this noun was then modified by a possessive (or genitive) pronoun. A similar claim is advanced in Peitsara (1997: 280) who simply writes 'the optional emphatic adjunct *self* was reinterpreted as the noun head of the reflexive phrase i.e. an adjunct reflexive (*me self*) became a head reflexive (*myself*)'. She suggests that this happens in the 1st and 2nd persons first (possessive forms) and that the 3rd person forms (using the dative) lag behind (except in some non-standard varieties where we get *hisself*, Wales 1996). However, this is not the order of development (cf. chapter 2, and also Visser 1963; Mitchell 1985; van Gelderen 2000; Keenan 2002).

Van Gelderen's account is theoretically desirable, in as much as it creates a structure which would allow the pronominal to 'escape' Condition B. Under such an analysis the structure would be similar to that of DPs like *his dog*, where *his* can be locally bound without violation of Condition B (*Ivan likes his dog*). Motivation for the fusion would be that learners faced with a structure similar to that of the possessive might reanalyse or misinterpret the structure, resulting in syntactic change. Such an account has no recourse to examine the semantics of SELF; however, we might wonder why it was a SELF element. The answer could be as simple as 'it created the correct kind of structure'. However, the verbal distribution (other-directed versus self-directed) remains unaccounted for under van Gelderen's account; there is no reason why SELF would be a noun with other-directed verbs and not with self-directed verbs, or vice-versa.

Furthermore, the analysis faces several empirical problems; firstly concerning whether *self* was or became a noun this early in the development of the form (see e.g. Mitchell 1979: 40; Mitchell 1985: §477; Mustonoja 1960: 146; Ogura 1989a: 45). As evidence for SELF as a noun we might note that the OED cites example (24) as a nominal use from 1200:²³

- (24) Or elles godds self es he
 Or else God's self is he
 'or otherwise he is God's self' (CM, Cotton 12248, OED, also cited in van Gelderen 2000: 140)

In Present-Day English (PDE) it certainly seems possible to use *self* as a noun without the pronominal as in (25)-(26), although perhaps only in restricted and specific circumstances e.g. headlines, adverts.

- (25) Better self with this fantastic new reflexive form...
 (26) Man threatens to kill self over failure of Condition B.

However, as Keenan (2002, 2003) points out, if *self* is a noun then we might expect the following unattested formulations:

- (27) Det + SELF: *each self, *no self, *most self/selves.
 (28) Gen + SELF: Keenan (2002) claims that there are no attestations of this, but note *Gods self* above.

More importantly, the analysis of SELF as a noun relies on the possessive pronoun + SELF (i.e. the PDE forms *myself*, *yourself*, *ourselves*, *yourselves*) as opposed to the dative or oblique pronoun + SELF. However, the development of

²³The OED cites adjectival uses of *self* continuing right up until the 1600s.

the reflexive form begins with the latter and not the former (cf. chapter 2 and e.g. Farr 1905, König and Siemund 1999, 2000a; Keenan 2002; Lange 2003 and the OED). It is likely that the former forms developed due to phonological change. As discussed in chapter 2, the OE first and second person singular pronouns are the only ones which are monosyllabic; the others are disyllabic or end in a consonant. We might suppose that phonological weakening occurred with the first and second person forms which lead to their reinterpretation as possessive forms. This pattern was then generalised to the plural forms (see also Farr 1950; Keenan 2002).

6.4.3 Semantic reason for combination

König and Siemund (1999, 2000a, b, c) discuss the example provided in (29).

- (29) Judas_i aheng [hine selfne]_i
 Judas hanged him self
 ‘Judas hanged himself’

In this example *hine* could either be an ordinary personal pronoun, or a reflexive pronoun, although since *aheng* ‘hanged’ is a typically other-directed verb we might suppose that the former reading is more likely. However, they suggest if *hine* ‘him’ is intensified by the adjective *self*, which is marked for agreement with the pronoun (i.e. -ne) then it would be interpreted as referring back to the subject i.e. the ordinary personal pronoun reading is removed.²⁴ Thus in such examples we could suppose that inflected *self* acts as a marker, to change the usual interpretation. König and Siemund suggest that this occurs because the agent is the centre and all other participants therefore have a peripheral status. Addition of the intensifier makes the object central and since the agent is central they must be identical.

6.4.4 Conclusion

Van Gelderen’s account provides a syntactic structure in which it would be possible to avoid Condition B, but has nothing to say about the semantics of SELF nor how and why the distribution of the new complex form is related to verbal type.

König and Siemund (1999a, b, 2000a, b) focus on providing a semantic account for why the intensifier and reflexive might have joined in the history of

²⁴Note however that this presupposes that the intensifier does not occur when the intensified pronominal has a disjoint reference. We saw in chapter 4 that there were such constructions in OE (although not for this verb), but that they died out in eME.

English. Crucially they also tie this development to the type of verb, although they have nothing to say about the syntax.

Therefore, neither account fully details the development of the reflexive form. I address this matter in the following section.

6.5 A summary of the proposed account

The analysis proposed here is that the complex reflexive is formed from the OE reflexive and the adjacent-self intensifier. This new complex form occurs where both the reflexive and intensification was licensed in OE; namely with other-directed verbs. This is supported by the idea that the form is semantically decomposable (compositionality). Therefore, the complex form appears where intensification is licensed, the simple form where it is not. Such analysis has the following advantages:

1. It is a direct descendant of the OE system. This has the desirable consequence that we do not have to argue or explain that the conditions on Binding have changed within the history of English - but rather the items which can be bound have changed.
2. There is no need to stipulate (or explain) the two different 'strategies' (simple and self; e.g. see Peitsara 1997). There is simply one reflexive form, which can be modified by an intensifier. Similarly, the distinction made between SE and SELF-anaphors is no longer required (cf Reinhart and Reuland 1993, 1995).
3. It makes the English system similar to that proposed for Dutch, Old Norse and other Germanic languages (cf chapter 3). So with transitive verbs which are typically other-directed the intensifier would be required in order to contrast the coreferential object with the range of other potential objects. With intrinsically reflexive verb, intensification is not licensed as the object does not require a set of alternatives to be evoked. With neutral verbs, the reflexive form is then dependent upon whether or not intensification is licensed (removing the stipulation that verbs are listed within the lexicon twice, Reinhart and Reuland 1993).
4. It also has the advantage of explaining why there is not a uniform set of verbs cross-linguistically to which 'reflexivisation' applies. Whilst some verb types are more likely to take intensifiers, it is dependent upon the context in which the verb appears.

5. We can explain why the complex reflexive form occurs with all persons, and not just third person forms. Namely, we saw in chapter 4 that intensifiers occur with all persons, therefore if the complex form is really a reflexive + an intensifier, we expect it to occur with all persons. The intensifier is not being used to disambiguate third person forms - but to contrast the subject with other potential subjects - this applies equally to first and second person constructions, as to the third person ones.

However, several unanswered questions remain. The first concerns the comparison with other Germanic languages; the PDE reflexive is not synchronically decomposable into the reflexive and the intensifier. The questions therefore are ‘why is English different?’ and, ‘what does this mean for the structure of the English form?’. The answer to the first is relatively simple; the intensifier has also developed in the history of English. For the latter, we are left with the following choices for the structure of the reflexive form, if we choose to maintain the cross-linguistic parallel:

1. The reflexive X-SELF form in ME consists of a null reflexive with an intensifier. All other instances of the reflexive are simply null arguments.
2. The reflexive is the pronominal which somehow does ‘dual’ duty as the pronominal part of the complex intensifier.
3. The reflexive is the pronominal and the intensifier is the older monomorphemic intensifier. The form is created before or alongside the complex intensifier.

In the Table 6.5 I compare these options with Dutch.

Language	Pronoun	SE-anaphor	SELF-anaphor
Dutch	hem	zich	zich + intensifier (zich)
Option 1	him	∅	∅ + intensifier (himself)
Option 2	him	[him]	[him]self
Option 3	him	him	him + intensifier (self)

Table 6.5: Comparison of pronouns and anaphors in Dutch and English.

The first option is one chosen by Bergeton and Pancheva (2004) and Bergeton (2004: Ch 5). It perhaps most closely parallels that of other languages and has the advantage of providing an explanation for why PDE does not have an SE-anaphor; the English reflexive form in these cases is a null element. However, for such a null element to exist and be ‘bound’ when a SELF-anaphor is in need

of explanation. The only explanation within the literature comes from Bergeton (2004) who suggests that ‘X-self’ is the intensifier and if English patterns like Danish (which patterns like Dutch) then it must have null reflexives. He cites the change in structures which take a pleonastic pronoun in OE but which no longer have an overt argument as evidence for this analysis.

Further evidence for Bergeton’s account might be provided by subject-like uses of X-SELF, such as (30), which occur throughout the ME period and into the EMODE period.²⁵

- (30) And vpon þat same he shall sytte at the day of doom right as *him*
 And upon that throne he shall sit at the day of Doom right as *him*
self seyde.
 self said.
 ‘and upon that same throne he shall sit on the day of judgement just as
 he (himself) said.’
 (CMMANDEV65, 1615)

One possible analysis for such forms, is that they are intensifiers with a null head (see also van Gelderen 2000; Lange 2003). However, there are several problems for such an analysis. Firstly, English is not generally considered to be a pro-drop language. However, there are contexts in which a pronominal can be dropped, e.g. the subject position of a conjunct clause (known as co-ordinate subject deletion). Whilst such an analysis would comfortably account for the main clause data as in (31) it fails to account for the subordinate clause data as in (32).

- (31) þæt he had was slayn and himself fledde and loste his lande³ for
 that he had was slain and himself fled and lost his lands for
 evermore
 evermore
 ‘which he had was slain and he (himself) fled and lost his lands forever-
 more.’
- (32) a pardonere... seide that hymself myghte assoilen hem alle
 a pardoner... said that himself might resolve them all.
 (Piers. Prol. 68, from Keenan 2002: 341)

For a language such as English which allows topic drop, a deleted subject is only licensed in [Spec, CP] and thus when it is filled we would not expect a null subject.

²⁵There is debate within the literature concerning whether X-self in a subject-like position is simply synonymous with the pronoun (Visser 1963; Keenan 2002) or whether it is an intensifier (König and Siemund 2000a). I represent this debate by placing the intensifier in brackets in the translation.

A further problem for the account of these forms as intensifiers to a null element is that they can occur coordinated to a full DP as in (33).

- (33) And al his folk and hym-self fledde in-to Ffraunce to seche help and
And all his folk and himself fled into France to seek help and
socour
aid.

‘And he (himself) and all of his folk fled into France in order to seek help
and aid.’

(CMBRUT3, 9.218)

Moreover, manuscript variations cast some doubt on whether X-SELF was considered as an intensifier when occurring without a focus. van Gelderen (2000: 92) discusses manuscript variation within different versions of the *Cursor Mundi* and notes that where *hymself* is used in a subject-like position in the Cotton Manuscript, the more southern Manuscripts of Fairfax and Trinity use *he*.

Therefore, I find no evidence for Bergeton’s account with these structures. Moreover, I find his account problematic for other reasons. Firstly, it is built on the (mistaken) assumption that the pleonastic pronoun represents an argument of the verb. This is not the standard analysis, particularly given that these verbs can only take pleonastic pronouns and not other object types.

Secondly, it assumes that these verbs are transitive in PDE, but take a null reflexive as an object argument. The standard analysis is that these verbs are in fact intransitive and do not assign an object θ -role. The intransitive analysis explains why the verb cannot take an object pronoun of any kind. Bergeton’s analysis would need an extra mechanism to account for this.

Thirdly, this analysis does not explain the period of variation. Pleonastic pronouns for example, are attested throughout the ME period and the number of verbs taking pleonastic pronouns *increases* rather than decreases (see Ogura 1988, 1989a, b). The analysis could potentially be rescued by assuming that the introduction of the null reflexive occurs at different rates within different texts, with different verbs or within different dialectal areas. However, given that the same verb can vary for reflexive form within the same text, even this might prove problematic.

Furthermore, we are left with the question: ‘What happens when there isn’t intensification?’ Consider for example what this would mean for the ECM small clause constructions. In ME we get both the reflexive form with or without *self* as shown in (34) and the hypothetical example in (35).

- (34) a. ...Pat es þay halde þam selfe vile...
 ...That is they consider them selves vile...
 ‘... That is they consider themselves vile..’
 (CMROLLTR, 1.230)
- b. Whan he cam in-to this worlde he made *hym* poure to make
 When he came into this world he made himself poor to make
 the riche.
 you rich.
 ‘When he came into this world, he made himself poor to make you
 rich.’
 (CMAELR4, 14.384)

(35) Ivan_i considers **him**_{i,j} / himself_i intelligent

If co-referential *him*, which is marked in bold in (35), is replaced with \emptyset , then for the coreferential reading the sentence would be ungrammatical which for PDE is the right result since only the X-SELF form will result in a grammatical construction. However, in ME when there is not intensification the ordinary pronoun (HIM) is used, meaning it is not the correct result for earlier stages of English.

Furthermore, it is unclear how this analysis would explain the availability in PDE of X-SELF reflexives which do not have an intensification reading. Therefore, I reject this analysis.

The second option has an unnecessarily complicated structure whereby the pronominal is both the reflexive and the pronominal element of the intensifier (cf. König and Siemund 2000; Siemund 2000). It is unclear to me how the structure for this form would be. Moreover, under the analysis proposed here, the pronominal which occurs as part of the complex intensifier is not the same as the reflexive pronominal, despite being morphologically identical.

Therefore, I suggest that the development consists of the third option. Under the analysis proposed here, the development of the intensifier and the development of the reflexive occur with different constructions and in that respect at least are unrelated. Crucially, we saw that the development of the intensifier affected the object position last. I would like to suggest that the development of the reflexive began before pattern generalisation to this position started, thereby explaining why there is a fusion of the reflexive and the monomorphemic intensifier in order to make the new complex reflexive. In other words, the complex intensifier had yet to develop in the position adjacent to objects (either reflexive or disjoint).

The loss of the ability to intensify disjoint object pronouns, e.g. **him himself* (already a minority pattern) was most likely caused by the development

of the complex reflexive. If, as argued here, the intensifier is used in order to mark the reflexive as being counter to our expectations, then it falls that the intensifier must cease to be used with disjoint pronominals.²⁶ If intensification continues with disjoint pronouns then *self* would not be sufficient to distinguish the two readings (disjoint/coreferential).²⁷

Such an account also explains why it was possible to continue to intensify nominal objects; these forms cannot be coreferential which means there can be no ambiguity in such cases.²⁸ What remains to be explained is why the X-SELF form gets created. Under my analysis, in the early stages it is simply a reanalysis which happens at PF (akin to the system proposed for Dutch 3rd person but not 1st and 2nd person) and the form is not reflexive but rather reflexive + intensifier. It is only later, when changes in the pronominal system and the structure of the language that the form loses its necessary intensifier interpretation and is re-analysed as a single reflexive form. At this point the structure of *self* is reanalysed as a nominal.

Whilst in a handful of cases it would be desirable to maintain the proposed ME analysis for some of PDE (e.g. for the intensifiers, lack of *him himself* and a handful of long distance bound anaphors, and snake context PPs), the ability for reflexives to appear in clauses without an intensification reading is evidence for the subsequent loss of the intensifier meaning of the *self* part of X-SELF.

We might suppose that it is at this point that *self* is employed in order to get around Condition B. *Self* marks the X-SELF form as bearing an unvalued REF feature whilst pronominals ordinarily bear a valued REF feature. Unlike the account of Reinhart and Reuland, this means that all pronominals are +R in PDE.

²⁶Note that disjoint pronouns do not (usually) occur with SD-verbs, so we cannot argue that in such contexts there was a similar pragmatic requirement for them to occur with *self*.

²⁷See chapter 4 where it seems that following OE, intensification of object pronominals became ungrammatical or at least heavily marked.

²⁸We might also suppose that the loss of intensification with object pronouns might impact the frequency of subject pronouns which are intensified. For further discussion see chapter 2.

Chapter 7

Conclusions

7.1 Introduction

The basic developments of the reflexive in English are well-known (e.g. Penning 1875; Farr 1905; Visser 1963; Mitchell 1985; Ogura 1989a,b; Peitsara 1997; van Gelderen 1999, 2000; Lange 2003; Keenan 2002, 2003). The standard account runs as follows: Old English (OE) used the ordinary personal pronouns reflexively (HIM), but at the end of this period/ the start of the Middle English (ME) period a new morphologically complex reflexive pronoun (X-SELF) emerged (change 1, c.1250). After a period of variation between the old and the new reflexive forms, which lasted throughout the ME period, the new form superseded the old form at the start of the Early Modern English (EMODE) period (change 2, c.1500).

However whilst the basic facts of the distribution are well-established, the reasons for the two changes and the details of nature of the period of variation between these two changes are unclear. Within those studies which do attempt to provide theoretical motivations for the variation and change (e.g. van Gelderen 2000; Keenan 2002; Lange 2003), there is widespread disagreement about which factors are most relevant and consequently the best way to account for the data.

Therefore at the start of this thesis the following broad research questions were set out:

- Why/How was it possible for OE and ME to locally bind pronominals in violation of Chomsky's Condition B?
- When and why did English develop a new morphologically complex reflexive pronoun?
- What was the nature of the variation between the two reflexive forms?
- What factors were significant in determining the variation between the two reflexive forms?

- When and why did the new morphologically complex reflexive pronoun take over local binding?
- Why was the old reflexive form lost?

In the next four sections I summarise my answers to these questions. In §7.6 I provide a brief summary of the analysis presented in this thesis and in §7.7 I suggest directions for future research and the implications this thesis might have for other areas of the grammar.

7.2 Bound pronominals in Old and Middle English

Following Reinhart and Reuland (1993), I suggest that pronominals which function reflexively are in some way underspecified. For Reinhart and Reuland (1993) underspecification may be in terms of either (i) one or more of the ϕ -features (person, number and gender) being deficient or (ii) Case on the pronominal being inherent. Van Gelderen (2000) suggests that in the history of English, OE pronouns could function reflexively because they had inherent Case. However, such an account faces the following problems:

- Most researchers suggest inherent Case in English is lost during the early Middle English (eME) period. However, reflexively used pronominals occur with the same frequency throughout the entire ME period, suggesting they can continue to function reflexively when assigned structural Case.
- In many works accusative Case is not considered to be inherent, but rather structural. We would therefore not expect to find reflexively used accusative pronouns in OE. However, accusative reflexives are actually more common than dative ones.

In addressing the first issue, van Gelderen (1999, 2000) suggests that OE pronominals are further underspecified for ϕ -features, and that even once inherent Case is lost, pronominals are still sufficiently deficient to function reflexively. However, since the variation between the two reflexive forms is essentially stable throughout OE and ME, it seems more likely that it may be the same feature which allows pronominals to function reflexively. A good candidate for such a feature might be a referentiality feature (REF), since it is referentiality under Reinhart and Reuland's theory which determines whether or not an element can enter into a chain.

7.3 The development of the new reflexive form

The timing for the development of the new reflexive form was broadly confirmed in the study of the overall distribution of reflexives in OE, ME and EMODE (chapter 2).

It was shown that from the eME period onwards there was an increasing tendency for the reflexive and *self* to occur as a single orthographic unit. Unfortunately due to both scribal practises and subsequent editing (see §1.5), spelling cannot be used as a (totally) reliable guide in determining when the form was considered a single unit.

In fact the quantitative analysis suggests that despite changes in orthography that in reality little changed between the OE and ME system. The co-occurrence of the reflexive and *self* was frequent in OE with a certain set of verbs, and in fact obligatory in my data for six verbs, all of which are of the other-directed type. The slight increase in the frequency of use of X-SELF between OE and ME seems to be due to a reinterpretation that *self* should (or even must) occur with a certain set of verbs (i.e. those classified as other-directed).

Therefore it would seem that the ME system is a direct continuation of the OE system and that as such there is not a creation of a new form, but rather a new rule of orthography. The interpretation of the two elements remains semantically decomposable into the separate elements which are found in OE i.e. reflexive and intensifier. This analysis is supported by the fact that referent type was found to be a significant factor in determining whether or not an intensifier is licensed (chapter 4), and significantly whether or not the reflexive occurred with or without *self* in both OE and ME (chapter 5).

The important question is therefore not one of timing but rather why the intensifier was required with certain verbal types. In chapter 3, this was shown to be a property shared by many of the languages related to English - that with a certain set of verbs (which can vary both cross-linguistically and diachronically since they depend upon encoding the way in which society typically behaves) - the intensifier is required with the reflexive.

Reinhart and Reuland (1993) relate this to a structural requirement that certain verbs have their object marked when they are used reflexively. They claim that in order for this to happen the object must bear a +SELF feature. For languages such as Dutch where such objects comprise the reflexive pronoun + *self*, it must be the *self*-element which bears this feature.

However, this account is problematic for a language like German which does not use a *self*-element with its reflexive in the same context. Two possibilities were explored. The first possibility is that German is able to mark the object in

some other way; numerous researchers have proposed that German uses stress in such cases. In other words stressed *SICH* is equivalent to the intensified reflexive i.e. *sich selbst*. Such accounts suggest that what is crucial is that these verbs receive extra marking, be that extra structure, morphology or phonetics.

The second possibility is that the condition on predicates does not apply in German and there is no requirement to additionally mark the object (Steinbach 1998). A similar account is suggested for earlier English by van Gelderen (2000) on the basis of the fact that there are no verbs which must categorically occur with X-SELF in OE.

However, there are six verbs in my OE data which always occur with *self* when reflexive, but never do so when they are not reflexively used (i.e. when they are disjoint). Since there are only six of them, and the reflexive pronoun and *self* are never written as a single unit, I do not wish to claim that such examples represent a structural rule in OE. However, it does seem likely that these examples represent the start of evidence which learners might use to posit such a structural rule.

It seems to me that the most plausible explanation for the development of a rule such that the verbs of other-directed verbs (OD-verbs) receive extra marking on their objects when the object is reflexive, is a pragmatic one. The interpretation of the objects of such verbs is usually disjoint and hence requires extra marking (Haiman 1983; Smith 2004). It is this pragmatic tendency which is evident in OE and ME. The fact that verbs can occur without the extra marking does suggest that the rule is not structural, however the fact that such verbs do typically occur with extra marking suggests that the pragmatic requirement is strong.

7.4 The variation between the two forms of the reflexive

The variation in the form of the reflexive throughout OE and ME is essentially stable. There is a slight increase in the use of forms of the reflexive with *self* at the start of the ME period which might be linked to changes in orthography and a change in the use of the intensifier. At the start of ME the intensifier was no longer able to intensify disjoint objects. We might suppose this is linked to the fact that it more frequently occurred with the reflexive in OE and that it became associated with a pragmatic tendency to give a co-referential object extra marking. If an element is to be used to distinguish between two possible readings then necessarily it must only be used in the one context and this is what

seems to happen with the English intensifier.

The fact that the variation is stable lends support to the analysis proposed here, namely that the system did not significantly change between OE and ME (see previous section).

Multivariate analysis suggests that the most significant factors affecting the distribution of the two forms are the verbal type, the prepositional type and the referent type. A study of the meaning of intensifiers in chapter 4 suggested that certain referents more frequently favoured intensifiers and therefore we might suppose this constitutes further evidence for the analysis proposed here i.e. that X-SELF is semantically decomposable.

The fact that verbal type and prepositional type was significant seems to be linked to a pragmatic requirement. The crucial thing then is to understand why the intensifier is used in these circumstances. It seems likely that this is due to the meaning of intensifiers. As König and Siemund (2000 etc.) argue, the intensifier contrasts the element it intensifies with all other possible entities. *Self* served to mark its referent as being central to an action, which in the case of verbs which are typically directed towards another has the effect of reversing our expectations. Similarly when occurring as an object of a preposition, prepositions which allowed disjoint reference, e.g. *for*, often occurred with *self*, but those which do not allow a disjoint reference, e.g. *with*, did not.

7.5 The loss of the old reflexive form

Under the analysis proposed in this thesis, the loss of the old reflexive form explains why the new complex form took over. Throughout OE and ME a pragmatic principle encouraged (but did not require) the objects of a certain class of verbs (those which were typically other-directed (OD-verbs)) to receive extra marking. It was not the case that pronouns could no longer function reflexively; there remained plenty of evidence throughout ME that they could with verbs of either the self-directed (SD-verbs) or neutral (ND-verbs) class remaining in general use. However, the loss of the pronominal with SD-verbs in early EMODE removed a significant portion of the evidence that pronouns could function reflexively.

It seems likely that the loss of pronominals in such positions was due to some re-analysis or reorganisation of the features of pronouns and that the loss might well be linked to the loss of impersonal constructions which also had object pronominals in positions unexpected within the present-day. These were only lost towards the end of the ME period. In the theory advanced here, this suggests that the pronominals changed features from bearing an unvalued REF feature

to bearing a valued REF feature. Once this change occurred it was no longer possible for pronominals to be bound due, in Reinhart and Reuland's terms to the GCC, or in Minimalist terms to a chain established within the binding domain via the process of AGREE.

Given the change in the possibility for pronominals to be bound, learners would then assume that the contrast in reflexives was between a null element (\emptyset) and X-SELF rather than between HIM and X-SELF.

At this stage it seems likely that learners could postulate two different structures for the X-SELF form; one in which the form was an intensifier to a null element. This would make English consistent with other languages as shown in Table 7.1.

Language	Intensifier	SD-verbs	ND-verbs	OD-verbs
PDE	himself	\emptyset	\emptyset /himself	himself
ME	himself	\emptyset /him	\emptyset /him/himself	(him)/himself
OE	self	\emptyset /him	\emptyset /him	him
Dutch	zelf	zich	zich/zichzelf	zichzelf
Frisian	sels	him	him/himsels	himsels
German	selbst	sich	sich/SICH	sich / SICH

Table 7.1: Comparison of reflexives and intensifiers in West Germanic Languages.

The alternative structure which learners might have proposed would have the pronominal in D (as with all other pronouns) and *self* as a noun which was used to allow the pronominal to be bound. In other words, the use of *self* was a trick in order to allow the pronominal to be bound.

We might suppose that it is at this stage that the rule becomes a structural one and that the meaning of the intensifier is lost. Under the first analysis, it would still be semantically decomposable, however under the latter it would not. The fact that the complex reflexive does not have to have an intensification reading suggests that perhaps the latter structure is correct.

An alternative suggestion for the development would be that the obligatory intensification reading was lost in the complex form. This would then make the two reflexive forms (HIM and X-SELF) semantically identical. It is possible that at this point learners assumed that HIMSELF should be used for co-reference and HIM only when disjoint interpretation was intended, thereby forming a structural rule. It seems unlikely that the complex reflexive was reanalysed as being \emptyset and an intensifier **X-self** and that this led to the loss of HIM, since we would have expected this change much earlier; the intensifier changed form at the start of the ME period (see §6.3).

7.6 Summary

Therefore the account proposed in this work can be summarised thus. In OE and ME, ordinary personal pronouns functioned reflexively because in some way they were non-referential. It may be that in some way they are underspecified for ϕ -features or Case as has been suggested for other languages e.g. inherent Case (Frisian, Hoekstra 1994), number features (French, Kayne 1975) or it may be that they are underspecified for a different feature, perhaps some kind of referential feature (REF) as I suggest in this work.

This means that in OE and ME there are two different types of pronoun; one which enters into the derivation with an unvalued REF feature and must be locally bound and the other which enters the derivation with a valued REF feature and is unable to be locally bound. Similar differences in homophonous pronominals have been proposed for other languages (e.g. Cardinaletti and Starke 1996).

Throughout OE and ME HIM could be intensified by *self* and this system remained essentially stable. Therefore the variation between reflexive forms was determined by the requirements of intensification. Fluctuations between texts and periods are explained by fluctuations in the contexts requiring intensification i.e. a text which contains lots of verbs which are typically other directed or has a high frequency of high profile subjects (referents) may have more X-SELF, than a text where there are lots of self-directed actions or discussion of non-specific individuals.

At the start of the EMODE period, the ability to locally bind pronominals was lost i.e. under the analysis proposed here all pronominals were analysed as having fully referential features (*i*REF). This meant that the complex reflexive was no longer decomposable into a reflexive plus an intensifier. The form was therefore reanalysed and the intensification reading was lost.

7.7 Remaining issues and questions

In particular the findings of this work call for further work on the history of personal pronouns in order to establish the precise nature of pronominals and the way they change throughout the history of English. It is only through careful study of pronominals that we might better be able to understand their feature composition and explain precisely what it is which makes OE and ME pronominals underspecified.

Similarly there are other areas upon which this research could only touch. They are:

- Further details of the individual texts.

- A more thorough treatment of the changes in pleonastic pronouns.
- Further work on the verbal types for the OE period and the development of these verbs between OE and ME.
- Further work on the EMODE period in order to code for factors shown to influence the distribution in OE and ME.
- Comparison with poetry for ME and EMODE.
- Further work on the origin of the verbs and the reflexive form with which they occur.
- Examination of whether or not whether the prepositional phrase is an argument or an adjunct affects the type of reflexive.
- Careful examination of the potential effects of translation.
- Further details of the link between changes in the impersonal and the passive on the one hand and the reflexive on the other.

Appendix A

Texts and Editions used from the York-Toronto-Helsinki Parsed Corpus of Old English Prose (YCOE)

This appendix lists the texts and editions included in the York-Toronto-Helsinki Parsed Corpus of Old English Prose (YCOE). The corpus is distributed by the Oxford Text Archive. All information is taken from the corpus documentation, available at:

<<http://www-users.york.ac.uk/lang22/YCOE/YcoeHome.htm>>

Texts are grouped into three sub-periods following the manuscript dates given in Ker (1954) and previous studies using the corpus e.g. Wallage (2005).

The YCOE contains more than one manuscript version for some texts. These are indicated via a capital letter following the file name e.g. COCHRONA is the A manuscript version, whereas COCHRONC is the C version.¹ Only one manuscript version is included in the quantitative study, but manuscripts are compared for variations. All texts used are listed in this appendix, but those excluded from the quantitative study are marked with an asterisk (*).

COELUC is excluded from this list, since I do not include it in the analysis of Old English as it is included in the PPCME2 as part of the 'Kentish Homilies' (CMKENTHO.m1).

¹ Filenames ending with a numeral do not represent different manuscripts but different texts. See the corpus documentation for further information.

OE1: Pre-950

- **Bede's Ecclesiastical History of the English Church and People** Preface, Headings, Books 1 and 2 (COBEDE.O2)
Miller, Thomas. 1959-1963 (1890-1898). 'The Old English Version of "Bede's Ecclesiastical History of the English People"'. *Early English Text Society* 95, 96, 110, 111. London: Oxford University Press.
- **Boethius, Consolation of Philosophy** (COBOETH.O2)
Sedgefield, Walter John. 1899. *King Alfred's Old English Version of "Boethius de Consolatione Philosophiae"*. Oxford: Clarendon Press. Reprinted Darmstadt 1968.
- **Gregory's Pastoral Care Chapters 1-39** (COCURA.O2)
Sweet, Henry. 1958 (1871). 'King Alfred's West-Saxon Version of Gregory's Pastoral Care'. *Early English Text Society* 45, 50. London: Oxford University Press.²
- **Gregory's Pastoral Care Chapters 1-39** (COCURAC)
Sweet, Henry. 1958 (1871). 'King Alfred's West-Saxon Version of "Gregory's Pastoral Care"'. *Early English Text Society* 45, 50. London: Oxford University Press.
- **Charters and Wills** (CODOCU1.O1)
(1) Harmer, F.E. 1914. *Select English Historical Documents of the Ninth and Tenth Centuries*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
(2) Robertson, A.J. 1956 (1939). *Anglo-Saxon Charters*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- **Charters and Wills** (CODOCU2.O2)
(1) Harmer, F.E. 1914. *Select English Historical Documents of the Ninth and Tenth Centuries*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
(2) Robertson, A.J. 1956 (1939). *Anglo-Saxon Charters*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- **Bald's Leechbook** (COLAECE.O2)
Cockayne, Oswald. 1864-1866. 'Leechdoms, Wortcunning and Starcraft of Early England'. *Rolls Series* 35, vol. 1. 70-324. London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office. Reprinted Wiesbaden, Germany: Kraus Reprint Ltd. 1965.

²Defective section 33 replaced by Cotton Tiberius B.XI, see COCURAC.

- **Laws of Alfred** (COLAWAF.O2)
Lieberman, F. 1903-16. *Die Gesetze der Angelsachsen*. Halle. Reprinted Aalen 1960.
- **Alfred's Introduction to Laws** (COLAWAFINT.O2)
Lieberman, F. 1903-16. *Die Gesetze der Angelsachsen*. Halle. Reprinted Aalen 1960.
- **Laws of Ine** (COLAWINE.OX2)
Lieberman, F. 1903-16. *Die Gesetze der Angelsachsen*. Halle. Reprinted Aalen 1960.
- **Orosius Books 2 and 3** (COOROSIU.O2)
Bately, Janet. 1980. 'The Old English "Orosius"'. *Early English Text Society* s.s. 6. London: Oxford University Press.
- **Preface to Cura Pastoralis** (COPREFCURA.O2)
Sweet, Henry. 1958 (1871). 'King Alfred's West-Saxon Version of "Gregory's Pastoral Care"'. *Early English Text Society* 45, 50: 3-9. London: Oxford University Press.

OE2: 950–1050

- **Ælfric's Supplemental Homilies** (COAELHOM.O3)
Pope, J.C. 1968. 'Homilies of Ælfric, A supplementary Collection'. *Early English Text Society*, 260. London: Oxford University Press.
- **Ælfric's Catholic Homilies I** (COAELIVE.O3)
Clemoes, P. 1997. 'Ælfric's Catholic Homilies: The First Series'. *Early English Text Society* s.s. 17: 174-77. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- **Alexander's Letter to Aristotle** (COALEX.O23)
Orchard, Andrew P.M. 1995. *Pride and Prodigies: Studies in the Monsters of the 'Beowulf' Manuscript*. Pp. 224–52. Cambridge: D.S. Brewer.
- **Apollonius of Tyre** (COAPOLLO.O3)
Goolden, Peter. 1958. *The Old English 'Apollonius of Tyre'*. London: Oxford University Press.
- **The Benedictine Rule** (BENRUL.O3)
Schröer, Arnold. 1885-1888. 'Die angelsächsische Prosabearbeitungen der Benediktinerregel'. *Bibliothek der Angelsächsischen Prosa*, II. Kassel. Reprinted with appendix by H. Gneuss (Darmstadt 1964).

- **The Blickling Homilies** (COBLICK.O23)
Morris, Richard. 1967 (1874-1880). 'The Blickling Homilies'. *Early English Text Society* 58, 63, 73. London: Trübner.
- **Byrhtferth's Manual** (COBYRHTF.O3)
Baker, Peter S. and Michael Lapidge 1995. 'Byrhtferth's Enchiridion'. *Early English Text Society* s.s. 15. Oxford: Oxford University Press. Sample, pp. 1-74.
- **Ælfric's Catholic Homilies I** (COCATHOM1.O3)
Clemoes, P. 1997. 'Ælfric's Catholic Homilies: The First Series'. *Early English Text Society* s.s. 17. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- **Ælfric's Catholic Homilies II** (COCATHOM2.O3)
Godden, M. 1979. 'Ælfric's Catholic Homilies: The Second Series'. *Early English Text Society* s.s. 5. London: Oxford University Press.
- **Saint Christopher** (COCHRISTOPH)
Rypins, Stanley. 1971 (1924). 'Three Old English Prose Texts in Ms. Cotton Vitellius A.XV.' *Early English Text Society* 161. London: Oxford University Press.
- **Anglo-Saxon Chronicle A** (COCHRONA.O23)
Plummer, Charles. 1965 (1892-1899). *Two of the Saxon Chronicles Parallel*. Oxford: Clarendon Press. Reissued D. Whitelock, Oxford 1952.³
- * **Anglo-Saxon Chronicle C** (COCHRONC)
Rositzke, H.A. 1967 (1940). 'The C-Text of the Old English Chronicles'. *Bochum-Langendreer: Beiträge zur englischen Philologie* 34.
- * **Anglo-Saxon Chronicle D** (COCHROND)
Classen, E. and F.E. Harmer, eds. 1926. *An Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*. Manchester: Manchester University Press.
- * **Anglo-Saxon Chronicle E** (COCHROME.O34)
Plummer, Charles. 1965 (1892-1899). *Two of the Saxon Chronicles Parallel*. Oxford: Clarendon Press. Reissued D. Whitelock, Oxford 1952.⁴

³Within the ID of the filename is an indication of scribe: COCHRONA-1 indicates scribe 1, COCHRONA-8A indicates scribe 8a, etc. Bately's (1986: xxi-xliii) 'The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle: A Collaborative Edition' was used by the corpus compilers as the source for information about and identification of the scribes. CorpusSearch treats each scribe as a separate text and computes the statistics appropriately.

⁴Only the text up to the first continuation is included. Interpolations are indicated in the token ID by COCHROME-INTERPOLATION.

- **Charters and Wills (CODOCU3.O23)**
 - (1) Harmer, F.E. 1914. *Select English Historical Documents of the Ninth and Tenth Centuries*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
 - (2) Robertson, A.J. 1956 (1939). *Anglo-Saxon Charters*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

- **Ælfric's Epilogue to Genesis (COEPIGEN.O3)**

Crawford, Samuel J. 1922. 'The Old English Version of the 'Heptateuch'. Ælfric's Treatise on the Old and New Testament and his Preface to Genesis'. *Early English Text Society* 160: 333–76. London: Oxford University Press.

- **Saint Euphrosyne (COEUPHR)**

Skeat, Walter William. 1966 (1881–1900). 'Ælfric's Lives of Saints'. *Early English Text Society* 76, 82, 94, 114: 334–54. London: Oxford University Press.

- **Saint Eustace and his Companions (COEUST)**

Skeat, Walter William. 1966 (1881–1900). 'Ælfric's Lives of Saints'. *Early English Text Society* 76, 82, 94, 114: 190–218. London: Oxford University Press.

- **Gregory's Dialogues (Ms. H) (COGREGDH.O23)**

Hecht, Hans. 1965 (1900–1907). 'Bischof Wærferth von Worcester Übersetzung 'der Dialoge Gregors des Grossen''. *Bibliothek der Angelsächsischen Prosa*, V. Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft.

- **Lacnunga (COLACNU.O23)**

Grattan, John Henry Grafton and Charles Singer, eds. 1952. 'Anglo-Saxon Magic and Medicine'. *Publications of the Wellcome Historical Medical Museum* n.s. 3. London: Oxford University Press.

- **Laws of Cnut (COLAW1CN.O3)**

Lieberman, F. 1903–16. *Die Gesetze der Angelsachsen*. Halle. Reprinted Aalen 1960.

- **Laws of Cnut (COLAW2CN.O3)**

Lieberman, F. 1903–16. *Die Gesetze der Angelsachsen*. Halle. Reprinted Aalen 1960. pp 308–70.

- **Laws of Æthelred V (COLAW5ATR.O3)**

Lieberman, F. 1903–16. *Die Gesetze der Angelsachsen*. Halle. Reprinted Aalen 1960. pp. 236–46.

- **Laws of Æthelred VI (COLAW6ATR.O3)**
Lieberman, F. 1903-16. *Die Gesetze der Angelsachsen*. Halle. Reprinted Aalen 1960. pp. 246–58.
- **Northumbra Preosta Lagu (COLAWNORTHU.O3)**
Lieberman, F. 1903-16. *Die Gesetze der Angelsachsen*. Halle. Reprinted Aalen 1960.
- **Ælfric's Letter to Sigefyrth (COLSIGEF.O3)**
Assmann, Bruno. 1889. 'Angelsaechsische Homilien und Heiligenleben'. *Bibliothek der Angelsaechsischen Prosa*, III. Kassel: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft. Reprinted with an introduction by P. Clemoes, Darmstadt 1964.
- **Ælfric's First Letter to Wulfstan (COLWSTAN1.O3)**
Fehr, B. 1914. 'Die Hirtenbriefe Aelfrics in Altenglischer und Lateinischer Fassung'. *Bibliothek der Angelsaechsischen Prosa*, IX: 68-145. Hamburg: Verlag von Henri Grand. Reprinted with a supplement by P. Clemoes, Darmstadt 1966.
- **Ælfric's Second Letter to Wulfstan (COLWSTAN2.O3)**
Fehr, B. 1914. 'Die Hirtenbriefe Aelfrics in Altenglischer und Lateinischer Fassung'. *Bibliothek der Angelsaechsischen Prosa*, IX: 68-145. Hamburg: Verlag von Henri Grand. Reprinted with a supplement by P. Clemoes, Darmstadt 1966.
- **Ælfric's Letter to Wulfgeat (COLWGGEAT)**
Assmann, Bruno. 1889. 'Angelsaechsische Homilien und Heiligenleben'. *Bibliothek der Angelsaechsischen Prosa*, III. Kassel: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft. Reprinted with an introduction by P. Clemoes, Darmstadt 1964.
- **The Old English Martyrology (COMART1, COMART2, COMART3.O23)**
Herzfeld, George. 1973 (1900). 'An Old English Martyrology'. *Early English Text Society* 116: 2-10. London: Trübner. Corrected by Kotzor, G. 1981. *Das Alterenglische Martyrologium*, vol. II. Bayerische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philosophisch-Historische Klasse. Abhandlung, Neue Folge, Heft 88/2. München: Verlag der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften.
- **comarvel.o23 (MARVELS OF THE EAST)**
Orchard, Andrew P.M. 1995. *Pride and Prodigies: Studies in the Monsters of the "Beowulf" Manuscript*. pp. 184–202. Cambridge: D.S. Brewer.

- **Mary of Egypt (COMARY)**
Skeat, Walter William. 1966 (1881-1900). 'Ælfric's Lives of Saints'. *Early English Text Society* 76, 82, 94, 114: 2-52. London: Oxford University Press.
- **The Heptateuch Genesis and Exodus (COOTEST.O3)**
Crawford, Samuel J. 1922. 'The Old English Version of the Heptateuch. Ælfric's Treatise on the Old and New Testament and his Preface to Genesis'. *Early English Text Society* 160. London: Oxford University Press. Reprinted with additions by N.R. Ker 1969.
- **Ælfric's Preface to the Lives of Saints (COPREFLIVES.O3)**
Skeat, Walter William. 1966 (1881-1900). 'Ælfric's Lives of Saints'. *Early English Text Society* 76, 82, 94, 114: 4-6. London: Oxford University Press.
- **Ælfric's Preface to Catholic Homilies I (COPREFCATH1.O3)**
Clemoes, P. 1997. 'Ælfric's Catholic Homilies: The First Series'. *Early English Text Society* s.s. 17: 174-77. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- **Ælfric's Preface to Catholic Homilies II (COPREFCATH2.O3)**
Godden, M. 1979. 'Ælfric's Catholic Homilies: The Second Series'. *Early English Text Society* s.s. 5: 1-2. London: Oxford University Press.
- **Ælfric's Preface to Genesis (COPREFGEN)**
Crawford, Samuel J. 1922. 'The Old English Version of the 'Heptateuch'. Ælfric's Treatise on the Old and New Testament and His Preface to Genesis'. *Early English Text Society* 160: 76-80. London: Oxford University Press. Reprinted with additions by N.R. Ker 1969.
- **Quadrupedibus (COQUADRU.O23)**
de Vriend, Hubert Jan. 1984. 'The Old English Herbarium and Medicina de quadrupedibus'. *Early English Text Society* 286: 234-73. London: Oxford University Press.
- **The Seven Sleepers (COSEVENSL)**
Magennis, Hugh 1994. 'The Anonymous Old English Legend of the Seven Sleepers'. *Durham Medieval Texts* 7. Durham.
- **Solomon and Saturn II (COSOLSAT2)**
Menner, Robert J. 1941. 'The Poetical Dialogues of Solomon and Saturn'. *Modern Language Association Monograph Series* 13: 168-71. New York: The Modern Language Association of America.

- **De Temporibus Anni** (COTEMPO.03)
Henel, Heinrich. 1970 (1942). 'Ælfric's 'De Temporibus Anni''. *Early English Text Society* 213. London: Oxford University Press.
- **The Vercelli Homilies** (COVERHOM)
Scragg, D.G. 1992. 'The Vercelli Homilies and Related Texts'. *Early English Text Society* 300. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- * **Vercelli Homilies, Homily I** (COVERHOME)
Scragg, D.G. 1992. 'The Vercelli Homilies and Related Texts'. *Early English Text Society* 300. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- * **Vercelli Homilies, Homily IX** (COVERHOML)
Scragg, D.G. 1992. 'The Vercelli Homilies and Related Texts'. *Early English Text Society* 300. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- **The West-Saxon Gospels Matthew** (COWSGOSP.03)
Skeat, Walter William. 1871-1887. *The Four Gospels in Anglo-Saxon, Northumbrian and Old Mercian Versions*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. Reprinted Darmstadt 1970.

OE3: 1050–1150

- **Adrian and Ritheus** (COADRIAN.034)
Cross, James E. and Thomas D. Hill. 1982. *The 'Prose Solomon and Saturn' and 'Adrian and Ritheus'*. Toronto, Buffalo, London: University of Toronto Press.
- **Alcuin's De Virtutibus et Vitiis** (COALCUIN)
Warner, Rubie D.-N. 1917 (1971). 'Early English Homilies from the 12th Century Ms. Vespasian D.XIV'. *Early English Text Society* 152. London: Trübner.
- **Augustine's Soliloquies** (COAUGUST)
Warner, Rubie D.-N. 1917 (1971). 'Early English Homilies from the 12th Century Ms. Vespasian D.XIV.' *Early English Text Society* 152. P.65. London: Trübner. [reprinted 1971].
- **Chrodegang's Rule** (COCHDRUL)
Napier, Arthur S. 1971 (1916). 'The Old English Version, with the Latin Original, of the Enlarged 'Rule of Chrodegang' together with the Latin

Original'. *Early English Text Society* 150. London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co., Ltd. and Oxford University Press.

- * **Canons of Edgar** (COCANEDGD)
Fowler, Roger. 1972. 'Wulfstan's Canons of Edgar'. *Early English Text Society* 266. London: Oxford University Press.
- **Canons of Edgar** (COCANEDGX)
Fowler, Roger. 1972. 'Wulfstan's Canons of Edgar'. *Early English Text Society* 266. London: Oxford University Press.
- **Other Saints' Lives, The Life of Saint Chad** (COCHAD.O24)
Vleeskruyer, Rudolf. 1953. *The Life of Saint Chad: An Old English Homily*. Amsterdam: North-Holland.
- **Distichs of Cato** (CODICTS.O34)
Cox, R.S. 1972. 'The Old English Dicts of Cato'. *Anglia* 90 :1-42. Tübingen: Max Niemeyer.
- **Charters and Wills** (CODOCU3.O3)
(1) Robertson, A.J. 1956 (1939). *Anglo-Saxon Charters*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
(2) Whitelock, Dorothy. 1930. *Anglo-Saxon Wills*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- **Charters and Wills** (CODOCU4.O24)
Robertson, A.J. 1956 (1939). *Anglo-Saxon Charters*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- **Gregory's Dialogues (Ms. C) Books 1 and 2** (COGREGDC.O24)
Hecht, Hans. 1965 (1900-1907). 'Bischof Wærferth von Worcester Übersetzung 'der Dialoge Gregors des Grossen''. *Bibliothek der Angelsaechsischen Prosa*, V. Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft.⁵
- **Herbarium** (COHERBAR)
de Vriend, Hubert Jan. 1984. 'The Old English *Herbarium and Medicina de quadrupedibus*'. *Early English Text Society* 286:30-233. London: Oxford University Press.
- * **Institutes of Polity** (COINSPOLD.O34)
Jost, K. 1959. 'Die *Institutes of Polity, Civil and Ecclesiastical*'. *Swiss Studies in English* 47. Bern.

⁵This text is included in the quantitative study as well as cogregdH.o23, as they are two different translations completed at different times, rather than manuscript variations.

- **Institutes of Polity (COINSPOLX)**
Jost, K. 1959. 'Die *Institutes of Polity, Civil and Ecclesiastical*'. *Swiss Studies in English* 47. Bern.
- **James the Greater (COJAMES)**
Warner, Rubie D.-N. 1917 (1971). 'Early English Homilies from the 12th Century Ms. *Vespasian D.XIV*'. *Early English Text Society* 152: 21–5. London: Trübner.
- **Gerefa (COLAWGER.O34)**
Lieberman, F. 1903-16. *Die Gesetze der Angelsachsen*. Halle. Reprinted Aalen 1960.
- **Laws of William (COLAWWLLAD.O4)**
Lieberman, F. 1903-16. *Die Gesetze der Angelsachsen*. Halle. Reprinted Aalen 1960.
- **Vision of Leofric (COLEOFRI.O4)**
Napier, Arthur S. 1907-10. 'An Old English Vision of Leofric, Earl of Mercia'. *Transactions of the Philological Society*: 180–88.
- * **Ælfric's Letter to Sigeward (B) (COLSIGEWB)**
Crawford, Samuel J. 1922. 'The Old English Version of the *Heptateuch*. Ælfric's *Treatise on the Old and New Testament* and his *Preface to Genesis*'. *Early English Text Society* 160: 18–33, 39–51. London: Oxford University Press. Reprinted with additions by N.R. Ker 1969.
- **Ælfric's Letter to Sigeward (Z) (COLSIGEWZ)**
Crawford, Samuel J. 1922. 'The Old English Version of the *Heptateuch*. Ælfric's *Treatise on the Old and New Testament* and his *Preface to Genesis*'. *Early English Text Society* 160: 18–33, 39–51. London: Oxford University Press. Reprinted with additions by N.R. Ker 1969.
- * **Ælfric's Letter to Wulfsige (COLWSIGET)**
Fehr, B. 1914. 'Die Hirtenbriefe Aelfrics in Altenglischer und Lateinischer Fassung'. *Bibliothek der Angelsaechsischen Prosa*, IX: 1–34. Hamburg: Verlag von Henri Grand. Reprinted with a supplement by P. Clemoes, Darmstadt 1966.
- **Ælfric's Letter to Wulfsige (COLWSIGEXA.O34)**
Fehr, B. 1914. 'Die Hirtenbriefe Aelfrics in Altenglischer und Lateinischer Fassung'. *Bibliothek der Angelsaechsischen Prosa*, IX: 1–34. Hamburg:

Verlag von Henri Grand. Reprinted with a supplement by P. Clemoes, Darmstadt 1966.

- **Saint Margaret** (COMARGAC.O34)
Clayton, Mary and Hugh Magennis. 1994, 'The Old English Lives of St Margaret'. *Cambridge Studies in Anglo-Saxon England* 9: 152–70. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- *** Saint Margaret** (COMARGAT)
Clayton, Mary and Hugh Magennis. 1994, 'The Old English Lives of St Margaret'. *Cambridge Studies in Anglo-Saxon England* 9: 152–70. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- **Saint Neot** (CONEOT)
Warner, Rubie D.-N. 1917 (1971). 'Early English Homilies from the 12th Century Ms. Vespasian D.XIV'. *Early English Text Society* 152: 129–34. London: Trübner.
- **The Gospel of Nichodemus** (CONICODA)
Cross, J.E. 1996. 'Two Old English Apocrypha and Their Manuscript Source: *The Gospel of Nichodemus* and *The Avenging of the Saviour*, with contributions by Denis Brearley, Julia Crick, Thomas Hall and Andy Orchard'. *Cambridge Studies in Anglo-Saxon England* 19: 139–247. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- *** The Gospel of Nichodemus** (CONICODC)
Hulme, William H. 1903-4. 'The Old English *Gospel of Nicodemus*'. *Modern Philology* 1: 579-610.
- *** The Gospel of Nichodemus** (CONICODD)
Hulme, William H. 1903-4. 'The Old English *Gospel of Nicodemus*'. *Modern Philology* 1: 610–614.
- *** The Gospel of Nichodemus** (CONICODE)
Torkar, Roland. ed. from ms. for the Dictionary of Old English Project.
- **Preface to St Augustine's Soliloquies** (COPREFSOLILO)
Endter, W. 1922. 'König Alfreds des Grossen Bearbeitung der Soliloquien des Augustinus'. *Bibliothek der Angelsaechsischen Prosa*, 11: 1-2. Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft. Reprinted Darmstadt 1964. Corrections by Carnicelli, T.A. 1969. King Alfred's Version of St. Augustine's Soliloquies. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

- **The History of the Holy Rood-Tree (COROOD)**
Napier, Arthur S. 1973 (1894). 'History of the Holy Rood Tree'. *Early English Text Society* 103. London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co.
- **St Augustine's Soliloquies (COSOLILO)**
Endter, W. 1922. 'König Alfreds des Grossen Bearbeitung der Soliloquien des Augustinus'. *Bibliothek der Angelsaechsischen Prosa*, 11. Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft. Reprinted Darmstadt 1964. Corrections by Carnicelli, T.A. 1969. *King Alfred's Version of St. Augustine's Soliloquies*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- **Solomon and Saturn I (COSOLSAT1.OX4)**
Cross, James E. and Thomas D. Hill. 1982. 'The *Prose Solomon and Saturn* and *Adrian and Ritheus*'. pp. 25–34. Toronto, Buffalo, London: University of Toronto Press.
- **The Martyrdom of Saint Vincent (2nd half) (COVINCEB)**
Irvine, Susan. 1993. 'Old English Homilies from Ms Bodley 343'. *Early English Text Society* 302. Oxford: Oxford University Press.⁶
- **Vindicta Salvatoris (COVINSAL)**
Cross, J.E. 1996. 'Two Old English Apocrypha and Their Manuscript Source: *The Gospel of Nichodemus* and *The Avenging of the Saviour*, with contributions by Denis Brearley, Julia Crick, Thomas Hall and Andy Orchard. *Cambridge Studies in Anglo-Saxon England* 19: 249–93. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- **The Homilies of Wulfstan (COWULF.O34)**
Bethurum, Dorothy. 1957. *The Homilies of Wulfstan*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

⁶Although included in B1.3.35 with the part of The Martyrdom of Saint Vincent found in Skeat (1881-1900), this part of the text is from a different manuscript

Appendix B

Texts and Editions used from the York-Helsinki Parsed Corpus of Old English Poetry (YPC)

The York-Helsinki Parsed Corpus of Old English Poetry (YPC) includes the following texts, which are listed alphabetically by filename. The YPC is available through the Oxford Text Archive. The following information is taken from the corpus documentation available at:

<http://www-users.york.ac.uk/lang18/pcorpus.html>

The primary source(s) of the Helsinki Corpus are listed first, followed by the secondary source(s) which were used for reference during the process of annotation.

- COANDREA.PSD

Primary Source: *The Vercelli Book. The Anglo-Saxon Poetic Records*, ii. ed. G. P. Krapp. New York: Columbia University Press, 1932. pp. 3.1–12.348 (sample 1). pp. 29.950–37.1242 (sample 2). pp. 44.1478–51.1722 (sample 3).

Secondary Source: *Andreas and the Fates of the Apostles*, ed. G. P. Krapp, Boston, MA: Ginn, 1906.

- COBEOWUL.PSD

Primary Source: *Beowulf and Judith. The Anglo-Saxon Poetic Records*, iv. ed. E. V. K. Dobbie. New York: Columbia University Press, 1953. pp. 3.1–98.3182.

Secondary Source: *Beowulf: an edition with relevant shorter texts*, ed. B. Mitchell and F. C. Robinson, Oxford and Cambridge, MA: Blackwell, 1998.

- COBRUNAN.PSD

Primary Source: *The Anglo-Saxon Minor Poems. The Anglo-Saxon Poetic Records*, vi. ed. E. V. K. Dobbie. New York: Columbia University Press, 1942. pp. 16.1–20.73.

Secondary Source: *The Battle of Brunanburh*, ed. A. Campbell, London: William Heinemann, 1938.

- COCHRIST.PSD

Primary Source: *The Exeter Book. The Anglo-Saxon Poetic Records*, iii. ed. G. P. Krapp and E. V. K. Dobbie. New York: Columbia University Press, 1936. pp. 3.1–15.439 (sample 1). pp. 15.440–27.866 (sample 2). pp. 27.867–33.1080. (sample 3).

Secondary Source: *The Advent Lyrics of the Exeter Book*, ed. J. J. Campbell, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1959.

- COCYNEW.PSD

Primary Sources: (1) *The Vercelli Book. The Anglo-Saxon Poetic Records*, ii. ed. G. P. Krapp. New York: Columbia University Press, 1932. pp. 51.1–54.122 (Fates of Apostles). pp. 66.1–102.1321 (Elene). (2) *The Exeter Book. The Anglo-Saxon Poetic Records*, iii. ed. G. P. Krapp and E. V. K. Dobbie. New York: Columbia University Press, 1936. pp. 113.1–133.731 (Juliana).

Secondary Sources: (1) *Andreas and the Fates of the Apostles*, ed. G. P. Krapp, Boston, MA: Ginn, 1906. (2) *Cynewulf's Elene*, ed. P. O. E. Gradon, London: Methuen, 1958. (3) *The Juliana of Cynewulf*, ed. W. Strunk, Boston and London: D. C. Heath, 1904.

- CODREAM.PSD

Primary Source: *The Vercelli Book. The Anglo-Saxon Poetic Records*, ii. ed. G. P. Krapp. New York: Columbia University Press, 1932. pp. 61.1–65.156.

Secondary Source: *A Guide to Old English*, 5th edition, B. Mitchell and F. C. Robinson, Oxford and Cambridge, MA: Blackwell, 1992.

- COEXETER.PSD

Primary Source: *The Exeter Book. The Anglo-Saxon Poetic Records*, iii. ed. G. P. Krapp and E. V. K. Dobbie. New York: Columbia University Press, 1936. pp. 134.1–137.116 (The Wanderer). pp. 143.1–147.124 (The

Seafarer). pp. 149.1–153.143 (Widsith). pp. 154.1–156.98 (Fortunes of Men). pp. 156.1–163.204 (Maxims I). pp. 166.1–169.87 (The Riming Poem). pp. 169.1–171.174 (The Panther). pp. 171.1–174.88 (The Whale). pp. 174.1–174.16 (The Partridge). pp. 178.1–179.42 (Deor). pp. 179.1–180.19 (Wulf and Eadwacer). pp. 210.1–211.53 (The Wife's Lament).

Secondary Sources: (1) *The Old English Riming Poem*, ed. O. D. Macrae-Gibson, Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 1987. *The Old English Physiologus*, ed. A. Squires, Durham: Durham Medieval Texts, 1988. (2) *A Guide to Old English*, 5th edition, B. Mitchell and F. C. Robinson, Oxford and Cambridge, MA: Blackwell, 1992. (3) *Old English Minor Heroic Poems*, ed. J. Hill, Durham: Durham Medieval Texts, 1994. (4) *Gnomic Poetry in Anglo-Saxon*, ed. B. C. Williams, New York: AMS Press, 1966.

- *coexodus.psd*

Primary Source: *The Junius Manuscript. The Anglo-Saxon Poetic Records*, i. ed. G. P. Krapp. London: George Routledge & Sons, ltd and New York: Columbia University Press, 1931. pp. 91.1 - 107.590.

Secondary Source: *Exodus*, ed. P. J. Lucas, London: Methuen, 1977.

- COGENESI.PSD

Primary Source: *The Junius Manuscript. The Anglo-Saxon Poetic Records*, i. ed. G. P. Krapp. London: George Routledge & Sons, ltd and New York: Columbia University Press, 1931. pp. 3.1–9.234 (sample 1). pp. 32.965–40.1284 (sample 2). pp. 72.2419–82.2759 (sample 3).

Secondary Source: *Genesis A: a new edition*, ed. A. N. Doane, Madison: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1978. word count: 4840. COKEN-TIS.PSD Primary Source: *The Anglo-Saxon Minor Poems. The Anglo-Saxon Poetic Records*, VI. ed. E. V. K. Dobbie. New York: Columbia University Press, 1942. pp. 87.1 - 88.43 (The Kentish Hymn). pp. 88.1–94.157 (The Kentish Psalm). Secondary Source: *Sweet's Anglo-Saxon Reader in Prose and Verse*, ed. D. Whitelock, Oxford: Clarendon, 1967.

- COMETBOE.PSD

Primary Source: *The Paris Psalter and the Meters of Boethius. The Anglo-Saxon Poetic Records*, v. ed. G. P. Krapp. London: George Routledge & Sons, ltd and New York: Columbia University Press, 1933. pp. 158.1–159.46 (5). pp. 160.1–173.80 (7-13). pp. 176.1–177.47 (19). pp. 185.1–186.44 (21). pp. 188.1–192.74 (24-25). pp. 197.1–202.96 (28-29).

- CONORTHU.PSD

Primary Sources: (1) *The Anglo-Saxon Minor Poems. The Anglo-Saxon Poetic Records*, vi. ed. E. V. K. Dobbie. New York: Columbia University Press, 1942. pp. 105.1–105.9 (Caedmon's Hymn). pp. 107.1–107.5 (Bede's Death Song). pp. 109.1–109.14 (The Leiden Riddle). (2) *The Dream of the Rood*. ed. B. Dickins and A. S. C. Ross. London: Methuen & Co. Ltd., 1956 (1934). Corrections by R. W. V. Elliott, *Runes: An Introduction* (Manchester, 1959). pp. 90–96, and figures 38–40. pp. 25.39–29.64 (The Ruthwell Cross).

Secondary Source: *Three Northumbrian Poems*, ed. A. H. Smith, London: Methuen, 1933.

- COPHOENI.PSD

Primary Source: *The Exeter Book. The Anglo-Saxon Poetic Records*, iii. ed. G. P. Krapp and E. V. K. Dobbie. New York: Columbia University Press, 1936. pp. 94.1–113.677.

Secondary Source: *The Phoenix*, ed. N. F. Blake, Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1964.

- CORIDDLE.PSD

Primary Source: *The Exeter Book. The Anglo-Saxon Poetic Records*, iii. ed. G. P. Krapp and E. V. K. Dobbie. New York: Columbia University Press, 1936. pp. 180.1–189.11 (1–17). pp. 190.1–195.14 (20–29). pp. 196.1–198.14 (31–35). pp. 199.1–203.108 (39–40). pp. 203.1–204.16 (42–43). p. 206.1–206.10 (49–50). pp. 207.1–208.12 (53–56). pp. 209.1–210.18 (58–59). p. 229.1–229.9 (61–62). pp. 230.1–231.10 (66). p. 235.1–235.11 (80). pp. 240.1–241.11 (91). p. 243.1–243.13 (95).

Secondary Source: *The Old English Riddles of the Exeter Book*, ed. C. Williamson, Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1977.

Appendix C

Texts and Editions used from the Penn-Helsinki Parsed Corpus of Middle English [Version 2] (PPCME2)

This appendix includes details of the texts included in the second edition of Penn-Helsinki Parsed Corpus of Middle English (PPCME2). Texts are classified into four sub-periods. Where texts have manuscript and composition dates falling in different sub-periods, the date of the former is used for classification. All information is taken from the PPCME2 documentation which is available at:

<http://www.ling.upenn.edu/mideng/>

ME1: 1150–1250

- **Kentish Homilies** (CMKENTHO)

Warner, R.D.-N., 'Early English Homilies from the Twelfth-Century MS. Vespasian D xiv', *Early English Text Society* OS 152 (New York, 1917 for 1915; repr. 1971), pp. 134-139, 140-145.

- **The Peterborough Chronicle** (CMPETERB)

Clark, Cecily, *The Peterborough Chronicle 1070-1154*, 2nd edn (Oxford, 1970), pp. 41-60.

- **Ancrene Riwe** (CMANCRIW)

Ackerman, Robert W. and Roger Dahood, 'Ancrene Riwe: Introduction and Part I'. *Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies* (Birmingham, 1972); Dobson, E.J., 'The English Text of the *Ancrene Riwe*' edited from

B.M. Cotton MS. Cleopatra C VI'. *Early English Text Society* OS 267 (London, 1972). The Introduction and Part I are taken from Ackerman and Dahood, an edited text based on the Cotton Cleopatra manuscript. The rest of the sample is taken from the diplomatic edition of Dobson (pp. 39-246).

- **The Katherine Group**

This group includes the following texts: **Hali Meidhad** (CMHALI), **St Katherine** (CMKATHE), **St Juliana** (CMJULIA), **St Margaret** (CMMARGA), **Sawles Warde** (CMSAWLES).

d'Ardenne, S.R.T.O., *The Katherine Group Edited from MS Bodley 34*. (Paris, 1977).

- **The Lambeth Homilies** (CMLAMB1, CMLAMBX1)

Morris, Richard, Old English Homilies I, *Early English Text Society* OS 29 & 34, (New York, 1969). CMLAMBX1 is of unknown composition date, manuscript dates from ME1.

- **Vices and Virtues** (CMVICES1)

Holthausen, F., 'Vices and Virtues, Part i, Text and Translation', *Early English Text Society*, OS 89.

- **Trinity Homilies** (CMTRINIT)

Morris, Richard, 'Old English Homilies II', *Early English Text Society* OS 53 (London, 1873).

ME2: 1250–1350

- **Kentish Sermons** (CMKENTSE)

Hall, Joseph (ed.), *Selections from Early Middle English 1130-1250*, (Oxford, 1920), pps. 214-222.

- **The Earliest Complete English Prose Psalter** (CMEARLPS)

Buelbring, K.D. (ed.), 'The Earliest Complete English Prose Psalter', *Early English Text Society* OS 97, (London, 1891).

- **Ayenbite of Inwyt** (CMAYENBI)

Morris, Richard, 'Dan Michel Ayenbite of Inwyt', *Early English Text Society* OS 23 (London, 1866), rev. Pamela Gradon (1965), and *Early English Text Society* OS 278 (London, 1979), pp.5-118, 249-271.

ME3: 1350–1420

- **The Tale of Melibee** (CMCTMELI)
Benson, L.D. (ed.), *The Riverside Chaucer*, Third Edition, (Boston, 1987), pp. 217-239.
- **The Parson's Tale** (CMCTPARS)
Benson, L.D. (ed.), *The Riverside Chaucer*, Third Edition, (Boston, 1987), pp. 288-327.
- **A Treatise on the Astrolabe** (CMASTRO)
Benson, L.D. (ed.), *The Riverside Chaucer*, Third Edition, (Boston, 1987), pp. 662.C1.1-673.C2.7.
- **Boethius** (CMBOETH)
Benson, L.D. (ed.), *The Riverside Chaucer*, Third Edition, (Boston, 1987), pp. 429.C1.1-431.C1.195, 431.C2.1-434.C1.250, 434.C2.1-436.C2.230, 446.C2.1-449.C2.300, 450.C2.1-454.C2.376.
- **The Equatorie of the Planets** (CMEQUATO)
Price, D.J., *The Equatorie of the Planets*, (Cambridge, 1955), pp. 18.1-44.39.
- **English Wycliffite Sermons** (CMWYCSE)
Hudson, Anne (ed.), *English Wycliffite Sermons*, (Oxford, 1983), pp.223-425, 475-480, 521-524, 588-592, 643-647.
- **Purvey's Prologue to the Bible** (CMPURVEY)
Forshall, J. and F. Madden (eds.), *The Holy Bible, Containing the Old and New Testaments, with the Apocryphal Books, in the Earliest English Versions Made from the Latin Vulgate by John Wycliffe and his Followers*, Vol. 1 (Oxford, 1850, reprinted 1982).
- **The New Testament (Wycliffite)** (CMNTEST)
Forshall, J. and F. Madden (eds.), *The New Testament in English according to the Version of John Wycliffe about A.D.1380 and Revised by John Purvey about A.D. 1388*, (Oxford, 1879). Sample: John I.1-XI.56.
- **The Old Testament (Wycliffite)** (CMOTEST)
Forshall, J. and F. Madden (eds.), *The Holy Bible, Containing the Old and New Testaments, with the Apocryphal Books, in the Earliest English Versions Made from the Latin Vulgate by John Wycliffe and his Followers*, Vol. 1, (Oxford, 1850). Samples: Genesis I.1-III.24, VI.1-IX.29, XII.1-XIV.20, XXII.1-XXII.19, Numbers XIII.1-XIV.45, XVI.1-XVII.13.

- **The Cloud of Unknowing (CMCLOUD)**
Hodgson, P. (ed.), 'The Cloud of Unknowing and the Book of Privy Counselling', *Early English Text Society* OS 218, (London, 1944, 1958).
- **The Brut or The Chronicles of England (CMBRUT)**
Brie, F.W.D., 'The Brut or The Chronicles of England, Part I', *Early English Text Society* OS 131, London (1960, 1906), pp. 1-128, 217-228.
- **The Polychronicon (John of Trevisa) (CMPOLYCH)**
Lumby, J.R. (ed.), 'Polychronicon Ranulphi Higden, Monachi Cestrensis, Vols. VI, VIII, English Translations of John Trevisa and of an Unknown Writer of the Fifteenth Century'. *Rolls Series* 41, (London, 1876, 1882), Book VI pp. 3-477, Book VIII pp. 83-111, 347-352.
- **Mandeville's Travels (CMMANDEV)**
Hamelius, P. (ed.), 'Mandeville's Travels, Translated from the French of Jean D'Outremeuse', *Early English Text Society* OS 153, (London, 1919), 1-132, 140-145.
- **A Late Middle English Treatise on Horses (CMHORSES)**
Svinhufvud, A.C. (ed.), 'A Late Middle English Treatise on Horses', *Stockholm Studies in English XLVII*, (Stockholm, 1978), pp.85-129.
- **The Mirror of St. Edmund (Vernon Ms.) (CMEDVERN)**
Horstman, C. (ed.), *Yorkshire Writers: Richard Rolle of Hampole*, Swan Sonnenschein & Co. (New York, 1895), pp. 240-261.
- **The Northern Prose Rule of St. Benet (CMBENRUL)**
Kock, Ernst A., 'The Northern Prose Version of The Rule of St. Benet. in Three Middle-English Versions of the Rule of St. Benet and Two Contemporary Rituals for the Ordination of Nuns', *Early English Text Society* OS 120, pp.1-47, London (1902).
- **Aelred of Rievaulx's De Institutione (Ms. Vernon) (CMAELR3)**
Ayto, J. and A. Barratt, (eds.), 'Aelred of Rievaulx's de Institutione Includarum', *Early English Text Society* OS 287, (London, 1984). Composition date ME2, Manuscript date ME3.

ME4: 1420–1500

- **Aelred of Rievaulx's de Institutione Includarum (Bodley 423) (CMAELR4)**

- Ayto, J. and A. Barratt, (eds.), 'Aelred of Rievaulx's de Institutione In-clusarum', *Early English Text Society* OS 287, (London, 1984), pp.1-25.
- **The Book of Margery Kempe** (CMKEMPE)
Meech, S.B., and H.E. Allen (eds.), 'The Book of Margery Kempe, Vol. 1', *Early English Text Society* OS 212, (London, 1940), pp. 1-154, 221-232.
 - **Capgrave's Chronicle** (CMCAPCHR)
Lucas, P.J. (ed.), 'John Capgrave's Abbreviation of Chronicles', *Early English Text Society* OS 285, (Oxford, 1983), pp. 32-160, 209-217, 238-249.
 - **Capgrave's Sermon** (CMCAPSER)
Munro, J.J. (ed.), 'John Capgrave's Lives of St. Augustine and St. Gilbert of Sempringham, and a Sermon', *Early English Text Society* OS 140, (New York, 1910, 1971), Pp. 143.1-148.28.
 - **Gregory's Chronicle** (CMGREGOR)
Gairdner J. (ed.), 'The Historical Collections of a Citizen of London in the Fifteenth Century'. *Camden Society*, N.S. XVII, (Westminster, 1876), pp. 95.21-128, 138-143, 148-149, 156-239.
 - **Malory's Morte Darthur** (CMMALORY)
Vinaver, E. (ed.), *The Works of Thomas Malory*, (London, 1954), pp.2-71, 180-209, 626-670.
 - **In Die Innocencium** (CMINNOCE)
Nichols, J.G. (ed.), 'Two Sermons Preached by the Boy Bishop, at St. Paul's Temp. Henry VII, and at Gloucester Temp. Mary', *Camden Society Miscellany*, VII. *Camden Society* N.S. XIV, (London, 1875), pp. 1.1-13.4.
 - **Richard Fitzjames' Sermo de Lune** (CMFITZJA)
Jenkinson, F. (ed.), *Sermo die Lune in Ebdomada Pasche*. Westminster, Wynkyn de Worde (1495?), (Cambridge, 1907) (Facsimile), Pp. A2R.1-C1R.20.
 - **Renard the Fox (Caxton)** (CMREYNAR)
Blake, N.F. (ed.), 'The History of Reynard the Fox. Translated from the Dutch Original by William Caxton', *Early English Text Society* 263 (London, 1970), Pp. 6.1-14.19 and 51.20-62.26.
 - **The Siege of Jerusalem** (CMSEIGE)
Kurvinen, A. (ed.), 'The Siege of Jerusalem' in *Prose Memoires de la Societe Neophilologique de Helsinki*, XXXIV, (Helsinki, 1969), Pp. 70.1-93.709.

- **The Life of St. Edmund** (CMEDMUND)
Blake, N.F. (ed.), 'The Life of St. Edmund', In *Middle English Religious Prose*, York Medieval Texts (London, 1972), pp. 163-173.
- **Liber de Diversis Medicinis** (CMTHORN)
Ogden, M.S. (ed.), The 'Liber de Diversis Medicinis' in the Thornton Manuscript, *Early English Text Society* 207, (London, 1938). Composition date unknown, Manuscript date ME4.
- **Dan Jon Gaytryge's Sermon** (CMGAYTRY)
Perry, G.G. (ed.), 'Dan Jon Gaytryge's Sermon, in Religious Pieces in Prose and Verse', *Early English Text Society* OS 26 (New York, 1969 (1914)), pp. 1-15. Composition date ME3, Manuscript date ME4.
- **Hilton's Eight Chapters on Perfection** (CMHILTON)
Kuriyagawa, F. (ed.), *Walter Hilton's Eight Chapters on Perfection*, (Tokyo, 1967), pp. 1-33. Composition date ME3, Manuscript date ME4.
- **Middle English Sermons** (CMROYAL)
Ross, W.O. (ed.), Middle English Sermons edited from British Museum Ms. Royal 18 B. XXIII. *Early English Text Society* OS 209 (London, 1940), pp.9.3-12.17, 16.2-19.34, 251.22-261.21. Composition date ME3, Manuscript date ME4.
- **Julian of Norwich's Revelations of Divine Love** (CMJULNOR)
Beer, F. (ed.), Julian of Norwich's Revelations of Divine Love: The shorter version edited from B.L. Add. Ms 37790, (Heidelberg, 1978), pp. 48-62. Composition date ME3, Manuscript date ME4.
- **The Book of Vices and Virtues** (CMVICES4)
Francis, W.N. (ed.), The Book of Vices and Virtues: A Fourteenth Century English Translation of The Somme le Roi of Lorens D'Orleans, *Early English Text Society* OS 217, (London 1942), 97.8-116.25. Composition date ME3, Manuscript date ME4.
- **Mirk's Festial** (CMMIRK)
Erbe, T. (ed.), Mirk's Festial: A collection of homilies, by Johannes Mirkus (John Mirk), Part I, *Early English Text Society* ES 96 (London, 1905), pp. 1.4-5.36, 82.9-85.10. Composition date ME3, Manuscript date ME4.
- **The Mirror of St. Edmund (Thornton Ms.)** (CMEDTHOR)
Perry, G.G. (ed.), The Mirror of St. Edmund, in Religious Pieces in Prose

and Verse, *Early English Text Society* OS 26 (New York, 1969 (1914)), pp.16-50. Composition date ME3, Manuscript date ME4.

- **Richard Rolle: Epistles (The Form of Living, Ego Dormio, The Commandment)** (CMROLLEP)

Allen, Hope Emily (ed.), *English Writings of Richard Rolle Hermit of Hampole*, (Oxford, 1931), pp.61-119. Composition date ME2, Manuscript date ME4.

- **Richard Rolle: Prose Treatises from the Thornton Ms.** (CMROLLTR)

Perry, George (ed.), *English Prose Treatises of Richard Rolle of Hampole*, *Early English Text Society* OS 20, (London, 1866, 1921). Page Numbers unknown. Composition date ME2, Manuscript date ME4.

Appendix D

Texts and Editions used from the Penn-Helsinki Parsed Corpus of Early Modern English (PPCEME)

This appendix details the texts and editions included in the Penn-Helsinki Parsed Corpus of Early Modern English (PPCEME). The texts are divided into three sub-periods, based on the information given in the corpus documentation which is available at:

<http://www.ling.upenn.edu/emodeng/>

Texts are divided within the corpus into three directories, each comprising different samples from the same texts. These are represented with the same filename but different file extensions e.g. ABOTT-E1-H, ABOTT-E1-P1, ABOTT-E1-P2. In this appendix, texts are listed alphabetically within each period under their general file name without reference to the specific directory. The periods are as used in the main text.

EMODE1: 1500–1569

- ABOTT.E1 Author - Ann Abott.
Stapleton, Thomas (ed.). 1839. 'The Plumpton correspondence. A series of letters, chiefly domestick, written in the reigns of Edward IV, Richard III, Henry VII, and Henry VIII'. *Camden Society*, IV. Reprinted, with a new introduction by Keith Dockray, in 1990 (Alan Sutton Publishing: Gloucester and Wolfeboro Falls, NH).
- AMBASS.E1, Authors - Cuthbert Trunstell (Bishop of London) and Dr. Richard Sampson (Bishop of Chichester).

- Ellis, Henry (ed.). 1846. *Original letters, illustrative of English history; including numerous royal letters*. Series 3, vol. 2. London: Richard Bentley. Reprinted 1970 (New York: A.M.S. Press).
- APLUMPT.E1 Author - Agnes Plumpton (née Gascoigne).
Stapleton, Thomas (ed.). 1839. 'The Plumpton correspondence. A series of letters, chiefly domestick, written in the reigns of Edward IV, Richard III, Henry VII, and Henry VIII'. *Camden Society*, IV. Reprinted, with a new introduction by Keith Dockray, in 1990 (Alan Sutton Publishing: Gloucester and Wolfeboro Falls, NH).
 - APOOLE.E1 Author - Ann Poole (née Nevill).
Stapleton, Thomas (ed.). 1839. 'The Plumpton correspondence. A series of letters, chiefly domestick, written in the reigns of Edward IV, Richard III, Henry VII, and Henry VIII'. *Camden Society*, IV. Reprinted, with a new introduction by Keith Dockray, in 1990 (Alan Sutton Publishing: Gloucester and Wolfeboro Falls, NH).
 - ASCH.E1 Author - Roger Ascham.
Arber, Edward (ed.). 1870. *The Scholemaster*. Written between 1563-8. Posthumously published. First edition, 1570; collated with the second edition, 1571. English reprints. London: [no publisher]. Reprinted 1966 (New York: A.M.S. Press).
 - BEDYLL.E1 Author - Thomas Bedyll.
Ellis, Henry (ed.). 1824. *Original letters, illustrative of English history; including numerous royal letters*. Series 1, vol. 2. London: [publisher unknown]. Reprinted 1970 (New York: A.M.S. Press).
 - BOETHCO.E1, Author - George Colville.
Bax, Ernest Belfort (ed.). 1897. *Boethius' Consolation of Philosophy*, translated from the Latin by George Colville, 1556. The Tudor Library, V. London: David Nutt.
 - CHAPLAIN.E1, unknown author (chaplain to Sir Richard Guylforde).
Ellis, Sir Henry (ed.). 1851. *The pylgrymage of Sir Richard Guylforde to the Holy Land, A.D. 1506*. From a copy believed to be unique, from the press of Richard Pynson. London: Camden Society.
 - CROMWELL.E1 Author - Thomas Cromwell, earl of Essex.
(1) Ellis, Henry (ed.). 1824. *Original letters, illustrative of English history; including numerous royal letters*. Series 1, vol. 2. London: [publisher

unknown].

(2) Ellis, Henry (ed.). 1846. *Original letters, illustrative of English history; including numerous royal letters*. Series 3, vol. 2. London: [publisher unknown].

- DACRE.E1 Author - Thomas Dacre, 2nd baron Gillesland, 1st baron Greystoke. Ellis, Henry (ed.). 1824. *Original letters, illustrative of English history; including numerous royal letters*. Series 1, vol. 1. London: [publisher unknown]. Reprinted 1970 (New York: A.M.S. Press).
- DELAPOLE.E1 Author - Margaret De la Pole (née Plantagenet), countess of Salisbury. Ellis, Henry (ed.). 1827. *Original letters, illustrative of English history; including numerous royal letters*. Series 2, vol. 2. London: [publisher unknown]. Reprinted 1970 (New York: AMS Press).
- DPLUMPT.E1 Author - Dorothy Plumpton. Stapleton, Thomas (ed.). 1839. 'The Plumpton correspondence. A series of letters, chiefly domestick, written in the reigns of Edward IV, Richard III, Henry VII, and Henry VIII'. *Camden Society*, IV. Reprinted, with a new introduction by Keith Dockray, in 1990 (Alan Sutton Publishing: Gloucester and Wolfeboro Falls, NH).
- EBEAUM.E1 Author - Elizabeth Beaumont (née Harrington). Macray, William D. (ed.). 1884. *Beaumont papers. Letters relating to the family of Beaumont, of Whitley, Yorkshire, from the fifteenth to the seventeenth centuries*. London: Nichols.
- ECUMBERL.E1 Author - Eleanor Clifford (née Brandon), Countess of Cumberland. Dickens, Arthur G. (ed.). 1962. 'Clifford letters of the sixteenth century'. *Surtees Society*, volume 172. Durham: Andrews and Co. and London: Quaritch.
- EDWARD.E1 Author - Edward VI, King of England. Nichols, John Gough (ed.). 1857 (reprinted 1963). 'The diary of Edward VI. Literary remains of King Edward the Sixth, Vol. II'. *Burt Franklin Research & Source Works Series*, volume 51. New York: Burt Franklin.
- ELYOT.E1 Author - Thomas Elyot. Elyot, Thomas. 1907. *The boke named the Governour*. With an introduction by Foster Watson. Everyman's Library, edited by Ernest Rhys. London and New York: J.M. Dent and E.P. Dutton.

- EPOOLE.E1 Author - Elizabeth Poole.
Stapleton, Thomas (ed.). 1839. 'The Plumpton correspondence. A series of letters, chiefly domestick, written in the reigns of Edward IV, Richard III, Henry VII, and Henry VIII'. *Camden Society*, IV. Reprinted, with a new introduction by Keith Dockray, in 1990 (Alan Sutton Publishing: Gloucester and Wolfeboro Falls, NH).
- FABYAN.E1 Author - Robert Fabyan.
Fabyan, Robert. 1516. *The new chronicles of England and France*. London: Pynson. Reprinted 1811 (London: F.C. & J. Rivington).
- FISHER.E1 Author - John Fisher, Bishop of Rochester.
Mayor, John E.B. (ed.). 1876. *The English works of John Fisher, Bishop of Rochester, Part I. Early English Text Society ES 27*. Berlin, New York, Philadelphia: Asher, Scribner, Lippincott.
- FITZH.E1 Author - John Fitzherbert.
Skeat, Walter W. (ed.). 1882. *The book of husbandry, by Master Fitzherbert*. English Dialect Society, 37. (Series D. Miscellaneous) London: Trübner. Reprinted 1965 (Vaduz: Kraus Reprint Ltd.).
- FRIAR.E1 Authors - Thomas Howard, [3rd] duke of Norfolk; Sir Roger Townshend.
Ellis, Henry (ed.). 1824. *Original letters, illustrative of English history; including numerous royal letters*. Series 1, vol. 2. London: [publisher unknown]. Reprinted 1970 (New York: A.M.S. Press).
- GASCOIGNE.E1 Author - William Gascoigne.
Stapleton, Thomas (ed.). 1839. *The Plumpton correspondence. A series of letters, chiefly domestick, written in the reigns of Edward IV, Richard III, Henry VII, and Henry VIII*. Camden Society, IV. Reprinted, with a new introduction by Keith Dockray, in 1990 (Alan Sutton Publishing: Gloucester and Wolfeboro Falls, NH).
- GCROMW.E1 Author - George Cromwell.
Ellis, Henry (ed.). 1846. *Original letters, illustrative of English history; including numerous royal letters*. Series 3, vols. 1 and 3. London: Richard Bentley. Reprinted 1970 (New York: A.M.S. Press).
- GPOOLE.E1 Author - Germain Poole.
Stapleton, Thomas (ed.). 1839. *The Plumpton correspondence. A series of letters, chiefly domestick, written in the reigns of Edward IV, Richard III,*

- Henry VII, and Henry VIII. Camden Society, IV. Reprinted, with a new introduction by Keith Dockray, in 1990 (Alan Sutton Publishing: Gloucester and Wolfeboro Falls, NH).
- GREY.E1 Author - Cecily Grey (née Bonville), Marchioness of Dorset, later Countess of Wiltshire.
Ellis, Henry (ed.). 1824. Original letters, illustrative of English history; including numerous royal letters. Series 1, vol. 1. London: [publisher unknown]. Reprinted 1970 (New York: A.M.S. Press).
 - HARMAN.E1 Author - Thomas Harman.
Viles, Edward and F.J. Furnivall (ed.). 1869. A caueat or warening for commen cursetors vulgarely called vagabones, by Thomas Harman Esquiere. London: Trübner. *Early English Text Society* ES 9.
 - INTERVIEW.E1 Author - T[homas Howard, 3rd duke of] Norfolk; Ri. Wyn-ton; W. Lincoln; J. Abbot of Westm[inster]; John Berners; Jo. Fyneux; Thomas Louell; Rob[er]t Brudenell; John Cutte; C. Wyndham; T. Magnus; John Fitz James.
Ellis, Henry (ed.). 1824. Original letters, illustrative of English history; including numerous royal letters. Series 1, vol. 1. London: [publisher unknown]. Reprinted 1970 (New York: A.M.S. Press). HENRY.E1 Author - Henry VIII, King of England. Ellis, Henry (ed.). 1824. Original letters, illustrative of English history; including numerous royal letters. Series 1, vols. 1, 2. London: [publisher unknown]. Reprinted 1970 (New York: A.M.S. Press).
 - IPLUMPT.E1 Author - Isabel Plumpton (née Nevill).
Stapleton, Thomas (ed.). 1839. The Plumpton correspondence. A series of letters, chiefly domestick, written in the reigns of Edward IV, Richard III, Henry VII, and Henry VIII. Camden Society, IV. Reprinted, with a new introduction by Keith Dockray, in 1990 (Alan Sutton Publishing: Gloucester and Wolfeboro Falls, NH).
 - LATIMER.E1 Author - Hugh Latimer, Bishop of Worcester Arber, Edward (ed.). 1903. Sermon on the ploughers, 18 January 1549. English reprints no. 2. Westminster: Constable.
Arber, Edward (ed.). 1895. Seven sermons before Edward VI, on each Friday in Lent, 1549. English reprints [no number]. Westminster: Constable.
 - LELAND.E1 Author - John Leland.
Smith, Lucy Toulmin (ed.). 1964. The itinerary of John Leland in or about

the years 1535-1543. Parts I to III. With a foreword by Thomas Kendrick. Volume 1. Carbondale, IL: Southern Illinois University Press.

- LORDS.E1 Author - Thomas Audley; T[homas Howard, 3rd duke of] Norfolk; Charles [Brandon, 1st duke of] Suffolk; Thomas Lord Cromwell [Lord Privy Seale]; [Lord] Robert Sussex; E. Hertford; W. Southampton. Ellis, Henry (ed.). 1824. Original letters, illustrative of English history; including numerous royal letters. Series 1, vol. 2. London: [publisher unknown]. Reprinted 1970 (New York: A.M.S. Press).
- MACHYN.E1 Author - Henry Machyn. Nichols, John Gough (ed.). 1848. The diary of Henry Machyn, citizen and merchant-taylor of London, from A.D. 1550 to A.D. 1563. Camden Society, 42. London: Nichols.
- MANNERS.E1 Author - Eleanor Manners (née Paston), Countess of Rutland. Ellis, Henry (ed.). 1827. Original letters, illustrative of English history; including numerous royal letters. Series 2, vol. 2. London: [publisher unknown]. Reprinted 1970 (New York: AMS Press).
- MARCHES.E1 Author - [Charles Brandon,] 1st duke of Suffolk; [Thomas Lord Cromwell,] Lord Privy Seale; Sir William Kingstone; Lord [Robert] Sussex; [Sir William Fitzwilliam,] Lord Admirall; Bishop of Chichester; Bishop of Hereford. Hoyle, R.W. (ed.). 1992. Letters of the Cliffords, lords Clifford and earls of Cumberland, c. 1500-c. 1565. Camden Miscellany 31. Camden Fourth Series, vol. 44. London: Offices of the Royal Historical Society.
- MERRYTAL.E1 Author - unknown. Oesterley, Hermann (ed.). 1866. Shakespeare's Jest book: A hundred mery talys, from the only perfect copy known. London: John Russell Smith.
- MHOWARD.E1 Author - Mary Fitzroy (née Howard), Duchess of Richmond and Somerset. Ellis, Henry (ed.). 1827. Original letters, illustrative of English history; including numerous royal letters. Series 2, vol. 2. London: [publisher unknown]. Reprinted 1970 (New York: A.M.S. Press).
- MORELET.E1 Author - Sir Thomas More. Rogers, Elizabeth F. (ed.). 1947. The correspondence of Sir Thomas More. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

- MORERIC.E1 Author - Sir Thomas More.
Sylvester, Richard Standish (ed.). 1963. The complete works of St. Thomas More. Volume 2. New Haven, CT and London: Yale University Press.
- MOREWOL.E1 Author - Sir Thomas More.
Ellis, Henry (ed.). 1824. Original letters, illustrative of English history; including numerous royal letters. Series 1, vol. 1. London: [publisher unknown]. Reprinted 1970 (New York: A.M.S. Press).
- MOWNTAYNE.E1 Author - Thomas Mowntayne.
Nichols, John Gough (ed.). 1859. The autobiography of Thomas Mowntayne. Narratives of the days of the reformation, chiefly from the manuscripts of John Foxe the martyrologist; with two contemporary biographies of Archbishop Cranmer. Camden Society, 77. London: [no publisher]. Reprinted by the A.M.S. Press (New York and London).
- MROPER.E1 Author - Margaret Roper (née More).
Rogers, Elizabeth F. (ed.). 1947. The correspondence of Sir Thomas More. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- MTUDOR.E1 Author - Mary Tudor, queen of France, later Mary Brandon, duchess of Suffolk.
Ellis, Henry (ed.). 1824. Original letters, illustrative of English history; including numerous royal letters. Series 1, vol. 1. London: [publisher unknown]. Reprinted 1970 (New York: A.M.S. Press).
- NEVILL.E1 Author - Edith Nevill (née Sands).
Stapleton, Thomas (ed.). 1839. The Plumpton correspondence. A series of letters, chiefly domestick, written in the reigns of Edward IV, Richard III, Henry VII, and Henry VIII. Camden Society, IV. Reprinted, with a new introduction by Keith Dockray, in 1990 (Alan Sutton Publishing: Gloucester and Wolfeboro Falls, NH)
- RECORD.E1 Author - Robert Record.
Record, Robert. 1974 (facsimile). The path-way to knowledg, containing the first principles of geometrie. 1551. The English experience, 687. Amsterdam: Theatrvm Orbis Terrarvm and Norwood, NJ: W.J. Johnson.
- ROPER.E1 Author - William Roper. Hitchcock, Elsie Vaughan (ed.). 1935 (for 1934). The lyfe of Sir Thomas Moore, knighte, written by William Roper, esquire, whiche married Margreat, daughter of the sayed Thomas Moore; and now edited from thirteen manuscripts, with collations, etc. *Early English Text Society* OS 197. London: Oxford University Press.

- RPLUMPT.E1 Author - Robert Plumpton.
Stapleton, Thomas (ed.). 1839. The Plumpton correspondence. A series of letters, chiefly domestick, written in the reigns of Edward IV, Richard III, Henry VII, and Henry VIII. Camden Society, IV. Reprinted, with a new introduction by Keith Dockray, in 1990 (Alan Sutton Publishing: Gloucester and Wolfeboro Falls, NH).
- RPLUMPT2.E1 Author - Robert Plumpton, of Yorke.
Stapleton, Thomas (ed.). 1839. The Plumpton correspondence. A series of letters, chiefly domestick, written in the reigns of Edward IV, Richard III, Henry VII, and Henry VIII. Camden Society, IV. Reprinted, with a new introduction by Keith Dockray, in 1990 (Alan Sutton Publishing: Gloucester and Wolfeboro Falls, NH).
- RUSSELL.E1 John Russell, Earl of Bedford.
Ellis, Henry (ed.). 1824. Original letters, illustrative of English history; including numerous royal letters. Series 1, vol. 2. London: [publisher unknown]. Reprinted 1970 (New York: A.M.S. Press).
- SAVILL.E1 Author - Henry Savill.
Stapleton, Thomas (ed.). 1839. The Plumpton correspondence. A series of letters, chiefly domestick, written in the reigns of Edward IV, Richard III, Henry VII, and Henry VIII. Camden Society, IV. Reprinted, with a new introduction by Keith Dockray, in 1990 (Alan Sutton Publishing: Gloucester and Wolfeboro Falls, NH).
- STAT-PERIOD1.E1 Author - Unknown.
The statutes of the realm. Printed by command of His Majesty King George the Third in pursuance of an address of the House of Commons of Great Britain, Vols. III and IV. 1817. London: Dawsons of Pall Mall. Reprinted 1963
- STEVENSO.E1 Author - William Stevenson.
Brett-Smith, Herbert Francis Brett (ed.). 1920. Gammar Gvrtons nedle. Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin. Percy reprints, 2.
- SURETY.E1 Authors - R. Ryche [Lord Chancellor]; W. Seint John; W. Northt; J. Warwyk; F. Shrewesbury; Thoms South[a]mpton; E. Wentworth; John Gage; Will[ia]m Petre; Edward North; Edward Mountagu; R. Sadleyr; Nicholas Wotton.
Ellis, Henry (ed.). 1824. Original letters, illustrative of English history;

including numerous royal letters. Series 1, vol. 2. London: [publisher unknown]. Reprinted 1970 (New York: A.M.S. Press).

- THOWARD.E1 Author - Thomas Howard, Earl of Surrey, 2nd Duke of Norfolk.

Ellis, Henry (ed.). 1824. Original letters, illustrative of English history; including numerous royal letters. Series 1, vol. 1. London: [publisher unknown]. Reprinted 1970 (New York: A.M.S. Press). Hoyle, R.W. (ed.). 1992. Letters of the Cliffords, lords Clifford and earls of Cumberland, c. 1500-c. 1565. Camden Miscellany 31. Camden Fourth Series, vol. 44. London: Offices of the Royal Historical Society.

- THROCKM.E1 Author - unknown.

Hargrave, Francis (ed.). 1776-1781 (4th ed.). A complete collection of state-trials, and proceedings for high-treason, and other crimes and misdemeanours, commencing with the eleventh year of the reign of King Richard II, and ending with the sixteenth year of the reign of King George III, ..., with a new preface, by Francis Hargrave. Vol. 1. London: T. Wright.

- TORKINGT.E1 Author - Richard Torkington.

Loftie, William John (ed.) 1884. Ye oldest diarie of Englysshe travell, being the hitherto unpublished narrative of the pilgrimage of Sir Richard Torkington to Jerusalem in 1517. The Vellum-Parchment Shilling Series of Miscellaneous Literature, VI. London: Field Tuer.

- TUNSTALL.E1 Author - Cuthbert Trunstall, Bishop of London, later of Durham.

Ellis, Henry (ed.). 1824. Original letters, illustrative of English history; including numerous royal letters. Series 1, vol. 1. London: [no publisher].

Ellis, Henry (ed.). 1846. Original letters, illustrative of English history; including numerous royal letters. Series 3, vol. 1. London: Richard Bentley. Reprinted 1970 (New York: A.M.S. Press).

- TURNER.E1 Author - William Turner.

Larkey, Sanford Vincent and Philip M. Wagner (ed.). 1941. A book of wines, by William Turner, together with a modern English version of the text by the editors, and a general introduction by Sanford V. Larkey and an oenological note by Philip M. Wagner. New York: Scholars' Facsimiles & Reprints.

- TURNERHERB.E1 Author - William Turner.

Chapman, George T.L. and Marilyn N. Tweddle (eds.). 1995. A new

herball, by William Turner. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

- TYNDNEW.E1 Author - William Tyndale.
Wallis, Norbert Hardy (ed.). 1938. The New Testament, translated by William Tyndale, 1534. A reprint of the edition of 1534 with the translator's prefaces & notes and the variants of the edition of 1525, with an introduction by I. Foot. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- TYNDOLD.E1 Author - William Tyndale.
Mombert, Jacob I. (ed.). 1967. William Tyndale's five books of Moses called the Pentateuch, being a verbatim reprint of the edition of M.CCCCC.XXX, compared with Tyndale's Genesis of 1534, and the Pentateuch in the Vulgate, Luther, and Matthew's Bible, with various collations and prolegomena. Newly introduced by F.F. Bruce. Carbondale, IL: Southern Illinois University Press.
- UDALL.E1 Author - Nicholas Udall.
Udall, Nicholas. 1934 (for 1935). Roister Doister. Malone Society reprints. London: Oxford University Press.
- UNDERHILL.E1 Author - Edward Underhill.
Nichols, John Gough (ed.). 1859. Autobiographical anecdotes of Edward Underhill, one of the band of Gentlemen Pensioners. Narratives of the days of the reformation, chiefly from the manuscripts of John Foxe the martyrologist; with two contemporary biographies of Archbishop Cranmer. Camden Society, 77. London: [no publisher]. Reprinted by the AMS Press (New York and London).
- VICARY.E1 Author - Thomas Vicary.
Furnivall, Frederick J. and Percy Furnivall. 1888. The anatomie of the bodie of man, by Thomas Vicary ... The edition of 1548, as re-issued by the surgeons of St. Bartholomew's in 1577. *Early English Text Society* ES 53. London: Oxford University Press. Reprinted 1973 (Millwood, NY: Kraus Reprint Co.)
- WOLSEY.E1 Author - Thomas Wolsey, Cardinal Archbishop of York.
(1) Ellis, Henry (ed.). 1824. Original letters, illustrative of English history; including numerous royal letters. Series 1, vol. 2. London: [publisher unknown].
(2) Ellis, Henry (ed.). 1827. Original letters, illustrative of English history; including numerous royal letters. Series 2, vol. 2. London: Harding and Lepard. Both reprinted 1970 (New York: A.M.S. Press).

- WPLUMPT.E1 Author - William Plumpton.
Stapleton, Thomas (ed.). 1839. The Plumpton correspondence. A series of letters, chiefly domestick, written in the reigns of Edward IV, Richard III, Henry VII, and Henry VIII. Camden Society, IV. Reprinted, with a new introduction by Keith Dockray, in 1990 (Alan Sutton Publishing: Gloucester and Wolfeboro Falls, NH).

EMODE2: 1570–1639

- ARMIN.E2 Author - Robert Armin.
Armin, Robert. 1842. A nest of ninnies. Fools and jesters: with a reprint of Robert Armin's nest of ninnies, 1608. London: Shakespeare Society.
- AUTHNEW.E2 Author - Second Oxford Company.
The Holy Bible. 1911. An exact reprint in Roman type, page for page of the Authorized Version published in the year 1611. With an introduction by Alfred W. Pollard. London, Oxford, New York: Henry Frowde and Oxford University Press.
- AUTHOLD.E2 Author - First Westminster Company.
The Holy Bible. 1911. An exact reprint in Roman type, page for page of the Authorized Version published in the year 1611. With an introduction by Alfred William Pollard. Oxford and London: Oxford University Press and Henry Frowde.
- BACON.E2 Author - Francis Bacon.
Bacon, Francis. 1970 (facsimile). The two bookes of the proficience and advancement of learning, London 1605. The English Experience, 218. Amsterdam: Theatrum Orbis Terrarum and New York: Da Capo Press.
- BLUNDEV.E2 Author - Thomas Blundevile.
Blundeville, Thomas. 1597. M. Blundeuile his exercises, Pt. 1. A briefe description of the tables of the three speciall right lines belonging to a circle, called signes, [sic] lines tangent, and lines secant. A plaine Treatise of the first principles of Cosmographie, and specially of the Spheare, representing the shape of the whole world. London: John Windet.
- BOETHEL.E2 Author - Elizabeth I Tudor.
Pemberton, Caroline (ed.). 1899. Queen Elizabeth's Englishings of Boethius,

De Consolatione Philosophiae, A.D. 1593, Plutarch, De Curiositate, Horace, De Arte Poetica (Part), A.D. 1598. EETS, O.S. 113. London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner.

- BRINSLEY.E2 Author - John Brinsley.
Campagnac, Ernest Trafford (ed.). 1917. Ludus literarius or The Grammar Schoole (1627). Liverpool and London: Liverpool University Press and Constable.
- CLOWES.E2 Author - William Clowes.
Clowes, William. 1970 (facsimile). Treatise for the artificiall cure of struma, London 1602. The English Experience, 238. Amsterdam: Theatrum Orbis Terrarum and New York: Da Capo Press.
- CLOWESOBS.E2 Author - William Clowes.
Starnes, De Witt T. and Chauncey D. Leake (eds.). 1945 (facsimile). Profitable and necessarie booke of observations, by William Clowes. With introductions general and medical. New York: Scholars' Facsimiles and Reprints.
- CONWAY.E2 Author - Edward Conway.
Ellis, Henry (ed.). 1824. Original letters, illustrative of English history; including numerous royal letters. Series 1, vol. 3. London: [publisher unknown]. Reprinted 1970 (New York: AMS Press).
- CONWAY2.E2 Author - Edward Conway.
Pike, Clement Edwards (ed.). 1913. Selections from the correspondence of Arthur Capel Earl of Essex 1675-1677. Camden Third Series, Vol. 24. London: Royal Historical Society.
- COVERTE.E2 Author - Robert Coverte.
Coverte, Robert. 1971 (facsimile). A true and almost incredible report of an Englishman, 1612. The English Experience, 302. Amsterdam: Theatrum Orbis Terrarum and New York: Da Capo Press.
- DELONEY.E2 Author - Thomas Deloney.
Lawlis, Merrit E. (ed.). 1961. The novels of Thomas Deloney. Jack of Newbury (1619). Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press
- EDMONDES.E2 Author - Thomas Edmondson.
Butler, Geoffrey G. (ed.). 1913. The Edmondson papers. A selection from the correspondence of Sir Thomas Edmondson, envoy from Queen Elizabeth at the French court. London: Nichols.

- ESSEX.E2 Author - N/A.
Grosart, Alexander B. (ed.). 1873. The Dr. Farmer Chetham ms. Being a commonplace-book in the Chetham Library, Manchester. Temp. Elizabeth, James I. and Charles I. Consisting of verse and prose, mostly hitherto unpublished. The arraignment of the Earles of Essex and Southampton in Westminster Hall on Thursdayer xix. of Februarie 1600. Chetham Society, 89. Manchester: Chetham Society.
- ESSEXSTATE.E2 Author - N/A.
Hargrave, Francis (ed.). 1776-1781 (4th ed.). A complete collection of state-trials, and proceedings for high-treason, and other crimes and misdemeanours, commencing with the eleventh year of the reign of King Richard II, and ending with the sixteenth year of the reign of King George III, ..., with a new preface, by Francis Hargrave. Vol. 1. London: T. Wright.
- EVERARD.E2 Author - Lady Joan Everard.
Searle, Arthur (ed.). 1983. Barrington family letters 1628-1632. Camden Fourth Series. Vol. 28. London: Offices of the Royal Historical Society, University College London.
- FORMAN.E2 Author - Simon Forman.
Halliwell, James Orchard (ed.). 1849. The autobiography and personal diary of Dr. Simon Forman, the celebrated astrologer, from A.D. 1552, to A.D. 1602. London: privately printed.
- FORMAN-DIARY.E2 Author - Simon Forman.
Halliwell, James Orchard (ed.). 1849. The autobiography and personal diary of Dr. Simon Forman, the celebrated astrologer, from A.D. 1552, to A.D. 1602. London: privately printed.
- GAWDY.E2 Author - Philip Gawdy.
Jeayes, Isacc Herbert (ed.). 1906. Letters of Philip Gawdy of West Harling, Norfolk, and of London to various members of his family, 1579-1616. London: Nichols.
- GIFFORD.E2 Author - George Gifford.
White, Beatrice (ed.). 1931. A dialogue concerning witches and witchcraftes, 1593. By George Gifford. With an introduction by Beatrice White. Shakespeare Association Facsimiles, 1. London: Oxford University Press.
- HARLEY.E2, HARLEYEDW.E2 Author - Lady Brilliana Harley.
Lewis, Thomas Taylor (ed.). 1854. Letters of the Lady Brilliana Harley,

wife of Sir Robert Harley, of Brampton Bryan, Knight of the Bath. Camden Society, 58. London: [no publisher]. Reprinted 1968 (New York: AMS Press).

- HATCHER.E2 Author - John Hatcher.
Ellis, Henry (ed.). 1824. Original letters, illustrative of English history; including numerous royal letters. Series 1, vol. 3. London: [publisher unknown]. Reprinted 1970 (New York: AMS Press).
- HAYWARD.E2 Author - John Hayward.
Bruce, John (ed.). 1840. Sir John Hayward. Annals of the first four years of the reign of Queen Elizabeth. Camden Society, 7. London: Nichols.
- HOBY.E2 Author - Lady Margaret Hoby.
Meads, Dorothy M. (ed.). 1930. Diary of Lady Margaret Hoby, 1599-1605. Boston: Houghton Mifflin.
- HOOKER-A.E2 Author - Richard Hooker.
Hooker, Richard. 1969 (facsimile). Two sermons upon part of S. Judes Epistle, 1614. The English Experience, 195. Amsterdam: Theatrvm Orbis Terrarvm and New York: Da Capo Press.
- JBARRING.E2 Author - John Barrington.
Searle, Arthur (ed.). 1983. Barrington family letters 1628-1632. Camden Fourth Series. Vol. 28. London: Offices of the Royal Historical Society, University College London.
- JOTAYLOR.E2 Author - John Taylor.
Taylor, John. 1977 (facsimile). All the workes of John Taylor, the Water Poet, 1630. With an introductory note by V.E. Neuburg. London: Scolar Press.
- JOXINDEN.E2 Author - James Oxinden.
Gardiner, Dorothy (ed.). 1933. The Oxinden letters 1607-1642. Being the correspondence of Henry Oxinden of Barham and his circle. London: Constable.
- JUBARRING.E2 Author - Lady Judith Barrington.
Searle, Arthur (ed.). 1983. Barrington family letters 1628-1632. Camden Fourth Series. Vol. 28. London: Offices of the Royal Historical Society, University College London.

- JUDALL.E2 Author - N/A.
Hargrave, Francis (ed.). 1776-1781 (4th ed.). A complete collection of state-trials, and proceedings for high-treason, and other crimes and misdemeanours, commencing with the eleventh year of the reign of King Richard II, and ending with the sixteenth year of the reign of King George III, ..., with a new preface, by Francis Hargrave. Vol. 1. London: T. Wright.
- KNYVETT-1620.E2, KNYVETT-1630.E2 Author - Thomas Knyvett.
Schofield, B. (ed.). 1949. The Knyvett letters (1620-1644). London: Constable.
- KOXINDEN.E2 Author - Katherine Oxinden.
Gardiner, Dorothy (ed.). 1933. The Oxinden letters 1607-1642. Being the correspondence of Henry Oxinden of Barham and his circle. London: Constable.
- KPASTON.E2 Author - Lady Katherine Paston.
Hughey, Ruth (ed.). 1941. The correspondence of Lady Katherine Paston, 1603-1627. Norfolk Record Society, 14. Norwich: Norfolk Record Society.
- MADOX.E2 Author - Richard Madox.
Donno, Elizabeth Story (ed.). 1976. An Elizabethan in 1582: The diary of Richard Madox, Fellow of All Souls. Series 2, No. 147. London: Hakluyt Society.
- MARKHAM.E2 Author - Gervase Markham.
Markham, Gervase. 1973 (facsimile). Countrey Contentments, 1615. In two bookes: The first, containing the whole art of riding ... The second intituled, The English Huswife ... The English Experience, 613. Amsterdam: Theatrum Orbis Terrarum and New York: Da Capo Press.
- MASHAM.E2 Author - Lady Elizabeth Masham.
Searle, Arthur (ed.). 1983. Barrington family letters 1628-1632. Camden Fourth Series. Vol. 28. London: Offices of the Royal Historical Society, University College London.
- MIDDLET.E2 Author - Thomas Middleton.
Middleton, Thomas. 1969 (facsimile). A chaste maid in Cheapside, 1630. Menston: Scolar Press.
- MOXINDEN.E2 Author - Lady Margaret Oxinden.
Gardiner, Dorothy (ed.). 1933. The Oxinden letters 1607-1642. Being

the correspondence of Henry Oxinden of Barham and his circle. London: Constable.

- NFERRAR.E2 Author - Nicholas Ferrar.
Blackstone, Bernard (ed.). 1938. The Ferrar papers, containing a life of Nicholas Ferrar, The Winding-Sheet (an ascetic dialogue), a collection of short moral histories, a selection of family letters. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- PERROTT.E2 Author - N/A.
Rawlinson, Richard. 1728. The history of that most eminent statesman, Sir John Perrott, Knight of the Bath, and Lord Lieutenant of Ireland. London: [no publisher].
- PETTIT.E2 Author - Valentine Pettit Senoir.
Gardiner, Dorothy (ed.). 1933. The Oxinden letters 1607-1642. Being the correspondence of Henry Oxinden of Barham and his circle. London: Constable.
- PETTIT2.E2 Author - Valentine Pettit Junoir.
Gardiner, Dorothy (ed.). 1933. The Oxinden letters 1607-1642. Being the correspondence of Henry Oxinden of Barham and his circle. London: Constable.
- PEYTON.E2 Author - Lady Mary Peyton.
Gardiner, Dorothy (ed.). 1933. The Oxinden letters 1607-1642. Being the correspondence of Henry Oxinden of Barham and his circle. London: Constable.
- PROUD-1620.E2, PROUD-1630.E2 Author - Mary Proud.
Gardiner, Dorothy (ed.). 1933. The Oxinden letters 1607-1642. Being the correspondence of Henry Oxinden of Barham and his circle. London: Constable & Co.
- RALEIGH.E2 Author - N/A.
Hargrave, Francis (ed.). 1776-1781 (4th ed.). A complete collection of state-trials, and proceedings for high-treason, and other crimes and misdemeanours, commencing with the eleventh year of the reign of King Richard II, and ending with the sixteenth year of the reign of King George III, ..., with a new preface, by Francis Hargrave. Vol. 1. London: T. Wright.
- RCECIL.E2 Author - Robert Cecil.
Butler, G.G. (ed.). 1913. The Edmondes papers. A selection from the

correspondence of Sir Thomas Edmondson, envoy from Queen Elizabeth at the French court. London: Nichols.

- RFERRAR.E2 Author - Richard Ferrar.
Blackstone, Bernard (ed.). 1938. The Ferrar papers, containing a life of Nicholas Ferrar, The Winding-Sheet (an ascetic dialogue), a collection of short moral histories, a selection of family letters. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- RICH.E2 Author - Henry Rich.
Ellis, Henry (ed.). 1824. Original letters, illustrative of English history; including numerous royal letters. Series 1, vol. 3. London: [publisher unknown]. Reprinted 1970 (New York: AMS Press).
- ROXINDEN-1600.E2, ROXINDEN-1620.E2 Author - Richard Oxinden Senoir.
Gardiner, Dorothy (ed.). 1933. The Oxinden letters 1607-1642. Being the correspondence of Henry Oxinden of Barham and his circle. London: Constable.
- ROXINDEN2.E2 Author - Richard Oxinden Junior.
Gardiner, Dorothy (ed.). 1933. The Oxinden letters 1607-1642. Being the correspondence of Henry Oxinden of Barham and his circle. London: Constable.
- SHAKESP.E2 Author - William Shakespeare.
Kökeritz, Helge (ed.). 1954 (facsimile). Mr. William Shakespeares comedies, histories, & tragedies. A facsimile edition prepared by Helge Kökeritz, with an introduction by Charles Tyler Prouty. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press and London: Oxford University Press.
- SMITH.E2 Author - Henry Smith.
Smith, Henry. 1975 (facsimile). A preparative to mariage; Of the Lords supper; Of usurie, 1591. The English Experience, 762. Amsterdam: Theatrvm Orbis Terrarvm and Norwood, NJ.: W.J. Johnson.
- STAT-1570.E2, STAT-1580.E2, STAT-1590.E2, STAT-1600.E2, STAT-1620.E2, STAT-1640.E2 Author - N/A.
The statutes of the realm. Printed by command of His Majesty King George the Third in pursuance of an address of the House of Commons of Great Britain, Vols. IV and V. 1819. London: Dawsons of Pall Mall. Reprinted 1963.

- STOW.E2 Author - John Stow.
Stow, John. 1580. *The Chronicles of England from Brute unto this present yeare of Christ*. London: Ralphe Newberie.
- TALBOT.E2 Author - Gilbert Talbot.
Ellis, Henry (ed.). 1824. *Original letters, illustrative of English history; including numerous royal letters*. Series 1, vol. 3. London: [publisher unknown]. Reprinted 1970 (New York: AMS Press).
- TBARRING.E Author - Thomas Barrington.
Searle, Arthur (ed.). 1983. *Barrington family letters 1628-1632*. Camden Fourth Series. Vol. 28. London: Offices of the Royal Historical Society, University College London.
- THOWARD2.E2 Author - N/A.
Hargrave, Francis (ed.). 1776-1781 (4th ed.). *A complete collection of state-trials, and proceedings for high-treason, and other crimes and misdemeanours, commencing with the eleventh year of the reign of King Richard II, and ending with the sixteenth year of the reign of King George III, ..., with a new preface, by Francis Hargrave*. Vol. 1. London: T. Wright.
- TRINCOLL.E2 Authors - (Guli Hall; Samuel Heron; Lee George; Jre. Milver; Thomas Nevile; Cuthbert Norris; Jer. Radcliffe; John Sledd).
Ellis, Henry (ed.). 1824. *Original letters, illustrative of English history; including numerous royal letters*. Series 1, vol. 3. London: [publisher unknown]. Reprinted 1970 (New York: AMS Press).
- WPASTON2.E2 Author - William Paston.
Hughey, Ruth (ed.). 1941. *The correspondence of Lady Katherine Paston, 1603-1627*. Norfolk Record Society, 14. Norwich: Norfolk Record Society

EMODE3: 1640–1710

- ALHATTON.E3 Author - Alice E. Hatton.
Thompson, Edward Maunde (ed.). 1878. *Correspondence of the family of Hatton, being chiefly letters addressed to Christopher, first Viscount Hatton. A.D. 1601-1704*. Vol. 2. Camden Society, N.S. vol. 23. Westminster: Nichols.
- ANHATTON.E3 Author - Lady Anne Finch.
Thompson, Edward Maunde (ed.). 1878. *Correspondence of the family of*

Hatton, being chiefly letters addressed to Christopher, first Viscount Hatton. A.D. 1601-1704. Vol. 2. Camden Society, N.S. vol. 23. Westminster: Nichols.

- AUNGIER.E3 Author - Aungier Francis.

Airy, Osmund (ed.). 1890. Essex papers, vol. I (1672-1679). Camden Society, N.S. 47. Westminster: Nichols. Pike, Clement Edwards (ed.). 1913. Selections from the correspondence of Arthur Capel Earl of Essex 1675-1677. Camden Third Series, Vol. 24. London: Royal Historical Society.

- BEHN.E3 Author - Aphra Behn.

Henderson, Philip (ed.). 1960. Oroonoko. Shorter novels: Seventeenth century. Ornatus & Artesia, Oroonoko, Isle of Pines, Incognita. Everyman's Library, 841. London: J.M. Dent and New York: E.P. Dutton.

- BOETHPR.E3 Author - Richard Graham.

Preston, Richard. 1695. Anicius Manlius Severinus Boetius, Of the consolation of philosophy. in five books. Made English and illustrated with notes, by the Right Honourable Richard Lord Viscount Preston. London: Printed by J.D. for Awnsham and John Churchill, at the Black Swan in Pater-Noster Row; and Francis Hildyard Bookseller in York. Early English Books 1641-1700, 126:6.

- BOYLE.E3 Author - Robert Boyle.

Gunther, Robert William Theodore (ed.). 1927 (facsimile). Electricity & magnetism, 1675-6. Old Ashmolean Reprints, 7. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

- BOYLECOL.E3 Author - Robert Boyle.

Hall, Marie Boas (ed.). 1964 (facsimile). Experiments and considerations touching colours. First occasionally Written, among some other Essays, to a Friend; and now suffer'd to come abroad as the Beginning of an Experimental History of Colours. By Robert Boyle. A facsimile of the 1664 edition. The sources of science. New York and London: Johnson Reprint Corporation.

- BURNETCHA.E3 Author - Gilbert Burnet.

Airy, Osmund (ed.). 1897, 1900. Burnet's History of my own time. Part I: The reign of Charles the Second, vols. I-II. Oxford: Clarendon.

- BURNETROC.E3 Author - Gilbert Burnet.

Burnet, Gilbert. 1972 (facsimile). Some passages of the life and death of

the Right Honourable John, Earl of Rochester, who died the 26th of July, 1680. Written by his own direction on his death-bed, by Gilbert Burnet, D.D. London, 1680. Menston: Scolar Press.

- CAPEL.E3 Author - Arthur Capel.
Pike, Clement Edwards (ed.). 1913. Selections from the correspondence of Arthur Capel Earl of Essex 1675-1677. Camden Third Series, Vol. 24. London: Royal Historical Society.
- CHARLES-1650.E3, CHARLES-1670.E3 Author - Charles II Stuart.
Airy, Osmund (ed.). 1890. Essex papers, vol. I (1672-1679). Camden Society, N.S. 47. Westminster: Nichols. Bristol, Frederick William, marquis of. Five letters of King Charles II. Camden Miscellany. Camden Society: 1864. Pike, Clement Edwards (ed.). 1913. Selections from the correspondence of Arthur Capel Earl of Essex 1675-1677. Camden Third Series, Vol. 24. London: Royal Historical Society.
- CHATTON.E3 Author - Charles Hatton.
Thompson, Edward Maunde (ed.). 1878. Correspondence of the family of Hatton, being chiefly letters addressed to Christopher, first Viscount Hatton. A.D. 1601-1704. Vol. 2. Camden Society, N.S. vol. 23. Westminster: Nichols.
- COMMISS.E3 Authors - William Garway; John Ipton; F. Millington; Richard Temple; William Thomson and John Ipton.
Airy, Osmund (ed.). 1890. Essex papers, vol. I (1672-1679). Camden Society, N.S. 47. Westminster: Nichols.
- COUNC.E3 Author - Bathe; Castelmaine; Craven; Dartmouth; Dover; J. Ernle; C. Jeffreys; Powis; Middleton; John Nicholas; P. Sunderland .
Ellis, Henry (ed.). 1824. Original letters, illustrative of English history; including numerous royal letters. Series 1, vol. 3. London: [publisher unknown]. Reprinted 1970 (New York: AMS Press).
- DELL.E3 Author - Dell.
Ellis, Henry (ed.). 1824. Original letters, illustrative of English history; including numerous royal letters. Series 1, vol. 3. London: [publisher unknown]. Reprinted 1970 (New York: AMS Press).
- DERING.E3 Author - Lady Unton Dering.
Gardiner, Dorothy (ed.). 1937. The Oxinden and Peyton letters, 1642-1670. Being the correspondence of Henry Oxinden of Barham, Sir Thomas

Peyton of Knowlton and their circle. London: Sheldon Press and New York: Macmillan.

- DRUMMOND.E3 Author - John Drummond.
Ellis, Henry (ed.). 1827. Original letters, illustrative of English history; including numerous royal letters. Series 2, Vol. 4. London: Harding and Lepard.
- EHATTON.E3 Author - Lady Elizabeth Hatton.
Thompson, Edward Maunde (ed.). 1878. Correspondence of the family of Hatton, being chiefly letters addressed to Christopher, first Viscount Hatton. A.D. 1601-1704. Vol. 1. Camden Society, N.S. vol. 22. Westminster: Nichols.
- EHATTON2.E3 Author - Elizabeth Hatton.
Thompson, Edward Maunde (ed.). 1878. Correspondence of the family of Hatton, being chiefly letters addressed to Christopher, first Viscount Hatton. A.D. 1601-1704. Vol. 2. Camden Society, N.S. vol. 23. Westminster: Nichols.
- EOXINDEN-1650.E3, EOXINDEN-1660.E3, EOXINDEN-1680.E3 Author - Elizabeth Oxinden.
Gardiner, Dorothy (ed.). 1937. The Oxinden and Peyton letters, 1642-1670. Being the correspondence of Henry Oxinden of Barham, Sir Thomas Peyton of Knowlton and their circle. London: Sheldon Press and New York: Macmillan.
- EVELYN.E3 Author - John Evelyn.
De Beer, E.S. (ed.). 1959. The diary of John Evelyn. London: Oxford University Press.
- OSBORNE.E3 Author - Thomas Osborne.
Pike, Clement Edwards (ed.). 1913. Selections from the correspondence of Arthur Capel Earl of Essex 1675-1677. Camden Third Series, Vol. 24. London: Royal Historical Society.
- FARQUHAR.E3 Author - George Farquhar.
Farquhar, George. 1972 (facsimile). The beaux stratagem, 1707. Menston: Scolar Press.
- FHATTON.E3 Author - Lady frances Hatton.
Thompson, Edward Maunde (ed.). 1878. Correspondence of the family of

- Hatton, being chiefly letters addressed to Christopher, first Viscount Hatton. A.D. 1601-1704. Vol. 1. Camden Society, N.S. vol. 22. Westminster: Nichols.
- FIENNES.E3 Author - Celia Fiennes.
Morris, Christopher (ed.). 1947. The journeys of Celia Fiennes. London: Cresset.
 - FOX.E3 Author - George Fox.
Penney, Norman (ed.). 1911. The journal of George Fox, Vol. 2. With an introduction by T.E. Harvey. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press and Philadelphia: Winston.
 - FRYER.E3 Author - John Fryer.
Crooke, William (ed.). 1909, 1912. A new account of East India and Persia, being nine years' travels, 1672-1681. Vols. I, II. London: Hakluyt Society. Reprinted 1967 (Nendeln, Liechtenstein, Kraus).
 - HOOKE.E3 Author - Robert Hooke.
Gunther, Robert William Theodore (ed.). 1938. Early Science in Oxford, Vol. 13: The life and work of Robert Hooke (Part 5). Micrographia, 1665. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
 - HOOLE.E3 Author - Charles Hoole.
Alston, R.C. (ed.). 1969 (facsimile). A new discovery of the old art of teaching schoole (1660). English Linguistics 1500-1800, 133. Menston: Scholar Press.
 - HOXINDEN-1640.E3, HOXINDEN-1650.E3, HOXINDEN-1660.E3 Author - Henry Oxinden.
Gardiner, Dorothy (ed.). 1937. The Oxinden and Peyton letters, 1642-1670. Being the correspondence of Henry Oxinden of Barham, Sir Thomas Peyton of Knowlton and their circle. London: Sheldon Press and New York: Macmillan.
 - JACKSON.E3 Author - Margaret Jackson.
Gardiner, Dorothy (ed.). 1937. The Oxinden and Peyton letters, 1642-1670. Being the correspondence of Henry Oxinden of Barham, Sir Thomas Peyton of Knowlton and their circle. London: Sheldon Press and New York: Macmillan.
 - JETAYLOR.E3 Author - Jeremy Taylor.
Coutts, D. Francis (ed.). 1907. The marriage ring. By the Right Reverend

Jeremy Taylor, D.D. Bishop of Down and Connor, and of Dromore: A reprint from the fourth edition ... published in 1673 London and New York: John Lane.

- JETAYLORMEAS.E3 Author - Jeremy Taylor.
Du Priest, Travis (ed.). 1984 (facsimile). Jeremy Taylor. The measures and offices of friendship (1662). A facsimile reproduction with an introduction by Travis Du Priest. Delmar, NY: Scholars' Facsimiles and Reprints.
- JOPINNEY.E3 Author - John Pinney.
Nuttall, Geoffrey Fillingham (ed.). 1939. Letters of John Pinney 1679-1699. London, New York, and Toronto: Oxford University Press.
- JPINNEY.E3 Author - Jane Pinney.
Nuttall, George Fillingham (ed.). 1939. Letters of John Pinney 1679-1699. London, New York, and Toronto: Oxford University Press.
- LANGF.E3 Author - T. Langford.
Langford, T. 1696. Plain and full instructions to raise all sorts of fruit-trees that prosper in England. London: Chiswell.
- LISLE.E3 Author - N/A.
Hargrave, Francis (ed.). 1776-1781 (4th ed.). A complete collection of state-trials, and proceedings for high-treason, and other crimes and misdemeanours, commencing with the eleventh year of the reign of King Richard II, and ending with the sixteenth year of the reign of King George III, ..., with a new preface, by Francis Hargrave. Vol. 4. London: T. Wright.
- MEMO.E3 Author - Arthur Capel.
Airy, Osmund (ed.). 1890. Essex papers, vol. I (1672-1679). Camden Society, N.S. 47. Westminster: Nichols.
- MHATTON.E3 Author - Mary Hatton.
Thompson, Edward Maunde (ed.). 1878. Correspondence of the family of Hatton, being chiefly letters addressed to Christopher, first Viscount Hatton. A.D. 1601-1704. Vol. 1. Camden Society, N.S. vol. 22. Westminster: Nichols.
- MILTON.E3 Author - John Milton.
Krapp, George Philip (ed.). 1932. The history of Britain, that part especially now call'd England. The works of John Milton. Vol. 10. New York: Columbia University Press.

- MONTAGUE.E3 Author - Lady Anne Montague.
Thompson, Edward Maunde (ed.). 1878. Correspondence of the family of Hatton, being chiefly letters addressed to Christopher, first Viscount Hatton. A.D. 1601-1704. Vol. 1., 2. Camden Society, N.S. vol. 22. Westminster: Nichols.
- NHADD-1700.E3, NHADD-1710.E3 Author - Nicholas Haddock.
Thompson, Edward Maunde (ed.). 1883 (reprinted 1965). The Camden Miscellany, Volume the Eighth: Containing ... correspondence of the family of Haddock, 1657-1719. Camden Society, N.S. 31. London: [no publisher].
- OATES.E3 Author - N/A.
Hargrave, Francis (ed.). 1776-1781 (4th ed.). A complete collection of state-trials, and proceedings for high-treason, and other crimes and misdemeanours, commencing with the eleventh year of the reign of King Richard II, and ending with the sixteenth year of the reign of King George III, ..., with a new preface, by Francis Hargrave. Vol. 4. London: T. Wright.
- OSBORNE.E3 Author - Thomas Osborne.
Pike, Clement Edwards (ed.). 1913. Selections from the correspondence of Arthur Capel Earl of Essex 1675-1677. Camden Third Series, Vol. 24. London: Royal Historical Society.
- PENNY.E3 Author - N/A.
Thompson, Roger (ed.). 1976/1977. Samuel Pepys' Penny merriments. London: Constable (1976) and New York: Columbia University Press (1977).
- PEPYS.E3 Author - Samuel Pepys.
Latham, Robert and William Matthews (ed.). 1974. The diary of Samuel Pepys. Vol. 7 (1666); Vol. 8 (1667). Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.
- PHENRY.E3 Author - Philip Henry.
Lee, Matthew Henry (ed.). 1882. Diaries and letters of Philip Henry, M.A. of Broad Oak, Flintshire, A.D. 1631-1696. London: Kegan Paul, Trench.
- PROPOSALS.E3 Author - Arthur Capel.
Airy, Osmund (ed.). 1890. Essex papers, vol. I (1672-1679). Camden Society, N.S. 47. Westminster: Nichols.
- RHADDJR.E3 Author - Richard Haddock Junior.
Thompson, Edward Maunde (ed.). 1883 (reprinted 1965). The Camden

- Miscellany, Volume the Eighth: Containing ... correspondence of the family of Haddock, 1657-1719. Camden Society, N.S. 31. London: [no publisher].
- RHADDSR-1650.E3; RHADDSR-1670.E3, RHADDSR-1680.E3, RHADDSR - 1700.E3, RHADDSR-1710.E3 Author - Richard Haddock Senior.
Thompson, Edward Maunde (ed.). 1883 (reprinted 1965). The Camden Miscellany, Volume the Eighth: Containing ... correspondence of the family of Haddock, 1657-1719. Camden Society, N.S. 31. London: [no publisher].
 - SOMERS.E3 Author - Sir John Somers.
Ellis, Henry (ed.). 1846. Original letters, illustrative of English history; including numerous royal letters. Series 3, Vol. 4. London: Bentley.
 - SOUTHARD.E3 Author - Sarah Southard.
Nuttall, Geoffrey Fillingham (ed.). 1939. Letters of John Pinney 1679-1699. London, New York, and Toronto: Oxford University Press.
 - SPENCER-1680.E3, SPENCER-1700.E3 Author - Robert Spencer.
Ellis, Henry (ed.). 1827. Original letters, illustrative of English history; including numerous royal letters. Series 2, Vol. 4. London: Harding and Lepard.
Ellis, Henry (ed.). 1846. Original letters, illustrative of English history; including numerous royal letters. Series 3, Vol. 4. London: Bentley.
 - STAT-1660.E3, STAT-1670.E3, STAT-1690.E3 Author - N/A.
The statutes of the realm. Printed by command of His Majesty King George the Third in pursuance of an address of the House of Commons of Great Britain, Vols. V and VII. 1820. London: Dawsons of Pall Mall. Reprinted 1963.
 - STRYPE.E3 Author - John Strype.
Ellis, Henry (ed.). 1843. Original letters of eminent literary men of the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries. Camden Society, 23. London: Nichols.
 - TILLOTS-A.E3, TILLOTS-B.E3, TILLOTS-C.E3 Author - John Tillotson.
Simon, Irène (ed.). 1976. Three Restoration divines: Barrow, South, Tillotson: Selected sermons, vol. 2.2 Bibliothèque de la Faculté de philosophie et Lettres de l'Université de Liège, 213. Fascicule 213. Sermons on "The folly of scoffing at religion" and "Of the tryall of the spirits". Paris: Société d'éditions "Les Belles Lettres."

- VANBR.E3 Author - Sir John Vanbrugh.
Dobrée, Bonamy and Geoffrey Webb (ed.). 1927. *The relapse. The complete works of Sir John Vanbrugh, vol. I.* Bloomsbury: Nonesuch Press.
- WALTON.E3 Author - Izaak Walton.
Bevan, Jonquil (ed.). 1983. *The compleat angler, 1653-1676.* Oxford: Clarendon.
- ZOUCHE.E3 Author - Lady Katherine Zouch.
Gardiner, Dorothy (ed.). 1937. *The Oxinden and Peyton letters, 1642-1670. Being the correspondence of Henry Oxinden of Barham, Sir Thomas Peyton of Knowlton and their circle.* London: Sheldon Press and New York: Macmillan.

Appendix E

Examples of Query Files

This appendix comprises a list of selected query files which have been used in this work, with brief details of what they were used for and treatment of the file once the query was run.

Items marked in bold in the query file refer to definitions lists which were created by checking spellings within the lexicons of each text.¹ A liberal sprinkling of wild cards (*) was also included in these lists to make extra sure. An example of one such definition file is the following, used for *self*:

```
self: self|selfe|selfa|selfum|selfan|selfne|selfes|selfra|$self|selfre|
$selfum|$selfa|$selfe|$Selfa|$selfne|seolf|seolfa|seolfe|seolfum|
seolfre|seolfra|seolfren|seolfne|seolfrene|seolfren|sy|f|sylfa|sylfe|
sylfne|sylfum|sylfan|SYLFAN|sylfrene|sylfun|sylfre|Sylf|$sylan|
$sylf|sylum|silfe|silfne|silfene|silfum|siluum|silfra|$sylum|
sylfra|sylfen|seolfes|siolfe|siolf|sylvon|sylfon|sylfes|silfes|$sylfe
|silf|selre|syfre|selfun|s+alf|sylvne|siolfne|siolfum|SELF|Self|
```

The queries given are for the first person, for second and third person the definitions were changed accordingly, however the queries themselves remained the same.

The YCOE and the YCP

Query Set 1: Reflexive Pronouns

node: IP*

query: (IP* iDominates NP*-RFL*)

¹Using the command: make _lexicon: T

Non-argument reflexives were removed from the output of this file with the following query file:

```
print_complement: T
node: IP*
query: (IP* iDominates NP*-RFL*-ADT*)
```

Both the output file and the complementary file were checked for consistency (argument/non-argument status and to ensure that none of the latter occurred with an inflected form of *self*).

PPCME2 and PPCEME

Query Set 1: HIM: Objects of Verbs

```
node: IP*
query: ((((((IP* iDominates [4]NP-SBJ*) AND ([4]NP-SBJ* iDomsOnly [1]PRO*))
AND ([1]PRO* iDominates 1stpersonsubjects)) AND (IP* iDominates NP-
OB*)) AND (NP-OB* iDomsOnly [2]PRO*)) AND ([2]PRO* iDominates 1stper-
sonobjects))
```

Query Set 2: HIM: Objects of Prepositions

```
node: IP*
query: (((((((IP* iDominates [4]NP-SBJ*) AND ([4]NP-SBJ* iDomsOnly [1]PRO*))
AND ([1]PRO* iDominates 1stpersonsubjects)) AND (IP* iDominates PP*))
AND (PP* iDominates [3]NP*)) AND ([3]NP* iDomsOnly [2]PRO*)) AND
([2]PRO* iDominates 1stpersonobjects))
```

Examples were then checked manually to see whether they were coreferential or not.

Query Set 3: X-SELF: Objects of Verbs

```
node: IP*
query: ((((((IP* iDominates NP-SBJ*) AND (NP-SBJ* iDomsOnly [1]PRO*))
AND ([1]PRO* iDominates 1stpersonsubjects)) AND (IP* iDominates NP-
OB*)) AND (NP-OB* iDominates PRO$+N*|PRO+N*))
```

These were then checked to see whether the 'self' form was coreferential with the subject.

For those with separate 'self' two methods were used. The first involved searching for a pronoun and 'self' using a definition file of spellings for 'self':

Query Set 4: X-SELF: Objects of Prepositions

node: IP*

query: (((((((IP* iDominates [4]NP-SBJ*) AND ([4]NP-SBJ* iDomsOnly [1]PRO*)) AND ([1]PRO* iDominates 1stpersonsubjects)) AND (IP* iDominates NP-OB*)) AND ([3]NP-OBJ* iDoms [2]PRO*)) AND ([2]PRO* iDominates 1stpersonobjects)) AND ([3]NP-OB* Doms self))

The second involved searching for cases where NP-OB* did not only dominate PRO* (so just iDoms instead of iDomsOnly) but other items also, of which some but not all were *self*.

Query Set 5: X-SELF: Objects of Prepositions

node: IP*

query: (((((((IP* iDominates [4]NP-SBJ*) AND ([4]NP-SBJ* iDomsOnly [1]PRO*)) AND ([1]PRO* iDominates 1stpersonsubjects)) AND (IP* iDominates NP-OB*)) AND (NP-OB* iDoms [2]PRO*)) AND ([2]PRO* iDominates 1stpersonobjects))

The output of this file, was then searched using query file 1 and a complement file (.cmp) was created of all examples which had something other than only a pronoun. The .cmp file was then manually searched for *self* forms.

Query Set 6: X-SELF Objects of Prepositions

node: IP*

query: (((((((IP* iDominates NP-SBJ*) AND (NP-SBJ* iDomsOnly [1]PRO*)) AND ([1]PRO* iDominates 1stpersonsubjects)) AND (IP* iDoms PP*)) AND (PP* iDoms PRO\$+N*|PRO+N*))

Examples with separate *self* were found in the same way as described above for objects.

Query Set 7: Intensifiers

For intensifiers which are written as either a single unit, or with a hyphen the following query was used:

node: IP*

query: ((IP* doms NP-PRN*) AND (NP-PRN* doms PRO+N*|PRO\$+N*))

The following query was used for forms of the intensifier which were written as two separate units (and to check for any remaining instances of monomorphemic *self*).

define: self.def

node: IP*

query: ((IP* doms NP-PRN*) AND (NP-PRN* doms self))

Bibliography

- Abney, S. (1987). *The English Noun Phrase in its Sentential Aspect*. PhD thesis, MIT, Cambridge, MA.
- Abraham, W. (1996). German standard pronouns and non-standard pronominal clitics: typological corollaries. In R. L. Lippi-Green and J. C. Salmons (Eds.), *Germanic Linguistics*, pp. 1–14. John Benjamins: Amsterdam.
- Abraham, W. (1999). The structural and lexical space between reflexive binding and logophorics: sundry paradigms of reflexives and anaphors. In Z. Frajzyniegar and T. S. Curl (Eds.), *Reflexives: Forms and Functions*, pp. 75–102. John Benjamins: Amsterdam.
- Adger, D. and J. Smith (2005). Variation and the Minimalist Programme. In L. Cornips and K. Corrigan (Eds.), *Syntax and Variation: Reconciling the Biological and the Social*, pp. 149–178. John Benjamins: Holland.
- Aicken, J. (1967). *English Grammar 1693*. English Linguistics 1500-1800. Scholar Press: England.
- Allen, C. (1995). *Case Marking and Reanalysis*. Garland: New York.
- Anderson, H. (1973). Abductive and deductive change. *Language* 49, 567–595.
- Ariel, M. (2004). The rise (and potential fall) of reflexive pronouns. Ms., Tel Aviv University.
- Åskedal, J. O. (1994). Norwegian. In E. König and J. van der Auwera (Eds.), *The Germanic Languages*, pp. 232–233. Routledge: London.
- Atkins, J. (1922). *The Owl and the Nightingale*. Cambridge University Press: Cambridge.
- Bailey, C.-J. (1973). *Variation and Linguistic Theory*. Center for Applied Linguistics: Washington.
- Baker, C. L. (1995). Contrast, discourse prominence and intensification, with special reference to locally free reflexives in British English. *Language* 71(1), 63–101.
- Baker, M. C. (2007). *The Syntax of Agreement and Concord*. Cambridge University Press: Cambridge.
- Barber, C. (2000). *The English Language*. Cambridge University Press: Cambridge.

- Barbiers, S. and H. Bennis (2003). Reflexives in the dialects of Dutch. In J. Koster and H. van Riemsdijk (Eds.), *Germania et alia: a Linguistic Webschrift for Hans den Besten*. Available from <http://odur.let.rug.nl/koster/DenBesten/BarbiersBennis.pdf>.
- Barnes, M. (1999). *A New Introduction to Old Norse: Part 1 Grammar*. Viking Society for Northern Research, University College London: London.
- Berendsen, E. (1986). *The Phonology of Cliticization*. Foris: Dordrecht.
- Bergen, L. van (2003). *Pronouns and Word Order in Old English: with Particular Reference to the Indefinite Pronoun Man*. Routledge: London.
- Bergeton, U. (2004). The Independence of Binding and Intensification. PhD thesis, University of Southern California.
- Bergeton, U. and R. Pancheva (2004). A New Perspective on the Historical Development of English Intensifiers and Reflexives. Paper presented at DIGS VIII, Yale University, 26th June 2004.
- Besten, S. den (1989). *Studies in West Germanic Syntax*. Rodopi: Amsterdam.
- Boshoff, S. P. E. (1961). *A Grammar of Afrikaans*. Biddles Limited: UK.
- Bouchard, D. (1983). The avoid pronoun principle and the elsewhere principle. *NELS 13*, 29–36.
- Briscoe, E. J. (2000). Evolutionary perspectives on diachronic syntax. In S. Pintzuk, G. Tsoulas, and A. Warner (Eds.), *Diachronic Syntax: Models and Mechanisms*, pp. 75–108. Oxford University Press: Oxford.
- Browning, M. (1993). Adverbial reflexives. *NELS 23 1*, 83–94.
- Brunner, K. (1965). *An Outline of Middle English Grammar*. Basil Blackwell: Oxford.
- Burridge, K. (1992). Creating grammar: examples from pennsylvania german, ontario. In K. Burridge and W. Enninger (Eds.), *Diachronic Studies on the languages of the Anabaptists*, pp. 199–241. Brockmeyer: Bochum.
- Cantrall, W. (1974). *Viewpoint, Reflexives and the Nature of Noun Phrases*. Mouton de Gruyter: The Hague.
- Cardinaletti, A. and M. Starke (1996). Deficient pronouns: a view from Germanic: a study in the unified description of Germanic and Romance. In H. Thrainsson, S. D. Epstein, and S. Peter (Eds.), *Studies in Comparative Germanic Syntax* Volume 2, pp. 21–65. Kluwer: Dordrecht.
- Cardinaletti, A. and M. Starke (1999). The typology of structural deficiency: A case study of three classes of pronouns. In H. van Riemsdijk (Ed.), *Clitics in the Languages of Europe*, pp. 145–234. Walter de Gruyter: Berlin.
- Chambers and Wilkie (1970). *A Short History of the German Language*. Richard Clay (The Chaucer Press) Limited: Suffolk.
- Chomsky, N. (1981). *Lectures on Government and Binding*. Foris: Dordrecht.

- Chomsky, N. (1986). *Knowledge of Language*. Praeger: New York.
- Chomsky, N. (1993). A minimalist program for the linguistic theory. In K. Hale and S. Keyser (Eds.), *The View from Building 20*, pp. 1–52. MIT Press: Cambridge, MA.
- Chomsky, N. (1995). *The Minimalist Program*. MIT Press: Cambridge, Massachusetts.
- Chomsky, N. (2000). Minimalist inquiries: the framework. In R. Martin, D. Michaels, and J. Uriagereka (Eds.), *Step by Step: Essays on Minimalist Syntax in Honour of Howard Lasnik*, pp. 89–115. MIT Press: Cambridge MA.
- Chomsky, N. (2001). Derivation by phase. In M. Kenstowicz (Ed.), *Ken Hale: A Life in Language*, pp. 1–52. MIT Press: Cambridge MA.
- Chomsky, N. (2004). Beyond explanatory adequacy. In A. Belletti (Ed.), *Structures and Beyond*, pp. 104–131. Oxford University Press: Oxford.
- Chomsky, N. and H. Lasnik (1993). Principles and parameters theory. In J. Jacobs, A. von Stechow, W. Sternefeld, and T. Vennemann (Eds.), *Syntax: An International Handbook of Contemporary Research*, pp. 506–569. Walter de Gruyter: Berlin.
- Clark, R. and I. Roberts (1993). A computational model of language learnability and language change. *Linguistic Inquiry* 24, 299–345.
- Cohen, D. (2004). Intensive Reflexives - from Sentence to Discourse. PhD thesis, Senate of the Hebrew University of Jerusalem.
- Comrie, B. (1998). Reference tracking: Description and explanation. *Sprachtypologie und Universalienforschung* 51, 335–346.
- Croft, W. (2003). *Typology and Universals* [2nd Edition]. Cambridge University Press: Cambridge.
- Déchaine, R.-M. and M. Wiltschko (2002). Decomposing pronouns. *Linguistic Inquiry* 33, 409–442.
- Swart, P. de (2003). Dative pronouns, binding and empty prepositions. Handout from Mini-conference on Binding, University of Nijmegen, 19th August 2003.
- Donaldson, B. (1994). Afrikaans. In E. König and J. van der Anwera (Eds.), *The Germanic Languages*, pp. 478–504. Routledge: London.
- Donaldson, B. (2000). *Afrikaans*. Mouton de Gruyter: Berlin.
- Driven, R. (1973). Emphatics and reflexives in English and Dutch. *Leuvense Bijdragen, Tijdschrift voor Germaanse Filologie* 63, 285–299.
- Eckardt, R. (2002). Reanalysing *selbst*. *Natural Language Semantics* 9 (4), 371–412.
- Edmondson, J. and F. Plank (1978). Great expectations: an intensive *self* analysis. *Linguistics and Philosophy* 2, 373–413.
- Everaert, M. (1986). *The Syntax of Reflexivisation*. Foris: Dordrecht.

- Everaert, M. (1991). Contextual determination of the anaphor/pronominal distinction. In J. Koster and E. Reuland (Eds.), *Long-Distance Anaphora*, pp. 49–76. Cambridge University Press: Cambridge.
- Everaert, M. (2000). Types of anaphoric expressions: reflexives and reciprocals. In Z. Frajzyngier and T. Curl (Eds.), *Reciprocals: Forms and Functions*, pp. 63–83. John Benjamins: Amsterdam.
- Faarlund, J. T. (1994). Old and Middle Scandinavian. In E. König and J. van der Auwera (Eds.), *The Germanic Languages*, pp. 38–71. Routledge: London.
- Faarlund, J. T. (2004). *The Syntax of Old Norse: with a Survey of the Inflection Morphology and Complete Bibliography*. Oxford University Press: Oxford.
- Faltz, L. (1985). *Reflexivisation: A Study in Universal Syntax*. Garland: New York.
- Farmer, A. and M. Harnish (1987). Communicative reference with pronouns. In M. Papi and E. J. Verschueren (Eds.), *The Pragmatic Perspective*. John Benjamins: Amsterdam.
- Farr, J. (1905). *Intensives and Reflexives in Anglo-Saxon and Early Middle English*. Baltimore: J.H. Furst.
- Ferro, L. (1993). On *self* as a focus marker. In *Proceedings of the Ninth Eastern States Conference on Linguistics, Cornell University*, pp. 68–79.
- Fischer, O. and F. van der Leek (1983). The demise of the Old English impersonal construction. *Journal of Linguistics* 19, 337–368.
- Fischer, O., A. van Kemenade, W. Koopman, and W. van der Wurff (2000). *The Syntax of Early English*. Cambridge University Press: Cambridge.
- Fox, D. (2000). *Economy and Semantic Interpretation*. MIT Press: Cambridge, MA.
- Fruhworth, A. (2003). *Strategies of Reflexivisation and the Meaning of Predicates: A Contrastive Analysis of English, German, and French*. Peter Lang AG: Germany.
- Gast, V. (2003). The Grammar of Identity - Intensifiers and Reflexives as Expressions of an Identity Function. PhD thesis, Freie Universität Berlin.
- Gast, V. (2004). The interpretation of logophoric *self*-forms, and some consequences for a model of reference and denotation. Ms., Freie Universität Berlin.
- Gast, V. and P. Siemund (2002). Identical agents - on the interrelation between adverbial intensifiers and reflexives. Ms., Freie Universität Berlin. Available at <<http://www.philologie.fu-berlin.de/gast/>>.
- Gelderen, E. van (1996). Historical binding domains. Paper presented at the Linguistics Online Conference *Geometric and Thematic Structure in Binding*.
- Gelderen, E. van (1999). Bound pronouns and non-local anaphors: the case of earlier English. In Z. Frajzyngier and T. S. Curl (Eds.), *Reflexives: Forms*

- and Functions*, Volume Typological Studies in Language 40, pp. 187–226. John Benjamins: Holland.
- Gelderen, E. van (2000). *A History of English Reflexive Pronouns*. John Benjamins: Holland.
- Geniusiene, E. (1987). *The Typology of Reflexives*. Mouton de Gruyter: New York.
- George, L. and J. Kornfilt (1981). Finiteness and boundedness in Turkish. In F. Henry (Ed.), *Binding and Filtering*, pp. 105–127. MIT Press: Cambridge, MA.
- Golde, K. (1999a). *Binding Theory and Beyond: an Investigation into the English Pronominal System*. PhD thesis, Ohio State University.
- Golde, K. (1999b). Evidence for two types of English intensive NP. *Chicago Linguistics Society 35*, 99–108.
- Golde, K. (1999c). Tracing the functional expansion of the *self*-pronoun. *Ohio State University Working Papers in Linguistics 52*, 113–137.
- Grohmann, K. K. (2000). Towards a syntactic understanding of prosodically reduced pronouns. *Theoretical Linguistics 26*, 175–210.
- Haiman, J. (1983). Iconic and economic motivation. *Language 59*, 781–819.
- Haiman, J. (1992). Iconicity. In W. Bright (Ed.), *International Encyclopedia of Linguistics*, Volume 2, pp. 191–195. Oxford University Press: Oxford.
- Haiman, J. (1994). Iconicity. In R. Asher (Ed.), *The Encyclopaedia of Language and Linguistics*, Vol. 3. Pergamon Press: Oxford.
- Harris, C. D. (2006). On the distribution of personal pronouns in the syntax of Old English. Unpublished MA thesis, University of York.
- Haspelmath, M. (2004). A frequentist explanation of some universals of reflexive marking. Draft of a paper presented at the Workshop on Reciprocals and Reflexives, Freie Universität Berlin, 1–2 October 2004. Available at: <http://email.eva.mpg.de/haspelmt/papers.html>.
- Heinat, F. (2003). *Pronouns in a Derivational Syntax*. Ms., University of Lund.
- Heinat, F. (2006). *Probes, Pronouns and Binding in the Minimalist Program*. PhD thesis, University of Lund.
- Helke, M. (1970). *The Grammar of English Reflexives*. PhD thesis, MIT, Cambridge, MA.
- Hellan, L. (1986). On anaphora and predication in Norwegian. In L. Hellan and K. K. Christensen (Eds.), *Topics in Scandinavian Syntax: Studies in Natural Language and Linguistic Theory*, pp. 103–124. D. Reidel Publishing Co.: Dordrecht.
- Hellan, L. (1988). *Reflexives in Norwegian and the Theory of Grammar*. Foris: Dordrecht.

- Hellan, L. (1991). On semantic scope. In F. Henry (Ed.), *Ambiguities in Intentional Contexts*, pp. 47–82. Reidel: Dordrecht.
- Henry, A. (1995). *Belfast English and Standard English: Dialect Variation and Parameter Setting*. Oxford University Press: Oxford.
- Hermodsson, L. (1952). *Reflexive und Intransitive Verba im Älteren Westgermanisch*. Almqvist and Wiksells: Uppsala.
- Hicks, G. (2005). Deriving condition A. In *York Papers in Linguistics Series 2*, vol 3, Volume 3, pp. 91–131.
- Hicks, G. (2006). The Derivation of Anaphoric Relations. PhD thesis, University of York.
- Hoekstra, J. (1994). Pronouns and case: on the distribution of frisian *harren* and *se* ‘them’. *Leuvense Bijdragen* 83, 47–65.
- Hoekstra, J. and P. M. Tiersma (1994). Frisian. In E. König and J. van der Auwera (Eds.), *The Germanic Languages*, pp. 505–531. Routledge: London.
- Hole, D. (2002). Agentive *selbst* in German. In S. R. Graham Katz and P. Reuter (Eds.), *Sinn und Bedeutung VI, Proceedings of the Sixth Meeting of the Gesellschaft für Semantik*, pp. unknown. University of Osnabruck: Germany. Available from <<http://www.cogsci.uni-osnabrueck.de/>>.
- Hole, D. (2003). Spell-bound? Accounting for unpredictable *self*-forms in J.K. Rowling’s Harry Potter stories. *Zeitschrift für Anglistik und Amerikanistik* 50(3), 285–300.
- Hopper, P. J. (1975). *The Syntax of the Simple Sentence in Proto-Germanic*. Mouton de Gruyter: Paris.
- Hopper, P. J. and E. C. Traugott (1993). *Grammaticalization*. Cambridge University Press: Cambridge.
- Hornstein, N. (2001). *Move! A Minimalist Theory of Construal*. Blackwells: United Kingdom.
- Huang, Y. (2000). *Anaphora: a Cross-Linguistic Study*. Oxford University Press: Oxford.
- Huddleston, R. and G. Pullum (2002). *The Cambridge Grammar of the English Language*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Hulk, A. and A. van Kemenade (1995). Verb-second, pro-drop, functional projections and language change. In A. Battye and I. Roberts (Eds.), *Clause Structure and Language Change*, pp. 227–56. Oxford University Press: Oxford.
- Jackendoff, R. (1992). Mme Tussaud meets the binding theory. *Natural Language and Linguistic theory* 10, 1–31.
- Jacobson, P. (2003). Binding without pronouns (and pronouns without binding). In G.-J. M. Kruijff and R. Oehrle (Eds.), *Resource Sensitivity, Binding and*

- Anaphora*. Kluwer: Dordrecht.
- Jayaseelan, K. A. (1996). Anaphors as pronouns. *Studia Linguistica* 50, 207–255.
- Jespersen, O. (1933). *Essentials of English Grammar*. Allen and Unwin: London.
- Kayne, R. S. (1975). *French Syntax: The Transformational Cycle*. MIT Press: Cambridge, Massachusetts.
- Kayne, R. S. (2002). Pronouns and their antecedents. In S. D. Epstein and D. Seely (Eds.), *Derivation and Explanation in the Minimalist Program*, pp. 133–166. Blackwells: United Kingdom.
- Keenan, E. L. (1988). Complex anaphors and bind-alpha. In *Papers from the 24th Annual Regional Meeting of the Chicago Linguistics Society*, pp. 216–232. Chicago Linguistic Society: Chicago.
- Keenan, E. L. (2002). Explaining the creation of reflexive pronouns in English. In D. Minkove and R. Stockwell (Eds.), *Studies in the History of the English Language: A millennial Perspective*, pp. 325–354. Mouton de Gruyter: Berlin. Available at www.linguistics.ucla.edu/people/keenan/keenan.htm.
- Keenan, E. L. (2003). An historical explanation of some binding theoretic facts in English. In *Nature of Explanation in Linguistic Theory*, pp. 152–189. CSLI Publications. Available at www.linguistics.ucla.edu/people/keenan/keenan.htm.
- Keller (1978). *The German Language*. Faber and Faber: London.
- Kemenade, A. van (1987). *Syntactic Case and Morphological Case in the History of English*. Foris: Dordrecht.
- Kemmer, S. (1995). Emphatic and reflexive *-self*. expectations, viewpoint and subjectivity. In D. Stein and S. Wright (Eds.), *Subjectivity and Subjectivization in Language*, pp. 55–82. Cambridge University Press: Cambridge.
- Ker, N. R. (1954). *A Catalogue of Manuscripts Containing Anglo-Saxon*. Oxford University Press: Oxford.
- Kerkhof, J. (1982). *Studies in the Language of Geoffrey Chaucer*. E. J. Brill: Leiden.
- Kiparsky, P. (1990). Strong reflexives in Germanic. Paper given at a Diachronic Syntax Conference at the University of York.
- Kiparsky, P. (2002). Disjoint reference and the typology of pronouns. In I. Kaufmann and B. Stiebels (Eds.), *More than Words*. Akademie Verlag: Berlin. Available at www.stanford.edu/~kiparsky/Papers/anaph.hierarchies-t.pdf.
- König, E. (1991). *The Meaning of Focus Particles: a Comparative Perspective*. Croom Helm: London.
- König, E. (2001). Intensifiers and reflexive pronouns. In M. Haspelmath, E. König, W. Oesterreicher, and W. Raible (Eds.), *Language Typology and Language Universals: An international Handbook* [2 Volumes], pp. 747–760.

- Walter de Gruyter: Berlin.
- König, E. and P. Siemund (1999a). Intensifiers and reflexives: a typological perspective. In Z. Frajzyngier and T. S. Curl (Eds.), *Reflexives: Forms and Functions*, Volume Typological Studies in Language 40, pp. 41–74. John Benjamins: Holland.
- König, E. and P. Siemund (1999b). Intensifiers as targets and sources of semantic change. In P. Koch and A. Bland (Eds.), *Historical Semantics and Cognition*, pp. 237–257. Mouton de Gruyter: Berlin.
- König, E. and P. Siemund (1999c). Reflexivity, logophoricity and intensification in English. In U. Carls and P. Lucko (Eds.), *Form, Function and Variation in English*, pp. 283–304. Peter Lang GmbH: Frankfurt am Main.
- König, E. and P. Siemund (2000a). The development of complex reflexives and intensifiers in English. *Diachronica* 17(1), 39–84.
- König, E. and P. Siemund (2000b). Locally free self-forms, logophoricity and intensifiers in English. *English Language and Linguistics* 4(2), 183–204.
- König, E. and L. Vezzosi (2004). The role of predicate meaning in the development of reflexivity. In B. Wiemer, W. Bisang, and N. Himmelmann (Eds.), *What makes Grammaticalisation? A look from its fringes and its components*. Mouton de Gruyter: Berlin.
- Koopman, W. (1990). The double object construction in Old English. In *Papers from the Fifth International Conference on English Historical Linguistics*.
- Koopman, W. (1997). Another look at clitics in Old English. *Transactions of the Philological Society* 95, 73–93.
- Koster, J. (1987). *Domains and Dynasties*. Mouton de Gruyter: Berlin.
- Kratzer, A. (2006). Minimal pronouns: fake indexicals as windows into the properties of bound variable pronouns. Ms., University of Massachusetts at Amherst.
- Kroch, A., B. Santorini, and L. Delfs (Eds.) (2004). *Penn-Helsinki Parsed Corpus of Early Modern English*. Department of Linguistics, University of Pennsylvania. Available at <http://www.ling.upenn.edu/hist-corpora/PPCEME-RELEASE-1/>.
- Kroch, A. and A. Taylor (Eds.) (2000). *Penn-Helsinki Parsed Corpus of Middle English* [Version 2]. Department of Linguistics, University of Pennsylvania. Available at <http://www.ling.upenn.edu/hist-corpora/PPCME2-RELEASE-2/>.
- Kroch, A. S. (1989a). Function and grammar in the history of English: Periphrastic *do*. In *Language Change and Variation*, pp. 133–172. Georgetown University Press: Washington.
- Kroch, A. S. (1989b). Reflexes of grammar in patterns of language change.

- Language Variation and Change* 1, 199–244.
- Kroch, A. S. (1994). Morpho-syntactic variation. In K. Beals (Ed.), *Proceedings of the thirteenth Annual General Meeting of the Chicago Linguistics Society, Chicago*, pp. 180–201. Chicago Linguistics Society: Chicago.
- Kroch, A. S. (2001). Syntactic change. In M. Baltin and C. Collins (Eds.), *The Handbook of Contemporary Syntactic Theory*, pp. 699–729. Blackwell Publishing: UK.
- Kuno, S. (1987). *Functional Syntax: Anaphora, Discourse and Empathy*. University of Chicago Press: Chicago.
- Labov, W. (1972). Some principles of linguistic methodology. *Language in Society* 1, 97–120.
- Lakoff, G. (1968). *Counterparts or the Problem of Reference in Transformational Grammar*. Bloomington: Indiana University Linguistics Club.
- Lange, C. (2003). Reflexivity and Intensification in English: A Study of Texts and Contexts. PhD thesis, University of Berlin. Available at www.uni-potsdam.de/u/sem/files/lange.doc.
- Lass, R. (1992). Phonology and morphology. In R. Lass (Ed.), *The Cambridge History of the English Language*, Vol. II. Cambridge University Press: Cambridge.
- Lee-Schoenfeld, V. (2004). Binding by phase: (non-)complementarity in German. *Journal of Germanic Linguistics* 2, 111–173.
- Lehmann, W. P. (1974). *Proto-Indo-European*. University of Texas: Austin and London.
- Leskosky, R. (1972). Intensive reflexives. In G. Green (Ed.), *Studies in the Linguistic Sciences* Vol 2.1, pp. 42–65.
- Levinson, S. (1991). Pragmatic reduction of the binding conditions revisited. *Journal of Linguistics* 25, 445–72.
- Levinson, S. (2000). *Presumptive Meanings*. Cambridge University Press: Cambridge.
- Lidz, J. (1995). Morphological reflexive marking: evidence from Kannada. *Linguistic Inquiry* 26, 705–710.
- Lidz, J. (2001). Condition R. *Linguistic Inquiry* 32(1), 123–140.
- Lightfoot, D. (1979). *Principles of Diachronic Syntax*. Cambridge University Press: Cambridge.
- Lightfoot, D. (1991). *How to Set Parameters: Arguments from Language Change*. MIT press: Cambridge Massachusetts.
- Lightfoot, D. (1999). *The Development of Language*. Blackwells: Oxford.
- Lockwood, W. B. (1965). *An Informal History of the German Language*. Andre Deutsch Limited: London.

- Longobardi, G. (1994). Reference and proper names. *Linguistic Inquiry* 25, 609–665.
- Los, B. (1999). Infinitival Complementation in Old and Middle English. PhD thesis, Vrije Universiteit Amsterdam.
- Markey, T. (1981). Frisian. In W. Winter (Ed.), *Part of Trends in Linguistics State-of-the-art Reports 13*. Mouton Publishers: The Netherlands.
- Mazzon, G. (2004). *History of English Negation*. Pearson Education: London.
- McGinnis, M. (1998). Reflexive external arguments and lethal ambiguity. In E. Curtis, J. Lyle, and G. Webster (Eds.), *The proceedings of the sixteenth West Coast Conference on Formal Linguistics*. CSLI: Stanford, CA.
- McIntosh, A. (1963). A new approach to Middle English dialectology. *English Studies* 44, 1–11. Reprinted with corrections in Laing (1989).
- McIntosh, A. (1974). Towards an inventory of Middle English scribes. *Neuphilologische Mitteilungen* 75, 602–624. Reprinted with corrections in Laing (1989).
- McIntosh, A., M. Samuels, M. Benskin, M. Laing, and K. Williamson (Eds.) (1986). *A Linguistic Atlas of Late Mediaeval English*. Aberdeen University Press: Aberdeen.
- McKay, T. (1991). *He himself*: undescovering an anaphor. *Linguistic Inquiry* 22, 368–373.
- Mitchell, B. (1979). Old English *Self*: four syntactical notes. *Neuphilologische Mitteilungen* 80, 39–45.
- Mitchell, B. (1985). *Old English Syntax* [2 Volumes]. Clarendon Press: Oxford.
- Moravcsik, E. A. (1972). Some cross-linguistic generalisations about intensifier constructions. *Chicago Linguistics Society* 8, 271–277.
- Morgan, D. J. (2004). Objects in Old English: Scrambled, Shifted or In-situ? PhD thesis, University of York.
- Mossé, F. (1952). *Handbook of Middle English*. The Johns Hopkins University Press: London.
- Moyne, J. A. (1971). Reflexive and emphatic. *LG* 47, 141–163.
- Mustanoja, T. (1960). *A Middle English Syntax*. Societe Neophilologique: Helsinki.
- Nissenbaum, J. (2000). Investigations of Covert Phrasal Movement. PhD thesis, MIT, Cambridge, MA.
- Ogura, M. (1988). *Him Self, Him selfe, and Him selfa*: a reflexive pronoun + uninflected or nominative *self*. *Studia Neophilologica* 60, 149–157.
- Ogura, M. (1989a). Simple reflexives, compound reflexives, and compound forms of ‘refl/non-refl pron+*Self*’ in Old and Middle English. *Studies in Medieval English Language and Literature* 4, 49–72.
- Ogura, M. (1989b). *Verbs with the Reflexive Pronoun and Constructions with*

- 'Self' in *Old and Early Middle English*. D.S. Brewer: Cambridge.
- Ogura, M. (2001). Verbs used reflexively in Old and Middle English: a case of the syntactic continuity and lexical change. *Neuphilologosche Mitteilungen* 102, 23–36.
- Ogura, M. (2003). 'reflexive' and 'impersonal' constructions in Medieval English. *Anglia: Zeitschrift für Englische Philologie* 121, 535–556.
- Peitsara, K. (1997). The development of reflexive strategies in English. In M. Rissanen, M. Kyto, and K. Heikkonen (Eds.), *Grammaticalization at Work*, pp. 277–370. Mouton de Gruyter: Germany.
- Penning, G. (1875). *A History of the Reflective Pronouns in the English Language*. Heinrich Frese: Bremen.
- Pintzuk, S. (1991). *Phrase Structures in Competition: Variation and Change in Old English Word Order*. PhD thesis, University of Pennsylvania.
- Pintzuk, S. (2003). Variationist approaches to syntactic change. In B. Joseph and R. Janda (Eds.), *The Handbook of Historical Linguistics*, pp. 509–528. Blackwell: Oxford.
- Pintzuk, S. and L. Plug (Eds.) (2001). *The York-Helsinki Parsed Corpus of Old English Poetry*. Department of Language and Linguistic Science, University of York. Available from the Oxford Text Archive.
- Pintzuk, S., G. Tsoulas, and A. Warner (2000). Syntactic change: theory and method. In S. Pintzuk, G. Tsoulas, and A. Warner (Eds.), *Diachronic Syntax: Models and Mechanisms*, pp. 1–24. Oxford University Press: Oxford.
- Postal, P. (1966). On so-called 'pronouns' in english. In F. Dinneen (Ed.), *Report of the seventeenth annual round table meeting on linguistics and language studies*. Georgetown University Press: Washington D.C.
- Postma, G. and M. Verhagen (2004). The rise of the reflexive pronoun 'zich' in a Netherland's border dialect in the 15th century: language internal response-mechanisms in a language contact situation. Paper presented at DIGS VIII, Yale University, 26th June 2004.
- Primus, B. (1992). *Selbst* - variants of a scalar verb in German. *Linguistische Berichte Sonderheft* 4, 54–88.
- Quirk, R., S. Greenbaum, G. Leech, and J. Svartvik (1985). *A Comprehensive Grammar of the English Language*. Longman: Hong Kong.
- Randall, B. (2003). *Corpussearch 1.1*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania.
- Razac, M. (2004). *Elements of Cyclic Syntax: Agree and Merge*. PhD thesis, University of Toronto.
- Reinhart, T. (1976). *The Syntactic Domain of Anaphora*. PhD thesis, MIT, Cambridge, MA.
- Reinhart, T. (1983). Point of view in language: the use of parentheticals. In

- G. Rauh (Ed.), *Essays in Deixis*, pp. unknown. Gunter Narr: Tübingen.
- Reinhart, T. and E. Reuland (1991). Anaphors and logophors: an argument structure perspective. In J. Koster and E. Reuland (Eds.), *Long Distance Anaphora*, pp. 283–321. Cambridge University Press: Cambridge.
- Reinhart, T. and E. Reuland (1993). Reflexivity. *Linguistic Inquiry* 24 (4), 657–720.
- Reuland, E. (2001). Primitives of binding. *Linguistic Inquiry* 32 (3), 439–492.
- Reuland, E. and M. Everaert (2001). Deconstructing binding. In M. R. Baltin and C. Collins (Eds.), *The Handbook of Contemporary Syntactic Theory*, pp. 634–669. Blackwell: Oxford.
- Reuland, E. and T. Reinhart (1995). Pronouns, anaphors and case. In S. O. H. Haider and S. Vikner (Eds.), *Studies in Comparative Germanic Syntax*, pp. 241–268. Kluwer Academic Publishers: The Netherlands.
- Roberts, I. and A. Roussou (1998). A formal approach to ‘grammaticalisation’. Paper presented at the Workshop on the Formal Approaches to Grammaticalisation at the Thirteenth International Conference on Historical Linguistics, held at the University of Düsseldorf, 1997.
- Robinson, J., H. Lawrence, and S. Tagliamonte (2001). GoldVarb 2001. University of York.
- Rooryck, J. and G. V. Wyngaerd (1997). The *Zelf* as other: a minimalist approach to *zich* and *zichzelf* in Dutch. *NELS* 28, 1–15.
- Rooryck, J. and G. V. Wyngaerd (1999). Puzzles of identity: binding at the interface. *NELS* 29, 1–15.
- Safir, K. (1996). Semantic atoms of anaphora. *Natural Language and Linguistic Theory* 16, 545–589.
- SAND (2000). Syntactic Atlas of Dutch Dialects. Further details available from <http://www.meertens.knaw.nl/projecten/sand/sandeng.html>.
- Schladt, M. (1999). The typology and grammaticalisation of reflexives. In Z. Frajzyngier and T. S. Curl (Eds.), *Reflexives: Forms and Functions*, Volume Typological Studies in Language 40, pp. 103–124. John Benjamins: Holland.
- Schutter, G. D. (1994). Dutch. In E. König and J. van der Auwera (Eds.), *The Germanic Languages*, pp. 439–477. Routledge: London.
- Seefranz-Montag, A. von (1983). *Syntaktische Funktionen und Wortstellungsveränderung*. Wilhelm Fink Verlag: München.
- Siemund, P. (1997). Intensifiers: A Comparison of English and German. PhD thesis, University of Berlin.
- Siemund, P. (2000). *Intensifiers in English and German*. Routledge: London.
- Sigurjonsdottir, S. (1992). Binding in Icelandic: Evidence from Language Acquisition. PhD thesis, UCLA.

- Sinar, B. (2002). On the 'subject' of experiencer verbs in Old English. MA Dissertation, University of York.
- Sinar, B. (2005). All roads lead to x-self: the development of the complex reflexive and the intensifier. Poster presented at the 5th York-Newcastle-Holland Symposium on the History of English Syntax, University of York.
- Sipma (1913). *Phonology and Grammar of Modern West Frisian*. Fryske Akademy Ljouwert. Unaltered reprint 1966.
- Smith, J. J. (1986). Some spellings in Caxton's Malory. *Poetica* 24, 58–63.
- Smith, M. (2004). Light and heavy reflexives. *Linguistics* 3, 573–615.
- Solá, J. (1994). A uniform analysis for self elements. Ms., Groningen University.
- Spies, H. (1897). *Studien zer Geschichte des Englischen Pronomens im XV und XVI Jahrhundert*. Max Newmeyer: Halle A.S.
- Steinbach, M. (1998). Middles in German. PhD thesis, HU-Berlin. Available online at <http://edoc.hu-berlin.de/dissertationen/steinbach-markus-1998-11-12/HTML/>.
- Taylor, A. (2006). Contact effects of translation. In J. Close, A. Galani, B. Sinar, and P. Wallage (Eds.), *York Papers in Linguistics. Papers from the Third York-Holland Symposium on the History of English Syntax. Series 2* vol. 5, pp. 105–125.
- Taylor, A., A. Warner, S. Pintzuk, and F. Beths (Eds.) (2003). *The York-Toronto-Helsinki Parsed Corpus of Old English Prose*. Department of Language and Linguistic Science, University of York. Available from the Oxford Text Archive.
- Tolkien, J. R. R. (1929). Ancrene Wisse and Hali Meidhad. *Essays and studies* 14, 104–126.
- Tolkien, J. R. R. (1995). *The Lord of the Rings*. Harper Collins: London.
- Traugott, E. (1992). Syntax. In R. M. Hogg (Ed.), *The Cambridge History of the English Language: The Beginnings to 1066*. Volume 1, pp. 168–286. Cambridge University Press: Cambridge.
- Valfells, S. (1970). *Old Icelandic: An Introductory Course*. Oxford University Press: Oxford.
- Vat, J. (1980). *Zich en Zichzelf*. In S. Daalder and M. Gerritsen (Eds.), *Linguistics in the Netherlands*, pp. 127–138. North Holland: Amsterdam.
- Vezzosi, L. (2002). The development of *himself* in Middle English: A Celtic hypothesis. *Rethinking Middle English*, 228–243.
- Vikner, S. (1985). Parameters of binder and of binding category in Danish. *Working Papers in Scandinavian Syntax* 23, 1–61. available online at <http://www.hum.au.dk/engelsk/engsv/papers/vikn85a.pdf>.
- Visser, F. T. (1963). *An Historical Syntax of the English Language* [3 parts].

Brill: Leiden.

Voskuil, J. and P. Wehrmann (1990). On SC-subjects and Binding. Ms., Leiden.

Wales, K. (1996). *Personal Pronouns in Present-Day English*. Cambridge University Press: Cambridge.

Wallage, P. (2005). Negation in Early English: Parametric Variation and Grammatical Competition. PhD thesis, University of York.

Wallis, J. (1972). *Grammar of the English Language: Fascimile of the 6th Edition (1765)*. Longman: UK.

Wurff, W. van der (1997). Deriving object-verb order in Late Middle English. *Journal of Linguistics* 33, 485–509.

Yates, F. (1934). Contingency tables involving small numbers and the χ^2 test. *Journal of the Royal Statistical Society (Supplement)* 1, 217–235.

Zribi-Hertz, A. (1989). Anaphor binding and narrative point of view: English reflexive pronouns in sentence and discourse. *Language* 65(4), 695–727.

Zwart, J.-W. (1997). The morphosyntax of verb movement: a Minimalist approach to Dutch syntax. *The Journal of Comparative Germanic Linguistics* 1(3), 263–272.

Zwart, J.-W. (2002). Issues relating to a derivational theory of binding. In S. D. Epstein and D. Seely (Eds.), *Derivation and Explanation in the Minimalist Program*, pp. 269–294. Blackwells: UK.

