

TOWARDS A TYPOLOGY OF INTENSIFIERS (EMPHATIC REFLEXIVES)

Ekkehard König

Freie Universität Berlin

Despite some important recent contributions to their analysis very little is known about the syntactic and semantic properties of intensifiers like English *X-self*, French *LUI-même*, German *selbst* or Russian *sam*. The paper examines the patterns and limits of variation observable in the morphological, syntactic and semantic properties of such expressions across languages. In characterizing the major parameters of variation in this domain (agreement, differentiation from reflexive anaphors, selectional restrictions, etc.) an attempt is made to provide new foundations for the analysis of intensifiers in individual languages.

language typology, intensifiers, emphatic reflexives, parameters of variation, areal patterns, reflexive anaphors

1. INTRODUCTION

Intensifiers (emphatic reflexives) like *selbst* in German, *sam* in Russian, *ipse* in Latin, *X-self* in English or *X-même* in French have so far received very little attention, both in detailed analyses of individual languages as well as in cross-linguistic studies. Despite some important recent contributions to their analysis (Edmondson and Plank, 1978; König, 1991; Primus, 1992; Baker, 1995; Kemmer, 1995; Kibrik and Bogdanova, 1995, etc.) very little is known about the syntactic and semantic properties of these expressions. The meagre state of our knowledge is most clearly revealed by the fact that so far we have not even succeeded in a categorization that makes sense for individual languages and is, moreover, applicable to even a small subset of the world's languages. In recent grammar handbooks and specific descrip-

tions of the relevant domain at least twelve different labels can be found. The ones most frequently used are listed in (1):

- (1) intensifiers, *Limitationspronomina*, determinatives, scalar adverbs, limiting adjectives, particles, anaphors, emphatic reflexives, appositive reflexives, adverbial reflexives, *demonstrative Adjektivpronomina*, focusing adverbs, focus markers, etc.

Most of the labels listed above highlight certain properties of the relevant expressions in specific languages, but they do so by totally neglecting other, equally important, properties. Intensifiers may indeed exhibit an adjective-like behaviour and agree with some nominal constituent in person, gender, number, case, etc. (e.g. Russ. *sam*, Ital. *stesso*), but they may also be invariant particles (e.g. German *selbst*, Mand. *ziji*). Some languages (English, Mandarin, Turkish, Persian) do not differentiate between reflexive anaphors and intensifiers and for these languages terms like ‘emphatic reflexives’ or ‘appositive reflexives’ do make some sense, but they are totally inappropriate for the Scandinavian, Romance or Slavic languages, where a clear distinction is drawn between reflexive pronouns (e.g. *sig*, *se*, *sebjā*) and intensifiers (e.g. *selv*, *stesso*, *sam*). Intensifiers may interact with a pronoun in determining the reference of the pronoun. In German, for example, *selbst* differentiates between the reflexive and the reciprocal reading of a reflexive pronoun in sentences with plural subjects:

- (2) a. Die Professoren bewundern sich. (reflexive or reciprocal)
 the professors admire REFL
 b. Die Professoren bewundern sich selbst. (only reflexive)

Or, to give a further example, in Scandinavian, an intensifier may narrow down the domain of co-reference for a reflexive pronoun. To conclude from such facts, however, that intensifiers can be subsumed under the category ‘anaphor’ seems completely misguided from a cross-linguistic point of view. Labels like ‘determinatives’, ‘limiting adjectives’ or ‘*demonstrative Adjektivpronomina*’ characterize intensifiers as something *sui generis* and are thus totally unrelated to what is known about other subclasses of function words. The term ‘focus marker’ proposed in some recent analyses (König, 1991; Primus, 1992; Ferro, 1993) fares much better in this respect. Intensifiers clearly interact with information structure at least in some of their uses. The term ‘intensifier’, primarily used in this paper, is not so much used for its intrinsic qualities as simply for the reasons that it is wide-spread and not particularly harmful in its connotations, based as it is on prosodic and semantic observations: Intensifiers typically carry an accent and characterize the referent of a nominal co-constituent as ‘remarkable’ or ‘important’.

It is the goal of this paper to provide new foundations for the analysis of intensifiers in individual languages by examining the patterns and limits of variation exhibited by their morphological, syntactic and semantic properties across languages. By mapping out the space of variation and characterizing the relevant implicational or correlative patterns, as well as other universals, orientation and guidance will be provided for further in-depth studies of individual languages. On the other hand, I will also have to rely on and further develop in-depth studies on the relevant domain in languages like German, English, French and Russian, as a basis for my cross-linguistic study. In the first two sections following this introduction the basic outlines of a syntactic and semantic characterization of intensifiers will be developed. In section 4, I demonstrate that X-*self* and its counterparts in other languages belong to a whole group of expressions closely related in meaning. In section 5, major and minor parameters of variation, found among the languages of my sample, will be identified and discussed. The implicational

connections and correlations between such parameters constitute one type of universals. Some remarks on areal patterns will be made in the concluding section.

2. BASIC SYNTACTIC PROPERTIES

In order to delimit the domain of inquiry on the basis of both formal and semantic criteria and to provide a basis for the subsequent typological analysis, I will, first of all, take a closer look at the properties of intensifiers in English and one or two other European languages. In so doing, I will of course concentrate on the most striking formal and semantic properties and on those aspects of current analyses which can be assumed to be reasonably uncontroversial.

There seems to be general agreement (cf. Moravcsik, 1972; Edmondson and Plank, 1978; König, 1991; Primus, 1992; Kibrik and Bogdanova, 1995, etc.) that at least two different uses of intensifiers must be distinguished: an adnominal (head-bound) one and an adverbial one. These two uses can be distinguished on the basis of a wide variety of syntactic and semantic criteria.

2.1 *The Adnominal Use*

In their adnominal use, intensifiers are adjuncts of noun phrases, i.e. they combine with noun phrases to form new noun phrases, irrespective of the grammatical function of the noun phrase in question:

- (3) a. The director himself will attend the meeting.
- b. We were addressed by the director himself.
- c. Within the town itself, the report produced a sensation.

The assumption that intensifiers are adjoined to NPs is confirmed by the usual tests (coordination with NPs, permutation, location inside an adposition phrase, etc.):

- (4) a. Dr. Watson and even Sherlock Holmes himself think that they have found the thief.
- b. (German) um der Sache selbst willen
 ‘for the sake of the idea itself’

In English and many other languages intensifiers agree with their nominal co-constituent with regard to the usual morpho-syntactic features: gender, person, number, case, etc.

- (5) *Bill Clinton himself, Hilary Clinton herself, the book itself*

What was called nominal co-constituent of the intensifier is best analyzed as the focus of the adnominal intensifier, which is thus categorized as a focus marker. The most convincing evidence for this analysis is semantic in nature and will be presented below. As far as the syntax is concerned, it is their positional mobility, i.e. their ability to combine with any noun phrase in the sentence which makes them very similar to other expressions interacting with the information structure of a sentence, such as *even*, *also*, *only*, even if the fact that intensifiers are stressed rather than their ‘focus’, as well as the fact that they invariably follow their focus do not point into the same direction. In English intensifiers cannot occur within a complex noun phrase, but only on their right periphery. Within that complex noun phrase focus selection may vary, however:

- (6) a. The work of Picasso himself ...

b. The work of Picasso itself ...

The restriction that the focus of an adnominal intensifier must be definite seems to be a fairly general phenomenon (cf. (7)), in contrast to the absence of any other sortal restrictions on possible foci.

- (7) a. The minister himself will talk to us.
b. *A minister himself will talk to us.

2.2 The Adverbial Use

Agreement with a nominal constituent of the same clause and prosodic prominence are properties shared by all uses of intensifiers. Nevertheless, there are convincing reasons to distinguish an adverbial use from the adnominal use discussed above. In contrast to their adnominal use, adverbial intensifiers are not adjacent to the constituent they agree with, but seem to be part of the verb phrase or a projection thereof:

- (8) Mary Fisher earned all that money herself.

Again permutation tests provide further evidence for the assumption that intensifiers are in construction with the verb phrase. Adverbial intensifiers never follow a focused noun phrase in cleft sentences, regardless of whether it is the constituent they agree with or not (cf. (9)) and in German adverbial intensifiers may be shifted into the forefield position together with the verb phrase:

- (9) a. It was the garage that John built himself.
b. It was John who built the garage himself.
c. Mein Auto selbst reparieren kann ich nicht.
my car myself repair can I not
'I cannot repair the car myself.'

Even in languages where adverbial intensifiers are also adjacent to a nominal constituent, such as Italian or Spanish, they can be assumed to be part of a verb phrase, together with the pronominal copy of the constituent with which they agree:

- (10) ITALIAN
Maria fa lezione lei stessa ai suoi bambini.
Maria gives instruction herself to her children.
'Mary teaches her children herself.'

Despite data like (10), the extension of the term 'focus' to the constituent adverbial intensifiers agree with and the categorization of these intensifiers as focus markers would be highly problematic, since the relevant constructions do not conform to the general constraint (c-command) on the possible configurations between focus markers and their foci. Moreover, adverbial intensifiers of the type discussed so far can be the focus of a particle like *even* or *only*.

- (11) He might even do it himself.

For want of a better term I will nevertheless keep the term 'focus' for those noun phrases which determine the morpho-syntactic properties of adverbial intensifiers. Using this terminology, we can now formulate various constraints between adverbial intensifiers and their

foci. In English and many other European languages only subjects and perhaps also experiencer subjects can be the foci of adverbial intensifiers. In contrast to what was observed for the adnominal use, however, the subject-NP does not have to be definite and can even be an interrogative pronoun:

- (12) a. *A president himself signed the documents.
- b. A president should always sign certain documents himself.
- c. Who would not do such a thing himself?

2.3 *Exclusive and Inclusive Adverbial Intensifiers*

Among the adverbial uses of intensifiers, further distinctions are possible and indeed necessary (cf. Plank, 1979; König, 1991; Browning, 1993; Kibrik and Bogdanova, 1995). Minimal pairs like the following differ both in their form and their meaning:

- (13) a. I have myself swept this court. (inclusive)
- b. I have swept this court myself. (exclusive)

Whereas the intensifier in (13a) can be paraphrased by 'also' or 'too', 'alone', 'on my own' or 'without help' seem to be possible paraphrases in the case of (13b). I will therefore use the label 'inclusive' for type (13a) and the label 'exclusive' for type (13b). All the examples of adverbial intensifiers discussed above were of the latter type. Another rough explanation of the difference between the two sentences would be to say that (13b) raises the question of delegation or of getting help, whereas (13a) suggests empathy, similar experiences of different people. Semantic distinctions such as these may be, but need not be, signalled by different syntactic positions of intensifiers. In English exclusive adverbial intensifiers tend to follow the main verb and all objects, i.e. they are generally found in sentence final position. Inclusive intensifiers, by contrast, typically occur between auxiliary verb and main verb, but do not seem to be restricted to any specific position within the verb phrase. There is a certain complementarity in the distribution of exclusive and inclusive intensifiers with regard to aktionsart. The former seem to be restricted to telic situations, as the following pairs of examples show:

- (14) a. Mary wrote the letter herself. (exclusive)
- b. Mary wrote a letter herself. (inclusive)
- (15) a. John drank the beer himself. (exclusive)
- b. John drank from the beer himself. (inclusive)

The restrictions on the selection of a focus again are not identical for the two subtypes of adverbial intensifiers. Whereas exclusive intensifiers may only relate to agentive subjects, inclusive ones may also relate to non-subject arguments, as long as they are human. In German inclusive intensifiers seem to interact with that argument that is highest on the hierarchy of thematic roles:

- (16) Die Sache interessiert mich selbst.
- the matter is of interest to me myself
- 'I am interested in this matter myself.'

Finally, a further difference between exclusive and inclusive adverbial intensifiers worth mentioning is the fact that only the former may be in the scope of negation and indeed the focus of the replacive negator *not ... but*:

- (17) a. John did not repair the car himself. Somebody else did it. (exclusive)
- b. I did not see very much of the show myself. So don't ask me. (inclusive)

In addition to the three uses discussed above, a few others are distinguished and discussed in the relevant literature. Whether such additional distinctions need to be made or whether they are simply manifestations of the uses distinguished above cannot be discussed in this paper.

3. THE MEANING OF INTENSIFIERS

However formidable the problems posed by the syntactic analysis of intensifiers might be, the basic outlines of their semantic analysis are quite clear. This is true, in particular, of the adnominal use, which I will take again as my point of departure. The most basic fact about the adnominal use of intensifiers and indeed about all intensifiers is that they evoke alternatives to the referent of their 'focus' and this semantic fact is, of course, a strong reason for assigning them to the class of focus markers. The following examples show that this property of evoking alternatives is a property intensifiers share with focus particles like *even* and *only*. What these examples also show, however, is that intensifiers characterize the set of alternatives under consideration relative to the referent of their focus: The set of alternatives (Y) is characterized as periphery (entourage) of a centre constituted by the referent of the focus (X) (cf. König, 1991):

- (18) a. The Queen herself will come to the final.
- b. The minister himself will give the opening speech.
- c. Even George himself is against the plan.

In (18a,b) the referents of the foci of the adnominal intensifiers are the centre by virtue of being high in rank, the relevant periphery being made up by the subordinates or entourage of these powerful persons. This aspect of meaning is also apparent in cases where the focus of an intensifier is simply a proper name. If we then compare the meaning of (18c) to that of the corresponding sentence without intensifier it becomes clear that *himself* contributes a characterization of the alternatives under consideration in a situation where the sentence is uttered. The relevant alternatives can only be people somehow related to George taken as centre, i.e. colleagues, friends, family, etc. A similar analysis of adnominal intensifiers to the one proposed in König (1991) is put forward in Baker (1995), who analyzes adnominal intensifiers as markers of discourse prominence and distinguishes four different manifestations of such discourse prominence. Even though I regard discourse prominence only as one special manifestation of a relationship between centre and periphery, I can use a reformulated version of Baker's conditions as a typology of different manifestations of a general ordering of entities in terms of centre and periphery.

Conditions for the use of adnominal *X-self*: adnominal intensifiers relate a centre X (referent of the focus) to a periphery Y of alternative values:

- (19) a. X has a higher rank than Y on a real-world hierarchy
- b. X is more important than Y in a specific situation
- c. Y is identified relative to X (kinship terms, part-whole, etc.)

d. X is the subject of consciousness, centre of observation, etc. (logophoricity).

The examples in (20) illustrate the four typical contexts specified in (19):

- (20) a. The Pope himself does not know what to do.
 b. Most of the passengers suffered lights injuries. The driver himself was killed.
 c. Adam's wife was picking apples, Adam himself was peeling them.
 d. He was not particularly tall, a little taller than Jemima herself perhaps, but his shoulders in the tweed suit were broad, giving an air of authority, and he himself, if not exactly heavy, was certainly a substantial man. (A. Fraser, *A Splash of Red*)

Expressions for persons with a high rank can always be used with adjoined intensifiers. Examples of the type (18a,b) or (20a) are the ones that first come to mind if one is looking for illustrations of the adnominal use of intensifiers and given that high-ranking persons are often assumed not to do any work and to delegate all their tasks, such examples give the impression that the referent of the focus is characterized as a remarkable argument for the predication in question. Examples of type (20b) establish an order among persons in terms of centre and periphery for a specific situation. In a driving accident the driver is central and the passengers are peripheral. In examples of type (20c), by contrast, the differentiation between centre and periphery is the result of choosing a narrative perspective. This narrative perspective determines both the identification of protagonists (as *Eve* or *Adam's wife*) and the use of intensifiers. It follows from the conditions described in (19) that there cannot be a centre without periphery and for this very reason the use of two intensifiers (i.e. *Adam's wife herself ... Adam himself ...*) is equally excluded as the use of two referential descriptions which describe the two protagonists in terms of their relations to each other (i.e. *Adam's wife ... Eve's husband*). The explanation for the second instance of an intensifier in (20d) is analogous to the one just given for (20c). A part (*his shoulders*) can be defined in terms of its relation to the whole (*he*), rather than the other way round, so that the relation between whole and part is one specific manifestation of the relation centre and periphery. The case of logophoricity, finally, exemplified by the first use of an intensifier in (20d) can be analyzed as a special instance of choosing a perspective. The use of *herself* in (20d) clearly indicates that the novel (or at least that part of the novel) from which the example is taken is told from the perspective of Jemima.

The typology given in (19) does not exhaust the total spectrum of possible manifestations of an ordering in terms of centre and periphery, as is shown by the following example:

- (21) Mary was kindness itself.

Here the centre seems to be the Platonic idea as opposed to merely partaking in this idea by being kind. What (19) does, however, is to list the major manifestations of the meaning of adnominal intensifiers, viz. of a structuring of entities in terms of centre and periphery. Important aspects of that analysis can also be extended to the adverbial uses of intensifiers. The referent of the focus of an exclusive intensifier is central in the sense of being the interested party for the action mentioned in the sentence (the person who will profit from an action or suffer damage from it, the person responsible for an action etc.), as opposed to possible alternatives to the focus referent. It is for this reason that the first of the following two examples is easy to contextualize, whereas the second is not:

- (22) a. I always wash my clothes myself.
 b. I always wash my neighbour's clothes myself.

In the case of the inclusive use, the centre-periphery distinction has to do with the property of being affected by a situation. Since inclusive intensifiers are the most complicated case of all and since many aspects of their semantic analysis are far from clear, I will not further pursue these problems, but confine myself to mentioning one fairly clear difference between the meaning of adverbial intensifiers and that of adnominal intensifiers. Whereas the latter only take scope within the noun phrase with which they are in construction, the former may take the whole clause within which they occur as their scope. This is most obvious in the case of an interaction with other scope-bearing elements in the same clause. The difference in the meaning of the following two examples is due to a difference in the relative scope of the two scope-bearing elements. Only the second example implies that the mother had to suffer eight miscarriages, as a result of wide scope of the intensifier over the adverb of frequency:

- (23) a. Her mother had herself miscarried eight times.
 b. Her mother had miscarried eight times herself.

4. RELATED EXPRESSIONS

The impression given by the preceding discussion that in each language there is only one single expression used in the context types described above is a misleading one. The typical situation seems to be that there is a group of such expressions the members of which share important semantic and partly also syntactic properties, but may also differ slightly. To take one member of that group as the prototypical representative of that group is justified insofar as there seems to be one expression in each language that is the most frequent and the most versatile in meaning and syntactic distribution. This prototypical representative is *X-self* in English, *selbst* in German, *stesso* in Italian and *X-même* in French. In addition to these prototypical intensifiers, the following expressions can also be included among this class in the languages mentioned:

- (24) a. English: *personally, own, alone, by X-self, in itself*, etc.
 b. German: (*höchst*)*persönlich, eigen, leibhaftig, von selbst, an sich, von sich aus, in Person*, etc.
 c. Italian: *in persona, da solo, da sé, proprio, personalmente*, etc.

Most of these expressions are much more restricted in their use than the central representatives of the class of intensifiers: Some are only used in the exclusive and/or the adnominal sense. Some exhibit sortal restrictions with regard to their focus (e.g. *personally*). Other expressions are restricted to highly specialized context, as for example a nominalized adjective (*die Güte in Person* 'kindness itself'). Engl. *own* and its counterpart in other languages is syntactically restricted to an attributive position, but seems to exhibit the same range of uses as the central member of the class of intensifiers. It is thus not surprising that the lexical distinction between a prenominal (attributive) intensifier (*own*) and a postnominal (appositive) intensifier (*X-self*) should be missing in a wide variety of languages. In general all of the peripheral members of the class of intensifiers seem to involve additional restrictions to the ones exhibited by the core case and are thus easily analyzable once a satisfactory description for the core case has been found.

5. PARAMETERS OF VARIATION

The morphological, syntactic and semantic analysis of intensifiers presented above can now be used as a basis for a typological comparison. Our investigations, which are based on thirty

to forty languages so far, have shown that many, if not most, of the analytical distinctions made above are relevant for the description of parameters and patterns of variation. In what follows we will present the major patterns of variation which our project has revealed so far.

5.1 *Agreement (with Focus) vs. Invariability*

The most obvious variant feature in the form of intensifiers across languages is that they may either agree with a nominal constituent of the same clause in a variety of morpho-syntactic properties or be completely invariable. This parameter of variation opposes, for example, Slavic, Romance and Turkic languages, which exhibit such agreement, to German, Japanese and Mandarin, where no such agreement is found. The morpho-syntactic features that may play a role in this agreement are person, number, gender, case and definiteness, as is shown by the following examples:

(25) TURKISH (person, number, case)

Müdür-ün kendi-si biz-im-le konuş-acak.
 director-GEN self-3P we-GEN-with talk-FUT.3P
 'The director himself will talk to us.'

(26) ENGLISH (person, number, gender)

- a. The Clintons themselves ...
- b. Hillary Clinton herself ...

(27) ITALIAN (gender, number)

- a. Sua madre stessa intervenne ...
 'her mother herself took part'
- b. Il direttore stesso intervenne alla riunione.
 'The director himself took part in the meeting.'

It is this agreement with their focus which makes intensifiers very similar to adjectives. These adjectival properties, however, are by no means incompatible with a categorization of intensifiers as focus markers. It is a well-known fact that adjectives like *very* in English exhibit all the typical prosodic and semantic properties of focus markers:

(28) The very thought of this is disgusting.

Whether intensifiers inflect in a language or not is certainly connected with general typological properties of the language in question, whether it is isolating, inflecting or agglutinating. It does not come as a surprise that intensifiers do not inflect in isolating languages. In some cases the question of inflection vs. invariability seems also to be determined by more specific properties of the language in question. In German adjectives do not inflect in post-nominal position. Given that intensifiers follow their (invariably nominal) focus and given that intensifiers behave morphologically like adjectives, it is to be expected that they should be invariant. Let me also note in passing that the constraint formulated for agreement systems by Christian Lehmann (1988:58) - „what can agree in case never agrees in person, and vice versa“ - does not seem to hold for intensifiers.

5.2 *Differentiation between Intensifiers and Reflexive Anaphors*

In Slavic languages, in Romance languages and in most Germanic languages a clear distinction is drawn between intensifiers (e.g. *sam*, *stesso*, *selbst*) and reflexive anaphors, i.e. refer-

ential reflexive pronouns (*sebjā, si, sich*). The use of the same expression both as intensifier and as reflexive anaphor, however, seems to be an equally frequent pattern among the world's languages. This pattern is found, for example, in the Finno-Ugric languages, the Turkic languages, in the Semitic languages, in Persian, in Mandarin and, of course, in English. In these languages intensifiers and reflexive anaphors are only differentiated through their syntactic position and/or through case.

(29) GERMAN

- a. Der Kanzler selbst hält die Eröffnungsrede.
'The Chancellor himself will give the opening speech.'
- b. Der Kanzler betrachtete sich im Spiegel.
'The Chancellor looked at himself in the mirror.'

(30) MANDARIN

- a. Ta ziji hui lai.
'He himself can come.'
- b. Zhangsan kanjian ziji.
'Zhangsan is looking at himself.'

This double use of the same expression both as intensifier and marker of co-reference in a local domain, found in a wide variety of languages, and the concomitant polysemy of these expressions raises, of course, the question concerning the order in the development of these two uses. Given that intensifiers have more lexical content and that reflexive pronouns are the more grammaticalized expressions, it is plausible - at least within the framework of grammaticalization theory - to assume that reflexive pronouns developed from intensifiers, rather than the other way round. This assumption is also supported by those languages which clearly differentiate between intensifiers and reflexive pronouns. In those languages, too, the two types of expressions are clearly related (cf. Norwegian *selv* vs. *sig*), but it is invariably the intensifier which has more phonological and semantic substance and can thus be assumed to have developed into a reflexive pronoun as a result of morphological attrition and semantic bleaching. Clear support for the assumed directionality 'intensifier > reflexive anaphor' is provided by languages like English or Afrikaans, where reflexive anaphors developed out of combinations of personal pronouns and intensifiers. In Old English personal pronouns could either indicate disjoint reference with another noun phrase in the same clause, as they do in Modern English, or co-reference with a co-argument of the same verb. In the course of its historical development co-reference came to be unambiguously indicated in the English language by adding the intensifier *self* (*seolf/sylf*) to a personal pronoun in object position:

- (31) a. Christ sealde hyne sylfne for us. (*Christus se dedit pro nobis.*)
- b. 'Christ gave himself for us.'

The intensifier *self* later fused with the preceding pronoun (*him + self > himself*) and the resultant complex forms were used as reflexive anaphors and later also as intensifiers, thus replacing the original monosyllabic intensifier *self*. The development of reflexive pronouns in other Germanic languages like Dutch, Afrikaans or Frisian is largely analogous to the one described for English.

For many European languages the etymology of intensifiers is obscure, or at least not very clear. Those languages which do provide clear information on their origin show that one of their major sources are expressions for 'body parts' ('body', 'soul', 'head', 'marrow', 'eye', 'seed', 'person'):

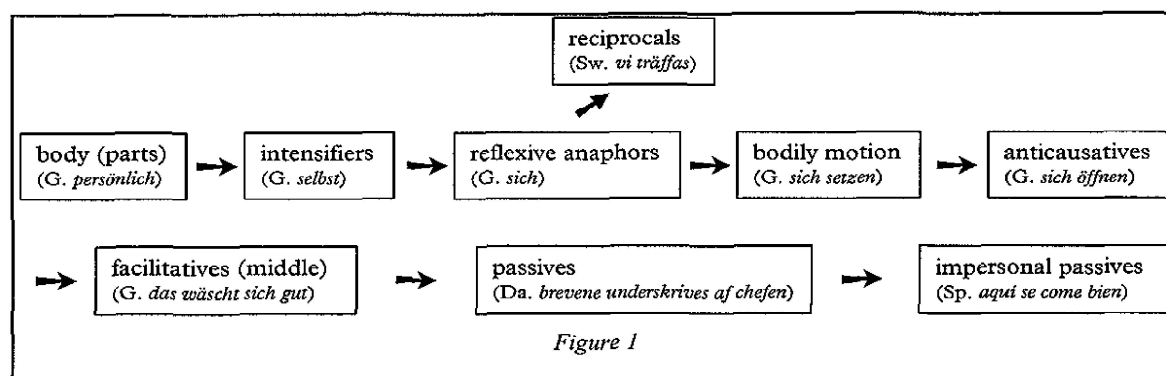
- (32) Georg. *tviton* 'body'; Okinawan *du:na* 'body'; Arabic *nafs* 'soul'; Hausa *ni daikana* 'I with my head'; Hung. *maga* 'seed'; Jap. *zi-sin* 'own body'; Haitian creole *tèt-Emile* 'Emile himself', etc. (cf. Moravcsik, 1972)

On the basis of such cross-linguistic evidence Grimm's assumption that German *selb-st* derives from *si-lib* 'his body' does not seem to be all that implausible. Taking both developments into account, we can therefore hypothesize that intensifiers play a prominent role in the following channel of grammaticalization:

- (33) 'body parts' > intensifiers > reflexive anaphors

Reflexive anaphors (i.e. reflexive pronouns with a purely referential use), on the other hand, may provide the source for a wide variety of further developments, as a result of which the reflexive pronoun loses its referential function and develops into a marker of intransitivity. The relevant developments are extensively discussed in the literature and can roughly be summarized as follows:

In terms of this chain of grammaticalization we can now formulate a pervasive generalization concerning the types of languages with or without a clear differentiation between intensifiers and reflexive anaphors: If a language uses the same expression both as intensifier and as reflexive anaphor, the relevant expression (*X-self* in English, *xod* in Persian, *ziji* in Mandarin, *kendi* in Turkish, etc.) will not be used in any of the other functions (i.e. as marker of derived intransitivity) listed in Figure 1.



5.3 Selectional Restrictions with regard to the Focus

In most European languages the prototypical, central representative of the class of intensifiers (i.e. Engl. *X-self*, French *X-même*, Russ. *sam*, Ital. *stesso*, German *selbst*, etc.) does not exhibit any sortal restrictions with regard to its focus, other than the definiteness constraint mentioned for the adnominal uses above. In these languages, subdivisions of nouns into human and non-human ones, into animate and inanimate ones, etc. do not play any role for the use of these intensifiers. The standard intensifiers combine with any noun phrase, as long as it is referential and definite. Other members of the group, however, may exhibit such sortal restrictions. In languages such as Japanese, Mandarin, Cantonese or Turkish such restrictions seem to be relevant for all intensifiers. In Turkish *kendi* is only used for persons and personifications. There are, however, a few other nouns denoting highly important concepts (such as 'paradise') which may also be combined with *kendi*. In Mandarin *ziji* is only used with human

nouns and in Japanese *zibun* and *zisin* are only used with human nouns and those denoting higher animals, whereas *zitai* is used with inanimate nouns:

(34) JAPANESE

- a. Omae no kangae zitai ga hukenzen da.
your idea itself NOM unsound be-N-PST
'Your idea itself is unsound.'
- b. Zibun ga Tokyo e mairimashita.
self NOM Tokyo to went
'He himself/I myself went to Tokyo.'

If we look at the whole group of intensifiers in European languages, however, such restrictions can also be found. Italian *personalmente* and *in persona* are restricted to human nouns and the same applies to German *persönlich*, *leibhaftig*, *in Person*. In Scandinavian languages the invariant postnominal forms are only used for a human focus (Norw. *dronningen selv* 'the Queen herself', but *selve huset* 'the house itself'). Moreover, in some European languages there are also specific forms for focus referents with a high rank in the real world, i.e. for the context (19a). In German *höchstpersönlich* and the slightly archaic *höchstselbst* are used only in such contexts and the Scandinavian languages have superlative forms of the ordinary intensifier for this purpose:

(35) SWEDISH

- Självaste kungen kunde inte ha det bättre.
'The king himself could not be better off.'

The pattern of cross-linguistic variation revealed by these facts can be nicely captured by the well-known animacy hierarchy (hierarchy of empathy or individuation), which due to the anthropocentric nature of language has been found to be relevant for a wide variety of grammatical systems.

(36) ANIMACY HIERARCHY:

1,2 > 3[human] > human proper nouns > human common nouns > anim. CN > inan. CN >

Applied to the use of adnominal intensifiers, this hierarchy states that if an adnominal intensifier may combine with a noun phrase at a particular point in the hierarchy it may also combine with all types of noun phrases further to the left. As was pointed out above, there are no restrictions for the prototypical adnominal intensifiers in most European languages, but they do exist for Turkish *kendi*, Mandarin *ziji* and Japanese *zibun*, *zisin*, which can only combine with the first four types on the left of the hierarchy. Moreover, every language seems to have special expressions which do manifest exactly the same restriction: *personally* in English, *in persona* in Italian, *höchstselbst* in German. Note, furthermore, that a hierarchy like the one given in (36), or perhaps a refined version thereof, seems to be relevant for the different uses of intensifiers. Exclusive adverbial intensifiers can only relate to a human agent and perhaps also agents denoting higher animals and the inclusive adverbial use is restricted to human experiencers:

- (37)a. John (? the dog) opened the door himself.
- b. John is very tired himself. / ?The cat is very tired itself.

If these facts are taken together with what we know about the etymology of intensifiers, an interesting picture about the historical development and grammaticalization of these expressions emerges. In a wide variety of languages intensifiers clearly developed from expressions

denoting important or central ‘body parts’ in a wide sense of the word, i.e. from notions such as ‘body’, ‘soul’, ‘head’, ‘marrow’, ‘eye’, ‘seed’, ‘mask’ (Lat. *persona*), cf. (32), (33). A semantic change from these notions to intensifiers can plausibly be analyzed as a metaphorical extension: a structure of the body which distinguishes centre and periphery is imposed on social groups. Such an extension presupposes an hierarchical structuring of social groups or of society in general. In such hierarchies a person of high rank could get things done by proxy, his orders were omnipresent and only a presence *in corpore* was worth noting. Given their lexical sources and the presumable nature of the metaphorical transfer, it seems plausible that intensifiers were originally only used with persons of high rank in all languages. Some languages have kept this restriction, in others adnominal intensifiers have been extended to other human and inanimate contexts. If such bleaching and loosening of selectional restriction did occur it was accompanied – so it seems – by the coining of new expressions (i.e. by ‘renewal’) which are again used for the original context, i.e. with persons of high rank. *Höchstselbst*, *höchstpersönlich* in German, *självaste* in Swedish, *in persona* in Italian are cases in point. A further argument for such a sequence in the development of intensifiers, in addition to the preservation of the original restriction in some languages and its renewal in others, and the presumed nature of the metaphorical transfer is the fact that intensifiers may often develop into or at least be used as terms for high-ranking social roles or as honorifics. In Balto-Slavic languages (e.g. Latvian *pats*) intensifiers are also used in the sense of ‘master’ or ‘lord of the house’ and Russian *sam* or Latin *ipse* exhibit similar uses:

- (38) a. sam skazal ‘the master said’
 b. ipse/ipsissimus dixit ‘the master said’

In Irish English an *X-self* form in subject position is used similarly:

- (39) Himself is not here today.

In addition to the three major parameters of variation discussed above, there are also a few minor ones, which do not seem to correlate as clearly with other properties of a language as the major ones.

5.4 Asymmetries

In some languages intensifiers form compounds with a preceding pronominal focus. Pre-Classical Latin *ea-pse*, *is-pse* (> *ipse*) and English himself (< *him* + *self*) are pertinent examples. A further asymmetry with respect to pronominal foci can be observed in subject versus object positions. Whereas the intensifier *X-self* in English does combine with a subject pronoun (*he himself*), it is incompatible with an object pronoun (**him himself*). A similar constraint can be observed in Cantonese.

5.5 Lexical differentiations

One of the lexical distinctions typically found in the subclass of intensifiers in European languages is the one between post-focal adnominal intensifiers (Engl. *X-self*, German *selbst*, etc.) and attributive, possessive intensifiers (Engl. *own*, German *eigen*). Such a distinction is found, for example, in the Germanic and the Romance languages, but not in Turkic or Indic languages, in Japanese or Mandarin:

- (40) TURKISH

- a. kendi oda-m
'my own room'
- b. Atatürk'ün kendisi
'Atatürk himself'

5.6 Patterns of Polysemy

On the basis of the language sample investigated so far, only very tentative statements can be made about the meanings, typically associated with intensifiers across languages. What we have found in all of the 30-40 languages investigated so far are the adnominal and the exclusive adverbial uses. The inclusive adverbial use seems to be fairly wide-spread, but could not be clearly identified for all languages. If, however, the inclusive adverbial use can be found in a language the exclusive adverbial use and the adnominal use can be found as well. This is expressed by the following hierarchy:

(41) adnominal < exclusive < inclusive

What is clearly restricted to some languages is the use of one or two related forms both as adnominal intensifiers and as scalar focus particle. Such an extension in the use of intensifiers is found inter alia in German (*selbst*), Russian (*sam*), Dutch (*zelf* - *zelfs*), French (*X-même* - *même*), but not in English (*X-self* - *even*) or Turkish (*kendi* - *bile/dahi*).

(42) FRENCH

- a. Le directeur lui-même va venir.
- b. Même le directeur va venir.

5.7 Intensifiers as 'Topic Markers'

Languages also differ in the use of intensifiers in certain constructions, which are either identified as double-focus constructions or as constructions with intonationally marked topics. It is a characteristic property of such sentences that they evoke ordered pairs of alternatives, i.e. alternatives to the referent of the topic modified by the intensifier, as well as alternatives to the referent(s) of the focus following the topic. In the following German example the alternatives are given by the preceding co-text:

(43) GERMAN/ENGLISH/ITALIAN

- a. Marias Mann arbeitet in Potsdam. Olga selbst arbeitet in Berlin.
- b. Mary's husband works in Potsdam. Mary herself works in Berlin.
- c. Il marito di Olga lavora a Potsdam. Olga invece lavora a Berlino.

This use of intensifiers is found in Germanic and Slavic languages, but not in Romance, as is indicated by the translation of (a) into Italian.

5.8 Use as Personal Pronouns

A further phenomenon that is sufficiently wide-spread in order to be mentioned as a parameter of variation is the use of intensifiers as personal pronouns, especially as forms of address, but also for non-speakers and non-hearers. Given the primacy of the use for people of high rank described above, it should not come as a surprise that intensifiers are primarily used as honor-

ifics. Such a use can be found in Turkish (*kendi*, for all three persons), Basque (*berorrek*, 2nd person, archaic) and Irish English (*Himself was not looking too friendly*):

- (44) TURKISH
kendisi evde
'he is at home'

6. CONCLUSION

So far, very little attention has been given to areal patterns. I did, however, identify basic outlines of areal patterns, by attributing certain properties to certain language families and by noting their absence in others. Given the limits of our language sample and its European bias, it is not possible at this stage to identify major areal patterns for all the parameters of variation discussed above. What we can describe with reasonable confidence are the typically European properties. Among the characteristic features of 'Standard Average European' (opposition between definite and indefinite article, pervasive accusativity in the coding of grammatical relations, preference for finite subordination, coordination between all types of phrases, external possessors, etc.) we can also include a clear differentiation between intensifiers and reflexive anaphors. The use of the same expression for both meanings, by contrast, seems to be a wide-spread phenomenon outside of Europe. It is found in Turkic, Indic, Dravidian, many Caucasian languages, as well as in Japanese, Mandarin, but also in English and in Celtic languages.

7. REFERENCES

- Baker, C.L. (1995). 'Contrast, discourse prominence, and intensification, with special reference to locally free reflexives in British English', *Language* 71, 63-101.
- Bickerton, D. (1987). 'He himself: Anaphor, Pronoun, Or ...?', *Linguistic Inquiry* 18, 345-348.
- Browning, M.A. (1993). 'Adverbial reflexives', *NELS* 23, Bd.1, 83-94.
- Cantrall, W.R. (1973a). 'Why I would relate *own*, emphatic reflexives, and intensive pronouns, my own self', *CLS* 9, 57-67.
- Cantrall, W.R. (1974). *Viewpoint, reflexives and the nature of noun phrases*. Mouton, The Hague.
- Carden, G. and J. Moyne (1974). 'Subject Reduplication in Persian', *Linguistic Inquiry* 5, 205-249.
- Chomsky, N. (1981). *Lectures on Government and Binding*. Foris, Dordrecht.
- Culy, C. (1994). 'Aspects of logophoric marking', *Linguistics* 32, 1055-1094.
- Dirven, R. (1973). 'Emphatic and reflexive in English and Dutch', *Leuvense Bijdragen* 63, 285-99.
- Edmondson, J.A. and F. Plank (1978). 'Great expectations: An intensive self analysis', *Linguistics and Philosophy* 2, 373-413.
- Faltz, L.M. (1985). *Reflexivization: A Study in Universal Syntax*. Garland, New York.
- Ferro, L. (1993). 'On „self“ as a focus marker', *ESCOL*, 68-79.
- Fukoda, K. (1989). 'On Emphatic Reflexives', *English Linguistics* 6, 36-51.
- Girke, W. (1993). 'Rollenwechsel und konservierte Spur: Eine funktionale Beschreibung von *sam*', in: H.R. Mehlig (Ed.), *Slavistische Linguistik 1993, Referate des XIX. Konstanzer Slavistischen Arbeitstreffens Kiel 21.-23.9.1993*, 81-100. Verlag Otto Sagner, München.
- Kameyama, M. (1984). 'Subjective/Logophoric Bound Anaphor *Zibun*', *CLS* 20, 228-238.

- Keenan, E.L. (1988). 'Complex anaphors and bind alpha', *CLS* 24, 216-32.
- Keenan, E.L. (1993). 'The historical development of the English anaphora system', *Handout for colloquium*, UCLA.
- Kemmer, S. (1995). 'Emphatic reflexive -self', in: S. Stein and S. Wright (Eds.), *Subjectivity and subjectivization in language*. CUP, Cambridge.
- Kibrik, A. and E. Bogdanova (1995). 'Sam kak operator korrektsii ožidanii adresata', *Voprosy Jazykoznanija* 3, 28-47.
- König, E. (1991). *The meaning of focus particles: A comparative perspective*. Routledge, London.
- König, E. and P. Siemund (1996a). 'Emphatische Reflexiva und Fokusstruktur', in: I. Rosengren (Ed.), *Sprache und Pragmatik* 40. Lunds Universitet, Lund.
- König, E. and P. Siemund (1996b). 'Selbst-Reflektionen', in: G. Harras (Ed.), *Wenn die Semantik arbeitet. Festschrift für Klaus Baumgärtner*. Niemeyer, Tübingen.
- Kuno, S. and E. Kaburaki (1977). 'Empathy and Syntax', *Linguistic Inquiry* 8, 627-672.
- Kuno, S. (1987). *Functional Syntax: Anaphora, Discourse and Empathy*. Chicago University Press, Chicago.
- Lehmann, Ch. (1988). 'On the Function of Agreement', in: M. Barlow and Ch. A. Ferguson (Eds.), *Agreement in Natural Language: Approaches, Theories, Descriptions*. CSLI, Stanford.
- McKay, T. (1991). 'He himself: Undiscovering an anaphor', *Linguistic Inquiry* 22, 168-173.
- Moravcsik, E. (1972). 'Some cross-linguistic generalizations about intensifier constructions', *CLS* 8, 271-277.
- Moyne, J.A. (1971). 'Reflexive and Emphatic', *Language* 47, 141-63.
- Ogura, M. (1989b). *Verbs with the Reflexive Pronoun and Constructions with Self in Old and Early Middle English*. D.S. Brewer, Cambridge, England.
- Plank, F. (1979). 'Zur Affinität von selbst und auch', in: H. Weydt (Ed.), *Die Partikeln der deutschen Sprache*. de Gruyter, Berlin.
- Primus, B. (1992). 'Selbst - Variants of a scalar adverb in German', in: J. Jacobs (Ed.), *Informationsstruktur und Grammatik*. Westdeutscher Verlag, Opladen.
- Romoth, S. (1990). *Die Identitätspronomina in der Romania*. Droz, Genève.
- Safir, K. (1993). 'Semantic atoms of anaphora: selfish languages and selfless ones', *Unpubl. ms.* Rutgers University.
- Sanchez, L. (1994). 'On the Interpretation of Intensified DPs and Emphatic Pronouns', in: L. Mazzola (Ed.), *Issues and Theory in Romance Linguistics*. Georgetown UP, Washington, DC.
- Zribi-Hertz, A. (1989). 'Anaphor binding and narrative point of view. English reflexive pronouns in sentence and discourse', *Language* 65, 695-727.
- Zribi-Hertz, A. (1995). 'Emphatic or reflexive? On the endophoric character of French *lui-même* and similar complex pronouns', *Journal of Linguistics* 31, 333-374.