1. Introduction (= Abstract)

It is somewhat surprising that English allows

(1) En. a.  Peter's behaviour only damages himself.
  b.  Peter doesn't realise that such behaviour only damages himself.

even though himself does not refer to the subject of the same clause (which is Peter's behaviour and such behaviour respectively). This is surprising because far from all clauses allow himself to refer to something else than the subject of the same clause:

(2) En. a.  *Peter's sister only criticised himself.
  b.  *Peter does not realise that Joan only criticised himself.

This is why himself in (1a,b) is often called an 'override reflexive' or an 'untriggered reflexive'.

Our analysis is that 'override' reflexives are the result of the combination of the non-reflexive pronoun him with the intensifier himself, and that this combination is subsequently 'shortened' from him himself to himself.

This analysis is also completely compatible with the data from Danish, where the combination of the corresponding pronoun ham with the corresponding intensifier selv is not subject to 'shortening', and the result is therefore ham selv:

(3) Da. a.  Peters opførsel skader bare ham selv.  \(\approx (1a)\)
  b.  Peter indser slet ikke at sådan en opførsel bare skader ham selv.  \(\approx (1b)\)

This talk will try to show how the fact that Danish has two versions of ham selv and that English has two versions of himself fits into the general reflexive systems of the two languages. The analyses will be held up against data from three large and publically accessible corpora (Danish: KorpusDK n.d.; English: BNC n.d.; and COCA = Davies n.d.).
2. The Danish reflexive system

In Vikner (1985), Ehlers and Vikner (2017) and Vikner and Ehlers (2017), we have argued that the Danish reflexive system contains two different kinds of conditions:

(4) a.  $\pm\text{selv}$ depends on whether the element must have an antecedent inside the smallest clause ($\pm\text{selv}$: mig selv, sig selv, hende selv 'me self/REFL self/her self')
    or cannot have an antecedent inside the smallest clause ($-\text{selv}$: mig, sig, hende 'me/REFL/her-ACC').

b.  $\pm\text{sig}$ depends on whether the element must have an antecedent which is a subject inside the smallest finite clause ($\pm\text{sig}$: sig, sig selv, sin 'REFL/RELF self/REFL's),
    or cannot have an antecedent which is a subject inside the smallest clause ($-\text{sig}$: hende, hende selv, hendes 'her-ACC/her self/her-POSS').

The $\pm\text{selv}$-distinction is the difference between different columns in (5).
The $\pm\text{sig}$-distinction is the difference between different rows in (5).

Both distinctions can be "switched off":
$\pm\text{selv}$ plays no role for the possessive pronouns (i.e. for sin, hendes), and
$\pm\text{sig}$ plays no role outside the third person (i.e. for mig, mig selv, dig, dig selv, os, os selv, jer, jer selv), nor for the third person plural possessive deres (though this is currently changing).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(5)</th>
<th>$\pm\text{selv}$ must have an antecedent inside the same clause</th>
<th>$-\text{selv}$ cannot have an antecedent inside the same clause</th>
<th>No $\pm\text{selv}$ distinction (possessives)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>$\pm\text{sig}$ must have a subject as antecedent in the same finite clause</td>
<td>sig selv</td>
<td>sig</td>
<td>sin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$-\text{sig}$ cannot have a subject as antecedent in the same clause</td>
<td>ham selv, hende selv, den selv, det selv, dem selv</td>
<td>ham, hende, den, det, dem</td>
<td>hans, hendes, dens, dets</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No $\pm\text{sig}$ distinction (1st &amp; 2nd person &amp; deres)</td>
<td>mig selv, dig selv, os selv, jer selv</td>
<td>mig, dig, os, jer</td>
<td>min, din, vores, jeres, deres</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

- There is symmetry concerning $\pm\text{selv}$, and therefore there is no optionality sig/sig selv (as long as sig/sig selv is an argument in the clause, cf. Ehlers and Vikner 2017, 94–104)
- There is asymmetry concerning $\pm\text{sig}$, and therefore there may be optionality sig/hende in non-finite clauses.

In this talk, we will focus on a single cell in (5), viz. the one containing ham selv/hende selv/dem selv.
We have examined all occurrences in KorpusDK (n.d.) of ham selv 'him self' (there were 871 examples), hende selv 'her self' (352), and dem selv 'them selves' (584, i.e. a total of 1807 examples).

We did not examine den selv and det selv, both 'it self', as these can be both nominative and accusative, whereas ham selv, hende selv and dem selv are clearly accusative. We have also left out all repeated occurrences and all cases with a comma or a dash between ham/hende/dem and selv (180 i alt), as well as all cases of polite Dem 'you' (121).

The table in (6) summarises the number of occurrences of the different types in KorpusDK (n.d.), and it also lists in which section of this talk the various types will be discussed:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(6)</th>
<th>ham selv</th>
<th>hende selv</th>
<th>dem selv</th>
<th>all three</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Regular reflexive, §3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>0.5 %</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>2.0 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VP-adverbial (medial), §4</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>1.7 %</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>3.1 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VP-adverbial (final), §4</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>3.4 %</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>3.7 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DP-adverbial ('override'), §5</td>
<td>781</td>
<td>89.7 %</td>
<td>308</td>
<td>87.5 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Copula verbs, §8</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>1.6 %</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1.1 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Should have been sig selv, §8</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>1.1 %</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>2.3 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Problem cases, §8</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>2.0 %</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.3 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>871</strong></td>
<td><strong>100 %</strong></td>
<td><strong>352</strong></td>
<td><strong>100 %</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Left out:** repeated occurrences or with a comma/dash | 72 | 44 | 64 | 180

**Left out:** polite Dem | 0 | 0 | 121 | 121
3. Regular reflexive *ham selv/hende selv* - obeying the rules in (5)

The expressions in the cell in (5) that contains *ham selv/hende selv* 'him self/her self' have in common with *sig selv* and *mig selv* 'REFL self/me self' that they must have an antecedent in the same clause (this is the *+selv* condition), and they have in common with *ham/hende/… and hans/hendes/… 'him/her-ACC/… his/her-POSS/…' that they cannot have an antecedent which is the subject of the same clause (this is the *-sig* condition). In other words: they must have an antecedent which is in the same clause, and which is not a subject.

Additionally, there is a condition that applies to all antecedents and which also applies here, namely that an antecedent must c-command the expression that it is the antecedent of, i.e. if *Peter* is the antecedent of *ham selv*, then *ham selv* has to be part of the sister constituent of *Peter.*

See e.g. Vikner and Jørgensen (2017, 154–58). A co-referent expression which does not c-command the pronoun will thus never observe the conditions for being an antecedent, and this is why the following examples are not possible with the indicated co-reference (underlined expressions are to be interpreted as co-referent), i.e. if *sig selv* or *sin* refers to *Marie* or *Emil:*


*Maries PhD students are happy with REFL self / REFL's supervision*

b. *[Vejlederen af Emils ph.d.-projekt] var imponeret over *sig selv/sin* indsats.

*The supervisor of Emil's PhD project was impressed with REFL self/REFL's performance*

*ham selv/hende selv/dem selv* thus require an antecedent which c-commands them, but which is not a subject, and that is asking a lot. Therefore KorpusDK only contains 4 examples of this type with *ham selv* (0.5 %), 7 with *hende selv* (2.0 %), and 8 with *dem selv* (1.4 %):

(8) Da. a. Hvis man stillede *ham* et spørgsmål om [DP *ham selv*], …

*If one asked him a question about [him self]…*

b. … han havde givet *ham* mange gaver med, både til kong Akastos og til [DP *ham selv*].

c. Det minde den *hende* om [DP *hende selv*] for år tilbage.

*It reminded her of [her self] from years back*

d. Lige før jeg skulle tilbage …, spurte jeg *miss O'Brien* ud om [DP *hende selv*].

*Just before I had to leave …, I asked miss O'Brien PRT about [her self]*

e. Har han fået lært *dem* nok om [DP *dem selv*]?

*Has he taught them enough about [them selves]*?

f. Det er svært at lave en lovg i, der beskytter folk imod [DP *dem selv*].

*It is difficult to make a law that protects people against [them selves]*

g. … at Thomsen var stukket til søs og havde overladt *sin* kone og *børn* til [DP *dem selv*].

*… that Thomsen had run away to sea and had left his wife and children to [them selves]*

(Also here, underlined expressions should be interpreted as co-referent.)

(9) DP

\[\text{The cases of selv in (8) are thus part of the pronouns ham selv/hende selv/dem selv, and therefore entirely parallel to the selv that Jensen (2010, 50) calls part of the reflexive pronoun sig selv, i.e. it has the structure shown in (9).}\]

Just as both Jensen (2010, 50) and we consider the reflexive *sig* and the reflexive *sig selv* to be two different pronouns, we also consider *ham* and the *ham selv* found in (8) to be two different pronouns.

Now we have accounted for 19 of the 1807 cases of *ham selv/hende selv/dem selv* – we are not quite done yet …
4. selv as a modifier of VP

*selv* may be an adverbial which modifies a VP, and this *selv* can occur in two positions (if not more):

- **medial** (i.e. left-adjoined to VP = a in Diderichsen 1946) and
- **final** (i.e. right-adjoined to VP = A in Diderichsen 1946).

(10) Da. a. De har [VP selv [VP lavet det meste af restaureringen].

*They have self done most of the restoration.*

b. De har [VP [VP lavet det meste af restaureringen] selv]. (KorpusDK)

*They have done most of the restoration self.*

It is thus to be expected that some of the KorpusDK cases of the string *ham/hende/dem + selv* may be due to either *ham/hende/dem* immediately preceding a *selv* in the medial position:

(11) Da. a. Folk så *ham* [VP selv [VP baldre ruden og stikke rekylgeväret ud …]]

*People saw him [self smash the window and put the rifle out …]*

b. Det lykkedes *ham* [VP selv [VP at komme op]], …

*It succeeded him [self to get up], …*

c. Hans naturlige beskedenhed forbryder *ham* [VP selv [VP at sige det]].

*His natural modesty forbids him [self to say it]*

d. Men nu vil jeg lade *ham* [VP selv [VP fortælle: …]]

*But now will I let him [self tell (you the story): …]*

e. Marianne bad *hende* [VP selv [VP hente en kaffekop, …]]

*Marianne asked her [self get a coffee cup]*

f. … og det endte med, at redaktøren foreslog *hende* [VP selv [VP at tegne vittigheder.]]

*… and the end was that the editor suggested her [self to draw cartoons]*

g. De to har værsgo at tage bussen, til *en af dem* [VP selv [VP har sparet op til en bil, de kan ødelægge!]]

*The two have PRT to take the bus, until one of them [self has saved up to a car they can destroy]*

(Underlining still indicates co-reference.)

… or to *ham/hende/dem* immediately preceding a *selv* in the final position:

(12) Da. a. Som da *han* ved den eneste lejlighed, hvor jeg [VP [VP mødte *ham* selv]], forkyndte: ...

*As when he at the only occasion where I [met him self] announced: …*

b. *Hun* kunne bare have [VP [VP spurgt *ham* selv].

*She could just have [asked him self]*

c. Vi kan vel ikke uden videre [VP [VP begrave *ham* selv].

*We can not without any further ado [bury him self]*

d. Godt, at *hun* ikke mere skulle [VP [VP undervise *ham* selv], …

*Good thing that she no longer should [teach him self]*

e. "… Jeg anbefalede [VP [VP *ham* selv] ", siger Kaspar Rostrup.

*I recommended [him self], says Kaspar Rostrup*

f. Vi vil nu [VP [VP passe *hende* selv]. Hun skal ikke i børnehave.

*We will indeed [look-after her self]. She is not going to kindergarden.*

g. Og da vi ikke [VP [VP havde *dem* selv], lånte vi dem af hollænderne, …

*And as we did not [have them self], we borrowed them from the Dutch …*

h. Ja, vi strikker [VP [VP *dem* selv].

*Yes, we knit [them self]*

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1 (11) includes both ECM cases as in (11)a/(13)a and object control cases as in (11)b, cf. Vikner (2014a).
We think that it is because this VP-adverbial selv modifies a VP that it appears to refer to the subject of the VP (cf. that what we here call VP-adverbial selv, is what Jensen 2010, 61 calls a subjektsfokusator “subject focussing element”). This explains why there is co-reference between ham/hende/dem and selv in (11) (as ham/hende/dem here is the subject of the following VP) but not in (12) (as ham/hende/dem here is part of the preceding VP, and therefore cannot be the subject of the VP or part of the subject of the VP).

As these cases of ham/hende/dem and selv do not together form a pronoun, they do not fall under our analysis of the pronouns ham selv/hende selv/dem selv in (5). Instead, the pronouns ham/hende/dem in these examples will behave exactly as expected (of ham/hende/dem) in (5).

Of the type (11) with medial selv, we found in KorpusDK 15 cases (1.7 %) with ham + selv, 11 (3.1 %) with hende + selv, and 25 (4.3 %) with dem + selv. Of the type (12) with final selv, we found 30 cases (3.4 %) with ham + selv, 13 (3.7 %) with hende + selv, and 90 (15.4 %) with dem + selv.

Now we have accounted for 203 of the 1807 cases of ham selv/hende selv/dem selv – at least things are moving in the right direction.
5. **selv** as a modifier of the pronoun **ham/hende/dem**

In section 3, we saw that **selv** can be part of a pronoun and in section 4 that **selv** may modify a VP (i.e. be adjoined to a VP). Now we shall see a situation sort of in-between these two, namely one where **selv** modifies not a VP but a DP:

(14) Da. a. Både Sonny og [DP [DP **forkatteren**] **selv**] opnåede stor berømmelse, da …

   *Both Sonny and ([the author] **selv**)] reached great fame, when …*

   *The author **selv**] is in a great mood after the well-received debut, …*

If a DP like **forkatteren** 'author-the' may be modified by **selv**, then this should also be possible for a DP consisting exclusively of **ham/hende/dem** (for the details of such an analysis of the pronoun **ham/hende/dem** as a DP, see Vikner 2014b). In such cases, **selv** is right-adjoined to the DP **ham/hende/dem**. These are thus not cases of the pronoun **ham selv/hende selv/dem selv**, as in section 3, but cases of the pronoun **ham/hende/dem** (admittedly modified by **selv**), and therefore there are many more cases in KorpusDK than was the case in section 3, viz. **781** examples (89.7 %) with [([**ham**] **selv**), **308** (87.5%) with [([**hende**] **selv**), and **384** (65.8 %) with [([**dem**] **selv**). The conditions for **ham/hende/dem** in (5) are not nearly as difficult to observe as the ones for **ham selv/hende selv/dem selv**:

**ham/hende/dem** 'him/her-ACC/them' have in common with **sig** and **mig** 'REFL/me' that they cannot have an antecedent in the same clause (this is the **selv** condition), and they have in common with **ham selv/hende selv/…** and **hans/hendes/…' **him self/her self/…, his/her-POSS/…' that they cannot have an antecedent which is the subject of the same clause (this is the **sig** condition). In other words, **ham/hende/dem** cannot have a (c-commanding) antecedent in the same clause:

(15) Da. a. I aften kommer turen til [DP [DP **ham**] **selv**].

   *Tonight the turn comes to ([him] **selv**] (= it is the turn of **him**)*

b. På den måde straffer Aukens forfatteren skal, og fremmest [DP [DP **ham**] **selv**].

   *In this way, Aukens manner punishes first and foremost ([him] **selv**] to find possibilities of protection, if the bombs hit Bagdad*
1. **ZZ Top** apparently only attract men who look like **[them] selves**

This **selv** is the one that Jensen (2010, 48) refers to as an enclitic focus particle. It causes the DP that it modifies to be in focus.

As these cases of **ham/hende/dem** and **selv** do not together form a pronoun, they do **not** fall under our analysis of the pronouns **ham selv/hende selv/dem selv** in (5). Instead, the pronouns **ham/hende/dem** in these examples will behave exactly as expected in (5).

We think that there is a crucial difference between the pronoun **ham selv/hende selv/dem selv** (section 3) and the pronoun **ham/hende/dem** modified by **selv** (as discussed in this section). This is apparent e.g. from the fact that a pronoun **ham/hende/dem** which is modified by **selv**, may be substituted by another DP (cf. also (14)):

(16) Da. a. På den måde straffer Aukens facon først og fremmest [DP [DP **[ham]** selv]... = (15)b
   b. På den måde straffer Aukens facon først og fremmest [DP [DP **[Aukens]** selv].

(17) Da. a. I modsætning til [DP [DP **[hende]** selv] er Madonnas affald ubevogtet ... = (15)g
   b. I modsætning til [DP [DP **[Madonna]** selv] er Madonnas affald ubevogtet ...

(18) Da. a. ZZ Top tiltrækker tilsyneladende kun mænd, der ser ud som [DP [DP **[dem]** selv]. = (15)l
   b. ZZ Top tiltrækker tilsyneladende kun mænd, der ser ud som [DP [DP **[ZZ Top]** selv].

If **ham selv/hende selv/dem selv** on the other hand constitute a pronoun, as in section 3, then the first half of this pronoun may **not** be replaced by the relevant DP:

(19) Da. a. Lige før jeg skulle tilbage ...., spurgte jeg miss O'Brien ud om [**[hende]** selv]. = (8)d
   b. * Lige før jeg skulle tilbage ...., spurgte jeg miss O'Brien ud om [**[miss O'Brien]** selv].

(20) Da. a. Det er svært at lave en lov, der beskytter folk imod [**[dem]** selv]. = (8)f
   b. * Det er svært at lave en lov, der beskytter folk imod [**[folk]** selv].

The structural difference between the two types may be illustrated as follows:

(21) a. 
   \[
   \begin{aligned}
   & \text{DP} \\
   & \text{selv} \\
   & \text{ham}
   \end{aligned}
   \]
   \(= (16)a/(17)a/(18)a\)

b. 
   \[
   \begin{aligned}
   & \text{DP} \\
   & \text{selv} \\
   & \text{ham}
   \end{aligned}
   \]
   \(= (19)a/(20)a\)

We think that **ham selv/hende selv/dem selv** in (21)b is the reflexive pronoun **ham selv** predicted by our analysis in (5). What we have in (21)a, on the other hand, is a version of the pronoun **ham/hende/dem**, and it behaves exactly as expected (of **ham/hende/dem**) in (5).

Because it looks as if we have a case of the reflexive pronoun **ham selv/hende selv/dem selv** i (21)a, (21)a seem to be a version of **ham selv/hende selv/dem selv** which oversteps the rules for **ham selv/hende selv/dem selv**. In this way, **ham selv** in (21)a corresponds to the examples in (3) above and to the versions of *himself/herself*... in English which are called 'override' reflexives, cf. the examples in (1) above, which we will examine in the next section.
Now we have accounted for 1676 of the 1807 cases of ham selv/hende selv/dem selv. The remaining 131 cases are more problematic, cf. the appendix in section 8.

6. 'Override' reflexives in English

The English reflexive system is much simpler than the Danish one:
All there is is a ±selv/self-distinction, there is no ±sig-distinction:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>±self</th>
<th>¬self</th>
<th>No ±self distinction</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>must have an antecedent inside the same clause</td>
<td>cannot have an antecedent inside the same clause</td>
<td>(possessives)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>myself, yourself</td>
<td>me, you, him, her, it, us, you, them</td>
<td>my/mine, you/yours his, her/hers, its our/ours, your/yours their/their</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>himself, herself, itself, ourselves, yourselves, themselves</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

If the antecedent is inside the smallest clause containing the pronoun, the result is him/her/them…:

(23) En. a. * The president does not think [that people should criticise himself].
        b. * The president does not think [that people should criticise himself].
        c. The president does not think [that people should criticise him].
        d. The president does not think [that people should criticise him].

If the antecedent is outside the smallest clause, the result is himself/herself/themselves/…:

(24) En. a. The prime minister often talks about himself.
        b. * The prime minister often talks about himself.
        c. * The prime minister often talks about him.
        d. The prime minister often talks about him.

This is why it is unexpected that English allows

(25) En. a. Peter doesn't realise [that such behaviour only damages himself].
        b. Peter's behaviour only damages himself.

in that himself does not have an antecedent in the same clause in (25)a,b. Even though Peter is in the same clause as himself in (25)b, Peter should not be a possible antecedent because Peter does not c-command himself, i.e. because himself is not part of the sister constituent of Peter (cf. (7) above and the references cited there).

As was said in the intro, far from all clauses allow himself/herself/themselves/… not to have a (c-commanding) antecedent in the same clause:

(26) En. a. * Peter's sister only criticised himself.
        b. * Peter does not realise [that Joan only criticised himself].

This is why himself in (25)a,b is often labelled an 'override' reflexive or an 'untriggered' reflexive.
Here is a series of further examples from Sørensen (2019, 21–25):
('override' reflexives as part of a subject or as object:)

(27) En. a. [Both the local authority and **myself**] have gone to the minister. (Huddleston and Pullum 2002, 1494, (39i))
   b. [Even Muggles like **yourself**] should be celebrating, this happy, happy day! (J. K. Rowling, *Harry Potter and the Philosopher’s Stone*, cited in Hole 2002, 295, (21))
   c. The fact that Paul had nominated **myself** for the position didn’t please Frank. (Huddleston and Pullum 2002, 1495, (45i))
   d. It was Kennett’s flamboyant self-indulgence that allowed **himself** to become an election issue at the expense of his own achievements. (Huddleston and Pullum 2002, 1495, (45iii))

('override' reflexives with an antecedent outside the smallest clause, as in (25)a:)

(28) En. a. **She** told him [he should marry a woman like **herself**]. (Huddleston and Pullum 2002, 1494, (40iii))
   b. **John** thinks [Mary is taller than **himself**]. (Baker 1995, 64, (4b))
   c. **I** confess [that the novel is really about **myself**]. (Huddleston and Pullum 2002, 1494, (42ii))

('override' reflexives with a co-referent expression inside the smallest clause, as in (25)b:)

(29) En. a. **Her** intimate friends must be officious like **herself**. (1817, Jane Austen *Sanditon*, cited in Liberman 2015)
   b. **All** Ann’s novels are really about **herself**. (Huddleston and Pullum 2002, 1494, (42iii))
   c. **Sandra’s** friends would all be so much younger than **herself**. (BNC)
   d. … the whole nature of the system is such that the worker’s hands are directed by others than **himself**, and the product of his hands are taken away. (BNC)

('override'-reflexives without an antecedent or co-referent expression:)

(30) En. a. **He** would be something nondescript, something in the background, like **herself**: perhaps he had become an interpreter. (Stern 2004, 271, (3a))
   b. **The** boss would like to hire more people like **yourselves**. (Baker 1995, 65, (i))
   c. **The only** one they didn’t invite was **myself**. (Huddleston and Pullum 2002, 1494, (42i))
   d. The queen invited Tony and **myself** for a drink. (Haegeman and Guéron 1999, 476, (12))

We suggest analysing these 'override' reflexives as more or less parallel to the cases of ham selv/hende selv/dem selv in Danish which we in section 5 analysed as the pronoun ham/hende/dem modified by selv. In this, we follow König and Siemund (2000), who modify a suggestion in Baker (1995, 65), which itself is a modified version of an analysis going back to Ross (1970, 226–29). Bergeton (2004, 304) (and Bergeton and Pancheva 2011), who also discusses Danish, uses the same type of analysis.

The analysis is that the 'override' reflexives are a result of the combination of a normal pronoun him/her/them/… with an intensifying/modifying himself/herself/themselves/…, completely parallel to the analysis of [DP [DP ham] selv] in section 5. However, there are two important differences between Danish and English:

**First**, English does not allow *self* on its own as a modifier. This was only possible before around the year 1200, but not any later, and therefore himself/herself/themselves/… have to be employed:

(31) Da. a. * They have [VP [VP done most of the work] self].
   b. They have [VP [VP done most of the work] themselves].

Second, it is not that easy to modify accusative pronouns in English:

(32) a. Da. Ham det store fjols …
b. En. * Him the big fool …

(33) a. Da. Ham der står derovre …
b. En. * Him who is standing over there …

and this may be why [DP [DP ham selv]] does not actually correspond to [DP [DP him] himself] but rather to the 'shortened' version [DP [DP him] himself] – used because [DP [DP him] himself] is impossible for independent reasons.

This can be seen from the number of occurrences in the large corpora BNC (n.d.) and COCA (Davies n.d.), as listed in this table from Sørensen (2019, 53):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nominative</th>
<th>BNC</th>
<th>COCA</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I myself</td>
<td>191</td>
<td>1172</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>you yourself</td>
<td>137</td>
<td>568</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>he himself</td>
<td>724</td>
<td>2354</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>she herself</td>
<td>365</td>
<td>1312</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>we ourselves</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>376</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>they themselves</td>
<td>295</td>
<td>1043</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Accusative</th>
<th>BNC</th>
<th>COCA</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>him himself</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>her herself</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>me myself</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>us ourselves</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>them themselves</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

You might now think that English is completely hopeless, in that *himself* is simply possible everywhere, as it may either be a reflexive pronoun or an 'override' reflexive. Don’t panic, this is not the case. Almost as in Danish, see (16)-(20) above, we can actually tell apart the 'real' reflexive *himself* and the 'override' reflexive *himself*: The pronoun in the 'override' reflexive [DP [DP him] *himself*] may be substituted by another DP, resulting e.g. in [DP [DP Peter] *himself*], (35) and (36), and this is not at all possible in the case of the normal reflexive pronoun *himself*, (37).

(35) En. a. Peter's behaviour only damages [DP [DP him] *himself*].
b. Peter's behaviour only damages [DP [DP Peter] *himself*].

(36) En. a. Peter doesn't realise [that such behaviour only damages [DP [DP him] *himself*]].
b. Peter doesn't realise [that such behaviour only damages [DP [DP Peter] *himself*]].

(37) En. a. The prime minister often talks about *himself*.
b. * The prime minister often talks about *the prime minister*.
c. * The prime minister often talks about *the prime minister himself*.

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2 Sørensen (2019, 53) points out that these figures only include cases where e.g. *him* and *himself* in *him himself* refer to the same entity. This means that the figures in (34) do not include the cases we classified as final adverbial *selv*, as in (12) og (13)b above, and as in the BNC example *They want to go out and get chips, they pay for them themselves.*
7. Conclusion

We have suggested that the following two are linked:

Section 3-5: There are many cases of e.g. ham selv which at first glimpse do not behave as we would expect, but which are still not a problem for our analysis in (5) above. This requires taking into consideration that selv may not just be part of the reflexive/anaphoric pronouns sig selv/ham selv/hende selv/dem selv/…, as in (38)a, but may also occur as modifier of different constituents, incl. VP (section 4, (38)c,d) and DP (section 5, (38)b).

\[(38)\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{a.} & \quad \text{DP} \\
& \quad \Downarrow \text{D°} \\
& \quad \text{ham selv}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{b.} & \quad \text{DP} \\
& \quad \Downarrow \text{D°} \\
& \quad \text{selv}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{c.} & \quad \text{IP} \\
& \quad \Downarrow \text{I°} \\
& \quad \text{ham} \\
& \quad \Downarrow \text{I°} \\
& \quad \text{VP} \\
& \quad \Downarrow \text{V°} \\
& \quad \text{baldre} \\
& \quad \text{VP} \\
& \quad \Downarrow \text{D°} \\
& \quad \text{ruden}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{d.} & \quad \text{VP} \\
& \quad \Downarrow \text{V°} \\
& \quad \text{mødte} \\
& \quad \text{VP} \\
& \quad \Downarrow \text{D°} \\
& \quad \text{ham}
\end{align*}
\]

Section 6: The so-called ‘override’ reflexives in English are occurrences of the English reflexives (himself/herself/themselves/…) in contexts where a non-reflexive would be expected. They may be analysed in a parallel fashion to the cases of ham selv/hende selv/dem selv/… in Danish which we took to be the pronoun ham/hende/dem/… modified by selv, (38)b. In other words, we see English ‘override’ reflexives, (39)b, as a(n invisible!) pronoun him/her/them/… modified by himself/herself/themselves/…, as opposed to the normal English reflexive pronoun, (39)a, which since 1200 somewhat confusingly has had the same form as the modifier himself/herself/themselves/…:

\[(39)\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{a.} & \quad \text{DP} \\
& \quad \Downarrow \text{D°} \\
& \quad \text{himself}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{b.} & \quad \text{DP} \\
& \quad \Downarrow \text{D°} \\
& \quad \text{him}
\end{align*}
\]

---

3 Sara Sørensen's part of this research was part of her MA dissertation (Sørensen 2019). Katrine Rosendal Ehlers’ part of this research was part of her ongoing PhD project with the preliminary title “Sig” vs. “dem”, “sin” vs. “deres” - Number sensitive reflexive pronouns and language change in Danish. Sten Vikner's part of this research was carried out as part of two research projects at Aarhus University financed by “Forskningsrådet for Kultur og Kommunikation” (Danish Research Council for Culture and Communication): Object Positions – Comparative Syntax in a Cross-Theoretical Perspective and Similarities and Differences between Clauses and Nominals.
We also hope to have shown how Danish may be used to gain more insight into English, given that Danish has many more distinctions in the reflexive system, allowing us to distinguish between reflexive pronouns like [sig selv] and modified non-reflexives like [dp [dp ham] selv], which then can be used in connection with the analysis of English.

We would still like to test in more detail whether the English 'override' reflexives and their Danish counterparts behave exactly alike and occur in the same contexts. We would also like to give a real answer to why sig or a constituent containing sig (including argument sig as in han bad hende hjælpe sig “he asked her to help REFL”, Ehlers and Vikner 2017), is never modified by selv.

8. Appendix: Problem cases with ham/hende/dem + selv

As admitted above, we still have some types of ham/hende/dem + selv which we do not quite understand, in total 131 cases.

There is a total of 18 cases in connection with copula verbs – 14 (1.6 %) with ham selv, 4 (1.1 % with hende selv, and 0 with dem selv:

(40) Da. a. Hovedpersonen er selvfølgelig ham selv.  
The main character is of course him self  
b. En af kandidaterne var ham selv.  
One of the candidates was him self  
c. Den handler om en, der kunne være ham selv: …  
It is about someone who could be him self …  
d. Som om der var to mennesker der trængtes i hendes hoved, og begge var hende selv.

There is a total of 93 cases of something we find completely impossible (i.e. where we would use sig selv) – 10 (1.1 %) with ham selv, 8 (2.3 %) with hende selv, and 75 (12.8 %) with dem selv:

(41) Da. a. Inden det lykkedes for manden at forvandle kvinden, ham selv og virksomheden til et flammehav…

b. På den måde kan han hurtigt orientere sig om dagsordener, bilag og breve til ham selv og de andre i byrådet.

c. Han medbragte måske en lille en til kunderne, men ikke til ham selv.

Then she takes three walnuts – one for each of the mice and one for her self  
e. Men hvordan har du tjent alle de der penge? De er kommet af dem selv!  
But how have you made all that money? They have come by them selves  
f. Både Bodil Lous og Johnny O'Hagan lærer tydeligvis noget om dem selv …  
Both Bodil Lous and Johnny O'Hagan clearly learn something about them self  
g. Da en universitetslærer bad de studerende om at skrive en stil om dem selv, blev hun chokeret …

Finally we have a problem group with 20 cases (0.9 %) which we do not have an analysis of.
References


