# Cover page

**Exam information**
132172E015 - Sara Sørensen - Speciale

**Handed in by**
Sara Sørensen
20112719@post.au.dk

**Exam administrators**
Specialeteamet, tlf.nr. 8716 1178
specialer.arts.udd@au.dk

**Assessors**
Sten Vikner
Examiner
sten.vikner@cc.au.dk
+4587162639

Steven Falkenberg Breunig
Co-examiner
steven.breunig@sdu.dk

**Hand-in information**

**Title:** Override Reflexive Pronouns in English and Danish: An investigation and comparison
**Title, english:** Override Reflexive Pronouns in English and Danish: An investigation and comparison
**The sworn statement:** Yes
**Does the hand-in contain confidential material:** No
**Number of characters:** 149078

# Override Reflexive Pronouns in English and Danish:
## *An investigation and comparison*

MA Thesis

***Name:*** Sara Sørensen

***Student identification number:*** 20112719

-

***Thesis supervisor:*** Sten Vikner

-

Master's Degree Programme In English

Department of English, Faculty of Arts

-

Aarhus University

-

***Submission date:*** June 3, 2019

# Table of Contents

## SUMMARY

This paper investigates override reflexive pronouns in English and Danish. Override reflexives have been claimed to violate the binding principles outlined in Chomsky's (1981) *Government and Binding Theory* because they use a reflexive pronoun in places where a pronominal should have been used. They have therefore more or less been categorised as exceptions to the binding rules, marginalised to footnotes or completely ignored. Native speakers seem to disagree on the acceptability of sentences containing an override, and scholars do not agree on how to interpret them. In English, overrides are formally identical with both reflexive pronouns as well as intensifiers, which has made the confusion even greater. Overrides occur in argument positions, and therefore most treat them as reflexive pronouns. Because of the many different attempts to describe their occurrences, they have received different labels, which all try to explain that something unexpected is happening.

This paper has three overall objectives. The first is to investigate overrides in English and examine the different contexts they typically appear in as well as examine the different ways overrides may be in violation of the binding principles. The second objective is to argue that overrides in English belong to the category of intensifiers, in which they are modifiers of non-overt pronominals and thus a version of the impossible **him himself*. The third objective is to support this analysis by comparing the English reflexive system with the Danish reflexive system, because it has a more fine-grained system, e.g. it distinguishes between binder-anaphors (*sig selv*) and binder-pronominals (e.g. *ham selv)*, a distinction not found in English.

The paper concludes that overrides in English belong to the category of intensifiers (and not reflexives). They are adjuncts modifying non-overt pronominals. This interpretation is supported by Danish data in which the override *ham selv* is composed of an overt argument *ham* followed by the intensifier *selv*, which is an adjunct. In contrast to Danish, the English pronominal is non-overt, however, the syntactic structure is the same in both languages. Moreover, because it is only the pronominal part that must be in accordance with the binding principles, it is argued that overrides do not violate the binding principles, as often claimed. Finally, a brief examination of the development of *self*-forms in English is made to support the analysis. It explains why reflexives and intensifiers are formally indistinguishable in Modern English and reveals that override reflexives were already a phenomenon in Old English.

# CHAPTER 1. INTRODUCTION

In the generative linguistic approach, Chomsky's (1981) *Government and Binding Theory* has played a major role and has been modified and developed since the 1980s. This theory is for instance able to account for the distribution of pronouns in English. The aim of this master's thesis is to investigate reflexive pronouns (En. *himself*, Da. *ham selv*) and intensifiers (En. *himself*, Da. *selv*) in English and Danish. More specifically, I will examine and focus on a specific group of *self*-forms that has been claimed to violate the binding principles formulated by Chomsky (1981). These *self*-forms have often been categorised as exceptions to the rule, marginalised to footnotes, or completely ignored. Different attempts have been made to explain their occurrences, which confusingly have resulted in different terminologies such as 'override reflexives' (Huddleston and Pullum 2002), 'untriggered reflexives' (Parker et al. 1990), 'locally free *self*-forms' (König and Siemund 2000), amongst others. Override reflexives use a reflexive pronoun in places where a pronominal should have been used, and they exist both in English and Danish. For example, En. *Sandra's friends would all be so much younger than herself* [BNC]; Da. *En god leder skal rekruttere mennesker, der er klogere end ham selv* 'a good leader must recruit people who are smarter than himself' (Berlingske Tidende, 08.10.2006).

This paper has three overall objectives. Firstly, I will examine occurrences of override reflexives, and examine the different syntactic contexts they typically occur in. Secondly, I will adopt the analytical framework of König and Siemund's (2000a) analysis and argue that override reflexives should be analysed as intensifiers (and not as reflexive pronouns). This means that whenever *himself* is used as an override reflexive, it is actually a version of the impossible **him himself*, in which *himself* is interpreted as an intensifier (an adjunct) of the deleted *him* (which is the argument). Thirdly, I will support this hypothesis by comparing the English and Danish reflexive systems. As theoretical framework for the Danish reflexive system, I will use Vikner's (1985) extended analysis of Chomsky's (1981) binding theory. Moreover, I will argue that the Danish language supports this analysis of override reflexives in English because it has a more fine-grained system, e.g. it distinguishes between binder-anaphors (*sig selv*) and binder-pronominals (e.g. *ham selv)*, a distinction not found in English.

The analysis presented in this master's thesis is based on data found in the *British National Corpus* (BNC), the *Corpus of Contemporary American English* (COCA), various articles, as well as *Infomedia* (an online database consisting of several Danish newspapers). The data consist of more than 200 sentences containing override reflexives.

In order to achieve these aims, I have organised the paper as follows: In chapter 2, I will introduce the reader to Chomsky's (1981) *Government and Binding Theory*, which is the

theoretical framework for my thesis. This theory is able to account for the distribution of DPs in English. Additionally, the chapter will explain selected parts of Vikner's (1985) analysis, which is an expansion of Chomsky's (1981) theory that is able to account for binding in the Danish reflexive system. I will primarily focus on differences between the binder-parameter and the domain-parameter. My investigation of override reflexives begins in chapter 3. In this chapter, I will look into the characteristics of override reflexives as well as the different contexts they are found in. Moreover, in order to compare overrides in English and Danish, a presentation of overrides in Danish will also be provided. Despite the fact that intensifiers and reflexives are formally identical in English, I will argue that override reflexives belong to the category of intensifiers in chapter 4. This analysis will be backed up with data from the Danish language. Chapter 5 will briefly look into and explain how *self*-forms have developed from a diachronic perspective. This chapter does not attempt to discuss different theories of the development of *self*-forms but is meant as support for the analysis presented in my thesis. This is primarily done by showing that override constructions existed in Old English as two separate elements (pronominal + intensifier) and has survived into Modern English. Finally, in chapter 5, I will summarise my findings and conclude the master's thesis.

## CHAPTER 2. BINDING THEORY

Binding Theory determines the distribution of determiner phrases (henceforth DPs) and is the grammar that regulates the referential properties and grammatical constraints of DPs (Haegeman 1994, 205). Within generative linguistics, Chomsky's (1981) *Government and Binding Theory* (henceforth GB-Theory) is one of the most well-known binding theories that incorporates the distribution of pronouns. In this paper, I will use Chomsky's (1981) binding theory as the theoretical framework of my thesis, because of its ability to account for when different pronouns are possible and when they are not. However, before looking into GB-Theory, I will present and explain the terminology behind and account for what binding entails in a general sense.

Binding can be expressed as in (1).

(1) X binds Y if and only if
   a. X c-commands Y;
   b. X and Y are coindexed.

(adapted from Haegeman (1994, 212 (11))

In other words, in order for something to be bound, the bound element needs a coindexed c-commanding antecedent to be grammatical. An antecedent is a preceding word or phrase a

pronoun may or may not refer to. What a *proper* antecedent is in this context will be further revealed later in the present chapter. In the following, coindexation and c-command will be explained.

## 2.1 Coindexation and c-command

Coindexation is marked with subscript numbers and indicates that two expressions are coreferential, i.e. referring to the same referent (e.g. person or thing). As seen in (2)a, *Peter* and *he* are coreferential, but are not in (2)b, where *he* refers to somebody other than *Peter* (e.g. his father or his boss).

(2) a. After Peter$_1$ finished the task, he$_1$ was pleased. PETER = HE

b. After Peter$_1$ finished the task, he$_2$ was pleased. PETER ≠ HE

When two elements have the same index, they should be interpreted as coreferential.

C-command is an abbreviation of *constituent-command* and is one of the most important relations in generative grammar because it is able to account for different syntactic configurations. For example, it is the relation that accounts for when movement is possible; a moved constituent must c-command its trace which is relevant in many different grammatical constructions such as passivisation, raising, *wh*-questions, X°-movement etc. (Haegeman and Guéron 1999, 214). Moreover, c-command is not only important to Binding Theory, it is one of the conditions for binding in general. C-command can be defined as follows:

(3) **C-command:** A node X c-commands a node Y if and only if

a. X does not dominate Y;

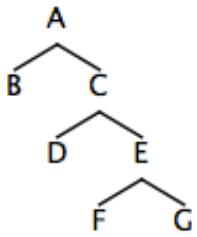
b. Y does not dominate X;

c. the first branching node dominating X also dominates Y.

(adapted from Haegeman 1994, 212 (9))

In other words, if we start at node X in a tree, and go one step upward until reaching the first node dominating X and then move downwards; then all nodes on our way down is c-commanded by node X (Haegeman 1994, 134). To illustrate this, see the following tree structure in (4), replicated from Radford (1988, 115 (10)).

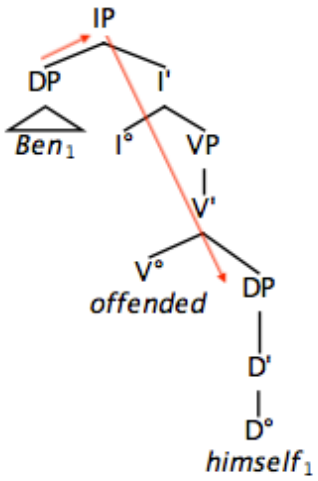
(4)




In this tree, B c-commands C, D, E, F, and G (but not A or B), because the first node branching from B is A, and A dominates both B and everything else. In other words, when moving one step up from B to A everything below is c-commanded by B. C-command is a symmetric relation which means that it can go both ways, e.g. E c-commands D as well. Having established how c-command works, I will apply it on a real tree structure, as in (5)b.

(5) a. Ben$_1$ offended *himself$_1$*.

b.




The tree structure in (5)b reveals that the DP *Ben* c-commands the DP *himself* because it is possible to go one node up in the tree and get down to *himself*. Moreover, the entire IP dominates everything below it; including the two DPs. However, neither of the DPs dominate each other, which fits well with the c-command definition defined in (3). In short, c-command is an important relation that is able to account for different syntactic configurations, and one of the places c-command plays an important role is when examining the use of reflexive pronouns in English.

## 2.2 The English Reflexive System (GB-Theory)

In his GB-Theory, Chomsky (1981) formulates three principles that restrict the distribution of certain DPs. The principles are famously known as Principle A, B, and C, and are as follows.

(6) **Principle A:** An anaphor is bound in its governing category.
**Principle B:** A pronominal is free in its governing category.
**Principle C:** An R-expression is free.

(Chomsky 1981, 188 (12))

In Chomsky's (1986, 165) own words 'the principles of binding theory determine how categories of the various types … may or must be bound'. GB-theory is a theory of A-binding, which means that the binder must occupy an argument position. This means that the present paper will not incorporate A'-position (e.g. topicalised elements or CP-spec in English) (Haegeman and Guéron 1999, 365). Throughout the thesis, English pronouns will be discussed in light of these three principles, however, before unfolding the three principles, I will briefly explain what is meant by 'governing category'.

Governing category (GC) is the binding domain in which pronouns may or may not be bound[1]. Many attempts have been made to define and explain exactly what it involves. However, this paper will not go through the different arguments but will use the following definition in (7), which is essentially what Büring (2005, 48, (3.7)) suggests.

(7) **Binding Domain:** The minimal IP that contains both
a. the anaphor/pronominal
AND
b. it's case-assigner

[1] The term 'governing category' is built on the notion of government, which is especially relevant and used for theta-marking and case-marking (Haegeman 1994, 203). This term is due to the fact that case-marking from main verbs occur under government, which is especially relevant for Exceptional Case Marking (ECM)-subjects. The ECM-subject (which is in the embedded IP-spec) receives case from the matrix verb, which is placed outside the minimal IP. If the governing category were simply defined as 'the minimal IP containing the anaphor/pronominal', then it would make wrong predictions about pronominals and anaphors for ECM-subjects, as in the following examples.

[$_{IP}$ Kate$_1$ expects [$_{IP}$ *herself*$_1$ to eat the cake]].
*[$_{IP}$ Kate$_1$ expects [$_{IP}$ *her*$_1$ to eat the cake]].

If *herself* has to be bound in the minimal IP, then it cannot be bound by *Kate*, which is placed in the matrix IP, and the sentence would be predicted to be ungrammatical, which it is not. Conversely, if the pronominal *her* may not be bound inside the minimal IP, the sentence would be predicted to be grammatical, which it is not. Since the matrix verb *expects* assigns case to the anaphor/pronominal, the governing category cannot be 'the minimal IP containing the anaphor/pronominal' alone, because it does not always contain the case-assigner.

Instead of 'governing category', I will use the more general term 'binding domain' to refer to the above definition in (7). This is primarily because I will make a comparative analysis with Danish, which has different binding domains. Moreover, as argued in Büring (2005, 58) 'it is unclear whether binding domains relevant in other languages are usefully described in those terms used in the definition of GC'. I may also refer to the binding domain as the minimal IP. When necessary, I will specify the binding domain further.

### 2.2.1 Principle A

Principle A states that anaphors must be bound. Anaphors cover both reflexive pronouns as well as reciprocals. (8) shows which words fall into the two categories.

(8) **Reflexives:** *myself, yourself, himself, herself, itself, ourselves, yourselves, themselves.*
**Reciprocals:** *each other.*

One of the characteristics of anaphors is that they do not have a reference on their own and must therefore get their reference from another entity in the sentence. Consider the following contrasting examples in (9).

(9)
a. Peter and Jenny thought their parents loved *them*. PRONOMINAL
b. Peter and Jenny loved *them*. PRONOMINAL
c. Peter and Jenny loved *themselves*. REFLEXIVE
d. Peter and Jenny loved *each other*. RECIPROCAL

In (9)a, the pronominal *them* can either refer to the DP *Peter and Jenny* or to someone else. Whereas, in (9)b *them* cannot refer to *Peter and Jenny* but must refer to somebody else, which means that they do not pick up their reference from within the sentence[2]. On the contrary, the anaphors in (9)c and (9)d must get their reference from somewhere else in the sentence, which both for the reflexive and the reciprocal is the subject *Peter and Jenny*[3].

The place reflexives pick up their reference is from the antecedent. Reflexives need an antecedent, which is also why they must be bound. Not only is it necessary to have an antecedent, but the antecedent has to be a *proper* antecedent. This means that in order to be

[2] I will discuss the use of pronominals further in subsection 2.2.2.
[3] Since this paper is about reflexive pronouns and not reciprocals, this paper will not discuss the use of reciprocals any further. Moreover, for the same reason, I will mainly use the term 'reflexive' rather than the umbrella term 'anaphors', unless I refer to anaphors in general.

grammatical, the antecedent must have matching grammatical features with the reflexive, i.e. it has to fit in both person, number, and gender. This is illustrated in (10), where all sentences are ungrammatical[4]; either because the reflexive and the antecedent do not fit in gender (as in (10)a), number (as in (10)b), person (as in (10)c), or because of the lack of an antecedent (as in (10)d).

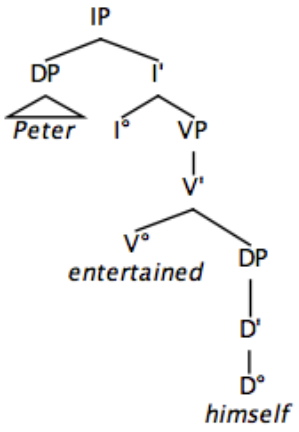
(10) a. *He criticised *herself*.
b. *I criticised *themselves*.
c. *We criticised *yourselves*.
d. **Themselves* are always in trouble.

At first glance, it might seem that an antecedent simply needs to precede or be higher in the tree than a reflexive, but this explanation does not suffice since it is not accurate for many examples. Consider the following contrasting examples in (11).

(11) a. Peter$_1$ entertained *himself*$_1$.
b. *Peter$_1$'s funny friend entertained *himself*$_1$.

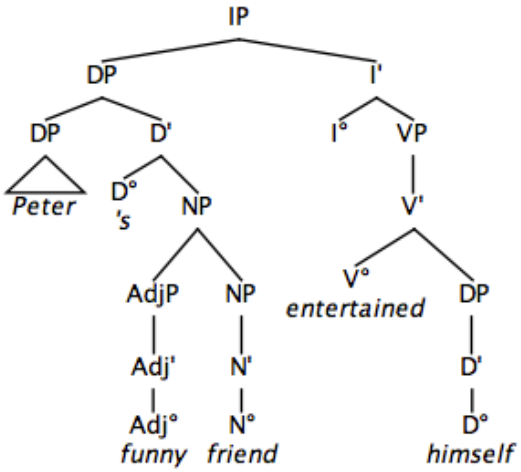
In both (11)a and b, *Peter* precedes the reflexive, however, in (11)b, *Peter* does not c-command *himself* and is therefore unable to bind the reflexive, which leads to an ungrammatical sentence. The tree structures of (11)a and b are shown in (12) and illustrate that the DP *Peter* c-commands the DP *himself* in (12)a, whereas in (12)b it is the entire subject, the DP *Peter's funny friend* that c-commands the reflexive, and not only *Peter*. Therefore, the antecedent cannot be the DP *Peter* alone, even though it precedes the reflexive.

(12) a.




[4] Ungrammaticality is marked with an asterisk.

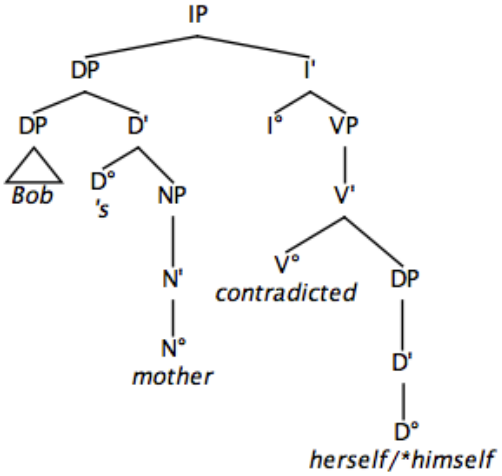
b. *




A proper antecedent can be illustrated in one single tree structure, as shown in (13). In this example, there is only one possible binder which is the entire subject, the DP *Bob's mother.* This subject has the features singular, feminine. It c-commands the reflexive by going one (and only one) step up to the first branching node, and then down to the reflexive, whereas the DP *Bob* has to take two steps up rather than one in order to reach the reflexive, which is not possible according to the c-command definition described above in (3). Therefore, even though it is placed in the right binding domain, *himself* can neither refer to the DP *Bob* (because of the lack of c-command) nor the DP *Bob's mother* (because of gender incompatibility) and thus, it does not have a proper antecedent.

(13) a. Bob's mother contradicted *herself/*himself.*

b.




In short, for a reflexive to be bound, it needs a proper antecedent, which must be located in the right binding domain, share the same grammatical features as the reflexive, as well as c-command the reflexive. Only then will the sentence be grammatical. Moreover, the antecedent must to be placed inside the binding domain.

### 2.2.2 Principle B

The second type of DPs that binding theory is concerned with is pronominals. I will use the term pronominal, since both anaphors and pronominals are DPs and thus both fall under the category of pronouns. However, in order to minimise confusion, the term 'pronominal' will be used for non-reflexive pronouns and cover the following DPs in (14).

(14) **Pronominals:** *he, she, it, him, her, I, us, you, me, his, your, my, our.*

As opposed to anaphors, pronominals can have a reference on their own, and they may or may not corefer with another DP, as shown in the examples below in (15).

(15) a. After the baroness$_1$ had visited the lord, she$_1$ left the house.
b. After the baroness$_1$ had visited the lord, she$_2$ left the house.
(adapted from Büring 2005, 1 (1.2))

These examples also illustrate the importance of coindexation. In (15)a, the pronominal *she* is coindexed with the DP *the baroness*, which means that they both refer to the same person, i.e. the baroness herself. Therefore, the meaning of the sentence is that the baroness visits the lord and leaves the house again. While, in (15)b, where the index has changed, *she* refers to somebody other than the baroness, and thus means that after the baroness has visited the lord, another woman leaves the house.

Moreover, as formulated in Principle B, pronominals are free in their binding domain. In other words, they must be locally free, i.e. may **not** be bound within their own binding domain (Haegeman and Guéron 1999, 371–72). This is one of the restrictions of pronominals. Because pronominals are generally free in those places where anaphors are bound (cf. Chomsky 1986, 165), it has often been argued that anaphors and pronominals are in complementary distribution. In fact, Chomsky (1986, 169) states that there is a certain type of complementary distribution between pronominals and anaphors, which is close to complementary[5]. In short, complementary distribution here means that anaphors and pronominals cannot occur in the same environments. Consequently, in the binding domain where anaphors are bound, pronominals cannot be bound, and vice versa. Consider the following contrasting examples in (16) and (17).

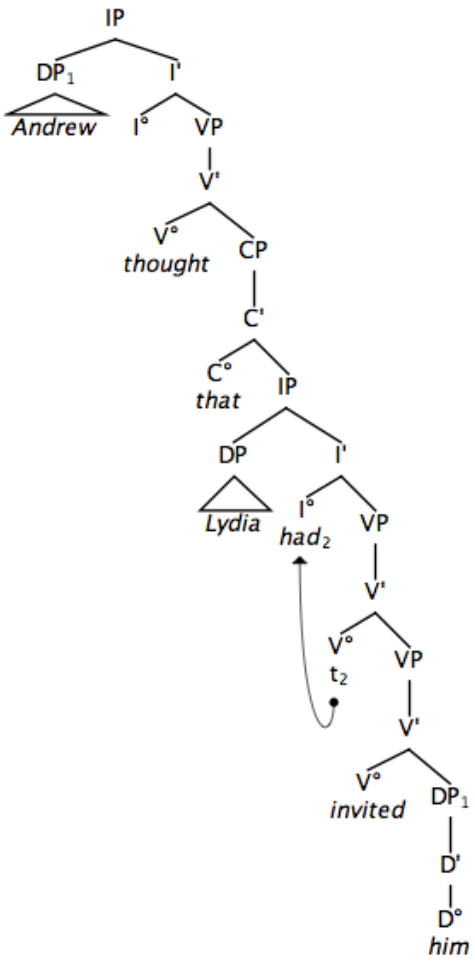
[5] Chomsky (1986, 169-170) is aware that there are exceptions to this complementarity, e.g. with Picture NPs. However, this will be further discussed in chapter 3, subsection 3.2.3.

(16) a. *Andrew$_1$ thought that Lydia$_2$ had invited *himself*$_1$.
b. Andrew$_1$ thought that Lydia$_2$ had invited *him*$_1$.

(17) a. Andrew thought that Lydia$_1$ had invited *herself*$_1$.
b. *Andrew thought that Lydia$_1$ had invited *her*$_1$.

The examples above in (16) and (17) illustrate that pronominals and anaphors can be in complementary distribution as well as have different binding domains. Comparing the a-examples, (16)a is ungrammatical because *himself* cannot be properly bound. The only two potential binders (i.e. DPs) are *Andrew* and *Lydia*. *Andrew* is not possible because it is placed too far away and outside the binding domain, which is also apparent when another subject intervenes. *Lydia* is not possible because the grammatical features do not match, i.e. *Lydia* and *himself* do not have the same gender. However, changing the gender of the reflexive, as seen in (17)a, *Lydia* becomes a potential binder, both because it has matching grammatical features, but also because it is placed inside the right binding domain. Therefore, since *herself* can be properly bound by *Lydia*, it is in accordance with binding principle A, and results in a grammatical sentence. The b-examples show the opposite pattern. In (16)b, *him* is a pronominal and thus may not be bound inside the binding domain. In this example, it is bound by *Andrew* as revealed by coindexation. (Potentially, *him* could also refer to somebody else and would therefore not be bound, however, then it would need another index number.) But in this case, *him* is grammatical because *Andrew* is placed outside the binding domain (as illustrated in (18) where the DP *Andrew* is placed outside the minimal IP), whereas, *her* cannot be bound by the DP *Lydia* cf. principle B, because it is placed inside the binding domain, as shown in (17)b.

(18) =(16)b




### 2.2.3 Principle C

The final principle concerns R-expressions (referential expressions). As the name suggests, R-expressions are inherently referential. They get their reference from the universe of discourse, and consequently establish a referent independently, which is why they do not need an antecedent and cannot be bound at all (Haegeman and Guéron 1999, 376). R-expressions are full DPs, such as proper names and descriptions like the following examples in (19).

(19) **R-expressions:** *Peter Pan, the president, the woman with the green jacket, blue cheese, Joan,* etc.

According to principle C, an R-expression is free. Contrary to the first two principles, Principle C does not include anything about binding domain, because it is not necessary since they may not be bound at all; neither within nor outside the binding domain. This is what is meant by being free.

The examples below in (20) demonstrate that R-expressions may not be bound. The placement of the antecedent or the binding domain does not change the grammaticality of R-

expressions. They are neither allowed to be bound inside (as in (20)a) nor outside (as in (20)b) the binding domain that otherwise would be valid for Principle A and B.

(20) a. *Joan$_1$ photographed *Joan*$_1$.
b. *Joan$_1$ knew that I photographed *Joan*$_1$.

However, if we replaced the R-expression with either a pronominal or reflexive (and still kept the indexing), the sentence in (20)a be grammatical with a reflexive (*Joan$_1$ photographed herself$_1$*), whereas (20)b would be grammatical with a pronominal (*Joan$_1$ knew that I photographed her$_1$*). As the examples reveal, neither are grammatical when an R-expression is used, because the R-expression in both cases is bound by a coindexed c-commanding antecedent, which is a violation of Principle C[6].

This subsection has explained the fundamental ideas of Chomsky's (1981) GB-Theory, in which Principle A, B, and C have been outlined. The following subsection will examine the Danish reflexive system.

## 2.3 The Danish Reflexive System

In this section, I will focus on the Danish reflexive system and how it works with respect to binding. As a theoretical framework for the Danish reflexive system, I will use Vikner's (1985) analysis. A comparison of the Danish and English reflexive systems will be made, in which some of the main similarities and differences of the two reflexive systems will be presented. This will especially be relevant in chapter 3 and 4, where I argue that the Danish system may support the understanding of override reflexives in English.

With respect to reflexive pronouns, Danish has a much more complex system. There are more constraints as well as more pronouns to keep in mind. The main pronouns I will focus on in this study are the third person *sig, sig selv, ham,* and *ham selv*, which all correspond to *him/himself* in English.

---

[6] For more on Principle C violations, see Evans (1980), in which it is argued that Principle C violations are not always totally unacceptable, and acceptability judgements differ when it comes to R-expressions.

Consider the following example from Evans (1980, 356 (46)):
*Oscar loves Oscar's mother.*

As argued in Evans (1980, 356), the above sentence is not ungrammatical even if we are speaking of the same *Oscar* (and not another person named Oscar).

Vikner (1985) examines how the Danish reflexive system works. He rejects the assumption that Danish is no different from English with respect to binding, and therefore expands Chomsky's (1981, 1986) GB-binding theory to fit with the distribution of Danish pronouns. He argues that in contrast to English, two parameters are necessary to explain binding of anaphors and pronominals in Danish; the first is being bound/free in a certain domain (domain-parameter), which is similar to English. The second is whether or not the anaphor/pronominal is bound by a subject/non-subject (binder-parameter), which is not similar to English. In this section, I will unfold selected parts of his theory that are relevant to this study. However, before doing that, I want to point out that this theory has recently been confirmed to be compatible with data from the Danish national corpus (*KorpusDK*), and is thus considered to account for present day Danish as well (cf. Ehlers and Vikner 2017; Vikner and Ehlers 2017).

### 2.3.1 *Ham* vs. *ham selv*

As previously demonstrated in the present chapter, the English reflexive system differentiates between anaphors e.g. *himself* and pronominals e.g. *him*. The first must be bound inside its binding domain, whereas the latter may not (cf. examples (16) and (17) above). Danish has the corresponding *ham selv*/*ham* which may look like the English *himself/him* with respect to whether or not *ham selv*/*ham* may or may not be bound inside the minimal IP (i.e. the domain). Consider the following example.

(21) Da. De fortalte Peter$_1$ at de ville fotografere *ham*$_1$/**ham selv*$_1$.
*They told Peter that they would photograph him/himself.*
'They told Peter that they would photograph him/himself'.

As the example in (21) shows, *ham selv* is not possible, because the requirement of a binder inside the minimal IP is not met and is thus not in accordance with Principle A. The minimal IP is *de ville fotografere ham/ham selv* and the binder (*Peter*) is placed outside. On the other hand, *ham* is grammatical, since it is a pronominal and consequently may not be bound inside the minimal IP, which it is not. In this particular way (and perhaps only this way), the Danish system resembles the English system, but **only** with respect to the domain-parameter[7]. The reason it is only similar with respect to domain-parameter is because the Danish *ham selv/ham* also need to adhere to another parameter, as argued in Vikner (1985). In Danish, neither *ham selv* nor *ham* may be bound by a subject in the minimal IP. It is not random that the above

[7] Please notice that it is only first and second person (both singular and plural) e.g. *mig/mig selv* and *os/os selv* that correspond to Principle A and B fully. Third person is constrained by the binder-parameter as well.

sentence is constructed in a way, so the binder *Peter* occupies the indirect object position, in this way we isolate the domain condition so that the subject restriction does not intervene. However, the second parameter will be further clarified in the following subsection.

### 2.3.2 *Sig* vs. *sig selv*

Danish has two additional reflexive forms that corresponds to English *ham* and *ham selv*. These are *sig* and *sig selv*. Similar to the example in (21), in (22) we see that *sig* and *sig selv* do not have the same binding domains[8].

(22) Da. a. … at Peter$_1$ hørte [$_{IP}$ Anne$_2$ omtale sig$_{1/*2}$].
b. … at Peter$_1$ hørte [$_{IP}$ Anne$_2$ omtale sig selv$_{*1/2}$].

*... that Peter heard Anne mention REFL/REFL self.*
'… that Peter heard Anne mention him/herself.'
(adapted from Vikner 1985, 8 (8))

In (22)a, *sig* is only possible if it is **not** bound in the minimal IP (similar to *ham*). Since *Anne* is located in the minimal IP, it is not a sufficient binder for *sig*, whereas *Peter*, which is outside the minimal IP, is. However, in (22)b we see the opposite pattern with *sig selv*. *Sig selv* is an anaphor and the binding domain for *sig selv* is thus the minimal IP (similar to *ham selv*). Therefore, as the sentence reveals, *sig selv* is perfectly fine being bound by *Anne,* because *Anne* is located in the minimal IP. With respect to binding domain, *sig selv* is in accordance with principle A, because it **must** be bound inside the minimal IP, whereas *sig* is in accordance with principle B, because it may **not** be bound in the minimal IP. However, as argued in Vikner (1985, 9) '[…] Danish potentially bound elements must not only be bound/free in a certain domain, but they must also be bound by/free from binding by a certain kind of binder, viz. a subject'. This means that whether it is possible to be bound/free in a certain domain is not a sufficient generalisation for Danish (as it might be for English). Danish has another parameter that *sig* and *sig selv* need to submit to. This second parameter (binder-parameter) involves what kind of binder anaphors and pronominals may or may not have. In Danish, both *sig* and *sig selv* have a subject requirement (as opposed *ham selv* and *ham*), which means that they are required to be bound by a **subject,** but this subject must be located in the minimal **finite** IP. Consider the following contrasting examples in (23).

(23) Da. a. … at Peter$_1$ fortalte ham$_2$ at han$_1$ ville fotografere sig selv$_1$.
b. *… at Peter$_1$ fortalte ham$_2$ at han$_1$ ville fotografere sig$_1$.

[8] This sentence is an example of ECM where *Anne* is assigned accusative case by the main verb *hørte* 'heard', and the minimal IP is non-finite.

c. *… at Peter$_1$ fortalte ham$_2$ at han$_1$ ville fotografere sig selv$_2$.
d. *… at Peter$_1$ fortalte ham$_2$ at han$_1$ ville fotografere sig$_2$.

*… that Peter told him that he would photograph REFL/REFL self.*
'that Peter told him that he would photograph himself'.

As the examples above illustrate, the sentence is only grammatical when *sig selv* is bound by *han*, which is both a subject as well as located in the minimal finite IP (as shown in (23)a). *Sig selv* cannot be bound by a non-subject (as seen in (23)c). However, *sig* is not possible in any of the examples. When being bound by the subject *han*, as in (23)b, it is not in accordance with the domain-parameter, which says that it may **not** be bound in the minimal IP, however, when it is bound outside the minimal IP, the binder-parameter is not met because *ham* is not a subject, as seen in (23)d. This may in fact also be seen in (22) above, where we see *sig* being properly bound. In (22)a both *Anne* and *Peter* occupy subject positions, but in a finite and a non-finite IP, respectively. However, for *sig* to be properly bound, it needs to be bound by a subject in the minimal **finite** IP, and because *Anne omtale sig* is non-finite, *sig* still meets this requirement when being bound by *Peter*. It may seem self-contradictory to say that *sig* may not be bound in the minimal IP (domain-parameter) **but also** has to be bound by a subject in the minimal finite IP (binder-parameter). However, it is possible for *sig* to fulfil both requirements in infinitival clauses[9].

Moreover, it is possible to distinguish between two different uses of *sig*. With certain verbs, such as *skynde* 'hurry' and *skamme* 'shame', cf. Ehlers and Vikner (2017, 95), *sig* is not an argument and does not receive a thematic role from the main verb, since *skamme* only assigns one thematic role, which is the AGENT (it is not possible to hurry somebody else). An example of *sig* as non-argument is shown in (24).

(24) Da. a. Mette skyndte *sig*.
*Mette hurried REFL.*
'Mette hurried up'.

---

[9] E.g. consider the example adapted from Vikner (1985, 11 (11)):

… at [$_{IP}$ Peter$_1$ bad Anne$_2$ om [$_{IP}$ PRO$_2$ at ringe til sig$_{1/*2}$]].
… at [$_{IP}$ Peter$_1$ bad Anne$_2$ om [$_{IP}$ PRO$_2$ at ringe til sig selv$_{*1/2}$]].

*… that [$_{IP}$ Peter asked Anne about [$_{IP}$* PRO *to call to REFL/REFL self]].*
*'… that Peter asked Anne to call him/herself'.*

In this example, *sig* is only able to be bound by *Peter*, because it is a subject in the minimal finite IP. On the other hand, *sig selv* is perfectly fine when it is bound by PRO, which is a subject in the minimal finite IP. Since it is not relevant for overrides in this paper, I will not go in detail with infinitival clauses and PRO, however, some examples may be given in a footnote to exemplify certain points. Instead, I will refer the reader to Vikner (1985), who provides a thorough description with multiple examples.

b. *Mette skyndte *sig selv*.
c. *Mette skyndte *hende/ham*.
d. *Mette skyndte Anders.

(adapted from Ehlers and Vikner 2017, 95 (6))

However, with other verbs such as *kritisere* 'criticise', which assigns two thematic roles; agent and THEME, we see the opposite pattern, as shown in (25). In this construction, the object position is an argument position, and therefore *sig* is not possible because it receives a thematic role but is unable to be bound inside the minimal IP (*sig* as an argument is only possible in infinitival embedded clauses). On the other hand, (25)b is grammatical because *sig selv* is an argument, which is both bound in the right domain as well as is assigned a thematic role, i.e. THEME.

(25) Da. a. *Mette kritiserer *sig.*
b. Mette kritiserer *sig selv.*
*Mette criticised REFL/REFL self.*
'Mette criticised herself'.

Furthermore, there are some verbs in Danish that have both a transitive and an intransitive version (these are especially grooming verbs). Such verbs may both have *sig/sig selv*, as shown in (26), and they also exist in English, as seen in (27).

(26) Da. a. Mads barberede *sig*. INTRANSITIVE
b. Mads barberede *sig selv*. TRANSITIVE

(27) En. a. Mads shaved. INTRANSITIVE
b. Mads shaved *himself*. TRANSITIVE

Notice that there is a difference between the two languages. In (26)a, *sig* is an overt object (without a thematic role) in both versions, whereas in the English version in (27)a, there is no object in the intransitive version. For more on the two different uses of *sig* (i.e. *sig* as argument vs. *sig* as non-argument, see Ehlers and Vikner (2017)).

### 2.3.3 *Sig selv* vs. *ham selv*

*Sig selv* and *ham selv* have both been described with respect to the domain-parameter they belong to. Both need to be bound in the minimal IP. However, in this subsection, *sig selv* and *ham selv* will be contrasted to illustrate the differences within the binder-parameter, i.e. whether or not the anaphor/pronominal may be bound by a subject. In this respect, *sig selv* is a binder anaphor, and must be bound by a subject in the minimal finite IP, whereas *ham selv* is a binder pronominal and therefore may not be bound by a subject in the minimal IP (however, both are still domain-anaphors). This difference is illustrated in (28).

(28) Da. a. … fordi Lisa$_1$ viste ham$_2$ et billede af *ham selv*$_{*1/2}$.

b. ... fordi Lisa$_1$ viste ham$_2$ et billede af sig selv$_{1/*2}$.

*... because Lisa showed him a picture of himself/REFL self.*
'because Lisa showed him a picture of himself/herself'.

Whenever we have *ham selv*, the reflexive can only refer to a non-subject in the minimal IP. This is shown in (28)a, where *ham selv* is properly bound by *ham* and cannot be bound by *Lisa*. However, when *sig selv* is used, it always has to be bound by a subject in the minimal finite IP, as in (28)b. Notice the difference in the English translation, where *ham selv* is translated into *himself*, and *sig selv* is translated into *herself*, indicating that the reflexives are referring to two different DPs.

As also pointed out in Vikner (1985, 17), there is another difference between the domain-parameter and the binder-parameter. As in English, where it may seem that anaphors and pronominals in the domain-parameter are complementary, this is not true within the binder-parameter, because e.g. *sig* and *ham* may occasionally occur in the same environment[10].

As already seen, the Danish reflexive system is more complex than the English system. I have explained some of the main differences of the two systems and focused on the third person reflexive pronouns because the contrast is largest here. However, it has to be mentioned, that this is only part of the Danish reflexive system. I have not accounted for possessives (*sin*/*hendes/vores*), because they are not relevant for override reflexives. Instead, I will briefly explain that first- and second-person reflexive pronouns only follow the rules with respect to one parameter; the domain-parameter (i.e. Principle A and B). On the other hand, possessives only need to be in accordance with the binder-parameter. For more on the possessive pronouns, I refer the reader to Vikner and Ehlers (2017).

The following table is from Vikner (2014, 16 (54)) and is an updated version of Vikner's (1985, 20 (26)) diagram. It summarises and visualises the Danish reflexive system in a tangible way.

[10] Cf. Vikner (1985, 17 (23)), where both *sig* and *hende* are equally possible:
… at Susan$_1$ overtalte Anne$_2$ til [PRO$_2$ at høre på sig$_1$].
… at Susan$_1$ overtalte Anne$_2$ til [PRO$_2$ at høre på hende$_1$].

| (29) | **Domain anaphors** bound in the minimal IP (= Principle A) | **Domain pronominals** not bound in the minimal IP (= Principle B) | **Neutralised** (possessives) |
|---|---|---|---|
| **Binder anaphors** bound by a subject in the minimal finite IP | *sig selv* | *sig* | *sin* |
| **Binder pronominals** not bound by a subject in the minimal IP | *ham selv, hende selv, den selv, det selv, dem selv* | *ham, hende, den, det, dem* | *hans, hendes, dens, dets* |
| **Neutralised** (1st & 2nd person) | *mig selv, dig selv, os selv, jer selv* | *mig, dig, os, jer* | *min, din, vores, jeres, deres* |

To briefly sum up, in English there is a distinction between domain-parameter (i.e. whether or not the anaphor/pronominal may be bound in the minimal IP), whereas Danish has two parameters to adhere to; domain-parameter and binder-parameter. The latter is not found in English. In this way, the Danish reflexive system is far more complex than the English system.

## CHAPTER 3. OVERRIDE REFLEXIVES

The main focus of this master's thesis is to investigate the phenomenon of override reflexive pronouns in English and compare it with overrides in Danish. In this chapter, I will describe the characteristics of overrides, explain how they are located and in what contexts they are typically found. Additionally, the chapter will discuss the results of selected articles that have examined and explained the occurrences of override reflexives.

Override reflexives are those sentences that contain a reflexive pronoun, but do not follow the binding principles and thus use a reflexive pronoun in places where a pronominal should have been used. According to Huddleston and Pullum (2002) overrides occur in places where a more usual non-reflexive pronoun would have been used, and there is no close structural relation between the override reflexive and the antecedent as normally found with 'basic' reflexives. However, sometimes an override reflexive is permitted without an antecedent, all of which lead to violation of the binding principles outlined above in chapter 2. The idea is that override reflexives are permitted and acceptable even though they override (hence the name) the binding principles.

To exemplify what kind of sentences override reflexives occur in, examples in English and Danish are provided in (30).

(30) En. a. John$_1$'s impulsiveness rebounded against himself$_1$.
(Zribi-Hertz 1989, 718 (73g))

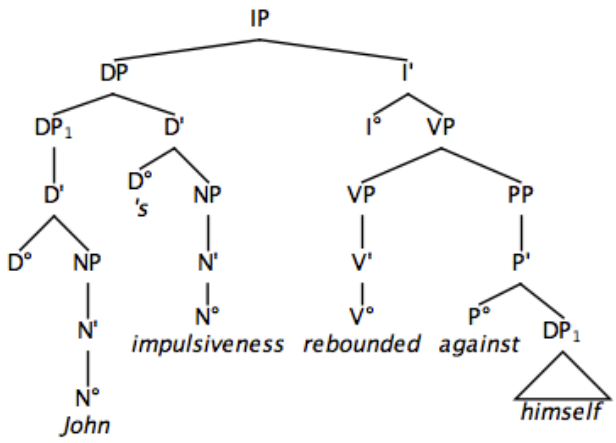
| | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Da. b. | Har | Trump$_1$s | mor | endnu | mere | fjollet | hår | end |
| | *Has* | *Trump's* | *mother* | *even* | *more* | *silly* | *hair* | *than* |

ham selv$_1$?
*him* *himself?*[11]

'Does Trump's mother have even sillier hair than himself?'
(Metroxpress, 28.07.2016)

Following Chapter 2 of this master's thesis, the reason (30)a is in violation of the binding principles is that the reflexive pronoun *himself* is not c-commanded by its antecedent, the DP *John*, which is placed in the DP-spec position. In this sentence, the subject is *John's impulsiveness* and therefore it is the entire subject in IP-spec that c-commands *himself* as is evident from the following tree structure (31).

(31)




Similarly, in the Danish example in (30)b, the antecedent cannot be the subject, because it is not possible for the antecedent to refer back to the entire subject, since the feminine *Trumps mor* cannot be coreferential with the masculine *ham selv*. Even if it had been e.g. Trump's father we were talking about, and *ham selv* would be coreferential with the antecedent, we would still run into the same problem as in (30)a because of the lack of c-command. The two examples in (30) both contain an antecedent inside a genitive construction, which is merely one type of

[11] Notice it is intentional that override reflexives (e.g. *himself*) in Danish are transcribed into *him himself* (cf. chapter 4).

override construction. As will be further clarified throughout the chapter, override reflexives may occur in many other contexts. First, however, I will present some overall knowledge about override constructions in English.

## 3.1 Override reflexives in English

As mentioned in the introduction (chapter 1), override reflexives have more or less been categorised as exceptions to the rule, or not mentioned altogether. Some papers reserve them to a footnote, whereas others briefly mention them, or do not mention their existence at all. These *self*-forms have been referred to under several different labels such as 'override reflexives' (Huddleston and Pullum 2002), 'untriggered reflexives' (Parker, Riley, and Meyer 1990), 'untriggered *self*-forms (Hernández 2002), 'locally free reflexives' (Baker 1995), 'locally free *self*-forms' (König and Siemund 2000a), 'unpredictable *self*-forms' (Hole 2002), 'exempt reflexives' (Pollard and Sag 1992), 'creeping reflexives' (König and Siemund 2000b), 'non-standard *self*-forms', 'non-anaphoric reflexives' etc. Common for all these labels is that they try to elucidate and express that something unexpected is happening. The fact that there are so many different terms for these *self*-forms illustrates the uncertainty and disagreement on how to analyse and interpret them.

As pointed out in Huddleston and Pullum (2002, 1494) as well as in Skapinker's (2018) newspaper article 'Me, myself and I are all annoyed at pronoun misuse', the use of override constructions has been target of a lot of prescriptive criticism. 'Correct grammar, the defenders argue, is what people say or write, not what prescriptive grammar books and style guides say they ought to. If enough of them are saying "the team and myself have had a good look at it", that makes it correct' (Skapinker 2018). It is true that language continually changes, but the use of overrides is not a new phenomenon. In a blog post, Liberman (2015) opens the question of what principles really govern the use of reflexive pronouns and debates alleged misuse of reflexive pronouns in English. More specifically, he argues against a proposed rule that reflexive pronouns are used 'if and only if it is an object or indirect object that co-refers with the subject of the clause's main verb'. Additionally, he shows with multiple examples that override constructions have been used by many famous English-language writers. These are among others, Jane Austen, Charlotte Brontë, Lewis Carroll, Henry James, etc.[12]. Moreover, he states that the examples used in his blog post are just a few examples, and that thousands of examples could easily be found. He further argues that in order for the proposed rule above to

[12] See Hole (2002) for unpredictable *self*-forms used in J. K. Rowling's *Harry Potter* books, as well as Vezzosi (2002) for unusual *self*-forms in Emily Dickinson's poetry.

be correct, many of the greatest English-language writers over the past couple of hundred years must be wrong. Nevertheless, despite the great variation among speakers' acceptance of override constructions, there is no doubt that the use of overrides is a well-established phenomenon.

This is supported by Hernández (2002) who conducted an empirical investigation of override reflexives and uncovered that they are used in different contexts, e.g. in business, public/institutional and leisure domains, but less frequently in the educational domain. They are not restricted to slang or sub-standard language and are used by all age-groups. Moreover, she argues (2002, 270) that overrides are acknowledged in present-day English and are not only subject to dialects of English as is often assumed. Furthermore, override constructions are not only a phenomenon that exists in English, as already revealed in (30), they exist in Danish as well. This will be further elaborated on later in the present chapter.

Similar to the case of reflexive pronouns, overrides syntactically occur in argument positions. For example, as objects of verbs or complements of prepositions. Override reflexives (and reflexives) are excluded from the subject position, at least in standard English[13], yet, they may be possible if they are constituted as part of the subject (as e.g. in coordinate construction), as shown in (32). Brackets have been added to help the reader locate the subject.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| (32) | a. | [Philip and *myself*] wish to continue that work. | (Hernández 2002, 280 (36)) |
| | b. | [People like *myself*], wouldn't have had the bottle, wouldn't have dreamed of coming up here. | (Hernández 2002, 278 (21)) |
| | c. | [Both the local authority and *myself*] have gone to the minister. | (Huddleston and Pullum 2002, 1494 (39i)) |
| | d. | [Even Muggles like *yourself*] should be celebrating, this happy, happy day! | (From J. K. Rowling, *Harry Potter and the Philosopher's Stone*. Cited in Hole 2002, 295 (21)) |

[13] In some non-standard varieties, e.g. Irish English, it is possible to say *himself is not in his office right now* (cf. König and Gast (2002, 236). Moreover, Siemund (2002, 263) points out that '[i]n the relevant descriptions of non-standard usage it is usually pointed out that subject uses of *self*-forms predominantly occur for picking out the master or lady of the house, or persons of high rank in general.' For more on overrides across non-standard varieties of English, see Siemund (2002).

As König and Gast (2002, 234-235) mention, the argument positions that overrides occupy are typically not direct or indirect object, which is the case with reflexives. Rather they occur in complement positions of prepositions or conjunct positions in coordinations and lists. This does not mean that overrides do not exist in object positions, but it is extremely rare. The data in my investigation supports this claim, a few examples are provided in (33).

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| (33) | a. | The fact that Paul had nominated *myself* for the position didn't please Frank. | (Huddleston and Pullum 2002, 1495 (45i)) |
| | b. | His$_1$ imprudence had made her miserable for a while; but it seemed to have deprived *himself*$_1$ of all chance of ever being otherwise. She might in time regain tranquillity; but he, what had he to look forward to? | (Baker 1995, 67–68 (9d)) |
| | c. | … Maggie$_1$ looked at him. Did he mean *herself*$_1$ – herself and the baby? | (Zribi-Hertz 1989, 707 (36)) |
| | d. | It was Kennett$_1$'s flamboyant self-indulgence that allowed *himself*$_1$ to become an election issue at the expense of his own achievements. | (Huddleston and Pullum 2002, 1495 (45iii)) |

When override reflexives are positioned in the object position, as in (33), it may be even more noticeable that overrides are used in places where a pronominal would have been used. This is due to the fact that the main verb assigns accusative case to its object, and therefore it is more apparent what case the pronoun should have instead. For example, in the (33)b,c,d examples, the pronominal form would simply be the form without *self*. However, it is not possible to remove *self* in (33)a and get a grammatical sentence in the same way as the other examples, because the first-person reflexive *myself* is constructed with the possessive pronoun *my* instead of the personal pronoun *me*.

In the following subsections, I will go through different ways that overrides are able to violate the binding principles by allowing a reflexive pronoun to be present without being properly bound. I have divided the data into three overall groups.

(34)
i. Overrides with an antecedent *outside* the minimal IP.
ii. Overrides with an antecedent *inside* the minimal IP.
iii. Overrides *without* an antecedent.

These groups are meant to capture the overall ways override constructions violate the binding principles (more specifically binding principle A), and I argue that all override sentences can

be positioned into one of these groups. The first group contains the overrides that are bound in the wrong domain i.e. outside the binding domain. In the second group the override reflexives are bound in the right domain, but there is no c-command and thus no binding. Finally, the third group consists of those sentences that contain a *self*-form but do not have an antecedent, which again results in unsuccessful binding. In the following, five examples will be presented as representatives for their corresponding group, in order to thoroughly illustrate different examples within the respective groups.

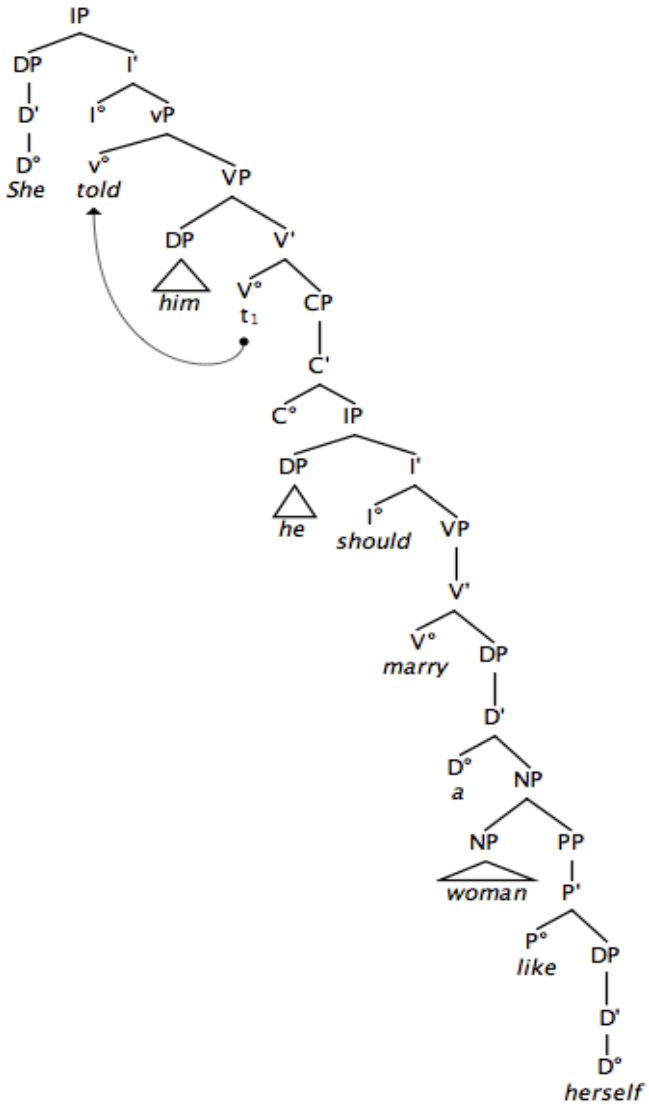
### 3.1.1 Override reflexives with an antecedent outside the minimal IP

As is stated in chapter 2, we may recall that all reflexive pronouns must be bound inside the binding domain. This group captures all the override reflexives in my data that are not bound inside the minimal IP that contains both the anaphor/pronominal as well as its case-assigner. However, these sentences are all grammatical even though they violate the binding principles. A small sample of examples belonging to this group is provided in (35). Brackets have been added to help the reader locate the embedded clause as well as the minimal IP.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| (35) | a. | She$_1$ told him [$_{CP}$ [$_{IP}$ he should marry a woman like *herself*$_1$]]. | (Huddleston and Pullum 2002, 1494 (40iii)) |
| | b. | John$_1$ thinks [$_{CP}$ that [$_{IP}$ Mary is taller than *himself*$_1$]]. | (Baker 1995, 64 (4b)) |
| | c. | I$_1$ confess [$_{CP}$ that [$_{IP}$ the novel is really about *myself*$_1$]]. | (Huddleston and Pullum 2002, 1494 (42ii)) |
| | d. | Jemima$_1$ wasn't quite sure [$_{CP}$ whether [$_{IP}$ he meant Cloë or *herself*$_1$]]. | (König and Gast 2002, 235 (21a)) |
| | e. | [$_{IP}$ He$_1$ [Zapp] sat down at the desk and opened the drawers]. [$_{IP}$ In the top right-hand one was an envelope addressed to *himself*$_1$]. | (Zribi-Hertz 1989, 716 (65)) |

In (35)a *she* and *herself* are coindexed, but the minimal finite IP is [$_{IP}$ he should marry a woman like herself], which means that the antecedent is outside the minimal finite IP, and thus placed too far away from the reflexive for it to be bound. The first c-commanding subject is *he* which cannot work as antecedent because it does not have proper grammatical features that match the reflexive (it is not feminine). The tree structure for (35)a is illustrated in (36) in which it is clear that there are two IPs and the antecedent is found in the higher IP, whereas the reflexive is placed in the lower IP.

(36)




This sentence is clearly an override because the reflexive is used where the pronominal normally would have been used. The sentence would have followed the rules of GB-Theory if it had been used with a pronominal, i.e. *she told him he should marry a woman like her*. Then the pronominal would be free and thus able to refer to the subject *she*. The problem is that a reflexive is used without being properly bound. It is coindexed with an antecedent that is placed outside the binding domain. The rest of the examples in (35) show the same pattern with an intervening c-commanding subject which cannot function as a proper binder. In these cases, they form other kinds of DPs, e.g. [DP Ø [NP *Mary*]] and [DP *the* [NP *novel*]], respectively. Moreover, in (35)e the antecedent is not even found inside the same matrix clause.

### 3.1.2 Override reflexives with an antecedent inside the minimal IP

The sentences that fall into this group are those sentences that **do** have an antecedent inside the minimal finite IP, but the antecedent does not c-command the reflexive, as it ought to according

to principle A, and consequently prevents the reflexive to be bound. Nevertheless, these sentences are grammatical and thus classified as overrides. Some examples are provided in (37).

(37)
a. Cash$_1$'s friends are younger than *himself*$_1$. (Norman 2012)

b. All Ann$_1$'s novels are really about *herself*$_1$. (Huddleston and Pullum 2002, 1494 (42iii))

c. […] Her$_1$ intimate friends must be officious like *herself*$_1$. (from Jane Austen, *Sandition*, 1817. Cited in Liberman 2015)

d. Sandra$_1$'s friends would all be so much younger than *herself*$_1$. [BNC]

e. … the whole nature of the system is such that the worker$_1$'s hands are directed by others than *himself*$_1$, and the product of his hands are taken away. [BNC]

Interestingly, most of the sentences belonging to this group contain a genitive construction. This has consequences for the reflexive because it has an antecedent which is only part of the subject in IP-spec. When only being part of the subject, it results in an antecedent that is unable to c-command the reflexive, similar to the tree shown in (31).

### 3.1.3 Override reflexives without an antecedent

The final overall group consists of override reflexives that do not have an antecedent. By not having an antecedent, it is perhaps more evident that binding is completely impossible because there cannot be neither co-indexation nor c-command, which are the two requirements of binding. Examples of such sentences are found in (38).

(38)
a. He would be something nondescript, something in the background, like *herself*; perhaps he had become an interpreter. (Stern 2004, 271 (3a))

b. It had been an unpremeditated act, that had surprised *himself* almost as much as it had evidently surprised her. (König and Siemund 2000b, 50 (22c))

c. The boss would like to hire more people like *yourselves*. (Baker 1995, 66)

d. The only one they didn't invite was *myself*. (Huddleston and Pullum 2002, 1494 (42i))

e. The queen invited Tony and *myself* for a drink. (Haegeman and Guéron 1999, 476 (12))

As these examples reveal, no other DP can possibly work as antecedent, either the antecedent does not fit in gender, number, or person, and yet, the sentences are grammatical. These sentences fit well with Parker et al.'s (1990, 50) definition of 'untriggered reflexives' (henceforth abbreviated URs) which is defined as 'a reflexive that speakers find generally acceptable even though it is not coreferential with another [DP]'. With this definition in mind, URs appear to consist of only one group of overrides, namely those that do not have an antecedent, as shown in the two previous subsections, it is also possible to have overrides that do have an antecedent and thus be coreferential with another DP, despite the probability that the antecedent might not c-command the reflexive.

## 3.2 Typical contexts and aspects of overrides reflexives

As already seen, and as will be further elaborated, override reflexives do not always occur in the same environment, and different contexts that trigger override reflexives are found in all of the three overall groups. In this section, I will investigate some of the major contexts that overrides occur in. These are primarily based on existing articles about overrides.

Huddleston and Pullum (2002, 1495) argue that there are factors that favour and disfavour overrides. One factor that disfavours override reflexives is when there is an intervening DP[14] between the antecedent and the pronoun (as e.g. seen in (35)b). If the intervening DP is compatible with the override reflexive in number and/or gender, and thus is a potential binder, the override reflexive is disfavoured even more and acceptability of using an override will decrease (2002, 1496). The reason that sentences with intervening DPs, which do not fit in gender or number, might be more acceptable, may be because there is no doubt about what the reflexive refers to because the intervening DP is not a proper potential antecedent.

A factor favouring overrides is the first person *myself*. As Huddleston and Pullum (2002) argue, the most common override is *myself,* which is favoured in e.g. coordinations and comparative constructions. In these instances, people may be uncertain whether to use the nominative *I* or accusative *me* and therefore, by using the override (particularly first person *myself*) they avoid making the choice. As argued in Parker et al. (1990, 62), URs are more acceptable in first and second person (*myself/yourself*) compared to third person (e.g. *himself*). If we only look at overrides without an antecedent (the third group), it also supports my findings that most of the examples are in first and second person. Parker et al. (1990, 62) further argue

[14] Huddleston and Pullum (2002) write NP, however, I use DP for the sake of consistency.

that the reason the third person is not as acceptable is because 'a third person pronoun simply has no role whatsoever as a discourse participant – it can refer to neither speaker nor addressee'. This means that URs in first and second person have another discourse function than third person URs, and therefore they are more acceptable. As argued in Parker et al.'s (1990, 68) footnote 13, 'the operative principle seems to be that a speaker can override the syntax of English in order to make a pragmatic distinction'. In other words, they argue that third person URs are not as acceptable as first and second person because they have a pragmatic distinction that is not found in third person[15]. This does not mean that overrides in general are preferred in first or second person. Because of the narrow definition that URs only include those overrides that do not have an antecedent, it is not possible to generalise these findings to all overrides[16]. It is, however, still useful in the third group of overrides, but the structure of the hierarchy is not that *myself/yourself* are more frequent in all types of overrides. In my data, there are more third person override sentences in the two other overall groups, i.e. group one and two in (34) than in the third group.

Two other factors favouring overrides and thus increase acceptability of overrides are when a sentence is contrastive or if the antecedent's perspective is taken (Huddleston and Pullum 2002, 1495–96). Similarly, König and Siemund (2000a, 186–91) argue that the two essential types of contexts that license overrides are logophoric as well as contrastive contexts. They thereby support Huddleston and Pullum's (2002) findings in this respect. However, according to Huddleston and Pullum (2002, 1495) 'overrides with 3rd person reflexives characteristically occur in contexts where the antecedent refers to the person whose perspective is being taken in the discourse'. When they write that overrides characteristically occur in such contexts, it may be interpreted as if overrides in third person always contain a perspective aspect, as if it were an attribute. I may agree with them that it might be a factor favouring an override reflexive, however, as I will argue and discuss later in this chapter (subsection 3.2.4), a perspective aspect (also known as a logophoric aspect) may be present in override constructions, but is not necessary and certainly not something that distinguishes third person overrides in the sense that all overrides in third person contain this aspect.

To briefly sum up, the factors favouring overrides are first person *myself,* perspective and contrast, whereas an intervening DP disfavours override constructions.

---

[15] I will return to a discussion of what role pragmatics may or may not have in order to explain overrides.
[16] When using the term UR I only speak of those overrides without an antecedent.

Huddleston and Pullum (2002, 1494) argue that there is a restricted range of contexts that overrides may occur in, and they mention five different syntactic contexts overrides typically occur in: coordinations, comparatives, inclusion/exclusion, complement of specifying *be*/a preposition in predicative complement function, and with 'picture nouns'. In Hernández' (2002, 282) empirical investigation of untriggered *self*-forms (i.e. overrides), she examines different linguistic contexts that may trigger these *self*-forms. Her findings are based on data from the *BNC*, The Northern Ireland Transcribed Corpus of Speech (NITCS), and a questionnaire designed for the study. Additionally, Hernández (2002, 272) examined four variables: the linguistic medium (written/spoken), the *self*-form, clause and phrase-structure criteria, and the syntactic/semantic role of the referent of the *self*-form. As the title suggests, the article provides a context hierarchy of overrides in English in which one conclusion is that coordinations, PPs and picture NPs are more suitable contexts for overrides than any other context (2002, 282).

In the following, I will discuss the major contexts in which overrides appear. These are coordination/lists, preposition phrases (PPs), comparative constructions, and Picture NPs. Additionally, I will discuss the logophoricity aspect that has been claimed to be necessary in override constructions. It has to be noted that these contexts may overlap, and as argued in Hernández (2002, 280), 'the more contexts combined, the higher trigger potential'.

### 3.2.1 Coordination and lists

Coordinations and lists are typical syntactic contexts for overrides (Parker et al. 1990; Huddleston and Pullum 2002; König and Siemund 2000a; König and Gast 2002; Hernández 2002). According to Hernández (2002, 275–77), override *myself* in coordinate DPs and listings make up almost half of the override occurrences in the *BNC*. Parker et al. (1990, 54–56) argue that URs become significantly more acceptable in coordinate DPs due to the relaxation of case assignment, which makes URs in coordinate DPs part of a more general phenomenon. The following examples in (39) are borrowed from Parker et al. (1990, 54), and show that in coordinate constructions relaxation of case assignment occur in both subject and object position.

(39) a. *I/*me/*myself* should have invested in bonds.
b. *John and I/John and me/John and myself* should have invested in bonds.

c. He might appoint *me/*I/*myself* to the committee.
d. He might appoint *John and me/John and I/John and myself* to the committee.

In (39)a, which is not a coordinate construction it is only possible to have the nominative *I* in subject position because it receives case from I°. However, if the subject is made into a

coordinate construction in the same sentence, both the nominative *I,* accusative *me*, as well as the override *myself* are permitted as seen in (39)b. This is true for both the subject position (IP-spec) as well as the object position (complement of V°) as seen in (39)c and d, where case is assigned from the main verb *appoint*. Therefore, because case assignment is blocked, any form of pronoun can occur and thus Parker et al. (1990, 55) suggest that URs in coordinate constructions are not true anaphors, but alternative forms of personal pronouns.

The examples in (40) show different instances of overrides in coordinations and listings. And as can be seen, not only the conjunction *and* can be used to trigger override reflexives in these contexts, but it includes the following words *and, as well as,* and *or.* As (40) also reveals, overrides in coordinations and listings can be used with different *self*-forms and not only first person *myself* despite the fact that it might be the most frequent in these contexts.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| (40) | a. | Ann$_1$ suggested that the reporter pay both the victim and *herself*$_1$ for their time. | (Huddleston and Pullum 2002, 1494 (39ii)) |
| | b. | Jemima$_1$ wasn't quite sure whether he meant Cloë or *herself*$_1$. | (König and Gast 2002, 235 (21a)) |
| | c. | You$_1$ may be the one person to bring about improvements which will benefit many others as well as *yourself*$_1$. | (König and Siemund 2000a, 189 (22b)) |
| | d. | Well, there's Monica, and Gerald, and Damien, and Cecilia, and *myself*. | (Hernández 2002, 275 (6)) |
| | e. | According to John$_1$, the article was written by Mary and *himself*$_1$. | (König and Siemund 1999, 285 (7a)) |
| | f. | On behalf of *myself* and USAir, we would like to thank you… | (König and Siemund 2000a, 185 (8a)) |
| | g. | Perhaps you will give Mrs Sutton or *myself* the cheque to-day? | (König and Siemund 2000a, 189 (22a)) |
| | h. | You have helped Mr. and *myself* very considerably in this enquiry. | (Hernández 2002, 274 (2)) |
| | i. | My mother has been my mother and a father to both *myself*, my brother and sister. | (Hernández 2002, 275 (3)) |

Interestingly, in this type of context the sentences become ungrammatical if the trigger of the override reflexive (i.e. the coordination) is left out, as seen in (41)[17]. This underlines the trigger potential of coordinate constructions.

(41) a. *Ann suggested that the reporter pay *herself* for their time.

b. *Jemima wasn't quite sure whether he meant *herself*.

c. ? According to John, the article was written by *himself*.

[17] Four native speakers of English confirmed the ill-formedness of these sentences. However, people seemed to disagree on the third example, in which only one found it completely odd, whereas three others accepted it with comments such as it might be an exception and that it made sense, but probably was not the best way to frame a sentence.

d. *Perhaps you would like to give *myself* the cheque today?

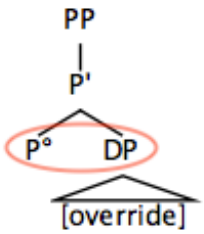
e. *You have helped *myself* very considerably in this enquiry.

(41)c is marked with a question mark since this sentence could potentially be an override sentence. However, if the coordination is left out, the override reflexive *myself* may be triggered by the preposition *by*, which is also a potential trigger of override reflexives.

### 3.2.2 Preposition Phrases (PPs)

When it comes to override constructions in PPs, the trigger potential differs greatly. When speaking of override PPs, I refer to those that occur in the complement position of P°, as illustrated in (42) and as exemplified in (43) with different prepositions (e.g. *to*, *for*, *by*) and *self*-forms used.

(42)




(43)

a. Murry saw this as a chance to put his experience to work in helping an entrepreneur get started. It was a good business opportunity for *himself* too. (Haegeman and Guéron 1999, 476 (7))

b. Her clever husband built a conservatory for *myself* on my house […] (Hernández 2002, 279 (28))

c. Well they could address their letters to *myself*. (Hernández 2002, 279 (27))

d. It was time to put an end to the burning. But to do so would put an end to *himself* as well. (König and Siemund 2000a, 193 (32c))

e. 'I love Willoughby, sincerely love him; and suspicion of his integrity cannot be more painful to *yourself* than to me...' (from Jane Austen, *Sense and Sensibility*, 1811. Cited in Baker 1995, 88 (44a))

f. Tom$_1$ believed that the paper had been written by Ann and *himself*$_1$. (Ross 1970, 226 (11b))

As with coordinations and lists, most override PPs are contrastive and used to mark opposition to other referents (Hernández 2002, 278). In the following, I will discuss two contrastive contexts of PPs; comparatives and markers of exception and inclusion.

All override sentences with the triggers *like, than, for, such as, as-X-as*, etc. as are grouped as comparatives. They are a subgroup of PPs. Examples of such sentences can be found in (44).

(44) a. John$_1$ said to Mary that physicists like *himself*$_1$ were a godsend. (König and Siemund 1999, 285 (8a))

b. At such times, contempt for his$_1$ readers and for *himself*$_1$ hovered in the room like a cloud of smoke, and his temper after one of these sessions was foul but cold, like smog. (from Margaret Atwood, *Lady Oracle*, 1976. Cited in Liberman 2015))

c. … Hester Prynne$_1$ yet struggled to believe that no fellow-mortal was guilty like *herself*$_1$. (From Nathaniel Hawthorne, *The Scarlet Letter*, 1850. Cited in Liberman 2015))

d. She$_1$ told him he should marry a woman like *herself*$_1$. (Huddleston and Pullum 2002, 1494, (40iii)

e. John$_1$ suspects that no one is as rational as *himself*$_1$. (Baker 1995, 66 (5b))

Within override PPs, the most frequent form is made with the preposition *like*, which could arguably make up a category in itself[18], and which according to Hernández (2002, 278) is most often combined with *myself*. Nevertheless, Liberman (2015) provides dozens of examples with the third person override (e.g. *himself*, *herself*) in which the majority of them are *like*-phrases. Moreover, Parker et al. (1990) discuss the use of PPs post-modifying a generic NP (hereafter post-generic PP) and argue that URs in such sentences become significantly more acceptable because of the binding relationship. More specifically, the c-commanding generic head (e.g. *someone*, *people*) becomes the binder of the *self*-form. All of their post-generic PP examples are used with the preposition *like* + *self*-form, which is why I have grouped them in this subsection. However, to use Parker et al.'s (1990, 58) examples, there is a crucial distinction between the interpretation of reflexives in ordinary sentences (as in (45)a) and those in URs (as in (45)b).

[18] The combination of *like* + *self*-form is frequently mentioned in grammars and dictionaries, cf. Hernández (2002, 278).

(45) a. Anne hurt *her/herself* PRON./REFL.

b. There are groups for [people like *you/yourself*] POST-GENERIC PP

In (45)a, the pronominal/reflexive refers to two different persons; either the reflexive *herself* is used and *Anne* is the one getting hurt (co-referential with *Anne*), or the pronominal *her* and somebody else is getting hurt (not co-referential with *Anne*). On the contrary, if we look at an example with a post-generic PP as in (45)b, the pronominal or anaphor will refer to the same person in either case. In other words, *you/yourself* will be co-referential with *people* in both cases, while they also point out there might be a difference in distinctness where *people like you* does not actually include you, whereas it is the case when *yourself* is used. Essentially, Parker et al. (1990) argue that URs in post-generic PPs 'are not really untriggered at all; instead they constitute a special case of bound anaphora, in which the anaphor (e.g. *yourself*) is bound to the head of the governing category (e.g. *people*)'. On this point, I may disagree that URs in post-generic PPs are not override constructions. If we once again examine their definition outlined above (subsection 3.1.3), these kinds of reflexives are not coreferential with another DP and thus do not have a proper antecedent. This is the reason why Parker et al. (1990) cannot include these generic expressions as override reflexives because, as they argue, they actually do have a binder, which is the generic expression. When Parker et al. (1990) consider *someone* to be a generic expression, expressions such as *anyone* and *no one* might be considered generic expressions as well[19]. Therefore, their analysis should also be able to account for sentences like those in (46). These examples fit the definition of URs in that they do not have an antecedent, and *but yourself/but herself* are post-modifying generic expressions (modified by the preposition *but*[20]).

(46) a. **Anyone** but *yourself* would have noticed the change. (König and Siemund 2000a, 185 (8b))

b. It was a far cry from life at Coleherne Court, where there was **no one** but *herself* to do the washing, ironing and vacuuming. [BNC]

It remains unclear how Parker et al. (1990) would explain sentences like those below in (47). These are all overrides with generic expressions modified by a preposition. The difference between (46) and (47) is that the examples in the latter actually do have an antecedent, and thus

[19] It may also be argued that expressions such as *anyone* and *no one* could be interpreted as quantifiers, or that *anyone but yourself* and *no one but herself* are some kind of fixed expression.

[20] In these contexts, *but* is used as a preposition and has the same meaning as *except*, *apart from*, etc.

belong to either the first or second of my overall groups outlined above in subsection 3.3.1 and 3.3.2, respectively. If Parker et al. (1990) consider the generic expression to bind the reflexive, then it must account for the examples below as well, and therefore these should, according to Parker et al. (1990), probably **not** be classified as overrides.

(47)

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| a. | Liz$_1$ couldn't understand why **nobody** except *herself*$_1$ had complained. | (Huddleston and Pullum 2002, 1494 (41ii)) |
| b. | Mary$_1$ complained that the teacher gave extra help to **everyone** but *herself*$_1$. | (Baker 1995, 64 (4c)) |
| c. | Each student$_1$ thought that **no one** but *himself*$_1$ got an A. | (Zribi-Hertz 1989, 705) |
| d. | Mary$_1$ eventually convinced her sister Susan$_2$ that John had better pay visits to **everybody** except *themselves*$_{1/2}$. | (Zribi-Hertz 1989, 708 (42a)) |
| e. | Marie$_1$ desperately wanted to be told what to do but there was **no one** but *herself*$_1$ to rely on. | (König and Siemund 2000a, 190 (25a)) |
| f. | This was exactly what Harry had been hoping for. He$_1$ slipped his wand back into his robes, waited until Cedric's friends had disappeared into their classroom, and hurried up the corridor, which was now empty of **everyone** except *himself*$_1$ and Cedric. | (from J. K. Rowling, *Harry Potter and the Goblet of Fire*, 2000. Cited in Hole 2002, 285 (1c)) |

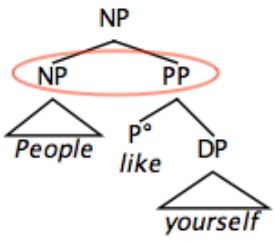
Whether or not Parker et al. (1990) would classify these as generic, i.e. interpret the meaning of the expression in a general sense (cf. Radford 2004, 455) is unclear. I would consider the examples in (47) markers of exception and inclusion, which also make up a potential trigger context for override reflexives and are combined with words such as *besides, except for, apart from, including, excluding, but,* etc., as argued in König and Siemund (2000a), Huddleston and Pullum (2002), and Stern (2004). For a suggestion of PPs as binding domains, see Büring (2005, 54–58).

### 3.2.3 Picture Noun Phrases

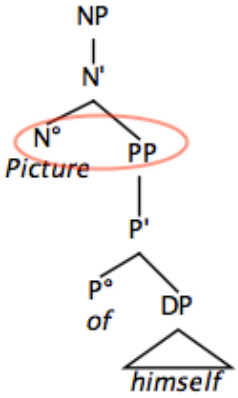
Picture Noun Phrases (Picture NPs) are well-known contexts that seem favourable to override reflexives, and binding has been widely debated in these contexts. Because of the existence of certain syntactic configurations which are problematic for the standard binding theory, many attempts have been made to reformulate the binding principles. One such configuration concerns Picture NPs (Keller and Asudeh 2001). In this paper, Picture NPs are treated as a separate context from other PPs even though they contain a preposition. The main reason behind

this distinction is that these sentences are structurally different from other PPs. In the PPs discussed above, the PP is a modifier to the NP, as illustrated in (48)a, whereas in Picture NPs, the PP is a complement of the preceding noun, as illustrated in (48)b.

(48) a.




b.




When I make reference to Picture NPs, I refer to those sentences in which the syntactic structure in (48)b is used. Despite the term, Picture NPs also include sentences with expressions such as *photo of, story about, reference to,* etc., and importantly, Picture NPs do not have to be explicitly mentioned in the sentence; these *self*-forms naturally turn up in situations where pictures are looked at (Hernández 2002, 277).

According to Keller and Asudeh (2001, 483), the theoretical and empirical claims differ widely in the syntactic literature and two overall accounts have been proposed; a structural and a pragmatic account. In short, the pragmatic account of override Picture NPs is that they are 'exempt anaphors', i.e. exempt from GB-Theory because they differ from other anaphors with respect to factors such as referentiality, definiteness, and aspect[21]. The structural account, on the other hand, includes Chomsky's (1986) revised version of GB-Theory, which argues that there is a null pronominal possessor (PRO) inside the Picture NP, and that the reflexive is locally bound by this PRO inside the Picture NP, so that the reflexive is correctly predicted to be possible.

Keller and Asudeh (2001) set up an experimental study the aim of which is to establish which structural and pragmatics factors determine coreference in Picture NPs. According to the study, one of the reasons Picture NPs are problematic for GB-Theory is because it is predicted that anaphors and pronominals are in complementary distribution (cf. chapter 2). However, in

[21] For more on a pragmatic account of override Picture NPs, see e.g. Kuno (1987), Pollard and Sag (1992), and Reinhart and Reuland (1993).

some sentences (e.g. in Picture NPs) it is equally possible to have either an anaphor or a pronominal in the same syntactic position, which goes against the complementary distribution as illustrated in the following example in (49), borrowed from Keller and Asudeh (2001, 483 (2)).

(49) Hanna$_1$ found a picture of *her*$_1$/*herself*$_1$.

As (49) reveals, both the pronominal *her* and the anaphor *herself* are acceptable in this sentence. If they were in complementary distribution, either the pronominal or the anaphor should have had an asterisk to mark ungrammaticality. However, Keller and Asudeh (2001, 487–88) find that pronominals are significantly less acceptable than anaphors in such examples, and therefore (49) is not an example of an override reflexive, since it is not used in a place where a pronominal would have been used.

Covering binding in Picture NPs in general is beyond the scope of this master's thesis. For more details concerning binding in Picture NPs, I refer the reader to Kuno (1987), Reinhart and Reuland (1993), Pollard and Sag (1992), Asudeh and Keller (2001), Runner and Kaiser (2005), Runner, Sussman, and Tanenhaus (2006), and Jaeger (2004). However, because of the existence of Picture NPs, amongst others, it has been suggested by Truswell (2014, 217 (11)) and Büring (2005, 50-51 (3.18)) that the binding domain should be expanded to also include the minimal DP, and that the binding domain must contain a subject (where possessors are interpreted as subjects of DPs). This definition of the binding domain would be able to account for binding in Picture NPs and would make the following predictions for Picture NPs in (50).

(50) a. John$_1$ saw Bill$_2$'s picture of *himself*$_{2/*1}$

b. John$_1$ saw Bill$_2$'s picture of *him*$_{1/*2}$

(Runner, Sussman, and Tanenhaus 2006, 195 (2a,b)

In (50)a, the reflexive has a local antecedent *Bill,* which is inside the expanded binding domain, as it is the subject in the minimal DP, and therefore this example is in accordance with Principle A. In (50)b, on the other hand, the pronominal may not have a local antecedent, and therefore it cannot be bound by *Bill.* However, it may be bound by *John,* which is placed outside the expanded binding domain (which is *Bill's picture of him*), is therefore in accordance with Principle B.

However, Keller and Asudeh's (2001) study reveals interesting findings. A summary can be found in (51). The perhaps most interesting finding relevant for this thesis, is that anaphors can be bound outside the Picture NP (i.e. outside the binding domain even if there is a possessor

present). In cases where there is an intervening possessor present (such as the examples in (50) and (51)b), a structural account would predict anaphors to be unacceptable. Essentially, however, they find that anaphors and pronominals are equally acceptable in such cases, and further state (2001, 488) that 'contrary to all that has been written in the syntactic literature, anaphors can be bound by the subject even in PNPs [i.e. Picture NPs] with possessors', as can be seen in (51)b. To clarify, even though *herself* in (51)b is predicted to be ungrammatical, since it cannot be bound by an antecedent outside the binding domain (i.e. *Hanna*), the sentence is not ungrammatical. Yet, we would not expect a reflexive in this example, and therefore, the sentence may be classified as an override or exempt Picture NP.

Finally, they find that when the antecedent is the possessor, anaphors are fully acceptable, whereas pronominals are less acceptable, even though the theory would normally predict pronominals to be ungrammatical, as illustrated in (51)c.

| | | | **Keller and Asudeh's (2001) findings:** |
|---|---|---|---|
| (51) | a. | Hanna$_1$ found a picture of *her*$_1$/*herself*$_1$. | Anaphors > pronominals |
| | b. | Hanna$_1$ found Peter's picture of *her*$_1$/(*)*herself*$_1$.[22] | Anaphors = pronominals |
| | c. | Hanna found Peter$_1$'s picture of (*)*him*$_1$/*himself*$_1$. | Anaphors > pronominals |

The experiment revealed significant influence from structural factors, whereas the pragmatic factors such as definiteness, verb class, and referentiality showed weak effects on the overall pattern. In short, this experiment revealed that structural factors influence binding in Picture NPs, whereas pragmatic factors only play a limited role (Keller and Asudeh 2001, 488).

Other examples of override Picture NPs can be found in (52). Brackets are added to help the reader.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| (52) | a. | [The photo of *myself*] that he'd chosen for the brochure was hardly flattering… | (Huddleston and Pullum 2002, 1495 (43i)) |
| | b. | … those are [pictures of *myself*] … | (Hernández 2002, 277 (14)) |
| | c. | "… He$_1$'s got this huge office, you know, and every square inch is covered with [pictures of *himself*$_1$] …" | (Stern 2004, 271 (3c)) |
| | d. | Tim$_1$ knew that [the letters about *himself*$_1$] were libellous. | (Huddleston and Pullum 2002, 1495 (43ii)) |

[22] The asterisk in parenthesis '(*)' marks what binding in Picture NPs would predict.

e. The Lord Mayor$_1$ sighed. [The portrait of *himself*$_1$] newly presented to the gallery had been hung in an obscure alcove. (Huddleston and Pullum 2002, 1495 (43iii))

f. This is [a photograph of *myself*] about five years ago. (Parker et al. 1990, 51 (9))

Parker et al. (1990) examine free-standing URs, which they define as URs that appear in a position normally occupied by a personal pronoun. All their examples in this category contain a Picture NP, which is why they are included in this subsection. According to Parker et al. (1990, 59), an explanation of why the personal pronoun is substituted by an UR in Picture NPs is due to pragmatics. In this case, structural considerations and explanations do not suffice, and it is argued that whenever URs are used, the discourse referent is in focus, i.e. the person who is the topic of the discourse, and not the discourse participant, which is the actual speaker or addressee in the discourse. Thus, free-standing URs are used to minimise the role of the discourse participant and ensure that the referent is interpreted as the discourse referent. Moreover, Reinhart and Reuland (1993) and Runner et al. (2006) argue that override Picture NPs, as those above in (52), are logophors. This aspect will be discussed in the following subsection.

### 3.2.4 Logophoricity

Logophoricity is defined ‘as representing either the thoughts or feelings of the entity standing as its antecedent, or an utterance transmitted by or to that entity’ (Zribi-Hertz 1989, 704) and ‘the relevant sentence is described from the perspective of the person referred to by such forms [i.e. the *self*-forms], rather than from an external point of view’ (König and Siemund 2000, 185–86). Besides, overrides in logophoric contexts are often introduced by verbs of communication (e.g. *say*), verbs denoting psychological states (e.g. *think*), and verbs of thought (e.g. *wonder*) and perception (e.g. *notice*) (König and Siemund 2000a, 187).

Zribi-Hertz (1989, 703) argues that discourse principles are essential to understanding overrides, and that a purely syntactic explanation is unsatisfying. More specifically, she argues that a logophoric aspect is a necessary condition in override constructions[23]. This view is contrasted by Baker (1995, 67–68) who states that many override sentences do not qualify as logophoric, and thus argues that ‘logophoricity is not a necessary condition for the appearance of [overrides]’. As pointed out by Zribi-Hertz (1995, 338–39), Baker’s (1995) analysis, which

[23] Importantly, as also mentioned in König and Siemund (2000a, 197), Zribi-Hertz (1995, 388) explicitly abandons this analysis, ‘logophoricity should not be regarded as a necessary property of locally-free *himself*, as wrongly suggested in Zribi-Hertz (1989)’.

is mainly based on examples from Jane Austen's novels, does not fit with today's English, and therefore cannot account correctly for all overrides. In contrast to this, König and Siemund (2000a, 197) support Baker's (1995) analysis and argue that 'logophoricity is neither a necessary nor a sufficient condition for the use of locally free *self*-forms [i.e. overrides]'.

In my data, most examples do have a logophoric aspect, nevertheless, the following contrasting examples support König and Siemund's (2000a) and Baker's (1995) analysis and show that some override constructions do contain a logophoric aspect, as in (53), whereas others do **not**, as shown in (54). All examples are in the third person, since it has been argued that first person *self*-forms (and partly also *yourself*) do not need a logophoric trigger because they per definition reflect the point of view of the speaker (König and Siemund 2000a, 187–88).

(53)
a. She$_1$'d kept others alive with her$_1$ stories when they'd come close to being found. This time it was for *herself*$_1$. (Stern 2004, 271 (3d))
b. Her$_1$ beauty had been something which had filled even *herself*$_1$ with wonder. (König and Siemund 2000b, 50)
c. John$_1$ thinks that Mary is in love with *himself*$_1$ not Peter. (Haegeman and Guéron 1999, 476 (1))
d. John$_1$ believes that Queen Victoria was *himself*$_1$ in a previous birth. (Haegeman and Guéron 1999, 476 (2))

(54)
a. If Cassandra$_1$ has filled my bed with fleas, I am sure they must bite *herself*$_1$. (Baker 1995, 68 (9i))
b. Casey had a lot on her mind. She was still trying to figure out what Marder was doing ... How could he say that ... She did not understand how his behavior could do anything but damage the company – and *himself*. (König and Siemund 2000a, 192 (30))
c. But at the same time, she could not help thinking that no one could so well perform it as *himself*. (Baker 1995, 68 (9g))
d. … " 'Cause they jealous," Charles Barkley$_1$, another notable heel, said last week, when I asked why fans hated players like *himself*$_1$ and Laettner … (Liberman 2015)

In (53)a-d, the examples are clearly logophoric, because they represent the point of view of the antecedent. For example, in (53)a and b, we follow the antecedents' (*she*/*her*) point of view, and in (53)c and d, verbs of thought and/or perception are used. On the contrary, in (54), none of the referents of the *self*-forms are followed. In (54)a, the referent of the *self*-form is

*Cassandra*. It is clearly not her point of view we are perceiving, but rather the owner of the bed/the subject, *I.* Similarly, in (54)b, the referent of the *self*-form is *Marder/he*, however, it is clear that we follow *Casey's* point of view, because she is the EXPERIENCER of *understand*.

To briefly sum up, logophoricity may license overrides, but since not all override constructions contain a logophoric aspect, overrides cannot be explained by their logophoric use alone and logophoricity is thus not a defining property of overrides.

To conclude, override reflexives occur in places where a pronominal would have been used, and they occur in a variety of contexts with different types of triggers. Parker et al.'s (1990, 51) article is one of many attempts to define the phenomenon that I am investigating. They argue that in order to explain the occurrence and distribution of URs **both** syntactic and pragmatic principles are needed. The syntactic principles are needed to explain coordinate DPs and post-generic PPs (e.g. *like*-phrases), whereas the pragmatic principles are proposed to explain occurrences of free-standing URs (i.e. Picture NPs) and why first and second person are more acceptable. Moreover, Parker et al. (1990, 63-64) present a hierarchy of acceptability of URs and find that the more of these four variables present, the more acceptable is the sentence. Additionally, they find that some variables weigh more than others. In this case, the syntactic variables (bound and non-case-marked positions) enhance acceptability more than the two pragmatic variables (discourse referent and first/second person). This chapter has accounted for different suggestions of how to treat override reflexives in different contexts. The strongest triggers are found in coordinate constructions and PPs, whereas contrastiveness and logophoricity are two aspects that favour overrides. The more of these contexts and aspects present, the greater acceptability of override sentence.

Hole (2002, 298) has claimed that 'generalizing over the distribution of unpredictable *self*-forms is probably impossible'. In chapter 4, I want to argue that override reflexives are in fact not reflexive pronouns, but intensifiers of non-overt pronominals. This analysis is able to generalise over the distribution of override reflexives in a structural manner. However, before doing so, it is necessary to present how overrides in Danish are constructed.

## 3.3 Override Reflexives in Danish

As shown in chapter 2, the Danish language distinguishes between a larger number of reflexive pronouns than the English. The English *himself* may be translated into either *sig*, *sig selv* or *ham selv* in Danish. However, importantly, overrides in Danish always take the form *ham selv*

and never *sig selv*, which is a distinction that does not exist in English. When having the same referent, *ham selv* can either be used as a reflexive or an override, as illustrated in (55).

(55) *Himself* → *sig*, *sig selv*; *ham selv* → **reflexive** *ham selv* (refers to a c-commanding non-subject); **override** *ham selv*

In the following, I will present some examples of overrides in Danish. Hundreds of examples can easily be found, however only a few representative examples will be provided in this paper. I have divided the Danish examples into two groups with five examples in each. The first group consists of override reflexives that have an antecedent inside the minimal finite IP but cannot be bound because the antecedent does not c-command the reflexive. The second group consists of overrides that have an antecedent outside the minimal finite IP and are thus bound in the wrong domain. I will not go in detail with the different contexts that overrides may appear in, as I did with the English overrides above, because the same contexts and triggers apply to the Danish override reflexives.

Examples of the first group can be found in (56). However, the problem in these sentences is that the antecedent does not c-command the reflexive, and thus prevents that the reflexive can be bound.

(56) Da. a. Ifølge [den stolte far$_1$] har sønnen mere hår end ham selv$_1$.
*According.to the proud father has son.the more hair than him himself.*

'According to the proud father, the son has more hair than himself'.
(BT (Danish newspaper), 05.07.2013)

b. Bush$_1$s stærkeste kort er ham selv$_1$.
*Bush's strongest card is him himself.*

'Bush's strongest card is himself'.
(Jønch-Clausen and Pontoppidan 2005)

c. Pia$_1$s pression rammer hende selv$_1$.
*Pia's pressure hits her herself.*

'Pia's pressure affects herself'.
(KorpusDK)

d. Luther$_1$s adskillelse af kirke og stat holdt hverken
*Luther's separation of church and state held neither*

for ham selv$_1$ eller for os i dag.
*for him himself nor for us today.*

'Luther's separation of church and state lasted neither for himself nor for us today'.

(Kristeligt-Dagblad.dk, 19.11.2015)

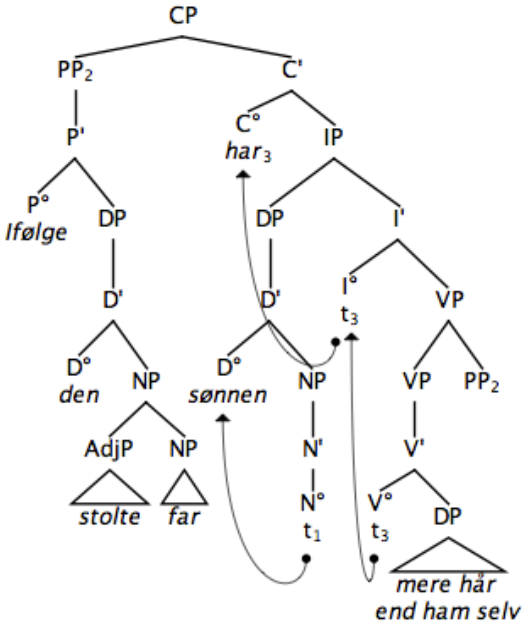
e. Og hans$_1$ værste kritiker er ham *selv*$_1$.
*And his worst critic is him himself.*

'And he is his own worst critic'.

(KorpusDK)

In (56) a, *ham selv* refers to the DP *den stolte far* 'the proud father', which is part of a topicalised PP and therefore needs to take two steps up in order to reach the dominating CP. However, this means that the antecedent does not c-command *ham selv* and binding is prevented. This is illustrated in (57).

(57) Da.




If *ham selv* is analysed as a reflexive, then it has to be bound, and the sentence would be ungrammatical because of the violation of Principle A. If it had been *sig selv* in place of *ham selv* it would in fact make the right predictions with respect to both the binder-parameter and the domain-parameter, because *sig selv* would refer to a subject in the smallest IP (whereas *ham selv* may not refer to the subject). However, once again the problem is that binding is completely prevented because of the lack of c-command. Therefore, changing *ham selv* into *sig selv* does not resolve the issue either.

As we might recall, *ham selv* needs to be bound by a non-subject in the minimal IP, however, none of the examples in (58) seem to follow this constraint, which is why they are considered to be override reflexives. Brackets have been added around the minimal clauses containing the *self*-forms.

(58) Da. a. For fyrmesteren$_1$ saa ikke gerne, [at der
*For lighthouse.keeper-the saw not willingly [that there*

var andre end ham selv$_1$, der kunne tænke].
*were others than him himself who could think*].

'For the lighthouse keeper did not like to see that there were others than himself who were able to think'.

(KorpusDK)

b. Svensk minister$_1$ beskyldte Donald Trump for at tale
*Swedish minister accused Donald Trump for to speak*

usandt om voldtægter i Sverige men så blev
*untrue about rape-*PL *in Sweden but then became*

det klart, [at det var hende selv$_1$, der løj].
*it clear [that it was her herself who lied*].

'A Swedish minister accused Donald Trump of speaking false about rape in Sweden but then it became clear that it was herself who lied.'

(Denkorteavis.dk, 06.03.2017)

c. Hun$_1$ løftede uden besvær troldekvinden op,
*She lifted without difficulty troll.woman.the up*

[selv om trolden var lige så stor som hende selv$_1$].
[*Even though troll.the was just as big as her herself*].

'Without difficulty, she lifted the female troll up even though the troll was just as big as herself'.

(KorpusDK)

d. Hun$_1$ opdagede, [at det var hende selv$_1$, der
*She discovered [that it was her herself who*

skabte de smertefulde og stressfyldte tanker …].
*created the painful and stressful thoughts ...*].

'She realised that it was herself, who created the painful and stressful thoughts'.

e. Den radikale leder$_1$ er tosset med besparelser, [der
*The radical leader is crazy about savings* [*that*

ikke rammer hende selv$_1$].
*not hits her herself*].

'The leader of the Danish Social-Liberal Party[24] is crazy about cutbacks that do not affect herself'.

(Ekstra Bladet, 21.12.2012)

What all the examples in (58) have in common is that they follow the conditions for pronominals (e.g. *ham*/*hende*) with respect to both binder-parameter as well as domain-parameter. It is evident that all the override reflexives refer to a DP outside the minimal IP, as indicated by brackets and coindexation in the examples above. This means that they do not have a proper antecedent according to the binding rules for anaphors. Instead, they follow the rules of pronominals. As can be seen, *selv* may be left out in all the examples above without changing the grammaticality of the sentences. Even though *ham* and *selv* have the same referent, they are two different elements. Consequently, the coindexation number should be placed after the pronominal *ham* instead of the reflexive *ham selv*, as e.g. *ham*$_1$ *selv*.

Vikner (1985) considers the existence override reflexives. He provides an example of an override reflexive, presented in (59).

(59) Da. Komponisten$_1$ sagde at orkestret$_2$ kun måtte spille
*Composer.the said that orchestra.the only could play*

symfonien med ham selv$_1$ som dirigent.
*symphony-the with him himself as conductor.*

'The composer said that the orchestra were only allowed to play the symphony when he was the composer himself'.

(adapted from Vikner 1985, 18 (24))

Vikner (1985, 18) suggests that override reflexives, such as the one in (59), may be dealt with in two ways. **Either** *ham selv* is a reflexive pronoun and must therefore be bound by a non-subject in the minimal IP. This would make the override example in (59) a counter-example to his theory, because *ham selv* would be bound by *komponisten* 'the composer' which is placed

[24] This is the Danish political party's (Det Radikale Venstre) own translation of their name.

outside the minimal IP, and thus violate Principle A. **Or**, as he proposes, *selv* could be interpreted as another kind of constituent, because it may be deleted and may occur on its own (in contrast to English). This means that *ham* + *selv* are interpreted as two separate elements. This will be clarified further in the following.

In Danish, the combination of *ham* + *selv* may be used in three different ways. Firstly, it may be used as a reflexive pronoun and interpreted as one element. In this way, it behaves as predicted by Vikner (1985), cf. Chapter 2, section 2.3. More specifically, it means that *ham selv* is one element and thus refers to a c-commanding non-subject in the minimal IP, as illustrated by coindexation in the following example.

| | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| (60) | Da. | … fordi | hun | viste | ham$_1$ | et | billede | af | ham selv$_1$. |
| | | *... because* | *she* | *showed* | *him* | *a* | *picture* | *of* | *himself.* |

'… because she showed him a picture of himself'.

Secondly, the combination *ham* + *selv* may be used when *ham* and *selv* are interpreted as two different elements with two different referents[25]. In this case, *selv* is an adverbial intensifier (that typically refers to the subject) but happens to be placed next to *ham.* As can be seen in the following example in (61), *hende* refers to *dronning af Danmark* 'queen of Denmark', whereas *selv* refers to the subject *han* 'he'. In this way, *hende* + *selv* have two different referents, as opposed to (21) above. Moreover, by comparing the Danish sentence in (61) with the corresponding English translation, it also becomes more evident that *hende selv* refers to two different elements.

| | | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| (61) | Da. | Han | kronede | hende | selv | til | dronning | af | Danmark | og |
| | | *He* | *crowned* | *her* | *self* | *to* | *queen* | *of* | *Denmark* | *and* |

| | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Norge, | og | de | levede | sammen | i | stor | kærlighed. |
| *Norway,* | *and* | *they* | *lived* | *together* | *in* | *great* | *love.* |

'He crowned her himself as queen of Denmark and Norway, and they lived together in great affection'.

(FavrskovPosten.dk, 03.07.2010)

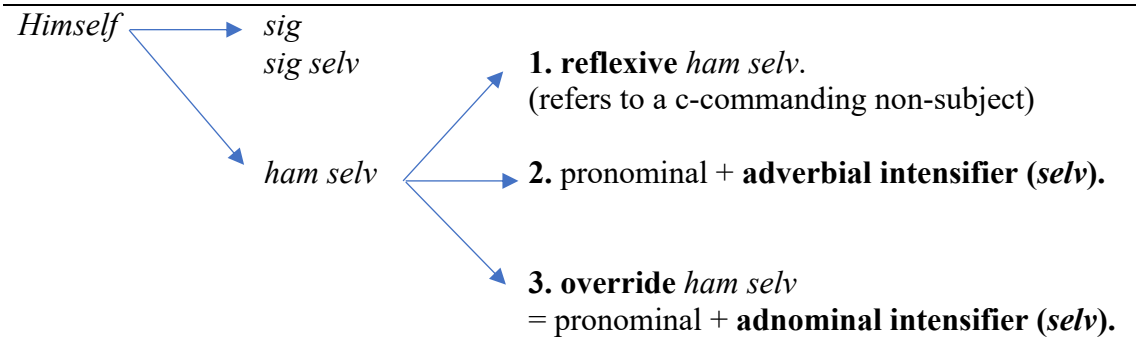
Thirdly, the combination of *ham* + *selv* may occur when *ham* + *selv* are two different elements but have the **same** reference. This is where override reflexives in Danish are found. In these constructions, *ham* is the argument followed by an adnominal intensifier *selv,* which is

[25] Please note, this version is not illustrated in the illustration in (55) because the elements have two different referents.

an adjunct. Consequently, *selv* may without difficulty be excluded from the sentence. Adhering to this analysis, the override reflexives in (56), (58), and (59) do not cause any problems for Vikner's (1985) theory of the Danish reflexive system, because only *ham* needs to be bound, whereas *self* is analysed as an intensifier modifying the pronominal.

Summing up, illustration (55) presented in the beginning of this section, can be replaced with the following illustration in (62).

(62)




*Selv* = intensifier in Danish

In the following chapter, I will explain the third combination in more detail. The analysis that override *ham selv* consists of two elements that have the same referent, will be adapted and expanded in this master's thesis. Moreover, I will argue that this analysis, in which *himself* is an intensifier of a non-overt pronominal, may be transferred to the English language as well.

## CHAPTER 4. INTENSIFIERS

In this chapter, I will argue that overrides belong to the category of intensifiers. By comparing with Danish, I will support König and Siemund's (2000a, 201) claim that overrides are intensifiers of non-overt pronominals. However, first, I will explain what intensifiers are and how they may be used.

Reflexives and intensifiers are formally identical in English. Nevertheless, they are very different in terms of function and distribution. In contrast to reflexive pronouns, intensifiers occur in adjunct position, whereas reflexives occur in argument positions.

(63)
a. The man bought *himself* a new car. REFLEXIVE
b. Eisenhower *himself* was less impressed. [BNC] INTENSIFIER

As seen in (63), the use of *himself* is very different in the two examples. In (63)a, *himself* is a reflexive in an argument position, which receives a thematic role from *bought* and therefore cannot be left out without changing the grammaticality of the sentence. Moreover, *himself* is both coindexed and c-commanded by the subject *the man* and is thus bound. In that way, it is in accordance with Principle A. As opposed to (63)a, *himself* in (63)b is an intensifier in an adjunct position. It does not receive a thematic role nor does it depend on the verb for its meaning. Furthermore, it may be omitted without changing the grammaticality of the sentence.

By using an intransitive verb, such as *work*, which does not take an object and only assigns one thematic role (i.e. agent), it is possible to demonstrate that intensifiers do not receive a thematic role, as seen in (64).

(64) a. *He$_1$ worked *himself*$_1$.
b. *He worked [$_{DP}$ a cat].
c. He worked *himself*.
d. He worked [$_{PP}$ on the moon].

As the example in (64) shows, *work* cannot take an object as argument, and when attempted (as in (64)a and (64)b)), the sentence becomes ungrammatical. In (64)a, *himself* and *he* are coindexed and *himself* is intended to be an object of *work*, which is impossible because *work* is intransitive. Likewise, *a cat* cannot be an argument of *work*. However, (64)c is perfectly fine because *himself* is an adjunct, similar to *on the moon* in (64)d. Therefore, even though *himself* as a reflexive and *himself* as an intensifier are formally identical, the contrasting examples in (64)a and (64)c show that when *himself* is used as an intensifier, it is an adjunct, whereas *himself* as a reflexive occupies an argument position, which leads to an ungrammatical sentence because of the intransitive verb. The contrast between (64)(a) and (64)c is perhaps more obvious when translated into Danish, as seen in (65).

(65) a. *Han$_1$ arbejdede *sig selv*$_1$.
b. Han arbejdede *selv*.

König and Gast (2002, 225–26) state that several grammars of English characterise reflexive pronouns in terms of their morphological make-up; *self* being compounded with another form. They further argue that the formal identity of reflexives and intensifiers has led many grammarians to categorise both types as reflexive pronouns with two different uses; a ‘basic’ reflexive use and an ‘emphatic’ use. This is not a fulfilling description because there are

different distributions and meanings of e.g. *himself*. Dividing reflexive pronouns into a 'basic' or 'complement use' vs. an 'emphatic' or 'non-reflexive' is problematic because the 'basic' reflexives may be used emphatically as well. Moreover, as König and Gast (2002, 233) argue, 'a distinction needs to be drawn between intensifiers and reflexive anaphors and that it is highly misleading, if not downright inadequate, to subsume both under the general category of reflexive pronouns, which are then subdivided into basic reflexives and emphatic reflexives'. Often, intensifiers have also been referred to as 'emphatic reflexives' because they are always focused and typically stressed. They have the function of opposing a referent to alternative referents (Gast 2006, 1–2). This will be elaborated further in the present chapter.

## 4.1 Different uses of intensifiers

When describing intensifiers, two uses are often distinguished between; an adnominal use and an adverbial use.

(66) a. Thomas *himself* ate the entire cake. ADNOMINAL
b. Thomas ate the entire cake *himself*. ADVERBIAL

As seen in (66), intensifiers do not always occupy the same position, sometimes they are adjoined to a DP, as in (66)a, other times they are adjoined to some verbal projection (probably a VP), as in (66)b.

König and Gast (2006, 224) argues that there are in fact four different types of intensifiers that can generally be distinguished. These are presented in (67).

(67) a. **The adnominal use**
e.g. *Writers* themselves*, rather than their works, should be examined for their sense of social responsibility.*
b. **The adverbial-exclusive use** (≅ 'one one's own', 'alone')[26]
e.g. *Mrs. Dalloway wanted to buy the flowers* herself.
c. **The adverbial-inclusive use** (≅ 'too')
e.g. *Mr. Salmon was all right, though. You see, he's once been a costermonger himself […]*
d. **The attributive use**
e.g. *Mind your own business!*

(adapted from König and Gast 2006, 224 (1))

[26] The symbol '≅' is used to indicate that the intensifier can be paraphrased with the following word(s). This helps the reader to differentiate between the two adverbial uses.

These four types of intensifiers are not only relevant for, or limited to, English grammar, they are also found in a variety of languages. (67)a and (64)b are the most widespread uses, whereas (67)c is the rarest (König and Gast, 224). The attributive use, as seen in (67)d, is used with a special intensifier *own*[27]. In adnominal intensifiers, the *self*-form is adjoined to a DP, whereas both of the adverbial uses are adjoined to some kind of verbal projection or a VP. Notice, even though the intensifiers in the adverbial uses are not adjacent to the nominal constituent, they still have to agree with it in terms of features (e.g. gender, number), as the contrasting examples in (68) reveal.

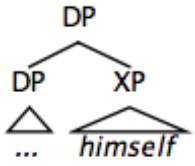
(68) a. He ate the cake *himself*.
b. *We ate the cake *himself*.

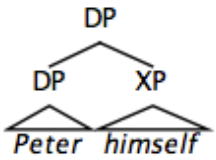
The adnominal use of intensifiers is the one most relevant to this thesis and will thus be the one in focus in the rest of the chapter[28].

As argued in König and Gast (2006, 227), it is not clear how intensifiers are categorised. They are neither pronouns, reflexives, nor adjectives. However, they are perfectly acceptable being attached to different categories, such as DPs, possessives, and VPs. König and Gast (2006, 227) further argue that 'the morpho-syntactic properties of intensifiers – and hence their categorical status – varies strikingly across languages, while their distribution is relatively invariant'.

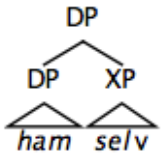
Moreover, it is also unclear what the exact syntactic structure of adnominal intensifiers looks like in English. One suggestion is that they may be right-adjoined to a DP. However, in English it is normally not possible to modify a DP, whereas this is possible in Danish, where *selv* may adjoin to a pronominal, as e.g. in *ham selv*, as illustrated in (70). Even though this is not a completely satisfying explanation, I will assume that adnominal intensifiers in Danish and English have the following structure portrayed in (69) and (70), respectively. This will be of relevance when I argue that override reflexives are intensifiers later in the present chapter.

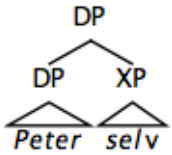
[27] The attributive use will not be discussed any further in this paper, since it is of less importance to the interpretation of overrides than the other types.
[28] See Gast (2006, chapter 4), for more on base positions of adverbial intensifiers.

(69) a. 


b. 


= Adnominal intensifiers in English

(70) a. 


b. 


= Adnominal intensifiers in Danish

As mentioned, despite the fact that reflexives and intensifiers are formally identical in English, there is no doubt that they are separate categories. In fact, they are very different both in terms of function and distribution. König and Gast (2006) attempt to give an exhaustive description of the parameters of intensifiers by comparing intensifiers in 110 different languages. They set up three different types, as shown in (34), to distinguish the languages from each other.

(71) i. Intensifiers and reflexives are identical in form.
ii. Formal differentiation of intensifiers and reflexives.
iii. Partial identity of intensifiers and reflexives.

The two most relevant types for the purpose of this thesis, are the first and the third type. The first type includes languages such as English, where it is clear that e.g. *himself* can be used both as a reflexive (as chapter 2 accounted for) as well as an intensifier, which has already been demonstrated above in (63). The second type includes those languages where there is a formal differentiation of intensifiers and reflexives, this is the case for German where *selbst/sich* are clearly distinct[29]. Finally, the third type contains languages where the reflexive and intensifier share morphological material but are not formally identical. In this type, e.g. Danish is found. The reflexive *sig selv*/*ham selv* in Danish consists of a combination of the reflexive *sig*/pronoun *ham* plus the intensifier *selv.* (72) summarises how reflexives and intensifiers may or may not differentiate in English, German, and Danish.

[29] I will not discuss intensifiers in German any further in this paper. For more on German intensifiers and a comparison of intensifiers in English and German, see Siemund (2000).

| (72) | REFLEXIVE | INTENSIFIER |
|---|---|---|
| ENGLISH | *himself* | *himself* |
| GERMAN | *sich* | *selbst* |
| DANISH | *sig (selv)*<br>*ham (selv)* | *selv* |

Despite the differences, this does not mean that reflexives and intensifiers are completely unrelated, for as argued in König and Gast (2002, 233-234), they have a close semantic relatedness. For example, they mention that reflexives often develop from intensifiers. The originally simple intensifier *self* was added on either a personal pronoun (*him*) or a possessive pronoun (*my*), resulting in a combination e.g. *him* + *self*, which is a lost category of present-day English (notice this is different from *himself* in one word). I will discuss the historical development of *self*-forms further in chapter 5. Another argument for their relatedness, is that in other languages where there is a clear formal distinction between intensifiers and reflexives (type two in (34)), the two are sometimes used together to emphasise agentive character (e.g. German *sich selbst* as two different entities).

The most obvious difference between override reflexives and 'basic' reflexives is that overrides can be replaced by personal pronouns without a major change of meaning. König and Gast (2002, 234-36) argue that the analysis of *self*-forms in English needs a threefold division. First, a distinction between reflexive pronouns and intensifiers has to be made. Then, override reflexives should be placed in the middle of reflexive pronouns and intensifiers because they manifest similarities with both categories. This means that override reflexives should not be considered as either reflexives or intensifiers. One of the properties they share with intensifiers is that they typically occur in contexts where contrast or emphasis is meant to be expressed and thus evokes alternatives. This is connected to the context in which they occur, since override reflexives (cf. chapter 3) often occur in coordinations, comparatives, prepositions like *including*, *apart from*, *like*, etc. which are contexts that often naturally indicate contrast. On the other hand, one of the properties override reflexives share with 'basic' reflexives is that they are excluded from the subject position and occur in argument positions rather than adjunct positions (at least in Standard English). However, in the following, I will argue against this threefold division, and argue that override reflexives are in fact intensifiers, and thus do **not** occupy a middle position between reflexives and intensifiers, despite sharing properties with both of them.

## 4.2 Overrides as intensifiers

As briefly mentioned above, intensifiers are focused and stressed, and have the function of opposing a referent to another alternative one. Gast (2006, 3-4) seeks to find the common denominator underlying both intensifiers and reflexives. His suggestion is basically that 'both intensifying and reflexive *self* are expressions of an identity function, i.e. a function that maps a given input value onto an identical output value'. He further argues that this statement is of course trivial. Only when comparing it with other components of grammar does it become relevant. Fundamentally, this means that in the context of intensifiers as well as reflexives an identity function is encoded. This is the underlying denominator. However, the semantic effects of the identity function differ in the two types of expressions. In the context of intensification (more specifically, adnominal intensifiers), the identity function relates the intensifier to other potential alternative referents. For example, in the DP *the president himself*, the identity function takes *the president* as its argument and maps it onto an output value identical to the input, i.e. *himself*. This means that [the president himself] = [the president]. Trivial as it might be, the idea is that the identity function is in focus, and therefore other alternative referents (who are related to the identity of the president or acting on his behalf) are brought into the discussion by the intensifier, e.g. the spokesman or secretary of the president (Gast 2006, 4-5).

According to König and Siemund (2006, 230), the use of an intensifier is possible in different situations. For example, when *x* has a higher position than *y*, more significant than *y*, defined in terms of *y*, or the centre of perspective. This analysis is essentially Baker's (1995), however slightly revised with an analysis of centre and periphery, replacing Baker's (1995) 'discourse prominence'. For more on the revised analysis with centre and periphery, see König and Siemund (2000b, 42–43, 1999, 2000a, 195), Siemund (2000, 121–22), and Gast (2006, 61–65). One of the intensifiers will briefly be considered here. This is when *x* is defined in terms of *y*, as in (73).

(73) Lucy's sister is more intelligent than Lucy herself. Siemund (2000, 121 (5.1))

In the above example, *Lucy's sister* is defined in terms of *Lucy*. Therefore, Lucy is the centre because another person is established through her. Baker (1995, 65) argues that the pronoun *him* and the override *himself* are related in the same way as *she* and *she herself* and e.g *Alice* and *Alice herself* are. Consider the override sentence in (74).

(74) Peter's behaviour only damages *himself*.

Similar to the example in (73), it is possible to have (75)a. However, (75)a should be pronominalisable, and would then come out as (75)b, but for some reason **him himself* is not possible and has to be realised as *himself*, so thus comes out as an override, as seen in (75)c.

(75) En. a. Peter's behaviour only damages Peter *himself*.
b. *Peter's behaviour only damages him *himself*.
c. Peter's behaviour only damages *himself*. = (74)

Please note that this is clearly not the reflexive *himself* since it cannot be bound by *Peter,* which does not c-command *himself.* The idea is that besides being a reflexive pronoun, *himself* is an abbreviated form of the impossible **him himself.* This means that *himself* is an intensifier of a deleted pronoun, and it is only the deleted element (the pronominal) that needs to be in accordance with binding principles, i.e. it may not be bound in the minimal IP (cf. Principle B). When comparing with Danish, this analysis also explains why overrides are realised as *ham selv*, in which the intensifier is only *selv* (as opposed to the English intensifier *himself)* which intensifies the DP *ham*. If this is correct, we would predict (76)a to be pronominalisable (which was not possible in English). As can be seen in (76)b, it is straightforwardly pronominalisable. Moreover, as seen in (76)c, the sentence is not grammatical when the intensifier *selv* does not have a DP to intensify.

(76) Da. a. Peters opførsel skader bare Peter *selv*.
*Peter's behaviour damages only Peter self.*
'Peter's behaviour only damages Peter himself'.

b. Peters opførsel skader bare *ham selv*.
c. *Peters opførsel skader bare *selv*.

To clarify, the intensifier in English is *himself,* whereas the intensifier in Danish is only *selv.* This means that in Danish the binding conditions that need to be satisfied is only for *ham.* Similarly, the binding conditions that need to be satisfied in English is the deleted head (D°) *him*. In this manner, it adheres to Principle B. This also explains why overrides occur in argument positions (cf. chapter 3), since *himself* is an intensifier of the deleted head. In short, override *himself* is really an intensifier of a non-overt pronoun, which is the argument, whereas *himself* is the adjunct. However, this only pertains to English. The Danish *ham selv* consists of an overt pronoun *ham*, which is the argument, plus the intensifier *selv.*

Every time we have override *himself*, I argue that *himself* is actually a version of the impossible **him himself.* This is in fact also suggested by König and Siemund (2000a), who modify Baker's (1995) theory, and argue that overrides are 'headless intensifiers (intensified non-nominative pronouns, intensifiers with incorporated pronominal heads), and thus manifest the distributional and semantic properties of both pronouns and intensifiers' and that '[t]he binding properties of such forms are simply the ones characteristic of pronominals in general'. Bergeton (2004, 304) actually suggests the same idea with a non-overt *him* in front of *himself* (*him himself → Ø himself)*. He argues, 'what looks like locally free reflexives (or "logophors") are really intensified object pronouns whose pronominal part is not realised phonetically'. He further convincingly argues that interpreting override reflexives as intensifiers gives the right predictions for Danish as well as for English. However, Bergeton's (2004) analysis differs, when he extends the idea of placing a phonologically silent element in front of the intensifier to the entire reflexive system in English. This means that **all** English *x-self* (including the 'basic' reflexives outlined in chapter 2) are always considered to be adnominal intensifiers and are thus not really reflexive pronouns, but *Ø*-reflexives, as he calls them. These are thus analysed as e.g. [Ø [himself]]. I will not adopt this part of his theory in the present paper. For a shorter and updated version of his analysis, see Bergeton and Pancheva (2012).

As also pointed out in Baker (1995), Ross (1970, 226–29) was one of the first to discuss this type of analysis (i.e. [~~him~~ himself] referring to the same entity). However, Ross (1970) has a different take on it. He considers *him* + *himself* to be a pronoun combined with a reflexive (and not combined with an intensifier), and surprisingly judge occurrences of *him himself* grammatical. Whether or not *him himself* is considered grammatical is an important issue for this papers' purpose. Therefore, I have compared occurrences of those *self*-forms with nominative heads (e.g. *he himself*) and those with non-nominative heads (e.g. *him himself*) in two of the largest English corpora (i.e. the *BNC* and the *COCA*). The results are presented in (77)[30].

| (77) | **Nominative** | **BNC** | **COCA** |
|---|---|---|---|
| | I myself | 191 | 1172 |
| | You yourself | 137 | 568 |
| | He himself | 724 | 2354 |
| | She herself | 365 | 1312 |

[30] Importantly, it has to be noted that when I say **him himself* is considered impossible, I do not consider sentences where *him* + *himself* have different referents, as in e.g. *Dana hadn't told her herself* [BNC]. These kinds of sentences are perfectly fine and have therefore been removed manually from the non-nominative results, since they are of no relevance to this paper.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| We ourselves | 100 | 376 |
| They themselves | 295 | 1043 |

| **Non-nominative** | **BNC** | **COCA** |
|---|---|---|
| Him himself | 1 | 8 |
| Her herself | 0 | 5 |
| Me myself | 1 | 11 |
| Us ourselves | 0 | 1 |
| Them themselves | 2 | 4 |

As revealed in (77), the non-nominative instances are undeniably less frequent than the nominative. To illustrate what kind of sentences that are counted in the non-nominative part, some examples are provided in (78).

(78) En. a. I mean, the interview with **her herself** was a farce. [COCA]

b. I have raised the argument you've raised with **me myself**. [COCA]

c. …, which one day could end up in **us ourselves** … [COCA]

d. And he besought his mother that she would love her even as she loved **him himself**, and that …[31] [BNC]

Because of the few occurrences of sentences like those in (78), I argue that **him himself* when referring to the same person, is not grammatical, but marginally acceptable. This supports König and Siemund's (2000a, 197) claim that 'intensifiers do occur with pronominal heads in subject position (*they themselves*), but do not combine with pronouns in nonsubject positions (**them themselves*)'.

The question remains why **him himself* is not possible, when e.g. *Trump himself* is considered possible? König and Siemund (2000a, 197) argue against haplology, i.e. the occurrence of a repeated sound or syllable in a word, since *him himself* may only be possible whenever *him* and *himself* have two different referents, as e.g. *Dana hadn't told her herself* [BNC] (repeated from footnote 30 in the present paper). Similarly, Bergeton (2004, 385) dismisses haplology as a fulfilling explanation. He states, that haplology might be plausible to explain **him himself*, however, it runs into problems with the other forms that do not have two repeated syllables, such as **me myself* and **us ourselves*.

[31] (78)d is also cited in König and Siemund (2000, 197).

The fact that it is not possible to modify a pronominal in English, seems to be an English specific problem. In Danish, it is possible to modify a pronominal in at least three ways where the corresponding English sentence is ungrammatical. This is shown in (79) and (80).

(79) Da. a. *Ham + selv* (e.g. *Trump selv*).
b. *Ham det store fjols.*
c. *Ham der står derovre*.

(80) En. a. *him himself.
b. *him the big fool.
c. *him who stands over there.

As seen, *ham* 'him' in Danish may be modified by an intensifier (as in (79)a), another DP (as in (79)b), as well as a CP (relative clause), as shown in (79)c. None of the corresponding English examples are grammatical, illustrating that it is not possible to modify a pronominal in English. However, if pronominals may not be modified in English, why is it then argued that *himself* an intensifier (modifier) of a non-overt pronominal? One explanation is that override *himself* is a remnant from Old English (this will be further discussed in chapter 5).

In the following, I will present a test that makes it possible to determine whether the *self*-form is used not as part of a reflexive, but as an intensifier.

### 4.2.1 Intensifier test

Based on the above analysis, we now have two overall categories that *self*-forms can be divided into; reflexive pronouns and intensifiers. As argued so far, whenever we have a regular reflexive pronoun, it is connected with c-command and binding, and thus follows binding principle A (cf. chapter 2). This means that whenever the right conditions for reflexives are present, it is possible to construct sentences using reflexive pronouns. However, *self*-forms can also be used as intensifiers. Intensifiers are not problematic to locate; they are modifiers, and different constituency tests can be used to show this. Nonetheless, there are other instances of *self*-forms (i.e. overrides) that are formally identical with reflexives, but really are intensifiers. The problem with overrides is that they are acceptable even when the binding conditions are not met, **as well as** when the right conditions for intensifiers are present. The challenge in English is that both reflexives, intensifiers, and overrides are formally identical, which consequently make them hard to distinguish from each other. In order to investigate what overrides really are, it is necessary to have a test that explicitly makes it possible to find out whether the *self*-form is a reflexive or an intensifier. Otherwise, we simply have too broad a theory that states that an override reflexive is either a reflexive or it is an intensifier (or as König and Gast (2002)

argue, occupy a place in the middle). This is not a sufficient explanation, because overrides would then always be able to fit into at least one of the two categories, and we would not be able to distinguish between them. To prevent us from running in circles, this is where the Danish reflexive system, which is far more fine-grained than the English system, might contribute to establish a general rule that also apply to English. In the following, I will present a test that may resolve this issue.

My claim is every time we have override *himself*, *himself* does not stand alone, but is really a version of the impossible **him himself,* interpreted as [$_{DP}$[$_{DP}$Ø] himself] in English, modifying a missing argument. Consequently, every time it is possible to insert a DP in front of the *self*-form (*himself*/*selv*), it takes the place of an empty DP (i.e. Ø), and the *self*-form should thus be interpreted as an intensifier. On the other hand, whenever the DP is inserted in front of a reflexive, the result is a principle C violation, since R-expressions (names, full DPs etc.) may not be bound at all; if tried, the sentence becomes ungrammatical (cf. chapter 2)[32]. Consider the following examples in (81) and (82) in English and Danish, respectively[33].

(81) En. a. The student never talks about himself. REFLEXIVE

b. *The student never talks about the student himself. REFLEXIVE

c. The student's behaviour only damages (~~him~~) himself. INTENSIFIER

d. The student's behaviour only damages the student himself. INTENSIFIER

(82) Da. a. Vi fortalte præsidenten sandheden om ham selv. REFLEXIVE
*We told president-the truth-the about himself.*
'We told the president the truth about himself'.

b. *Vi fortalte præsidenten sandheden om præsidenten selv. REFLEXIVE

c. Præsidentens mor har endnu mærkeligere hår end ham selv. INTENSIFIER
*President-the's mother has even stranger hair than him himself.*
'The mother of the president has even stranger hair than himself'.

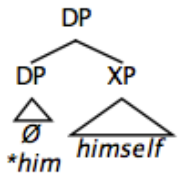
d. Præsidentens mor har endnu mærkeligere hår end præsidenten selv. INTENSIFIER

[32] Unfortunately, Principle C violations are not always totally unacceptable, cf. chapter 2, footnote, 6.
[33] This analysis has been developed during an internship in collaboration with prof. Sten Vikner.

The a-examples show sentences with a reflexive pronoun as we would predict based on GB-theory. These sentences are perfectly fine. In (81)a, *himself* is bound by *the student* in the right domain and is thus in accordance with Principle A. Importantly, notice that I do not claim that there is a non-overt element in front of *himself* in this instance. Similarly, (82)a is grammatical, because *ham selv* is bound by a non-subject (*the president*) in the minimal IP, and is thus in accordance with both the domain-parameter and binder-parameter. In the b-examples, I have inserted a full DP (*the student*/*præsidenten,* respectively*)* in front of the *self*-form. This DP corresponds to the subject/antecedent of the *self*-form. As the examples reveal, this is not possible, because full DPs may not be bound.

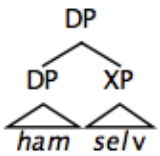
However, if we treat overrides constructions in the c-examples in the same way by adding a DP in front of the *self*-form, the sentences remain grammatical, and thus do not result in Principle C violations, as seen in the d-examples. This supports the interpretation that there is a non-overt element in front of the English intensifier *himself* which is the argument*,* whereas the Danish argument *ham* in *ham selv* is substituted with another DP argument. Please note the intentional difference of the underlined *ham selv* in (82)a and (82)c. This is meant to indicate that whenever *ham selv* used as a reflexive, *ham selv* is the argument, whereas when used as an intensifier only *ham* is the argument (and *selv* is the intensifier). To illustrate this further, see the tree structures in (83) and (84), where the intensifier is the XP.

(83)




= override reflexive in English

(84)




= override reflexive in Danish (=(70)a)

By comparing with Danish, the claim that overrides are in fact intensifiers of an invisible pronoun is supported. Basically, the test shows that when *himself* is a reflexive, as in both the a and b-examples, the sentence becomes ungrammatical when another DP is inserted before the *self*-form. However, if we apply the same test with override *himself*, as in the c and d-examples, the sentences remain grammatical. It is thus always possible to replace override *himself* with a DP + *himself* (e.g. *John himself*). This is only possible with override *himself*, and not with

reflexives or other intensifiers. Trivial as it may be, it has to be noted that the test does not tell whether something is an intensifier or not, but only whether the *self*-form is used **not** as part of a reflexive, but as an intensifier. This contrast is, however, important. In those instances where it is clear that the *self*-form is an intensifier, there is no need for a test. It is evident that they are modifiers, which may be revealed by various constituency tests.

The Danish system is thus able to support the analysis of interpreting override reflexives in English as intensifiers. This is made clear by the use of *ham selv*, which is the form overrides in Danish always take. In this case, *ham* is the argument, and *selv* is an intensifier. Moreover, the Danish pronominal part of *ham selv* (i.e. *ham*) is an overt argument in overrides in Danish, it may be substituted with another form, e.g. a full DP, as the test above revealed. This may thus be extended to the English system, which only has the intensifier *himself* as overt element. In English, then, the non-overt pronominal part (which is the argument) may be substituted with a full DP, and *himself* is thus shown to be an intensifier modifying the full DP. In this way, Chomsky's (1981) binding theory is not violated, since the binding condition that needs to be satisfied is only the non-overt pronominal part *him*, which must be in accordance with Principle B and thus may not be bound in the binding domain.

In the following chapter, I will examine the history and development of *self*-forms in English, in order to support the analysis presented above.

## CHAPTER 5. THE HISTORY AND DEVELOPMENT OF SELF-FORMS

In this chapter, I will argue that the examination of *self*-forms from a historical point of view will support the analysis of interpreting override reflexives as intensifiers, cf. chapter 4. It has to be noted that the present chapter does not seek to discuss the different theories of the development of reflexives, however, I will explain and focus on Keenan's (2002) analysis, which is only one account of the development of reflexive pronouns[34].

Gast (2006, 2011) argues that 'the link between reflexive and intensifying *self*-forms in English can only be understood from a diachronic perspective'. This means that it is necessary to look into the historical development of reflexives in English in order to understand why reflexive *himself* and intensifying *himself* are formally identical. Not only is a diachronic perspective relevant for the link between reflexives and intensifiers, it is also relevant for overrides. In fact, Gast (2006, 208) explicitly states 'there are some other rules of Modern English that require a historical explanation as well. So-called "untriggered *self*-forms" are a case in point'. Therefore,

[34] For other accounts, see Gast and Siemund (2006), van Gelderen (2000), and König and Siemund (2000b).

by examining the development of *self*-forms, it will provide us with a better understanding of how overrides came to be in Modern English.

## 5.1 Old English intensifier *self*

In the following, I will summarise and explain the most important parts of Keenan's (2002) analysis of how reflexives developed. As shown in the previous chapter, Danish has the intensifier *selv,* this is an independent word which is able to be attached on different phrases, e.g. DPs, VPs. Similar to the Danish *selv,* Old English had *self* but eventually lost it as an independent word. Syntactically, Old English *self* modified full, definite DPs, such as proper names and pronouns. In Old English, *self* was inflected as an adjective with respect to case, number, and gender, and it had strong and weak forms. This means that morphologically *self* had different forms and thus appeared as *self/sylf* (NOM)*, selfne* (ACC)*, selfum* (DAT)*, selfes* (GEN)[35]. Semantically, *self* has the same function as intensifiers in Modern English, meaning that *self* 'contrasts (=identifies from a set of alternatives) the referent of the [DP] it agrees with – its *antecedent'* (Keenan 2002, 333). The antecedent was often an exalted personage (e.g. God, the devil, king, earl etc.), and *self* was used to mark that there was a contrast between the exalted and the individuals. An example is provided in (85), and the construction of the *self*-form in such sentences was considered to be adnominal intensifiers in chapter 4.

(85) OE.

| ond | he | geseah | þone | hælend | sylfne | standan |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| *and* | *he* | *saw* | *the*ACC | *Lord* | *self*ACC.M.SG | *standing* |

| on | his | god | þrymme; |
|---|---|---|---|
| *in* | *his* | *divine* | *glory;* |

'and he saw the Lord himself standing in his divine glory'.

(*Mart 8*, c875. Cited in Keenan 2002, 334 (9c))

In this example, *sylfne* 'self' is in accusative case, and therefore we know that it agrees with *þone hælend* 'the Lord', because it occupies the object position, which is assigned accusative case, as well as proceeded by the definite article which is also inflected for accusative case. It cannot refer to *he* 'he', because it is nominative. Therefore, because of inflection of *self,* it is clear that the meaning is not [he himself] saw the Lord, but that he saw the [Lord himself]. *Self* thus indicates that there is a contrast between *he* and *the Lord.*

[35] For consistency, I will refer to the nominative *self* throughout the chapter.

However, in later Old English, *self* also had pronoun antecedents, and in these instances, *self* was used to establish a contrast indicating that the antecedent was not the closest possible antecedent (and thus not the most expected), as can be seen in (2).

(86) OE. þa forborn þæs cyninges heall ... ond his sunu awedde, ond he sylf ahreofode, ...
'then the king's hall burnt down...and his son went mad, and he self became a leper.'
(*Mart 74*, c875. Cited in Keenan 2002, 333 (8a))

In this example, *sylf* 'self' modifies the pronoun antecedent *he* 'he'. *Self* is thus added to indicate that *he* 'he' refers to the *þæs cyninge* 'the king' and not *his sunu* 'his son', which is a closer possible antecedent. Therefore, *self* is attached and 'contrast is established in virtue of the antecedent of the pronoun being not the most local possible antecedent' (Keenan 2002, 333).

## 5.2 Old English binding

In Old English, binding (both local and non-local) was done with ordinary personal pronouns (e.g. *he, she, we*) (Keenan 2002, 331). However, this is a contrast to binding in Modern English, where pronominals are only used for non-local binding, cf. Principle B. This is one of the main differences between binding in Old English and Modern English. In (87), the pronoun *hie* 'her' is bound by *hie* 'she', exemplifying that local binding was done with pronominals. However, notice the intervening *sylf* 'self', which is an intensifier modifying the subject *hie* 'she' and thus sharing nominative case.

(87) OE.

| ... ðæt | hie$_1$ | sylf | hie$_1$ | ðeowen | nemde. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| *... that* | *she*$_{NOM}$ | *self*$_{NOM}$ | *her*$_{ACC}$ | *handmaiden* | *calls.* |

'… (that was undoubtedly modesty) that she herself call[ed] herself handmaiden).'
(*BlHom* 5.I.13, c971. Cited in Keenan 2002, 331 (6d))

Another form of pronouns that existed in Old English are pleonastic pronouns. These occur in non-theta positions, which means that they do not occur in argument positions and thus do not receive a thematic role (e.g. AGENT, THEME, EXPERIENCER, etc.). Moreover, they are used with either dative or accusative case, and never nominative or genitive case. They agree with their antecedent in person, number, and gender, and the antecedent is always the local subject (Keenan 2002, 331–32). An example is provided in (88).

(88) OE.

| … & | namon | him | wif | of | eallum | ðam |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| *... and* | *(they) took* | *them* | *wives* | *from* | *all* | *those* |

| ðe | hi | gecuren. |
|---|---|---|
| *that* | *they* | *chose.* |

'… and they took them wives from all those they chose'.
(*ÆGen* 6.2, c1000. Cited in Keenan 2002, 332 (7c))

The pleonastic pronoun is the underlined *him* 'them', and it is not an argument in the sentence, and thus does not receive a thematic role. However, it takes the local subject, which in this case is implicit in the verb *namon* 'they took', as its antecedent. (Presumably, there could have been an explicit personal pronoun *hi* 'they' in front of the verb.) Interestingly, some uses of pleonastic pronouns, such as the one in (88), may be similar to the Danish non-argument *sig* (cf. chapter 2, *Mette skyndte sig*), and the sentence would thus be translated into *og de tog sig koner ...* in Danish (cf. Ehlers 2019, 6). These pleonastic pronouns are relevant for the analysis of overrides as well as for the explanation of why intensifier *himself* and reflexive *himself* are formally identical in Modern English. I will return to this point below.

Summing up, in Old English binding happened with personal pronouns. Sometimes, they occupied an argument position, as in *hie* 'her' in (87), other times, they did not, as with the pleonastic pronouns in (88). As Keenan (2002, 332) argues, the dative and accusative pronouns accepted but did not require theta-role assignment from verbs and prepositions.

## 5.3 Override reflexives in Old English

Keenan (2002, 342) argues that override reflexives already existed in Old English. In fact, he argues that override reflexives were among the first and primary uses of pron+*self*. He calls them Inherently Contrastive Expressions (ICEs), and they occur in argument positions (theta-positions). These *self*-forms naturally occur in coordinations, comparatives, and exception DPs, which are all contexts that are contrastive. One example of each is provided in (89).

(89) OE.

a. …þæt hi þonne ne mihtan nawþer ne him sylfum, ne þære heorde…
'…they could not be of any service, neither for themselves nor for the flock…'
(*BlHom,* c971. Cited in Keenan 2002, 334 (10a))

b. hwen euchan luueð godd mare þen him seoluen. ant þen alle þe odre;
'because each one loveth god more than himself and then all the others;'
(*S.Warde 263,* c1200. Cited in Keenan 2002, 342 (18e))

c. Nat þah na mon bute ham seolfen hwet ham sticheð ofte.
'Not-knows though no man but themselves what them pains often.'
(*Hali Meidenhad, 97,* c.1225. Cited in Keenan 2002, 342 (18h))

As seen in chapter 3, overrides are often placed in contexts that are naturally contrastive. For example, in coordinations, certain prepositions (e.g. *as, including, like* etc.). Therefore, it is not unreasonable to have the contrastive intensifier *self* in such contexts. As also seen in chapter 3, overrides in English may occur with a non-locally bound antecedent or without an antecedent at all. This fits well with Keenan (2002) who argues that pron+*self* does not force a local antecedent (as already seen in (86)), nor require one (as can be seen in (90)).

(90) OE. Uþe ic swiþor
þæt ðu hine selfne geseon moste…!
*How I wish that you could have seen him self* (=Grendel).
(*Beowulf 960*, c750. Cited in Keenan 2002, 336 (12e))

In (90), both *hine* 'him' and *selfne* 'self' are accusative case and masculine, and *hine selfne* 'himself' cannot refer to the subject *ic* 'I', which is in nominative case, leaving *himself* to have no antecedent.

As also argued in Gast (2006, 210) overrides 'can be regarded as representing an older stage of the grammar of English: the incorporation of a pronominal copy into the intensifier has not taken place in this particular context'. This means that *him* was a DP, which was modified by the intensifier *self,* similar to overrides in Danish. It is for example possible to use the test (presented in chapter 4) on the example in (90), which would result in the following construction *how I wish that you could have seen Grendel himself* indicating that *himself* is modifying *Grendel*. Moreover, this also explains why override *himself* is able to modify a (non-overt) pronominal in Modern English.

Keenan (2002, 337) describes two major change periods, which explain the occurrences of reflexives and intensifiers in Modern English.

The first period happened in the 1200s. In this period, pron + *self* became one ord. This phenomenon is what Keenan (2002, 338) calls function word proclesis (FWP), which basically means that a function word is added to another word, and eventually loses its function. So, in this case, *self* is added to the pronoun. However, notice that FWP only happened to the with expressions that did not form a constituent, i.e. the pleonastic uses (non-theta) where the case on the pronoun and *self* differed (cf. example (88)), and not e.g. *he*+*self* (nominative). Thereby, as Keenan (2002, 338) states, 'the dative pronoun cliticizes to free nominative *self* which occurred in the predicate contrasting the subject'. Pron+*self*-forms were thus initially created

on the dative e.g. *me*$_{DAT}$+*self*, *þe*$_{DAT}$+*self*, and *him*$_{DAT}$+*self*. In this period, *self* died out as an independent DP contraster, which meant that pron+*self* filled the role that the *self*$_{NOM}$ had, e.g. *the king self* becomes *the king himself* (Ehlers 2019, 9). These uses are non-arguments and only have subject-antecedents, which means that they occur in both adnominal and adverbial positions functioning as contrastive modifiers to the subject (similar to Modern English adnominal intensifiers)[36]. Importantly, at this time, bare pronouns still dominated local binding (pron+*self* did not). However, by the 1400s, pron+*self*-forms extended to non-subjects, which is caused by what Keenan (2002) calls *Pattern Generalization.* Basically, this means that 'a pattern that applies to a restricted class of cases extends to new cases' (Keenan 2002, 339), which resulted in pron+*self* performing the function that pronouns did, i.e. occupying an argument position, and thus receiving a thematic role. This means, that pron+*self*-forms both occurred in argument and non-argument positions, while always having a contrastive interpretation, in this time period.

The second period of major change happened in c1500. In this period, pron+*self*-forms took over local binding, whereas pronouns still dominated non-local binding (as in Modern English), and pleonastic pronouns died out. Moreover, pron+*self*-forms lost their **obligatory** contrastive interpretation when they occurred in argument positions (as e.g. reflexives), but not in non-argument positions (as intensifiers). However, this does not mean that pron+*self* in argument positions could not be contrastive, only that it was not obligatory anymore. This is especially relevant for overrides, since they also occurred in argument positions. In the case of overrides, the contrastive function was often forced, especially when having a non-local antecedent (cf. example (2) above). It was not until the 1600s that the anaphor system was essentially that of Modern English (Keenan 2002, 337).

Summing up, the form pron+***self*** (as one word) was developed from a fusion of the pleonastic pronouns and the Old English intensifier *self*. They inherited the semantic role of Old English *self* in being contrastive as well as occurring in non-argument positions. These kind of pron+*self*-forms are what have turned into intensifiers today. However, due to *Pattern Generalization,* pron+*self* was extended into another version, which took over the role of the pronominal part of **pron**+*self* and thus occupied argument positions. These are today's reflexive pronouns. This also accounts for why reflexives and intensifiers are formally identical in Modern English. However, as Gast (2006, 215) points out, 'this formal identity, is to a certain extent, fallacious; the pronominal part of the reflexive *self*-form corresponds to the object pronoun in Old English, while the pronominal part of the intensifier is a relic of the pronominal

[36] Examples of pron+*self* in adnominal and adverbial positions are provided in (Keenan 2002, 338 (14) and (15)).

copy of the head associated with the intensifier […] '. So, intensifiers have inherited the contrast meaning from Old English, whereas the reflexives have inherited the ability to be assigned a thematic role, and thus occupy an argument position.

To conclude, reflexives have developed from intensifiers. Override constructions were already a phenomenon that existed Old English, in which the Old English *self* was attached to a pronominal to mark contrast and used to indicate that the pronoun referred to an unusual referent (e.g. non-local). They have survived into Modern English. When looking at reflexives and intensifiers from a diachronic point of view, the analysis that overrides are intensifiers with incorporated pronominals is supported. It becomes clear that the *self*-forms are combinations of a pronoun + intensifier, which is similar to the Danish *ham selv* in override constructions.

# CHAPTER 6. CONCLUSION

This master's thesis has investigated override reflexives in English and Danish. In chapter 1, I briefly stated the problem with override reflexives. English uses the same *self*-form for basic reflexives and intensifiers, and even though they are formally identical, they are very different in distribution. The problem is that there are *self*-forms that are formally identical with 'basic' reflexives but are not in accordance with GB-Theory originally proposed by Chomsky (1981). The paper had three overall objectives. The first was to examine the occurrences of override reflexives as well as examine the different contexts they typically appeared in. The second objective was to argue that overrides should be analysed as intensifiers (adjuncts) of non-overt pronominals, meaning that override reflexives are a version of the impossible **him himself*, and thereby support the analysis borne out by König and Siemund (2000a). The third objective was to compare the English reflexive system with the Danish reflexive system, which is a more complex system, in order to support the analysis of interpreting override reflexives as intensifiers.

In chapter 2, I introduced Chomsky's (1981) *Government and Binding Theory*. The relevant parts of the theory were explained, such as c-command, co-indexation, binding domain, as well as Principles A, B, and C. This was done to set the theoretical framework behind this thesis in order to establish the right predictions for the distribution of pronouns. Moreover, the chapter explained relevant parts of Vikner's (1985) expansion of GB-theory, which includes predictions for the Danish language. Differences and similarities of the two systems were compared. The Danish system distinguishes between *sig selv, sig, ham selv, ham* and adheres to two parameters; the binder-parameter and the domain-parameter, whereas the English system only adheres to the latter.

In the third chapter, I accounted for different suggestions of how to treat override reflexives. Override reflexives may violate the binding principles in three different ways; either the override reflexive has an antecedent which is located outside the minimal IP, i.e. outside the binding domain, or it has an antecedent inside the minimal IP but lacks c-command (which is one of the conditions for being bound), or it does not have an antecedent at all. I found that overrides occur in different contexts with different potential triggers. The most frequent contexts are coordinate constructions and PPs, and many of the contexts naturally evoke a contrastive aspect, which favours overrides. The more contexts and aspects present, the more acceptable the sentence. Moreover, logophoricity is another aspect that favours occurrences of override reflexives, but it is not a necessity for the presence of overrides. It therefore seems that syntactic factors weigh more than pragmatic factors. Additionally, in section 3.3 overrides in Danish were explained. It was shown that they clearly take the form of *ham selv* and never *sig selv*. The combination of *ham* + *selv* may be used in three different ways in Danish, either it is a 'normal' reflexive and is in accordance with the binding principles (i.e. refers to a c-commanding non-subject), or it is used having two different referents where *ham* refers to one person, and *selv* refers to another (pronominal + adverbial intensifier), or finally, it may be used as an override, where *ham* and *selv* has the same referent and *selv* is an adnominal intensifier modifying *ham.* Unlike English, overrides in Danish has an overt pronominal *ham,* which is an argument modified by the intensifier *selv*.

In chapter 4, I argued that similar to the Danish language, the English override *himself* should be analysed as an intensifier that modifies a pronominal. However, in English the pronominal is non-overt. Intensifiers are used to create focus and emphasis. They evoke alternatives, which results in a contrastive interpretation. In this chapter, I presented a test that shows how to differentiate between two types of *himself,* which are formally identical. Without this test, there is a risk that they cannot be distinguished from each other. However, the test is not necessary in Danish, because it formally distinguishes between *sig selv* and *ham selv* and thus makes it possible to separate them. Moreover, the test supports the analysis of interpreting override *himself* as **him himself,* by showing that there is a missing argument in front of *himself*. The missing argument may always be replaced by a DP (referring to the antecedent) + *himself* (e.g. *Trump himself*).

Finally, in chapter 5, I examined reflexives and intensifiers from a diachronic perspective. This chapter was used to further support the categorisation of overrides as intensifiers. I demonstrated that overrides already existed in Old English as two separate elements (similar to the Danish *ham selv*), with a pronominal plus the independent Old English intensifier *self* (which is lost in Modern English). The function of Old English *self* was to create a contrast;

either indicating that the antecedent had a high rank or that the antecedent was unexpected (e.g. not the local antecedent). This function has survived into Modern English.

To conclude, override reflexives in English are formally identical with both reflexive pronouns as well as intensifiers. Despite similarities with both reflexives and intensifiers, I have argued against the view that overrides occupy a middle position between the two. There are only two categories; reflexive pronouns and intensifiers. The thesis has shown that override reflexives in English are intensifiers that modify non-overt pronominals, i.e. *himself* is a version of **him himself*, and thus do not belong to the category of reflexive pronouns. When adapting this analysis, overrides are not in violation with Chomsky's (1981) binding principles, because it is only the non-overt pronominal part that needs to be in accordance with the binding principles, i.e. Principle B (and not A). This interpretation has been supported by a comparison with the Danish language as well as an account of the development of *self*-forms in English. For further investigation of the phenomenon, it would be interesting to conduct comparative studies with different languages to see if this interpretation can be extended to those languages. As a final remark, override reflexives should perhaps be called something else since they according to this analysis do not override the rules, and thus are not reflexive pronouns at all.

## SOURCES

| | |
|---|---|
| *British National Corpus* [BNC] | http://corpus.byu.edu/bnc |
| *Corpus of Contemporary American English* [COCA] | http://corpus.byu.edu/coca |
| *Infomedia* | https://infomedia.org |
| *KorpusDK* | http://ordnet.dk/korpusdk |

## REFERENCE LIST


Asudeh, Ash, and Frank Keller. 2001. 'Experimental Evidence for a Predication-Based Binding Theory'. In *CLS 37: The Main Session. Papers from the 37th Meeting of the Chicago Linguistic Society*, edited by Mary Andronis, Christopher Ball, Heidi Elston, and Sylvain Neuvel, 1:1–14. Chicago: Chicago Linguistic Society.

Baker, C. L. 1995. 'Contrast, Discourse Prominence, and Intensification, with Special Reference to Locally Free Reflexives in British English'. *Language* 71 (1): 63–101. https://doi.org/10.2307/415963.

Bergeton, Uffe. 2004. 'The Independence of Binding and Intensification'. Unpublished PhD diss., University of Southern California.

Bergeton, Uffe, and Roumyana Pancheva. 2012. 'A New Perspective on the Historical Development of English Intensifiers and Reflexives'. In *Grammatical Change: Origins, Nature, Outcomes*, edited by D. Jonas, J. Whitman, and A. Garrett, 123–38. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Büring, Daniel. 2005. *Binding Theory*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Chomsky, Noam. 1981. *Lectures on Government and Binding: The Pisa Lectures*. Dordrecht: Foris Publications.

———. 1986. *Knowledge of Language: Its Nature, Origin, and Use*. New York: Praeger.

Ehlers, Katrine Rosendal. 2019. 'Variation and Change in the English (and Danish) Reflexive Systems'. Lecture handout.

Ehlers, Katrine Rosendal, and Sten Vikner. 2017. '*Sig, sig selv* og KorpusDK - hvorfor det er svært både *at skælde sig ud* og *at skille sig selv ud*'. *Møde om Udforskningen af Dansk Sprog* 16: 91–120.

Evans, Gareth. 1980. 'Pronouns'. *Linguistic Inquiry* 11 (2): 337–62.

Gast, Volker. 2006. *The Grammar of Identity: Intensifiers and Reflexives in Germanic Languages*. London: Routledge.

Gast, Volker, and Peter Siemund. 2006. 'Rethinking the Relationship between SELF-Intensifiers and Reflexives'. *Linguistics* 44 (2): 343–381. https://doi.org/10.1515/LING.2006.013.

Gelderen, Elly van. 2000. *A History of English Reflexive Pronouns: Person,* Self*, and Interpretability*. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing Company.

Haegeman, Liliane. 1994. *Introduction to Government and Binding Theory*. 2nd ed. Blackwell Textbooks in Linguistics 1. Oxford: Blackwell.

Haegeman, Liliane, and Jacqueline Guéron. 1999. *English Grammar: A Generative Perspective*. Oxford: Blackwell Publishing.

Hernández, Nuria. 2002. 'A Context Hierarchy of Untriggered Self-Forms in English'. *Zeitschrift Für Anglistik Und Amerikanistik* 50 (3): 269–84.

Hole, Daniel. 2002. 'Spell-Bound? Accounting for Unpredictable *Self*-Forms in J.K. Rowling's Harry Potter Stories'. *Zeitschrift Für Anglistik Und Amerikanistik* 50 (3): 258–300.

Huddleston, Rodney, and Geoffrey K. Pullum. 2002. *The Cambridge Grammar of the English Language*. Cambridge University Press.

Jaeger, T. Florian. 2004. 'Binding in Picture NPs Revisited: Evidence for a Semantic Principle of Extended Argument-Hood'. In *Proceedings of the LFG04 Conference*, edited by Miriam Butt and Tracy Holloway King, 269–88. Stanford, CA: CSLI Publications. http://csli-publications.stanford.edu/.

Jønch-Clausen, Heidi, and Christina Pontoppidan. 2005. 'Vennesæl. Bushs stærkeste kort er ham selv'. *Politiken*, 2005.

Keenan, Edward L. 2002. 'Explaining the Creation of Reflexive Pronouns in English'. In *Studies in the History of the English Language: A Millennial Perspective*, edited by Donka Minkova and Robert P. Stockwell, 325–54. Berlin/Boston: Mouton de Gruyter.

Keller, Frank, and Ash Asudeh. 2001. 'Constraints on Linguistic Coreference: Structural vs. Pragmatic Factors'. In *Proceedings of the 23rd Annual Meeting of the Cognitive Science Society*, edited by Johanna D. Moore and Keith Stenning, 23:483–88. Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum.

König, Ekkehard, and Volker Gast. 2002. 'Reflexive Pronouns and Other Uses of Self-Forms in English'. *Zeitschrift Für Anglistik Und Amerikanistik* 50 (3): 225–38.

———. 2006. 'Focused Assertion of Identity: A Typology of Intensifiers'. *Linguistic Typology* 10 (2): 223–276. https://doi.org/10.1515/LINGTY.2006.008.

König, Ekkehard, and Peter Siemund. 1999. 'Reflexivity, Logophoricity and Intensification in English'. In *Form, Function and Variation in English: Studies in Honour of Klaus Hansen*, edited by Uwe Carls and Peter Lucko, 283–304. Frankfurt: Lang.

———. 2000a. 'Locally Free Self-Forms, Logophoricity, and Intensification in English'. *English Language and Linguistics* 4 (2): 183–204. https://doi.org/10.1017/S1360674300000228.

———. 2000b. 'The Development of Complex Reflexives and Intensifiers in English'. *Diachronica* XVII (1): 39–84. https://doi.org/10.1075/dia.17.1.04kon.

Kuno, Susumu. 1987. *Functional Syntax: Anaphora, Discourse and Empathy*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Liberman, Mark. 2015. ‘Alleged Misuse of Reflexive Pronouns’. *Language Log* (blog). 2015. http://languagelog.ldc.upenn.edu/nll/?p=22979.

Norman, Philip. 2012. ‘Johnny Cash: “I Was Evil. I Really Was” – a Classic Interview from the Vaults’. *The Guardian*, 28 February 2012. https://www.theguardian.com/music/2012/feb/28/johnny-cash-classic-interview.

Parker, Frank, Kathryn Riley, and Charles F. Meyer. 1990. ‘Untriggered Reflexive Pronouns in English’. *American Speech* 65 (1): 50–69. https://doi.org/10.2307/455936.

Pollard, Carl, and Ivan A. Sag. 1992. ‘Anaphors in English and the Scope of Binding Theory’. *Linguistic Inquiry* 23 (2): 261–303.

Radford, Andrew. 1988. *Transformational Grammar: A First Course*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

———. 2004. *Minimalist Syntax: Exploring the Structure of English*. Cambridge Textbooks in Linguistics. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. https://doi.org/10.1017/CBO9780511811319.

Reinhart, Tanya, and Eric Reuland. 1993. ‘Reflexivity’. *Linguistic Inquiry* 24 (4): 657–720.

Ross, John Robert. 1970. ‘On Declarative Sentences’. In *Readings in English Transformational Grammar*, edited by Roderick A. Jacobs and Peter S. Rosenbaum. Waltham, Massachusetts: Ginn and Company.

Runner, Jeffrey T., and Elsi Kaiser. 2005. ‘Binding in Picture Noun Phrases: Implications for Binding Theory’. In *The Proceedings of the 12th International Conference on Head-Driven Phrase Structure Grammar*, edited by Stephan Müller, 594–613. Stanford: CSLI-publications. http://csli-publications.stanford.edu/HPSG/2005.

Runner, Jeffrey T., Rachel S. Sussman, and Michael K. Tanenhaus. 2006. ‘Processing Reflexives and Pronouns in Picture Noun Phrases’. *Cognitive Science* 30 (2): 193–241. https://doi.org/10.1207/s15516709cog0000_58.

Siemund, Peter. 2000. *Intensifiers in English and German. A Comparison*. London: Routledge.

———. 2002. ‘Reflexive and Intensive *Self*-Forms across Varieties of English’. *Zeitschrift Für Anglistik Und Amerikanistik* 50 (3): 250–68.

Skapinker, Michael. 2018. ‘Me, Myself and I Are All Annoyed at Pronoun Misuse’. *Financial Times*, 6 February 2018. https://www.ft.com/content/4b5020e2-0a63-11e8-8eb7-42f857ea9f09.

Stern, Nancy. 2004. ‘The Semantic Unity of Reflexive, Emphatic, and Other -*Self* Pronouns’. *American Speech* 79 (3): 270–80. https://doi.org/10.1215/00031283-79-3-270.

Truswell, Robert. 2014. ‘Binding Theory’. In *The Routledge Handbook of Syntax*, edited by Andrew Carnie, Yosuke Sato, and Daniel Siddiqi, 214–38. Routledge: Taylor & Francis.

Vezzosi, Letizia. 2002. ‘Unusual *Self*-Forms in Emily Dickinson’s Poetry’. *Zeitschrift Für Anglistik Und Amerikanistik* 50 (3): 301–14.

Vikner, Sten. 1985. ‘Parameters of Binder and of Binding Category in Danish’. *Working Papers in Scandinavian Syntax* 23: 1–61.

———. 2014. ‘C-Command, Binding and Government (Hand-out 1)’. Lecture handout.

Vikner, Sten, and Katrine Rosendal Ehlers. 2017. ‘*Sin, Hendes* Og Korpus DK’. *Ny Forskning i Grammatik* 24: 175–94. https://doi.org/10.7146/nfg.v25i24.97252.

Zribi-Hertz, Anne. 1989. ‘Anaphor Binding and Narrative Point of View: English Reflexive Pronouns in Sentence and Discourse’. *Language* 65 (4): 695. https://doi.org/10.2307/414931.

———. 1995. ‘Emphatic or Reflexive? On the Endophoric Character of French *Lui-Même* and Similar Complex Pronouns’. *Journal of Linguistics* 31 (2): 333–74.