

The identity of intensifiers (and reflexives)

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Adnominal and adverbial intensifiers

- So-called **intensifiers** come in several kinds – at least:

- 1) **The king himself** came. [adnominal]
- 2) **The king** wrote the letter **himself**. [adverbial]

Moravcsik 1972, Edmondson & Plank 1978, Browning 1993, Siemund 2000, Eckardt 2001, Hole 2002, Bergeton 2004, König & Siemund 2005, Gast 2006, Ahn 2010, i.a.

Adnominal and adverbial intensifiers

- Crosslinguistic observation 1:

adnominal and adverbial intensifiers are often morphologically identical

Examples: English *herself*, French *elle-même*, German *selbst*, Mandarin *ziji*

König & Siemund 2005, Gast & Siemund 2006, i.a.

- 1) **Der Präsident** eröffnete die Ausstellung **selbst**. [adverbial]
'**The president** opened the exhibition **himself**.'
- 2) **Jane Fonda selbst** nascht manchmal Yogurette. [adnominal]
'**Jane Fonda herself** sometimes eats Yogurette.'

Eckardt 2001

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- 1) **The king himself** came. [adnominal]
- 2) **The king** wrote the letter **himself**. [adverbial]

- The analysis of adnominal and adverbial intensifiers has yet to be **unified**.

vs. Eckardt 2001, Hole 2002, Gast 2006, Ahn 2010, i.a.

Goal

How to unify all uses of intensifiers like *herself*?

Adnominal and adverbial intensification

- The overlap between adnominal and adverbial intensification extends to **intensifiers within nominals**.

Examples: English *her own*, French *son propre*

Charnavel 2012, 2016

- 1) **Claire** took **her own** car. ≈ *the car of Claire **herself***
- 2) **Medea** killed **her own** children. ≈ *Medea's children **themselves***
- 3) **Tim** baked **his own** cake. ≈ *he baked it **himself***
- 4) **Carl** tied **his own** shoes. ≈ *he tied them **himself***

Goal

How to unify all uses of intensifiers like *herself* or ***her own***?

Intensifiers and reflexives

- Crosslinguistic observation 2:

Intensifiers and reflexives are often (partially) morphologically identical (intensifiers as « emphatic reflexives »).

Examples: English *herself*, French *elle-même*, Mandarin *ziji*, Arabic *nafs*

Dutch *zich(zelf)*, Malayalam (*taan*)*tanne*, Ancient Greek *auto-*

König & Siemund 2005, Gast & Siemund 2006, Gast 2006, i.a.

- 1) **The king** heard **himself**.
- 2) **The king himself** came.

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Bergeton 2004, Charnavel 2012, i.a.

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Intensifiers and reflexives

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Intensifiers and reflexives are often (partially) morphologically identical (intensifiers as « emphatic reflexives ») *Gast & Siemund 2005, Gast 2006, i.a.*

Examples: English *herself*, French *elle-même*, Mandarin *ziji*, Arabic *nafs*
Dutch *zich(zelf)*, Malayalam (*taan*)*tanne*

1) **The king** heard **himself**.

2) **The king himself** came.

- The intensifier/reflexive correlation has yet to be explained.

cf. Browning 1993, Bergeton 2004, Gast 2006

Goal

How to unify all uses of intensifiers like *herself* or *her own*
under an analysis allowing unification of intensifiers and reflexives?

Preview: unifying all intensifiers

- An intensifier is meaningful only through **focus** (alternatives).
- An intensifier is **always adnominal** underlyingly, but can be **stranded**.
- Specificities of “adverbial” readings arise from the interaction between **complex VP structures** and **focus projection**

1) ... [_{VP3} **The king** DO [_{VP2} ~~the king~~ v [_{VP1} [the letter written] [_{DP} ~~the king~~ **himself_F**]]]]

Focal alternatives:

[_{VP2} subordinates v	<i>the letter written</i>]	→ without delegating to others
[_{VP3} subordinates DO	<i>the king</i> v <i>the letter written</i>]	→ without help

Preview: unifying intensifiers and reflexives through identity

- Intensifiers and reflexives are built on a **single lexical entry**, and thus have the same underlying structure.
- Intensifiers and reflexives are built on a predicate relating **two identical arguments** due to its meaning. (*self* \approx same)
- One of the two arguments **moves** out of the underlying structure:
 - by (appositive) relativization \rightarrow redundant \rightarrow intensification (focus meaning)

1) [[[the king] [himself [~~the king~~]]] came]



- by remerging into theta position \rightarrow local binding

2) [[the king] heard [himself [~~the king~~]]]



Outline

- Unifying intensifiers
- Unifying intensifiers and reflexives

Unifying intensifiers

Unifying intensifiers Background

Many readings of intensifiers

Adnominal/adverbial

- 1) **The king himself** came. [adnominal]
- 2) **The king** wrote the letter **himself**. [adverbial]

Inclusive/exclusive (adnominal or adverbial)

cf. Edmondson & Plank 1978

- 3) **The king himself** came. (*in addition to*) [inclusive]
- 4) **The king himself** was captured. (*instead of*) [exclusive]

Assistive/delegative (exclusive)

- 5) **Liz** found her way **herself**. (*without help*) [assistive]
- 6) **Tim** baked the cake **himself**. (*rather than delegating it to someone else*) [delegative]

König & Siemund 2000, i.a.

Adnominal vs. Adverbial intensifiers

- **Adnominal**

1) **The king himself** came. (*vs. his entourage*)

- **Adverbial**

- **Agentive** (exclusive-delegative)

2) **Tim** baked the cake **himself**. (*rather than delegating it to others*)

- **Anti-assistive**

3) **Liz** found her way **herself**. (*without help*)

Cf. Moravcsik 1972, Browning 1993, Eckardt 2001, Hole 2002, Bergeton 2004, Tavano 2006, Gast 2006, Ahn 2010, i.a.

Adnominal vs. Adverbial intensifiers

Eckardt's 2001 analysis

- An adnominal intensifier is an **identity function** on individuals

1) $[[selbst]] = \lambda x_e.ID(x)$

2) **The king himself** came.

→ semantically vacuous

Adnominal vs. Adverbial intensifiers

Eckardt's 2001 analysis

- An adnominal intensifier is obligatorily stressed

→ is in **focus**

cf. Rooth 1992

→ is meaningful

1) $[[selbst]]^F = \{f_{\langle e, e \rangle} \mid f \text{ is a contextually salient alternative to ID}\}$

2) **The king himself_F** came.

vs. the entourage of the king (secretary-of, minister-of, wife-of, etc)

→ centrality effects, surprise effects, inclusive/exclusive readings, etc

Adnominal vs. Adverbial intensifiers

Eckardt's 2001 analysis

- Most adverbial intensifiers: **type-lifting**

With intransitive verbs:

$$1) \text{ Lift2(ID)} := \lambda P_{(e, t)}(\lambda x.P(\text{ID}(x)))$$

With transitive verbs, subject-oriented:

$$2) \text{ Lift3(ID)} := \lambda Q_{(e, (e, t))}(\lambda y \lambda x.Q(\text{ID}(x), y))$$

With transitive verbs, object-oriented:

$$3) \text{ Lift4(ID)} := \lambda Q_{(e, (e, t))}(\lambda y \lambda x.Q(x, \text{ID}(y)))$$

Adnominal vs. Adverbial intensifiers

Eckardt's 2001 analysis

- Extra reading 1: **agentive**

1) **Tim** baked the cake **himself**. (*not delegating it to others*)

2) *Selbst tun* \approx *selbst-tun*

- Arguments

- what is at stake are **alternative actions** that Tim might have taken with respect to the cake, not alternative creators of the cake

- restriction to adverbial intensifiers:

3) *Did Tim buy the cake?*

- No, **he** baked it **himself**.

- #No, **he himself** baked it.

Adnominal vs. Adverbial intensifiers

Eckardt's 2001 analysis

- Extra reading 2: anti-assistive

1) **Liz** found her way **herself**. (*without help*)

2) $[[selbst_{assistive}]] = \lambda e \neg \exists x(\text{ASSIST}(x, e))$

- Arguments

- alternative individuals are not at stake
(but alternative groups including Liz?)

- reading unavailable with adnominal intensifiers

3) **#Liz herself** found her way.

Adnominal vs. Adverbial intensifiers

All previous accounts

- At least two different lexical entries
 - Hole 2002: adnominal vs. agentive
 - Gast 2006: adnominal vs. adverbial-inclusive vs. adverbial-exclusive
 - Ahn 2010: DP emphatic reflexive vs. VP emphatic reflexive

Adnominal vs. Adverbial intensifiers

Further arguments

- **Sortal restrictions on associate for adnominal vs. adverbial intensifiers**
 - 1) a. {**Spike himself/#No boy himself**} has smoked the whole pack.
b. {**Spike/No boy**} could have smoked the whole pack **himself**. *Ahn 2010*
- **Semantic restrictions on associate for adverbial vs. adnominal intensifiers**
 - 2) a. {**The people/#the mountains**} divide the country **themselves**.
b. {**The people/the mountains**} **themselves** divide the country. *Hole 2002*
- **Co-occurrence restrictions on adnominal and adverbial intensifiers**
 - 3) a. **Ray himself** has cleaned the apartment **himself**.
b. ***Ray himself** has **himself** cleaned the apartment. *Ahn 2010*

Adnominal vs. adverbial intensifiers?

- The formal similarities adnominal/adverbial *herself* can be no accident:
 - **Crosslinguistic evidence**

Crosslinguistic observation 1:

adnominal and adverbial intensifiers are often morphologically identical

Examples: English *herself*, French *elle-même*, German *selbst*, Mandarin *ziji*

König & Siemund 2005, Gast & Siemund 2006, i.a.

Adnominal vs. Adverbial intensifiers?

- The formal similarities adnominal/adverbial *herself* can be no accident:

- Crosscategorical evidence

- 1) a. **Claire** took **her own** car. *(the car of Claire herself
not her husband's)*
→ ≈ **adnominal to possessor**
 - b. **Medea** killed **her own** children! *(Medea's children themselves
not other - more expected - individuals)*
→ ≈ **adnominal to possessum**

 - c. **Tim** baked **his own** cake. *(he baked it himself
not delegating it to others)*
→ ≈ **adverbial agentive**
 - d. **Carl** tied **his own** shoes. *(he tied them himself
without help)*
→ ≈ **adverbial anti-assistive**
- Cf. Charnavel 2012, 2016 for French son propre*

Unifying intensifiers Proposal

Ingredients

- Adopting previous ingredients
 - Expression of **identity**
 - Contribution of **focus**
- New ingredients
 - **Complex structure of VP**
 - **Focus projection**

Structure of solution

- Intensifier *herself* is **always adnominal** underlyingly.
- Generalized **stranding** analysis for adverbial uses (cf. Ahn 2010).
- Specificities of adverbial readings arise from interaction between **complex VP structures** and **focus projection**.

- agentive:

1) [_{VP3} Tim DO [_{VP2} **Tim** v [_{VP1} [the cake baked] [_{DP} ~~Tim~~ himself_F]]]]

- anti-assistive:

2) [_{VP3} **Liz** DO [_{VP2} ~~Liz~~ v [_{VP1} [find her way] [_{DP} ~~Liz~~ herself_F]]]]

Deriving the agentive reading

1) **Tim** baked the cake **himself**.

2) $[_{VP3} \text{Tim DO } [_{VP2} \text{Tim}_F v [_{VP1} [\text{the cake baked}] [_{DP} \text{Tim himself}_F]]]]$

Deriving the agentive reading

Complex VP structure

- 1) [_{VP3} Tim **DO** [_{VP2} ~~Tim~~_F v [_{VP1} [the cake baked] [_{DP} ~~Tim~~ **himself**_F]]]]
agentive *causative* *resultative*

Hypothesis: any VP can be embedded under a **silent agentive head DO**

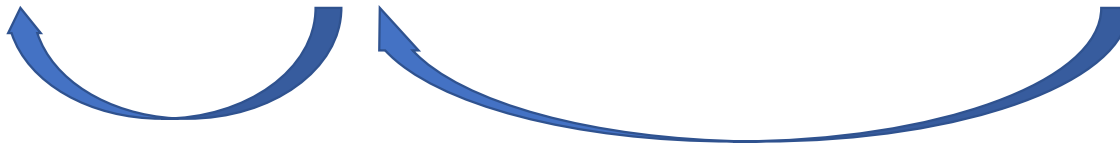
- 2) Tim **voluntarily** arrived at 5pm.
3) ...[_{VP2} Tim DO [_{VP1} ~~Tim~~ arrive]].

Note: *Tim* is remerged into a theta-position (cf. obligatory control)

Deriving the agentive reading

Generalized stranding analysis

1) [_{VP3} Tim DO [_{VP2} ~~Tim~~_F v [_{VP1} [*the cake baked*] [_{DP} ~~Tim~~ himself_F]]]]



Hypothesis: *himself* always originates as adnominal.

Tim himself adjoins to VP1 (no theta role vs. secondary predication).
Tim reemerges into a theta-position (subject of v, then DO).

Deriving the agentive reading

Focus projection

cf. Selkirk 1984, Schwarzschild 1999, Buring 2006, i.a.

1) [_{VP3} Tim DO [_{VP2} **Tim_F** v [_{VP1} [the cake baked] [_{DP} ~~Tim~~ **himself_F**]]]

Hypothesis: focus projects to VP2.

Cake-baking is given.

→ alternatives to Tim qua causer:

Tim acted so that he (not someone else) was the baker of the cake.

Note: assumptions about focus

1) [Tim DO [_{VP2} ~~Tim~~_F v [_{VP1} [the cake baked] [_{DP} ~~Tim~~ **himself**_F]]_{FOC} ~ C]

Relevant alternative: Tim made **someone else** bake the cake.

Question under discussion: *What did Tim do to get the baked cake?*

2) *I know that John drove Mary's red convertible. But what did Bill drive?*

He drove her BLUE convertible.

Büring 2006

3) [He drove [her **BLUE**_F convertible]_{FOC} ~ C]

Relevant alternative: he drove her **red** convertible.

Deriving the agentive reading

1) **Tim** baked the cake **himself**.

2) $[_{VP3} \text{Tim DO } [_{VP2} \text{Tim}_F \text{ v } [_{VP1} [\text{the cake baked}] [_{DP} \text{Tim himself}_F]]]]$

3) $[\text{Tim DO } [_{VP2} \text{Tim}_F \text{ v } [_{VP1} [\text{the cake baked}] [_{DP} \text{Tim himself}_F]]]_{FOC} \sim C]$
Relevant alternative : Tim made **someone else** bake the cake.

Deriving the empirical generalizations of the agentive reading

- The alternatives must contain the asserted predicate
Cake-baking is given
- The agent must bear some relation to the event in the alternatives
Tim is not only the causer but also the doer
- Alternative predicates or alternative agents?
Alternatives to Tim as causer

cf. Eckardt 2001, Hole 2002, Gast 2006, i.a.

Deriving the empirical generalizations of the agentive reading

- The associate must be a **(volitional) agent** under agentive readings.

- 1) a. *The table fell itself.
b. The table itself fell.

- 2) ..._{[VP1} the table fall _[DP ~~the table~~ itself_F]]



- The verb must **usually** be **agentive**, but not always.

- 2) John wanted his secretary to slip on the banana peel, but finally he slipped himself.

Gast 2006

cf. Eckardt 2001, Hole 2002, Gast 2006, Ahn 2010 i.a.

Deriving the anti-assistive reading

1) **Liz** found her way **herself**.

2) ... [VP3 **Liz_F** DO [VP2 ~~Liz~~ v [VP1 [find her way] [DP ~~Liz~~ **herself_F**]]]



3) [... [VP3 **Liz_F** DO [~~Liz~~ v [VP1 [find her way] [DP ~~Liz~~ **herself_F**]]]]]_{FOC} ~ C]

Relevant alternative: **someone else** made Liz find her way.

Deriving the anti-assistive reading

Focus projection

1) ${}_{VP3} \text{Liz}_F \text{ DO } [{}_{VP2} \text{Liz} \text{ v } [{}_{VP1} \text{ [find her way] } [{}_{DP} \text{Liz herself}_F]]]$

Relevant alternative: **someone else** made Liz find her way.

Hypothesis: focus projects to **VP3**.

Projection to VP2 (agentive reading) is unavailable.

Question under discussion: *How did Liz end up at home?*

→ alternatives to Liz qua doer:

Liz (not someone else) acted so that she found her way.

Deriving the empirical generalizations of the anti-assistive reading

- The alternatives must contain the asserted predicate
For Liz to find her way is given
- The referent of the associate acted without help
Alternatives to Liz as doer
- Reading unavailable with adnominal intensifiers
#Liz herself found her way.
→ *Focus projection to VP unavailable*
- Inanimates don't usually license the anti-assistive reading
An inanimate cannot usually be the subject of DO.

Further apparent differences between adnominal and adverbial intensifiers

- **Sortal restrictions on associate for adnominal vs. adverbial intensifiers**
- 1) a. {**Spike himself/#No boy himself**} has smoked the whole pack.
b. {**Spike/No boy**} could have smoked the whole pack **himself**. *Ahn 2010*

The apparent difference is **pragmatically driven**:

For adnominal intensifiers, the context must be rich enough to supply accessible alternatives to **each** element quantified over.

- 2) ✓ At the Oscars, **no star herself** wrote her speech;
in every case, her publicist did it.

Further apparent differences between adnominal and adverbial intensifiers

- **Co-occurrence restrictions** on adnominal and adverbial intensifiers
- 3) a. **Ray himself** has cleaned the apartment **himself**.
b. ***Ray himself** has **himself** cleaned the apartment.

Syntactically, adnominal and « adverbial » intensifiers are compatible. Redundancy in (b) vs. (a) (cf. focus projection possible vs. impossible).

Extending the solution to *own*

- 1) a. **Claire** took **her own** car *(not her husband's)*
→ ≈ adnominal to possessor: the car of Claire herself
- b. **Medea** killed **her own** children *(not other - more expected - individuals)*
→ ≈ adnominal to possessum: Medea's children themselves
- c. **Tim** baked **his own** cake. *(not delegating it to others)*
→ ≈ adverbial agentive: Tim baked the cake himself
- d. **Carl** tied **his own** shoes. *(without help)*
→ ≈ adverbial anti-assistive: Carl tied his shoes himself

Cf. Charnavel 2012, 2016 for French son propre

“Adnominal” own

- 1) Claire took her own car *(not her professional car).*
→ truth-conditional import

- 2) a. [Claire took [**her_F own_F car**]_{FOC} ~ C] *(not her husband’s).*
→ ≈ adnominal to possessor

- b. E [Medea killed [**her_F own_F CHILDREN_F**]_{FOC} ~ C] *(not other individuals).*
→ ≈ adnominal to possessum

Cf. Charnavel 2012, 2016 about French propre

“Adverbial” own

- 1) a. Tim baked his own cake. (*not delegating it to others*)
→ ≈ adverbial agentive: Tim baked the cake himself.
- b. [Tim DO [_{VP2} **Tim**_F v [_{VP1} [his **own**_F cake] baked]]_{FOC} ~ C].
Relevant alternative : Tim made **someone else** bake his cake.
- 2) a. Carl tied his own shoes. (*without help*)
→ ≈ adverbial anti-assistive: Carl tied his shoes himself.
- b. [... [_{VP3} **Carl**_F DO [~~Carl~~ v [_{VP1} [his **own**_F shoes] tied]]_{FOC} ~ C]
Relevant alternative: **someone else** made Carl tie his shoes.

Interim summary

- **Unified analysis** for each intensifier (*herself, her own*) under all readings
- Differences between adverbial and adnominal readings derive from the interaction of **complex VP structure** and **focus projection**.

Unifying intensifiers and reflexives

Intensifiers vs. reflexives

- Intensifiers as identity functions

- Vs. Reflexives, e.g.

- Pronominal

Chomsky 1986, i.a.

- Arity reducer

(Function taking a predicate as argument and returning a reflexive predicate)

Spathas 2010, Lechner 2012, i.a.

See review in Sportiche 2020

Intensifiers vs. Reflexives?

- Crosslinguistic observation 2:

Intensifiers and reflexives are often (partially) morphologically identical (intensifiers as « emphatic reflexives »).

Examples: English *herself*, French *elle-même*, Mandarin *ziji*, Arabic *nafs*

Dutch *zich(zelf)*, Malayalam (*taan*)*tanne*, Ancient Greek *auto-*

König & Siemund 2005, Gast & Siemund 2006, Gast 2006, i.a.

- 1) **The king** heard **himself**.
- 2) **The king himself** came.

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Intensifiers and reflexives are often (partially) morphologically identical (intensifiers as « emphatic reflexives »).

Examples: English *her own*, French *son propre*

Bergeton 2004, Charnavel 2012, i.a.

- 1) **Claire** took **her own** car.
- 2) **Tim** baked **his own** cake.

Intensifiers vs. Reflexives?

- **Bare *self-*** can be interpreted as reflexive or intensifier.

- 1) a. **self-**harm \approx to harm **oneself** [reflexive]
b. A **self-**produced event \approx an event one has produced **oneself** [intensifier]

Intensifiers vs. Reflexives?

- **Historical connection** between intensifiers and reflexives

In English, reflexives originate as intensifiers.

*Faltz 1977, König & Siemund 2000, van Gelderen 2000,
Keenan 2002, Gast & Siemund 2006, Bergeton & Pancheva 2012, i.a.*

Proposal:

The identity of reflexives and intensifiers

- **Self** is a **two-place predicate of identity**

cf. Browning 1993

Cf. German *selb*, French *(elle)-même*

herself ≈ *she who is the same as x*

- **Same underlying structure** for intensifiers and reflexives:

Herself = [the [[self (of) her] [**X** (is) ~~self (of) her~~]]]

≈ the self of her that X is

Deriving intensifiers

1) The king **himself** came.

2) [[the king] [the [[self (of) him] ~~the king (is) self (of) him~~]]]]



≈ the king, who is his self who he is

→ doubly redundant

→ focus on *self* + focus projection to DP

[[**the king**]_F [the [[**self**]_F of him] ~~the king (is) self of him~~]]]_{FOC}


→ centrality effects

Note: alternative, smaller projections, are either trivial or non sensical.

Deriving reflexives

1) **The king** heard **himself**.

2) [[the king] heard [the [[self (of) him] ~~the king (is) self (of) him~~]]]]



→ **movement of antecedent:**
= A-movement (into theta positions)

Deriving the properties of reflexives

- Reflexives require a **local A-binder**
- Reflexives must be **exhaustively bound**

Important note:

these properties can be diagnosed with **inanimate reflexives**.

So-called exempt reflexives do not superficially exhibit these properties.

See Charnavel & Sportiche 2016 for the inanimacy test

See Charnavel 2019, 2020 for unifying plain and exempt (logophoric) reflexives

Previous accounts

- **Reflexives must be locally and exhaustively bound.**

How to derive these properties from existing, independently motivated mechanisms of the grammar?

- Two main types of approach:
 - **Agree** (*Hicks 2009, Reuland 2011, Rooryck & Vanden Wyngaerd 2011, i.a.*)
 - **Movement** (*Hornstein 1995, 2001, Kayne 2002, i.a.*)
- *Charnavel & Sportiche 2016*: many issues with an Agree approach.
Esp. wrongly predicts intervention effects and too broad local domain.
→ **Movement** approach is more promising

Deriving reflexives

1) **The king** heard **himself**.

2) [[the king] heard [the [[self of him] ~~[the king (is) self of him]~~]]]



→ **movement of antecedent:**

= A-movement (into theta positions)

→ **local and exhaustive binding**

→ Condition A derives from movement (reemerging) of the antecedent

Apparent difficulty

- 1) **[The museum]** stores many small replicas of **itself [the museum]**.
- 2) **[The museum]** stores many small replicas of the palace and of **itself [the museum]**.

→ requires allowing A-movement from positions claimed to disallow A-movement

But : - no direct argument that A (vs. A-bar) movement should obey such constraints
- may allow an A-movement analysis of possessor raising/idiomatic constructions

- 3) a. Mary broke her leg.
b. John lost his mind.

Deriving the properties of reflexives

- Reflexives can trigger **strict readings** in ellipsis and focus

1) **Mercury** attracts **itself** more than silver does [~~attract-mercury~~].

Charnavel & Sportiche 2021

- Reflexives can be read ***de re (non de dicto)***

2) **Oedipus** wants **PRO** to punish **himself**.

Heim 1994, Sportiche 2020, i.a.

- Reflexives can be used as **proxies**

3) a. **Ringo** fell on **himself**.

Jackendoff 1992

b. **The moon** casts a shadow on **itself**.

Deriving the properties of reflexives

- Reflexives can trigger **strict readings** in ellipsis and focus

1) **Mercury** attracts **itself mercury** more than silver does [~~attract **itself mercury**~~].

Charnavel & Sportiche 2021

- Reflexives can be read **de re (non de dicto)**

2) **Oedipus** wants **PRO** to punish **himself**.

3) Oedipus said: “the killer is this man on the picture”.
Oedipus thinks that the killer is him.

- Reflexives can be used as **proxies**

4) **Ringo** fell on **himself**.

a. The real Ringo fell on the statue.

b. *The statue fell on the real Ringo.

→ similarity relation coded by *self* is asymmetric?

The identity of reflexives and intensifiers: extension to bare *-self*

- Bare *self-* can be interpreted as reflexive or intensifier.
- 1) a. self-harm \approx to harm oneself
b. A self-produced event \approx an event one has produced oneself

Reflexive *-self*

- 1) **John self**-harmed.
 - 2) **John self**-identified as the king.
- *Self-identify* cannot be a lexical entry
arguments: subject of *identify* + **ECM subject of *(be) the king!***


Properties of reflexive *-self* vs. *herself*

- Local and exhaustive binding, but:
 - **Subject orientation**
 - **Strong locality**: direct objects and ECM subjects
- Bare *-self* **cannot** trigger strict readings in ellipsis and focus.
 - 1) Jane self-harms more often than her brother does [~~*harm her~~].
- Bare *-self* **cannot** be used for proxies.
 - 2) Ringo self-harmed. [~~*Ringo harmed the statue~~]
- Bare *-self* **cannot** be read *de re* (non *de dicto*)
 - 3) Oedipus wants to self-harm. [~~*Oedipus wants to harm Laius' killer~~]

Deriving the properties of reflexive *–self*

1) **John self**-identified as the king.

2) ... [[John] identify [[~~self (of) John~~] [John (is) ~~self (of) John~~]]]]


A blue curved line underlines the first argument 'self (of) John' in the first nested list and the second argument 'self (of) John' in the second nested list, indicating that the first argument has moved to become the second argument.

- The second argument of *self* is acquired by movement of the first
 - no *de re* reading
 - no proxy reading

Deriving the properties of reflexive *–self*

1) **John self**-identified as the king.

2) ...self [[John] identify [~~self (of) John~~ [~~John (is) self (of) John~~]]]



- *Self* incorporates

- strong locality

- subject orientation

Questions about reflexive *-self*

- Why must *self* incorporate?

1) *John identified self as the king.

- Why are strict readings unavailable? (due to subject orientation?)

2) Jane self-harms ~~self of Jane Jane self Jane~~ more often than her brother does [~~harm self of Jane Jane self Jane~~].

- Why is it more used with some verbs? (but it is productive)

Note: weak reflexives

- Reflexive *herself* can
 - trigger strict readings in ellipsis and focus.
 - be read *de re* (non *de dicto*)
 - be used as proxies

... **only when it is (prosodically) strong**: weak *herself* behaves like *self*-.

Hypothesis: a **weak reflexive** involves **covert *self*-incorporation**.

Charnavel & Sportiche 2021

→ superficially obscures the distribution of plain and exempt reflexives

Cf. Ahn 2015, Charnavel & Sportiche 2016, Charnavel 2019, Sportiche 2020, Charnavel & Bryant 2021, i.a.

Intensifier *-self*

- 1) A self-produced event \approx an event one has produced oneself
- 2) Nobody self-reported himself.

Intensifier *-self*

1) John self-produced an event.

2) [... self John [_{VP} produce an event [John [(the) [[self of him] [John(is)-self-of-him]]]]]]]

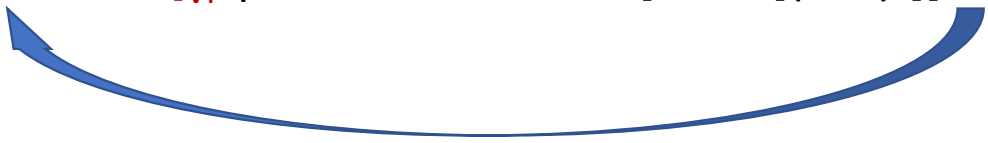


- Same derivation as *John himself* (intensifier)
- Remerging of John as subject

Intensifier *-self*

1) John self-produced an event.

2) [... self John [VP produce an event [John [(the) [[self of him] [John (is)-self-of-him]]]]]]]



- Same derivation as *John himself* (intensifier)
- Remerging of John as subject
- Incorporation of *self*

Note: him is not spelled out (constraint on incorporation in English?)

The identity of reflexives and intensifiers: extension to *her own*

- 1) **Claire** took **her own** car.
- 2) **Tim** baked **his own** cake.

Her own exhibits the distribution of a reflexive:

- 3) a. **This problem** includes **its own** solution.
b. *The appendices of **this problem** include **its own** solution.

Charnavel 2012, Charnavel & Sportiche 2016

Note: her own is a reflexive when focus alternatives target the possessor vs. the possessum

Charnavel 2012

The identity of reflexives and intensifiers: extension to *own*

1) **The king** heard **himself**.

2) [[the king] heard [himself [~~the king~~]]



3) **Claire** took **her own** car.

4) Claire's own car ≈ **her** car that **she** owns

cf. French *la propre voiture de Claire* ≈ **sa** voiture qui **lui** est propre

5) Claire took [her own car (to) ~~Claire~~]



Conclusion

- Adnominal and adverbial intensifiers are **identical**
(single lexical entry, same underlying structure)
- Intensifiers and reflexives are **identical**
(single lexical entry, same underlying structure)
- Because they are built on a predicate making two arguments **identical**
(*her* self \approx *x* identical to *x*)
(*her* POSS own N \approx *x* owning something owned by *x*)

Conclusion

- **Identity** does not contribute meaning except through:
 - **focus** → intensification
(and variety of readings derives from focus theory)
 - **movement** → reflexivization
(and binding locality conditions derive from movement theory)

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