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Syntactic and Semantic Properties of Intensive Reflexives in English

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Syntactic and Semantic Properties

of Intensive Reflexives in English
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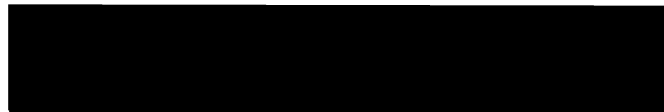
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Abstract

This thesis explores syntactic and semantic properties of intensive reflexives (IRs) in English. The study is based on examples selected from the following on-line databases: Wilson Humanities Abstracts and The New York Times Book Review Digest Abstracts. The analysis also incorporates examples cited from linguistic articles on the subject of RRs and IRs.

As opposed to regular reflexives (RRs), IRs have not been given sufficient consideration in linguistic accounts. As a point of departure, the author utilizes Quirk's and Greenbaum's descriptive framework to examine the evidence from the database. Since RRs are discussed more extensively than IRs in this framework, RRs are studied first, and are regarded as circumscribing standards for the subsequent investigation of IRs. The descriptive analysis of IRs and RRs shows that IRs, in addition to having the same morphological forms as RRs, display other affinities with RRs. First, both RRs and IRs exhibit a marked preference for subject antecedents positioned in the same clause as themselves. Second, RRs and IRs accept NP antecedents from non-subject positions. Third, NP antecedents do not have to be located in the same clause as IRs and RRs but can be implied from a neighboring main clause.

Subsequently, the author undertakes to look closely into the syntactic distribution of IRs and RRs. It is demonstrated that while IRs take optional syntactic positions (i.e., they appear in apposition with the NPs they intensify, come after an auxiliary/modal verb, or at the end of a clause), RRs fill obligatory syntactic slots (i.e., those associated with a direct and indirect object, object of a preposition, and a subject complement).

On the assumption that reflexivity is tied to syntactic obligatoriness and intensity to syntactic optionality, RRs and IRs may be described in terms of the features (reflexive) and (intensive). As a result, RRs and IRs are assigned the following set of features, respectively: RRs (maximally reflexive, minimally intensive); IRs (maximally intensive, minimally reflexive). Further, an attempt is made at defining the features (max intensive) and (max reflexive) "built into" IRs and RRs, respectively. Unlike the feature (maximally reflexive), the "activation" of the feature (maximally intensive) depends on the following contextual factors: contrastive or emphatic context and discourse-prominent NP antecedent. By contrast, the feature (maximally reflexive) conveys interaction with one's self (i.e., an agent performs some action on himself or herself), which does not hold of the feature (maximally intensive).

Finally, the author explores another context-related connection between IRs and their NP antecedents. Twofold assumptions are made. First, for NPs to be intensified by IRs, they should be referential and/or identifiable in addition to being discourse-prominent.

Second, the link between the referential status of intensified NPs and the presence of IRs is likely to be affected by the syntactic positioning of IRs. In the process of examining Lyons's notion of reference (singular/general and definite/indefinite) against examples from the database, the author discovers that the assumptions posed at the beginning of the analysis appear to be correct. On the one hand, there is a link between the referentiality of intensified NPs and IRs, and, on the other hand, the link in question seems to be relevant only to adjacent (i.e., appositional) IRs. This leads to the conclusion that IRs do not form a uniform grammatical category.

*To Christy Blew
my dearest friend*

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Table of Contents

1. Introduction.....	1
2. Regular Reflexives and Intensive Reflexives in a Descriptive Framework.....	2
3. A Contrastive Analysis of the Distribution of RRs and IRs.....	13
4. The Components of the Features of Intensive and Reflexive.....	17
5. The Referentiality of NP Antecedents for IRs.....	22
6. Conclusions.....	43
<i>Notes</i>	45
<i>Works Cited</i>	47
<i>Appendix</i>	49

1. Introduction

1.1 Aim of the Study

The objective of this study is to examine the largely neglected syntactic and semantic properties of intensive reflexive pronouns in English. The aim of my study is threefold. First, I specify how intensive reflexives are approached in descriptive grammars. Second, I identify similarities and differences between intensive reflexives and their closest grammatical “relations” (i.e., regular or basic reflexives). Third, I appeal to different levels of linguistic description (i.e., syntactic, semantic, and pragmatic).

My discussion begins with an account of regular reflexives as presented within Quirk’s (1985) and Greenbaum’s (1995) descriptive framework. The investigation of regular reflexives will be treated as setting standards for the subsequent examination of intensive reflexives within this descriptive framework. The discussions of regular and intensive reflexives will not only dwell on the issues raised by Greenbaum and Quirk, but will be supplemented with new findings resulting from the careful study of the database on which this project is mostly based.

The separate presentations of regular and intensive reflexives are followed by a contrastive study of the distribution of both types of reflexive pronouns within the descriptive framework. The contrastive analysis gives a valuable insight into those aspects of intensive reflexives that have not been subjected to thorough investigation. It will be assumed that although both categories of reflexives have some features in common, they do not overlap in terms of their distribution, and, therefore, they can be considered complementary in distribution. It will be further claimed that the syntactic obligatoriness of regular reflexives and the syntactic optionality of intensive reflexives follow from their respective sets of “inherent” features. While regular reflexives will be assumed to be maximally reflexive and minimally intensive, intensive reflexives will be assumed to be maximally intensive and minimally reflexive. Further, an attempt will be made at defining “parameters” that go into the features (maximally) reflexive and (maximally) intensive. Specifically, it will be asserted that the features (maximally reflexive) and (maximally intensive) stand in opposition to each other in the sense that the former denotes interaction with one’s self and implies context-independence, whereas the latter entails such context-related concepts as contrast or emphasis and discourse-prominence.

In the next section, the context-dependency of intensive reflexives will be further investigated. Since the appearance of intensive reflexives is contingent on the availability of discourse-prominent NP antecedents for them and since reference is construed as a context-dependent notion, there must be a connection between the appearance of intensive reflexives and the referentiality of their NP antecedents (Lyons, 1978, p. 180). Numerous examples from the database will be studied in an effort to determine what NPs are accepted as antecedents for intensive reflexives in terms of their referentiality. The analysis will also be reinforced by other acceptable cases of NP antecedents with referential properties

different from those reflected in the database. In addition to looking into the nature of the interrelatedness between intensive reflexives and the reference of their NP antecedents, the study will address itself to exploring whether a change in the syntactic positioning of an intensive reflexive influences the relationship between that intensive reflexive and the referentiality of its NP antecedent. However, it will be concluded at the end of the section that although there is a clear link between intensive reflexives and the referentiality of their NP antecedents, in some cases the appearance of an intensive reflexive in a given syntactic structure is dependent upon other properties of its NP. Throughout the analysis, for the sake of convenience and economy, I will refer to regular and intensive reflexives by means of their abbreviated forms, i.e., an IR and RR, respectively.

1.2 Methodology

The following study is confined to the examination of RRs and IRs in present-day Standard Written American English. The analysis is based on a corpus of examples carefully drawn from three different sources. The majority of examples in the discussion of IRs and RRs are taken from the following on-line databases: Wilson Humanities Abstracts (1996 and 1997) and, to a smaller degree, The New York Times Book Review Digest Abstracts (from 1995 to 1997). The third source of examples will be selections from specific linguistic publications on the subject of IRs and RRs (Bickerton, 1989; Bilan, 1978; Chomsky, 1986; Edmondson & Plank, 1978; Fukuda, 1989; Greenbaum, 1996; McDaniel & Battistella, 1986; McKay, 1991; Quirk, 1985; Saha, 1987). Where additional clarification is required, the sentences with IRs are cited along with the surrounding context. All the examples cited in the course of the analysis are assembled in the Appendix in the order of their appearance in the discussion.

2. Regular Reflexives and Intensive Reflexives in a Descriptive Framework

Both Greenbaum (1996) in his English Grammar and Quirk (1985) in A Comprehensive Grammar of the English Language classify reflexive pronouns in English as falling into two major functional categories: basic or primary reflexives (as in *John saw himself in the mirror*) and emphatic reflexives (as in *John himself saw Mary in the mirror*).¹ Much as these two groups of reflexives display different properties, they share the same morphological forms (i.e., *myself, yourself, himself, herself, itself, ourselves, yourselves, and themselves*).

2.1 Regular Reflexives

In Greenbaum's and Quirk's grammars of English, an RR is described as a noun phrase that replaces a personal pronoun and enters into a co-referential relationship with another nominal, mostly a subject NP, in the same sentence or clause. Both Quirk and Greenbaum define co-reference in terms of referring to the same entity in the extra-

linguistic world. The following example illustrates this point:

- (1) Throughout this collection, Sancho proves **himself** the quintessential self-made man of the emergent middle order, most particularly in the importance he ascribes to writing.

Clearly, *himself* co-refers with its subject antecedent *Sancho* in the sense that both nominals signify one concrete individual in the outside world. Syntactically speaking, the co-referentiality between the subject NP and the RR in (1) implies that *himself* must match its antecedent in person, gender, and number. This requirement is met in (1) since *Sancho* and *himself* are both explicitly marked for the 3rd person, masculine gender, and singular number. In addition, Quirk notes that in sentences like (1) personal pronouns used in place of RRs behave differently as they cannot refer to the same entity as the subject of a sentence; thus, they must be disjoint in reference (p. 356).

Further, both Greenbaum and Quirk give some consideration to the roles that RRs fulfill in syntactic structures. RRs are said to function as indirect or direct objects of verbs, subject complements, and objects of prepositions. To this end, Quirk makes an observation that RRs are barred from performing the role of a sentential subject (p. 356). The following examples illustrate the functions performed by RRs. In (2) the RR appears as an indirect object, in (3) as a direct object, in (4) as a subject complement, and in (5) as a prepositional object:

- (2) In this excellent work, Lea Brilmayer sets **herself** the task of seeking a measure of morality in the international scene as it is structured today.
- (3) Prison officials repeatedly cite problems they see with “infotainment” media and sensationalized crime reporting, but they may be placing **themselves** in the position of deciding who represents legitimate and nonlegitimate media.
- (4) He argues that what made Davis exceptional was that he was not afraid to be **himself**.
- (5) The essays on Lacan betray a whole panoply of unconscious mechanisms, including a clear idealization and identification at work, as Althusser finds in Lacan a purer, nobler mirror-image of **himself**.

Quirk and Greenbaum further notice that in English RRs for the most part do not form permanent lexical units with verbs. For example, the verb *place* in (3) does not necessarily have to be followed by the RR *themselves*. As a matter of fact, it can be followed by any other NP:

- (6) Prison officials repeatedly cite problems they see with “infotainment” media and sensationalized crime reporting, but they may be placing **them/others** in the position of deciding who represents legitimate and nonlegitimate media.

However, there is a small group of verbs in English that are always obligatorily followed

by RRs. To this category belong the following idiomatic phrasal verbs: *absent oneself (from)*, *avail oneself (of)*, *demean oneself*, *ingratiate oneself (with)*, *perjure oneself*, *pride oneself on*, etc., (Quirk, p. 358). Consider (7) in which the verb *pride* and *ourselves* form an inseparable unit:

- (7) We like to **pride ourselves** on the care which we lavish on our children, so, why is child abuse not an issue of popular debate, other than around the times of extensive media coverage?

In (7) any attempt at replacing the RR with another nominal results in an ill-formed sentence, as substantiated by (8):

- (8) * We like to **pride us** on the care which we lavish on our children, so, why is child abuse not an issue of popular debate, other than around the times of extensive media coverage?²

In the examples examined thus far, RRs have always had a subject antecedent present in their own clauses. However, both grammarians also include in their analyses those cases in which an RR does not have a subject antecedent within the same clause or sentence. To this end, the following sentences are considered:

- (9) He concludes that Blake was unable to free **himself** from the complex and often contradictory web of ancient and modern beliefs that had settled around Africa and the African in the late 18th century.
- (10) The writer discusses how Benjamin Netanyahu plans to accept the Oslo II agreement while portraying **himself** as agonizing over the “concession” involved in this acceptance.
- (11) Representing **herself** as typical of women, Roiphe does not recognize decisively different circumstances experienced by people less economically and educationally privileged than she and others who attend prestigious schools.

Clearly, the RR in all the above examples does not possess a subject antecedent in its own clause, which is the infinitive clause for *himself* in (9), the *-ing* participle clause for *himself* in (10) as well as for *herself* in (11). However, Quirk and Greenbaum argue that in such instances a subject antecedent for an RR is implied from the main clause (p. 357; p. 180). Consequently, the understood subject for the RR *himself* in (9) is *Blake*, the subject of the preceding finite clause. By the same token, *Benjamin Netanyahu*, the subject of the preceding main clause, is understood to be the subject antecedent for *himself* in (10). Finally, *Roiphe*, the subject of the main clause, appears to be the implied subject for the RR *herself* in (11). In addition, Greenbaum notices that examples like (11) involve a cataphoric relationship (i.e., an RR precedes its antecedent) rather than an anaphoric one (i.e., an RR follows its antecedent) between an RR and its antecedent (p. 180). The subordinate clause that contains *herself* in (11) precedes the main clause with the implied subject antecedent for the RR.

The examples thus far have supported the initial assertion that an RR refers back to a subject NP, whether that NP is situated in the same clause or sentence as an RR or is implied from the neighboring main clause. However, Greenbaum in his account of English RRs also makes allowances for RRs referring back to “non-subject nominals.” The following examples illustrate this point:

- (12a) He examines the strategies of serious authors who would seem to be inept at marketing **themselves** and their products but who, on closer inspection, are actually skilled marketers pursuing a circumscribed but powerful target market.
- (12b) In this play, masculine aggression runs rampant in the figure of Richard, who refuses to subordinate **himself** to traditional patriarchal power structures and lines of succession.
- (13) Throughout the diaries, he detects a sense of Pym constructing and reconstructing **herself** in fiction.

Not only do the clauses containing the RR in (12a), (12b), and (13) have an NP antecedent for that RR but also the antecedent that is implied from the neighboring main clause does not occupy a subject position. The “understood” NP antecedent for the RR in all the instances happens to function as a prepositional object rather than as a subject. In (12a) and (12b) the prepositional objects *serious authors* and *Richard* are the implied antecedents for the RRs *themselves* and *himself*, respectively positioned in relative clauses. In (13) the RR *herself* is embedded in the *-ing* participle clause and co-refers to the prepositional object *Pym* from the main clause.

Greenbaum’s recognition of the fact that RRs can also have non-subject NPs as their antecedents leads to a clear discrepancy between his and Quirk’s handling of cases in which NPs understood to be antecedents for RRs perform the twin role of direct objects and subjects of non-finite clauses. In this connection, the following examples are offered for consideration:

- (14a) Rather than attacking a model that is already largely discredited, it would be better if it explored the analogizing habit of mind that repeatedly allowed Dryden to see **himself** as another writer in whom he had a current interest.
- (14b) A married woman, poet, and Presbyterian, Norris’s religious quest led her to immerse **herself** in the life of liturgical prayer in a Benedictine monastery.

On the one hand, *Dryden* in (14a) and *her* in (14b) are the direct objects of the verbs *allowed* and *led*, respectively. On the other hand, those NPs can be viewed as the subjects heading the infinitive clauses containing the RRs. Greenbaum treats such examples as exceptions to the prevailing pattern of the subject antecedent-RR relationship since he is more inclined to look on the antecedent NPs in (14) as direct objects (p. 181). By contrast, Quirk does not even entertain the idea of considering *Dryden*, *her*, and *a student* other than

as subjects of the infinitive clause (p. 357).

In addition to having antecedents in non-finite subject positions, RRs can be coreferential with possessive subjects of noun phrases, as is the case in (15):

- (15) They reveal her efforts to extricate **herself** from the surveillance imposed by the monarchy and devoted to managing the brisk market in noble marriages.

In (15) the pronoun *her* from the direct object *her efforts* seems to be the legitimate antecedent for *herself* from the infinitive clause.

Finally, Quirk makes a point of remarking that an antecedent-RR relationship is not solely confined to clausal structures, but also applies in nominalized clauses. By way of illustration, consider the following examples:

- (16a) Philip's boundless admiration of **himself** is well known.
(16b) Your confidence in **yourself** is well known.
(16c) It is touch that functions as ultimate metaphor for Carter's incorporation of the patriarchal into **herself**.

In all the cases, the RRs are positioned within the prepositional phrases that function as modifiers of the noun phrases. The antecedents of the RRs (*Philip's*, *your*, and *Carter's*) are embedded noun phrases which function as "subjects" of the nominalized phrases (Quirk, p. 357). The nominalizations in (16) can be said to have the following clausal equivalents:

- (17a) That Philip boundlessly admires himself is well known.
(17b) That you are confident in yourself is well known.
(17c) It is touch that functions as ultimate metaphor for the fact that Carter has incorporated the patriarchal into **herself**.

Although the functions performed by the RRs do not differ from one another in (16), it is no longer the case in (17). While in the former instances the RR fulfills only the role of a prepositional object, in the latter the RR functions either as a prepositional object or a direct object. Interestingly, the RR in its role as a prepositional object passes unchanged from (17b) and (17c) to (16b) and (16c), respectively. Only when the RR takes on the function of a direct object as in (17a) does it get altered to a prepositional object in the nominalization such as (16a). Moreover, the subjective genitive antecedents *Philip's*, *your*, and *Carter's* from (16a-c) correspond to the clausal nominative subjects *Philip*, *you*, and *Carter* in (17a-c). Quirk's claim that the coreferential relation between an RR and its antecedent obtains both in clauses and their nominalized counterparts may be tenable, but he has overlooked an important fact in his discussion. What is missing from his analysis is the observation that not all noun phrases with RRs and their antecedents have clausal equivalents. The availability of examples in which noun phrases with RRs and their antecedents do not have clausal equivalents testify to that fact:

- (18) It is welcome not only for Cranston's vastly informed knowledge of

Rousseau's life but also for his sanity, balance, and tact in dealing both with his subject's blindnesses about **himself** and with the exaggerated polemics of partisans for and against Rousseau.

The noun phrase in (18) *his subject's blindnesses about himself* does not have a clausal counterpart. Even so, the RR behaves in the same way as the ones in (17a-c).

2.2 Intensive Reflexives

Both Greenbaum (1996) and Quirk (1985) offer sketchy accounts of IRs. They merely point out that they are used appositionally in order to signify the importance of another noun phrase. Greenbaum's discussion of IRs is built around whether the noun phrase emphasized by an IR occupies a subject position or not. If an IR has a subject NP as its antecedent, that IR can appear in different syntactic slots: it can either be immediately attached to its antecedent or take some other position in a sentence or clause, as illustrated by (19). The IR along with its NP antecedent have been boldfaced in the following examples:

- (19a) Coming at a time when **Wong himself** has moved onto the altogether more adult pleasures of Happy Together, this movie may well have missed its moment.
- (19b) Although **she** would not **herself** agree, actress Gloria Grahame, who died in 1981, was a real auteur product.
- (19c) The question, he explains, is whether it is to be supposed that **Alfonsi** would have written the Latin texts **himself** or whether their form is the result of a redactor or redactors.

In (19a) the IR *himself* directly follows the clausal subject NP *Wong*. In (19b) the IR *herself* occupies a clause-medial position; specifically, it is wedged in between the modal and the main verb. In (19c), in turn, the IR *himself* comes at the very end of its clause, so that *Alfonsi* and *himself* stake out the beginning and end of the clause, respectively. By contrast, Quirk does not discuss IRs in terms of what different syntactic positions they can take. He makes a general statement that IRs "may have positional mobility" without explaining how that positional mobility is reflected in syntactic structures.

Further, Greenbaum notices that, as in the case of RRs, there is some evidence that IRs may not necessarily be positioned within the same sentence or clause as their antecedents (pp. 183-84). This positioning occurs mostly when an IR is located in non-finite clauses:

- (20a) In this autobiographical novel, Murphy articulates her experience of sexual abuse, incest at the hands of her mother, her fear of committing incest **herself**, and her arduous journey toward healing and selfhood.
- (20b) The writer describes how becoming a lesbian **herself** provided a solution

to the sense of homophobia that she experienced toward some of her lesbian friends.

- (20c) He is remarkably even-handed in his approach, endorsing no model **himself** but concisely pointing out positive aspects and deficiencies of each one.
- (20d) She states that all of these libraries continue to explore new ways of enriching their oral history collections, either by conducting interviews **themselves** or by soliciting interviews done by others.

All the examples in (20) represent cases in which the IR and its subject antecedent are not contained within the same syntactic structure. Specifically, the IR comes at the tail-end of the embedded present participle clause, whereas its legitimate antecedent heads the main clause. Thus, it is from the main clause that the subject NP accentuated by the IR is implied. Specifically, in (20a) the “understood” subject NP in the clause with *himself* is *Murphy*, in (20b) the IR *herself* intensifies *the writer* from the main clause, and, finally, in (20c) *himself* refers back to the pronominal subject from the superordinate clause. (20d) differs from the other examples in one structural aspect as the IR is positioned within the *-ing* participle clause which itself constitutes part of the adjunctive prepositional phrase headed by the preposition *by*. However, by analogy to the other examples listed in (20), the antecedent for *themselves* comes from the subject NP of the nearest finite clause, which in (20d) happens to be *all of these libraries*. The same pattern can be observed with IRs embedded in infinitive clauses, as the following sentences show:

- (21a) That the reader is left to discover some of the secrets **herself** makes this book more engaging.
- (21b) At the end of the film, Roy seems to be giving up his baseball career to become a family man **himself**, which is not the case in the novel.
- (21c) It demonstrates how Japan tried to profit from Western contact in order to escape Western domination and sought to dominate eastern Asia **herself**.

In (21) the subjective antecedent for the IR positioned in the infinitive clause is implied from the finite clause. In (21a) *the reader* is the “understood” subject for *herself*, in (21b) *himself* points back to *Roy*, and *Japan* is taken to function as the legitimate antecedent for *herself* in (21c).

In all the examples studied thus far, IRs, whether located in the same syntactic structures as their antecedents or not, have always had subject antecedents. However, we find extensive evidence which indicates that IRs are by no means barred from intensifying non-subject NPs. At the same time, when the antecedent of an IR happens to be “other than the subject,” an IR becomes strictly confined to the position following that of the antecedent itself (Greenbaum, p. 180).

- (22a) This abundantly detailed description of Che Guevara’s life from cradle to grave and the aftermath strongly resurrects the man **himself** and the spirit

of the times in which he lived.

- (22b) The book's central problem--that most of the counterdiscourse occurs in Petrarch **himself**--is also its most engaging conundrum.

In (22a) the antecedent of the IR functions as the direct object and, therefore, *himself* must remain adjacent to *the man*. By the same token, the IR from (22b) cannot move to a different syntactic position by virtue of the fact that its antecedent fulfills the role of the prepositional object.

Although Greenbaum addresses IRs in a much more detailed manner than Quirk, there still remain some important issues to be considered that have escaped his notice. One unresolved problem is the behavior of IRs positioned in relative clauses. Given the fact that relative clauses function as nominal postmodifiers and are headed by relative pronouns that replace the noun phrases modified by those relative clauses, what needs to be investigated is whether it is the NP modified by a relative clause or the relative pronoun itself that the IR co-refers with. In this connection, the following pairs of examples illustrate this issue:

- (23a) It is only a minor aspect of our entire pain and pain-inhibitory systems, which **themselves** are geared to help us flee, fight, or nurse ourselves, depending on the circumstances.
- (23b) They also illustrate some of the fundamental realities of academic and commercial publishing, which **themselves** speak to the notion of literary fame and scholarly endorsement.
- (24a) Intercessory rites at home for the success of a crusade by those who had not **themselves** joined it were organized throughout the Holy Roman Empire in the 12th and 13th centuries, particularly in support of military campaigns against non-Christian opponents.
- (24b) At the end of the 18th century, he concludes, overland trade in the Kingdom of Naples was scarce and sea trade fairly limited, which reflected insufficient economic developments that were **themselves** the result of poor road and sea communications.
- (25a) These papers on Greek colonization are dedicated to John Boardman, who gave one of the papers **himself**.
- (25b) He points out that late-20th-century Thai Christians, who are supernaturalists **themselves**, have reclassified local spirit activity through their own Christian frameworks.

In (23a-b) the IR is adjacent to the relative pronoun, and in neither of the examples does the NP modified by the relative clause occupy the subject position. The noun phrase from (23a) *our entire pain and pain-inhibitory systems* assumes the function of a prepositional object. In (23b), in turn, the NP *some of the fundamental realities of academic and commercial publishing* fulfills the role of a direct object. The IR in (24) takes the position between the auxiliary verb and the main one as in (24a) or follows the copula *be* as in

(24b). As in (23a-b), none of the NPs qualified by the relative clause functions as a clause subject; in (24a) *those* is the object of the preposition *by*, whereas in (24b) *insufficient economic developments* acts as the direct object of the verb *reflected*. Finally, in (25) the IR comes at the end of each relative clause. The NP *John Boardman* in (25a) takes the role of a prepositional object, while its counterpart from (25b) *late-20th-century Thai Christians* operates as a clausal subject. All things considered, the IRs in the relative clauses from (23), (24), and (25) have been shown to appear in three different syntactic positions despite the fact that in the majority of cases the noun phrase postmodified by the relative clause takes on other syntactic roles in addition to that of a subject. The positional mobility of IRs in relative clauses points to the conclusion that IRs have relative pronouns as their antecedents and that NPs qualified by relative clauses do not have any bearing on the distribution of IRs contained within those relative clauses. If the NPs preceding relative clauses acted as the antecedents for the IRs in (23), (24), and (25), the IRs would not be capable of showing up in three distinct positions. In all the cases above the relative pronouns *who*, *which* or *that* must, therefore, occupy a subject slot, filling in for the relativized subject NP. Another interesting finding resulting from the analysis of IRs in relative clauses is that there are no instances to be found of IRs intensifying relativized NPs from object positions. The absence of such evidence underscores the marked preference that IRs exhibit for subject rather than object NPs as their antecedents.

Another set of examples that goes unnoticed in Greenbaum's discussion of IRs involves two-element appositive phrases consisting of a noun phrase and an IR. A careful examination shows that those phrases are derivatives of non-restrictive relative clauses in which a relative pronoun and the copula verb have undergone ellipsis. Consequently, what has been left behind is a subject complement and an IR. As an illustration of the phenomenon described above, the following sentences are considered:

(26a) Focusing on the worship of Oshun (Osun), a Yoruba water divinity, in several parts of western Nigeria and the United States, Mojisola, **herself** a devotee of the goddess, investigates similarities and dissimilarities between diaspora practices and indigenous Yoruba approaches.

(26b) In this starkly titled collection, Newman, a trained dancer **himself**, is obsessed with shapes and shaping, with the possibility that imaginative order might equal personal order.

In (26a) the IR *herself* precedes the subject complement *a devotee of the goddess*, which suggests that before the ellipsis occurred, the phrase *herself a devotee of the goddess* must have had either of the following two shapes: *who herself is a devotee of the goddess* or *who is herself a devotee of the goddess*. Thus, the IR either immediately followed the relative pronoun or was located between the copula and the subject complement. In (26b), on the other hand, the IR *himself* follows the subject complement *a trained dancer*, which indicates that the IR must also have taken the final position in the original relative clause.

However, the fact that the IR in (26) can either follow or precede the subject complement leads to the conclusion that antecedents for IRs in such configurations as in (26) must be subject NPs. In the absence of the relative pronouns in (26), the NP modified by the appositive phrase is the most likely candidate for the antecedent of the IR. And both *Mojisola* in (26a) and *Newman* in (26b) function as sentential subjects. Interestingly, this regularity runs through all the examples of this type in the database under analysis.

Related to the examples in (26) is the one in (27), where the IR also happens to be part of the appositive phrase but that phrase is an elliptical version of an adverbial clause of concession, not of a relative clause:

- (27) Wittgenstein's writings, though not **themselves** poetry, are redolent of poetic elements.

It may be thus assumed for (27) that *though not themselves poetry* corresponds to: *though they {Wittgenstein's writings} are not themselves poetry*. The IR *themselves* takes mid-position, which is indicative of the fact that the only possible NP it can intensify is a subject NP. Since the subject antecedent is absent from the appositive phrase itself, *Wittgenstein's writings* from the main clause subject position is understood to be the antecedent of *themselves*.

Thus far the examples have shown that when the antecedent of an IR is a subject, it is the subject of a finite clause. It remains to be seen whether or not IRs accept subjects of non-finite clauses and nominalizations as their antecedents. In this connection, (28) provides an answer:

- (28) While in the past much of this management was carried out by Bureau of Indian Affairs technical staff on behalf of Native American owners, there is an increasing trend, and need, for tribes to assume more of the responsibility **themselves**.

Here, evidently, given the earlier analysis of a similar case involving the RR, the NP that the IR *themselves* refers to can be assumed to act as both the object of the preposition *for* and the subject of the non-finite clause. However, the ambiguity in the syntactic function of the NP *tribes* is dispersed by the possibility of positioning the IR in all the slots characteristic of IRs whose antecedent performs the role of a subject, as evidenced by (29a) and (29b):

- (29a) . . . for tribes **themselves** to assume more of the responsibility.
(29b) . . . for tribes to **themselves** assume more of the responsibility.

By and large, the evidence from (28) and (29) makes it clear that IRs "tolerate" antecedents acting as subjects of non-finite clauses.

Finally, the last piece that needs to be added to the jigsaw puzzle of IRs consists in demonstrating whether IRs can have subjects of noun phrases as their antecedents. To this end, it is worth investigating the examples in (30a) and (30b):

- (30a) Bartlett begins by noting that devotional literature, which is often strikingly

misogynistic, circulated widely among medieval women readers. She shows how identification was not simple for women reading devotional texts. Her decision to modernize some Middle English English texts **herself** detracts from an otherwise rich study of women's ways of reading.

- (30b) This passionate work contains a sustained attack on Jerome. It reveals the brutality and perversion of his advice to others and his readiness to ignore it **himself**.

At first sight, it seems plausible to assume that the IRs in (30a) and (30b) have the possessive pronouns as their antecedents, i.e., *her* and *him*, respectively. However, if that were the case, the IR in both instances would theoretically be able to follow the noun phrases headed by the subjective genitive. That such a move would result in the ungrammaticality of (30a) and (30b) is manifested in (31a) and (31b) below:

- (31a) *Her decision **herself** to modernize some Middle English English texts detracts from an otherwise rich study of women's ways of reading.

- (31b) . . . *and his readiness **himself** to ignore it.

If the subjective genitive cannot serve as the antecedent for the IR in (31a) and (31b), the antecedent for the IR in both cases must be positioned elsewhere. As a matter of fact, it is implied from the preceding context of which the sentence with the IR is only a part. Thus, the subject NP *Bartlett* is the "understood" antecedent for *herself* in (31a) and the object NP *Jerome* is the true antecedent for *himself* in (31b). The impossibility of a subjective possessive functioning as the antecedent of an IR is even further reinforced by the example in (32):

- (32) Karen Fields compares her task with that of the virtuoso jazz trumpeter who reintroduced Duke Ellington. Quite a virtuoso **herself**, her introduction explains why Durkheim's thought has always seemed so difficult and provoked so much opposition.

Likewise, the IR *herself* does not possess a potential antecedent in its own "domain." That domain happens to be an elliptical present participle clause whose full version is likely to approximate (33):

- (33) Being quite a virtuoso **herself**, her introduction explains why Durkheim's thought has always seemed so difficult and provoked so much opposition.

As has been shown above, the subject of a noun phrase does not qualify as the antecedent for an IR. Accordingly, *her* cannot function as the antecedent for *herself* in (32). The genuine antecedent for the IR, *Karen Fields*, comes from the preceding sentence. Thus, the examples in (30) and (32) have cast light on another characteristic of IRs: as with RRs they can appear in a clause or sentence different from that of their antecedents and they can have both subject and non-subject antecedents.

All in all, from the point of view of a descriptive framework IRs and RRs share many similarities in the sense that the same set of criteria can be factored into the

characterization of both categories of reflexives. On the one hand, IRs and RRs have been shown to have a compatible antecedent either in the same clause or sentence or implied from a neighboring clause or sentence. Moreover, it has been demonstrated that IRs and RRs can have subject and non-subject NPs for antecedents with which they can enter into both an anaphoric or cataphoric relationship.

3. A Contrastive Analysis of the Distribution of RRs and IRs

The overriding aim of the discussions in the two previous sections has been to offer insights into individual properties of RRs and IRs within a descriptive framework. The criteria governing the preceding analyses have been primarily centered on the function and syntactic position of RRs and IRs as well as on the function, syntactic position, and accessibility of NP antecedents for both types of reflexives. Only when relevant to the line of investigation has attention been called specifically to the distribution of RRs and IRs. Accordingly, a contrastive study of the distribution of RRs and IRs not only brings into prominence the particulars of IRs but foregrounds differences in addition to other similarities, if any, between both types of reflexives. It is clear from the previous discussions that typically RRs and IRs are located in the same syntactic “domains” (i.e., sentences, clauses, and phrases) as their antecedents. This assumption will control the forthcoming inquiry, thus ensuring the same environment for contrasting the distribution of RRs and IRs. The following pairs of examples provide substance for the distributional differences between RRs and IRs:

- (34a) He notes that over a period of half a century and more, **Welles** always found a way to be **himself**--to insist, that is, on his uniqueness as a public persona.
- (34b) He argues, however, that ultimately it is not **the memorist himself** who wins the day, but the practical critic.
- (35a) Graffin has benefited from being a devoted student of the art of dance and has become an exception in the narrowly focused dance world in that **he** educates **himself** by regularly attending a broad range of dance events.
- (35b) He summarizes the types of critiques that the citizens' groups made and analyzes a series of examples of activity by these groups who attempted to influence **the intelligence estimates themselves** or the policies based on them.
- (36a) The strength of this work lies in the fact that readers will recognize feelings and observations they have about Wagner's works but **they** have not fully articulated to **themselves** or to others.
- (36b) Part of the difficulty lies with **the elusive Jefferson himself**, but the disappointing failure of this film to draw a coherent portrait ultimately rests with Burns; he attempts a comprehensive film biography but does not give

himself sufficient time to do it properly.

In the sentences in (34a) the RR *himself* occupies the subject complement position, whereas the IR in (34b) is attached to the NP *the memorist*, which performs the role of a subject complement. Further, while in (35a) the RR *himself* functions as the direct object of the verb *educates*, the IR themselves is adjacent to the NP *the intelligence estimates* that functions as the direct object of the verb *influence*. Finally, as opposed to the RR *themselves* that acts as the object of the preposition *to* in (36a), the IR *himself* in (36b) immediately follows the NP *the elusive Jefferson*, which is the object of the preposition *with*. By and large, the above pairs of examples reveal that while RRs function as subject complements, direct objects, and objects of prepositions, IRs remain adjacent to NPs that are subject complements, direct objects, or objects of prepositions. Thus, the evidence presented in (34a-b), (35a-b), and (36a-b) demonstrates that RRs and IRs take distinct syntactic positions, which suggests that they may be complementary in distribution.

Further, since RRs fill obligatory syntactic slots, theoretically, they should also be able to take subject positions of tensed clauses. By analogy, as IRs stay in apposition with non-subject obligatory syntactic positions, they should be able to be attached to subject NPs. As (37a) and (37b) illustrate, RRs cannot occupy a tensed-subject position:

(37a) She shows how **Shakespeare** consciously presented **himself** in *The Tempest* as an imitator, last in a series of distinguished poets who had handled with virtuoso capacity the same themes.

(37b) *She shows how **himself** consciously presented **Shakespeare** in *The Tempest* as an imitator, last in a series of distinguished poets who had handled with virtuoso capacity the same themes .

The switching of the syntactic positions between *Shakespeare* and *himself* in (37a) results in an ill-formed structure, as evidenced in (37b). By contrast, the example in (37b), where the IR *himself* intensifies the subject NP *the pope*, appears to be grammatical:

(37c) Although **the pope himself** makes sure to speak of sin or error on the part of the church's members or representatives rather than the church in its fullness, that vital theological distinction is nearly always lost in media reports of these apologies.

In consequence, the fact that RRs cannot appear in subject positions, and that IRs can be adjacent to subject NPs provides substantiating evidence that strengthens the claim that both groups of reflexives complement each other in terms of distribution. In his discussion of RRs and IRs, Saha (1987) endorses the view that an RR is precluded from occurring in the subject position of a tensed clause. However, he adds that it can still perform the subject of a non-finite clause (p. 217):

(38) ***Himself** is the champion.

(39) **John** believes **himself** to be a person of integrity.

Clearly, the appearance of the RR *himself* in (38) causes the sentence to be ungrammatical.

By contrast, the RR in (39) may be said to function as the subject of a non-finite clause. He argues that IRs, on the other hand, form a unit with their antecedents which as a whole fulfills the role of the subject of a finite clause:

(40) **John himself** is a champion.

However, if Saha makes the correct claim that under no circumstances can RRs appear in a subject position by themselves, he should have used exactly the same claim to test it against IRs (p. 217). It stands to reason that *John* along with *himself* constitutes the domain of the subject in (40), but the real question that we should be asking ourselves is whether this very IR *himself* is capable of functioning as the subject of (40) on its own. From the preceding description of the distributional properties of IRs, it is clear that they are not licensed to fill the subject slot by themselves. Of course, the inability of an IR to take the subject position does not necessarily mean that in some situations it does not behave like a subject in the absence of the NP it intensifies. Since an IR possesses the salient features of its subject antecedent, it definitely qualifies to function as its substitute. The following sentence demonstrates the validity of this conjecture:

(41) He suggests that diversity functions best when all groups that [*all groups*] **themselves** encourage diversity are allowed presence and power in the public arena.

Undeniably, the IR in (41) does not have a fully spelled-out antecedent within its own domain, i.e., in the restrictive relative clause *that themselves encourage diversity*. Even though it seems plausible to posit that *themselves* represents the nonexistent subject NP in that clause, the possibility of removing the IR itself from (41) puts into question its function as a subject.³ By and large, it seems reasonable to conclude that RRs and IRs are both prohibited from the subject position of a tensed clause, contrary to Saha's claim that this rule pertains only to RRs.

More than that, the assertion that IRs and RRs do not overlap with each other distributionally implies the likelihood of both categories of reflexives appearing within the same sentences. The evidence in (42) supplies concrete support for the legitimacy of that possibility. The italicized *himself* represents an IR, whereas *himself* in bold type stands for an RR:

(42) She shows how **Shakespeare** [*himself*] consciously presented **himself** [*himself*] in *The Tempest* as an imitator, last in a series of distinguished poets who had handled with virtuoso capacity the same themes.

The co-occurrence of both types of reflexives does not seem to affect the grammar and semantics of the sentence in any dramatic way. The sentence in (42) highlights another contrast between IRs and RRs; unlike in the case of an IR which can immediately follow *Shakespeare*, the adjacency of an RR to its antecedent is hampered by intervening structural elements that always separate them.⁴

It has been shown thus far that RRs and IRs differ from each other distributionally, which has brought into focus their complementarity in distribution. However, in his analysis of both types of reflexives while upholding the distinct distributions of RRs and IRs, Saha also points out another contrast between both types of reflexives (pp. 217-218). Contrary to Quirk's and Greenbaum's findings, he maintains that only RRs, as opposed to IRs, may refer to antecedents positioned in other clauses or phrases than themselves. He gives the following examples to support his point:

- (43) The picture of **himself** that **John** saw was ugly.
- (44) **John** believes that wrestlers like **himself** are unbeatable.
- (45) As for **himself**, **John** hates brussels sprouts, but he will defend to the death your right to eat the stuff.

At first sight, Saha's conjecture gains some credibility as the reflexives in the above sentences essentially meet the requirements for being regular. They occupy the syntactic positions typically taken by RRs and they have compatible antecedents. Nevertheless, their "regular" status is undermined by two factors. First, the reflexives are positioned in the phrases that are themselves peripheral to the essential structure of sentences or clauses. In (43) *himself* constitutes part of the prepositional phrase that postmodifies the NP *the picture* and can easily be deleted without doing significant harm to the semantics and grammar of the whole sentence. Likewise, in (44) and (45) the reflexive pronoun *himself* is a constituent of the prepositional phrase that functions as an adjunct. Second, the personal pronoun *he* can be substituted for *himself* in all the three instances with slight or no changes in meaning.

- (46) ?The picture of **him** that **John** saw was ugly.
- (47) **John** believes that wrestlers like **him** are unbeatable.
- (48) As for **him**, **John** hates brussels sprouts, but he will defend to the death your right to eat the stuff.

Clearly, the substitution does not affect the semantics of the sentences in (46), (47), and (48) since in all the instances the personal pronoun *him* is still coreferential with the NP *John*. However, the same cannot be said about the example in (49), where the replacement of the RR *herself* with the personal pronoun *her* changes the meaning of the whole sentence:

- (49) Believing **herself** to be armed with this ability, **she** committed her crimes as acts of mercy, stating that her victims wanted to die.
- (50) Believing **her** to be armed with this ability, **she** committed her crimes as acts of mercy, stating that her victims wanted to die.

On the whole, it can be concluded that the two pieces of evidence presented above show that the reflexives in (43), (44), and (45) are not fully regular in nature, which, in turn, renders insufficient Saha's assertion that IRs and RRs differ from each other to the effect that only the former are allowed to have antecedents outside their own syntactic domains.

As a matter of fact, it has been demonstrated in the separate discussions of RRs and IRs that both can have antecedents outside the boundaries of their own sentences or clauses. Consequently, in his argument, Saha, on the one hand, takes a restrictive line with IRs by claiming that they do not accept antecedents from outside their clauses or sentences, and, on the other, he does not acknowledge the fact that the reflexives in (43), (44), and (45) behave differently from RRs.

4. The Components of the Features Intensive and Reflexive

It follows from the previous analysis that much as the morphological forms of RRs and IRs are identical, this coincidental parallelism in grammatical identity does not find its expression in the distribution of both categories of reflexive pronouns. On the one hand, RRs occupy syntactic positions that are essential to the structure of sentences or clauses. They customarily function as objects of verbs, prepositions, or as subject complements. On the other hand, IRs distributionally approximate adverbs by fulfilling the role of adjuncts (see Carroll, 1986; Fukuda, 1989; Mullen, 1983). By their very nature adjuncts constitute optional syntactic elements and can, therefore, be deleted without destroying the essential structure and semantics of the sentences in which they appear. As the preceding examples have illustrated, IRs, as a rule, are attached to a subject or an object NP, occur in sentence-final and -initial positions, or show up after an auxiliary in VPs. Edmondson and Plank (1978) take a holistic view of intensifying expressions in claiming that they are all adverbial in character. As a matter of fact, some local adverbs and “quantifier-like expressions,” e.g., *both*, *even*, *each*, *only* pattern distributionally and semantically with IRs. However, Edmondson and Plank further notice that IRs come short of adverbs by virtue of the fact that they modify only NPs (pp. 377-378). Given the distributions of RRs and IRs, we can assume that syntactic obligatoriness is associated with the reflexive function and syntactic optionality with the intensive function. On the condition that this assumption holds true, RRs turn out to be least intensive in character, whereas IRs appear to be least reflexive in nature. If the essences of RRs and IRs are captured in the features (intensive; reflexive), then RRs and IRs may be represented in the following way: RRs (minimally intensive, maximally reflexive) and IRs (maximally intensive, minimally reflexive). For expository purposes, the two groups of reflexive pronouns can be plotted on the scale whose extreme ends are assigned either the minimal or the maximal value of the features (reflexive) and (intensive):

	RRs	IRs
Feature (reflexive)	maximally reflexive	minimally reflexive
Feature (intensive)	minimally intensive	maximally intensive
Syntactic status	syntactically obligatory positions	syntactically optional positions

Figure 1

At this point, it remains to explain what other factors, if any, make an RR maximally reflexive and an IR maximally intensive. On the one hand, it is important to determine whether the feature (maximally reflexive) seems to be a strictly syntactic notion on account of the fact that RRs are tied to essential syntactic positions. On the other hand, it is necessary to define the feature (maximally intensive) by establishing whether it belongs to the realm of syntax or not. The fact that IRs have the status of optional elements in the structure of sentences or clauses suggests that the feature (maximally intensive) should go beyond the boundaries of syntax. I contend that what may clarify the distinction between the features (maximally intensive) and (maximally reflexive) is the investigation of whether there are some specific factors that condition the presence of an IR or an RR in a sentence or clause. The following sentences address this contention:

- (51a) As a major in the Morale Division of the United States Strategic Bombing Survey, Auden toured Germany for three months in 1945. This time marked for him the beginning of a relation to the war that, to some extent, was not to end--that is, the ontological state of living in a postwar world. Criticism has not fully addressed the significance of Auden's experience with the war, and **Auden himself** never discussed it.
- (51b) The writer describes the individual features of soldiers' stories of reenactment, shows how they intersect, and suggests why interpretations of these stories have changed over the years far more than have **the stories themselves**.

In (51a) we learn that critics have not done full justice to Auden's Second World War experiences. This assertion prepares the ground for an even more remarkable statement that the very person in question, who had, out of his own will and volition, made himself part of the war tragedy, remained silent on the subject himself. What we observe happening in

(51a) is the gradual tapering from the general background information about an individual to the specific fact about that individual. To put it differently, the information in (51a) is presented in such a way that the commonplace funnels down into the remarkable. As a result, *Auden* is at the center of attention or, we might say, becomes discourse-prominent. By the same token, the transition from the general/commonplace to the specific/remarkable obtains in (51b). We first get a global view of *soldiers' stories of reenactment* followed by the mention of numerous and ever-changing interpretations put on these stories. This statement, in turn, leads up to the culminating comment on the relative stability and durability of the stories themselves. As a consequence, *soldiers's stories* in (51b) turn out to be discourse-prominent to the same degree as *Auden* is in (51a). Baker (1995) regards discourse prominence as one of the conditions for intensive NPs (including IRs):

CONDITION OF RELATIVE DISCOURSE PROMINENCE: Intensive NPs can only be used to mark a character in a sentence or discourse who is relatively more prominent or central than other characters. (p. 80)⁵

However, one of the necessary prerequisites for the appearance of IRs in syntactic structures is the existence of a contrastive or emphatic environment. Baker (1995) couches this more inclusive requirement of contrastiveness or emphasis for intensive NPs (including IRs) in the following formula:

CONTRASTIVENESS CONDITION: Intensive NPs are appropriate only in contexts in which emphasis or contrast is desired. (p. 77)

On the one hand, contexts of contrast and/or emphasis open up the possibility of unequivocally targeting one specific individual or thing from among a number of other individuals and things that get mentioned in the same stretch of discourse or in the same sentence. On the other hand, a contrastive or/and emphatic environment merits the use of intensifying expressions, including IRs, that explicitly indicate the discourse prominence or centrality of that one individual or thing. Thus, in (51a) it is only the context of emphasis in which the figure of *Auden* stands out that justifies the appearance of the IR. In (51b) the contrastive context induced by the opposition of the stories to their interpretations warrants the use of the IR after *the stories*. By and large, the compliance with the conditions stated in Baker's formulations guarantees the legitimacy of IRs in a sentence or a discourse. In other words, the feature (intensive) associated with IRs presupposes the existence of contrastive or emphatic context that, in turn, makes it possible for one NP to become discourse-prominent and thus qualify for intensification from an IR.

Now, since it has been clarified what makes IRs intensive, the next logical step should be the circumscription of the components of the feature (maximally reflexive). According to Figure 1, IRs are minimally reflexive, which means that they satisfy the requirement for minimum reflexivity. They share with RRs the same grammatical forms that conventionally encode reflexivity in English. However, there must be some caution exercised against formulating the feature of (reflexive) solely in grammatical terms. If so

defined, it would lose the capacity of distinguishing between RRs and IRs because they are both “mirror-images” or “projections” of their antecedents in terms of person, number, and gender. Thus, it is important to ensure that the notion of (reflexive) is considered to encompass some other elements in addition to morphological factors. The piece of discourse in (52) is used for this purpose:

- (52) Director Karoly Makk has brilliantly structured his rendering of Dostoyevsky’s novel, which is both reverential to its spirit and ruthless in its detail. Atmosphere and period detail are retained, and although Makk makes revisions to the text, they are harmless. **Michael Gambon** as Dostoyevsky surpasses even **himself**, giving a performance that is utterly spellbinding.

In (52), the RR *himself* signifies that *Michael Gambon*, an actor, competes with his old self. Film critics, as perceptive judges, have built up certain expectations about the quality of his acting. As a rule, they attach evaluative statements to actors and actresses, which are supposed to objectively reflect the measure of their popularity and talent. Therefore, *Michael Gambon* may be ranked as a good actor; however, reading between the lines of (54) enables us to deduce that his performances have never reached the heights of excellence until the screen adaptation of Dostoyevsky’s novel. The appraisals that *Michael Gambon* has become accustomed to receiving from film critics and the silver screen audiences have helped him form an accurate picture of himself as an actor. Let’s say that he has never looked on himself as either a star of high caliber or as a mediocre actor. All of a sudden, he shakes everybody out of their usual expectations about his acting performance when he appears in the role of Dostoyevsky. This stunning display of his largely unacknowledged talent has raised the quality of his acting not only in his own eyes but, more importantly, in the eyes of the evaluating public at large to higher echelons of magnitude and greatness. To his utter disbelief, he has outdistanced his usual performance with this role crafted to perfection. In addition, the preceding context makes it obvious that the impeccable acting of *Michael Gambon* has been one of the contributory factors to the phenomenal success of Karoly Makk’s film.

All things being equal, what appears to be of paramount importance in (52) is not how film critics judge the quality of Michael Gambon’s current or past acting but how strong an impact the role of Dostoyevsky has had on his perception of himself as an actor. What this, in turn, implies is that the use of the RR *himself* in (52) is not justified or conditioned by the presence of ample context. More than that, *Michael Gambon* does not appear to be contrasted with, for example, the film director *Karoly Makk*, and neither of the NPs seems to be more discourse-prominent. Bearing this in mind, we can generalize that RRs, as opposed to IRs, do not have to show up in contrastive and/ or emphatic context and are not required to refer back to a discourse-prominent NP antecedent. Consequently, the feature of (maximally reflexive) peculiar to RRs signifies the interaction with one’s self

and is independent of such external factors as contrastiveness, emphasis or discourse-prominence. The availability of additional textual evidence may help elucidate this interaction, but does not warrant its occurrence.

The justification for the differentiation between the features of (intensive) and (reflexive) is even further strengthened on a closer examination of the sentences in (51a) and (52). The RR in (52) is preceded by the intensifying adverb *even* unlike the IR in (51a), in which case an attempt at intensifying *himself* with *even* would cause the whole sentence to be ungrammatical, as illustrated in (53):

- (55) *Criticism has not fully addressed the significance of Auden's experience with the war, and **Auden** even **himself** never discussed it.

Generally speaking, the evidence from (51a), (52), and (53) demonstrates that RRs have the capacity to be further intensified because they are marked for the feature (minimally intensive). IRs, on the other hand, being themselves (maximally intensive) cannot be further intensified. At the same time, it is worth noticing that as IRs were shown to have the minimum level of reflexivity, there is every reason to believe that RRs possess the minimum level of intensiveness. The correctness of this prediction is confirmed by the following piece of evidence:

- (54) ***Michael Gambon** as Dostoevsky surpasses **himself** himself, giving a performance that is utterly spellbinding.

Although it has been demonstrated in (51a) that RRs allow further intensification from such intensifying adverbs as *even*, they cannot be emphasized by IRs, as documented by the ungrammaticality of (54). Interestingly, NPs accept intensification from both IRs and intensifying adverbs, as instantiated by (55):

- (55) She finds that despite Peirce's seeming admiration for Berkeley, his metaphysical agreement with him is superficial, more so than even Pierce **himself** leads us to believe.

Even though the NP *Peirce* in (55) is intensified by *himself* and *even*, the sentence is well-formed. It seems reasonable to posit that the feature (intensive) is an inherent property of a limited group of lexical items in English and is, thus, nontransferable to intrinsically non-intensive ones. Therefore, despite being doubly intensified, *Peirce* in (55) will never come even close to being minimally intensive, let alone maximally intensive.

All in all, we can infer from the previous considerations that neither are RRs completely devoid of the feature (intensive), nor are IRs completely deprived of the feature (reflexive). We can say that the level of intensiveness in RRs is sufficient to prevent them from being intensified by IRs but is insufficient to allow them to be IRs. By the same token, the level of reflexivity in IRs is not enough to make them become RRs. Thus, the features (intensive) and (reflexive) are blended in IRs and RRs in such proportions that both types of reflexive pronouns will never interfere with each other's distributions and functions in syntactic structures. Moreover, the current discussion has reached the point at

which it has eventually become clear what components make up the feature of (maximally reflexive) and what components go into the feature of (maximally intensive). For expository purposes, the component parts of both features are listed in Figure 2 below:

RRs	IRs
max reflexive min intensive	max intensive min reflexive
discourse-independent	discourse-dependent
non-contrastive and/or non-emphatic context	contrastive and/or emphatic context
non-discourse-prominent antecedent	discourse-prominent antecedent
self-interaction	no self-interaction
prone to intensification	cannot be further intensified

Figure 2

Figure 2 makes it perfectly clear that the maximal intensiveness of IRs requires that they be set in contrastive or emphatic discourse and intensify discourse-prominent NPs. Thus, it follows that whether IRs will intensify nominal phrases or not depends on the satisfactory fulfillment of the Contrastive Condition as well as the Condition of Relative Discourse Prominence, the latter being the logical consequence of the former. However, in the preceding discussion it has been taken for granted that all NPs can become discourse-prominent as long as a contrastive or emphatic context is secured. Therefore, it would be in order to investigate whether all NPs without exception can become discourse-prominent and, thus, eligible for intensification by IRs. Specifically, what should be made the focus of the forthcoming analysis is the question of whether discourse prominence alongside contrastiveness or emphasis is absolutely the only prerequisite for the “activation” of the feature (maximally intensive) in IRs.

5. The Referentiality of NP Antecedents for IRs

In the previous section, a number of “parameters” built into the feature (maximally intensive) have been extricated and defined. One of them pointed to the requirement that NP antecedents of IRs must be discourse-prominent. It has been asserted that the notion of

discourse prominence arises in connection with the contrastive or emphatic character of context. It is also important to note that the discourse prominence of those NP antecedents is frequently deemed contingent on their identifiability and referentiality (Edmondson & Plank, 1978). Given that this claim is true, from now on the acceptability of NPs as antecedents for IRs will be assumed to follow from whether those NPs meet certain referentiality or identifiability requirements. The analysis in this section will address itself to exploring these requirements. However, since the following study would be rendered null and void without the complete compliance with the Contrastive Condition and the Condition of Relative Discourse Prominence, strict conformity to these two constraints will be assumed throughout the study of the referential “scope” of NP antecedents for IRs.

5.1 The Semantics of Adjacent and Non-Adjacent IRs

An effort to demonstrate that there is a strong link between the reference of an NP antecedent and the justification for the appearance of an IR in syntactic structures will not constitute the only object of the discussion to come. Another objective of the analysis will be to determine whether a change in the syntactic positioning of an IR results in the loosening or tightening of the above-mentioned link between IRs and their antecedents. In the foregoing considerations, what has not been acknowledged is that IRs can contribute to the semantics of sentences or clauses in two different ways: (1) they can dissolve any ambiguities involved in sentences or clauses; and (2) they can be used to express different shades of meaning. To be precise, the imposition of distinct semantic interpretations on a syntactic structure is contingent on where an IR is located in that structure. As has been mentioned in section 4, IRs occupy three distinct positions in syntactic structures; they can be adjacent (i.e., appositional) or non-adjacent (i.e., sentence-medial and sentence-final):

- (56) This is an excellent volume of critical essays on Michael Walzer’s *Spheres of Justice*. Its editor provides a comprehensive and lucid introduction to Walzer’s views on justice, and **Walzer himself** offers a brief response to his critics.
- (57) In the article, Bloom tautologically calls freshman English composition a middle-class enterprise. However, she dismisses any serious class analysis and focuses her analysis on composition teachers. In Bloom’s mind, the values and virtues that she finds among compositionists belong to the middle class as a whole. However, she ignores the class distinctions among composition teachers. She is quite comfortable with a name professorship, but it is mainly grievously exploited graduate students and part-timers who actually teach freshman composition. Furthermore, **teachers of English** are a distinct and suspect group within the middle class and are **themselves** divided by income, education, and the cultural manifestations of American social class.

- (58) Brent's study is marked by immense erudition and a devotion to historical investigation that approaches the heroic. He admits his debt to a large number of predecessors, but **he** invariably examines the evidence **himself** and draws his own conclusions, providing a dramatic revision of the traditional picture of the dispute between Hippolytus and Callistus.

All the above examples verify that IRs are grammatical devices which, when inserted in syntactic structures, tune the initial semantic interpretation of those structures to a desired shade of meaning. As evidenced in (56), (57), and (58), IRs possess the unique capacity to clear up ambiguity in sentences or clauses in which they show up (Edmondson & Plank, 1978, p. 389). Without the presence of *himself* after *Walzer* in (56), it would be somewhat unclear whether or not *Walzer's* response to his critics has been published under the same cover as the editor's foreword to a collection of essays on *Michael Walzer's Spheres of Justice*. The addition of the IR minimizes the likelihood of considering *Walzer's* commentary to have been recorded in a different book. The potential ambiguity is also cleared up by the appearance of the IR in (57) and (58). In (57) the inclusion of *themselves* makes it certain that teachers of English are not only regarded as a group within the middle class but, as is typical of any group subsumed under that social class, they exhibit diversification in terms of income, education, and manifestations of class identity. *Teachers of English* would still be understood as part of the middle class if the IR were not added to the sentence in (57); however, the aforementioned diversification could be attributed either to the middle class and teachers or to the teachers alone. By the same token, with the omission of *himself*, the clause in (58) could have two plausible interpretations. One might be that *Brent* has undertaken to examine the much studied historical evidence with the primary aim of verifying the results of his predecessors. The other might be that *Brent* has acknowledged the contributions of his predecessors to his better understanding of the historical evidence in question, but, unlike in the first reading, he seems to be determined to pursue his own independent investigation of the same evidence, most likely, with the earnest intention of making new discoveries. The appearance of *himself* reinforces the latter interpretation of the clause in (58).

Besides resolving potential ambiguities in syntactic structures, IRs have the ability to modulate the meaning of those structures in distinct ways, depending on their syntactic positioning. Adjacent IRs induce different semantic interpretations of their own sentences or clauses primarily through the discourse-prominent NPs they intensify. Specifically, they suggest some remarkability or extraordinariness about an NP denoting individuals or things whose involvement or presence in certain actions, states or processes has not been expected by the speaker or writer. In (56) the IR following the NP *Walzer* reinforces the idea that *Walzer* is not only the "subject-matter" of one philosophical debate but, to the writer's astonishment, he himself contributes to that debate. The clause with *himself* in (56) can be paraphrased in the following way: *Even Walzer offers a brief response to his critics*. By

contrast, non-adjacent IRs (i.e., sentence-final and sentence-medial) alter the semantic interpretation of their own clause or sentence not so much through underscoring the remarkability or extraordinariness of an individual denoted by the subject NP as through emphasizing the action instigated by that individual or the state or process the individual finds himself/herself in. In other words, non-adjacent IRs emphasize the initiative or intention of a certain individual to become “the most immediate cause of some act” or the most direct experiencer of some event, process, or state conveyed by the predicate (Edmondson & Plank, 1978, p. 391). Accordingly, Edmondson and Plank (1978) classify the non-adjacent usage of IRs as adverbial because the meaning of such modification approximates adverbs of manner like “in person,” “personally,” “voluntarily” (p. 384). It must also be noticed that sentence-medial and sentence-final IRs differ from each other in terms of accentuating different semantic aspects of actions, processes or states denoted by predicates. While sentence-final IRs emphasize the directness of involvement that an individual manifests in bringing about a certain action, process or state, sentence-medial IRs focus more on what specific role that individual performs in a certain action, process or state (Edmondson & Plank, 1987, p. 405 & p. 409). Clearly, in (57) the sentence-medial IR stresses the idea that teachers of English find themselves financially, educationally, and culturally diversified without being directly responsible for this state of affairs. In (58) the non-adjacent IR emphasizes *Brent’s* self-action or his initiative to examine the evidence on his own. Thus, the action of studying the evidence has been initiated and undertaken by *Brent* rather than other individuals.

5.2 The Notion of Reference

Since the forthcoming investigation concentrates on the referentiality of NP antecedents for IRs, it would be advisable to show how the notion of reference is generally construed and defined in linguistic literature. Lyons (1978, pp. 174-175) defines reference as the process or means of interpreting the connection between a linguistic expression and what that expression signifies in any stretch of spoken or written discourse. He further points out that a given word or expression designates a referent in the external world, i.e., it singles out some object, individual or state of affairs from the outside world. In consequence, reference can be alternatively defined as the ability of the word or expression to pick out the referent in the extra-linguistic world. Simultaneously, it should be observed that it is actually the person who asserts some qualities of individuals or objects from the extra-linguistic world that performs the act of referring by means of a given expression or word (p. 177). However, it is a convenient terminological shortcut to attribute the act of referring to the very instrument of reference, i.e., an expression or word. Such a streamlined definition of reference is justified on the condition that there is a clear understanding that the question: “What does the expression x refer to?” should automatically be construed as: “What is the speaker referring to by means of x ?” (p. 177).

In looking at the referentiality of NP antecedents for IRs, this study focuses on evidence from written discourse. Thus, it will be beyond our concern to investigate the intentions of the speaker in employing a particular expression to refer to an entity in the outside world. Consequently, the role that the speaker/utterer customarily plays in ascribing certain referential properties to linguistic expressions will be assumed to have been taken over by the context in which those expressions are embedded and which determines and clarifies their referential specificity.

The “replacement” of the speaker with the context (set up by the writer) necessitates adopting a modified approach to the notions of successful reference as well as truth and existence. As a rule, successful reference implies that the speaker has chosen such a referring expression that enables the hearer to single out the actual referent from a number of possibilities in the context of a given utterance (Lyons, p. 180). In order to achieve that goal, the speaker grammatical means as proper names, definite noun phrases, personal and demonstrative pronouns or the definite article. The speaker’s manner of referring to an individual or thing in the external world will often depend on the hearer’s knowledge about that individual or thing. As a result, the more the hearer knows about a particular referent, the less necessary it becomes for the referent to be identified with a highly specific description. With the absence of the speaker being a fact, the analysis of the referentiality of NP antecedents for IRs will be governed by the premise that whenever an NP possesses reference, that reference will always be successful, i.e., the reader will always succeed in selecting the appropriate referent from a variety of equally plausible options.

Frequently, the condition of successful reference is discussed in the context of truth and existence. Lyons (1978) notices that philosophers of language have always worked on the assumption that whatever is predicated of a specific referent must be true in order for a referring expression to pinpoint that referent correctly and successfully (p. 181). However, he goes on to point out that on numerous occasions successful reference does not depend on the truth of the qualities that are asserted of an individual or thing in the extra-linguistic world (p. 181). For example, the speaker may misjudge the true identity of a person, describing him or her as *the doctor*, when in reality that person happens to be a lawyer. Lyons further states that in fact there is no reason to believe that the description of a particular referent should be by all means true. Both the speaker and the hearer may be perfectly aware of the falsity of the description used to identify a specific referent and still succeed in targeting that referent. However, for the purpose of this analysis, it will be assumed all along that the authors of the examples to be studied intended to make sure that the reader would correctly and successfully pick out the actual referents for the expressions or words with referring potential.

Lyons (1978, p. 178) classifies referring expressions in accordance with two criteria. First, he differentiates between the expressions that refer to single objects or individuals and those that indicate classes of objects or individuals. For this reason, he

considers the former expressions to be singular and the latter to be general. Second, he draws a distinction between expressions that refer to a specific individual (class of individuals) or object (class of objects) and those that do not signify a concrete individual or object; he calls these definite and indefinite, respectively. The juxtaposition of these distinctions leads to four basic types of reference: (a) singular (specific) definite reference, (b) general (non-specific) definite reference, (c) singular (specific) indefinite reference, (d) general (non-specific) indefinite reference.

These types of reference will be tested against examples from the database as the first approximation towards determining what referential requirements NPs must meet in order to qualify as antecedents of both adjacent and non-adjacent IRs. The second step will aim at pointing out other “types” of reference that are not represented in the database and at establishing whether NPs with other types of reference can or cannot function as antecedents for IRs. If they cannot, an attempt will be made at stating what is so peculiar about their referentiality that prevents them from acting as antecedents for IRs.

5.2.1 Singular Definite Reference

Singular definite reference is characteristic of words or expressions that are capable of identifying for the reader in written discourse or the hearer in spoken discourse a specific individual or thing in the extra-linguistic world. The level of specificity and definiteness in this type of reference is so high that the recognition of the targeted entity in the external world seems to be almost instantaneous. Given that the writer and the reader tap into the same reservoir of knowledge about the world, there is practically no likelihood that the reader will pick out the wrong referent. Grammatically speaking, singular definite reference is most frequently rendered by proper nouns, personal pronouns, and definite noun phrases (Lyons, p. 179), as these examples in (59) show:

- (59a) This novel, the eighth of Patricia Cornwall’s blockbusting thrillers featuring **the forensic pathologist Kay Scarpetta**, marks a return to a well-trying formula with the usual suspects. The result is a familiar blend of science and sentiment. The real, dark appeal of the novel, however, is in the way **Scarpetta herself** is relentlessly victimized on the readers’s behalf.
- (59b) The writer explores **Mark Twain’s** travels in Italy, particularly Venice, as recounted in *The Innocents Abroad*. He looks as much at **the traveler** as at the sights encountered and perceived. He shows that what readers of **Twain’s *The Innocents Abroad*** learn most about is **Twain himself**.
- (59c) **Zora Neale Hurston’s *Dust Tracts on a Road* and *Mules and Men*** can be discussed in terms of their autobiographical impulses, for each has among its objects of knowledge **Hurston herself**.
- (59d) In this biography of **Antigonus Doston**, the study of **the man** and the epoch are mutually illuminating and well integrated, producing at once a

portrait of **Doson himself** and a history of **his** Macedon.

All the above examples represent cases in which the proper name is the NP antecedent for the adjacent IR. In (59a) the referring expression *Scarpetta*, situated in the subject position of a clause, clearly and unequivocally singles out an individual who is known from the preceding context to be both a forensic pathologist and a character linking all of the eight “blockbusting thrillers” written by *Patricia Cornwall*. By the same token, in (59b) there is no difficulty in identifying the referent for the NP antecedent *Twain*, which functions as a subject complement. Although it is a well-established fact that *Twain* denotes a famous American writer, even without the knowledge of that fact, the neighboring context makes it clear that the NP intensified by *himself* refers to the Twain who traveled to Venice and recorded his experiences in *The Innocents Abroad*. Further, in (59c) the IR is adjacent to the antecedent NP *Hurston*, which takes an object position and which exclusively refers to the author of the two autobiographies. Finally, in (59d) the antecedent of *himself*, *Doson*, filling the slot of a prepositional object, singles out the individual who, as we learn from the context, has been chosen to be the subject-matter of one specific biography. All in all, the evidence presented in (59) shows that proper nouns, irrespective of their syntactic function, can act as antecedents for adjacent IRs.

As the following examples exhibit, proper nouns are also accepted by sentence-medial and sentence-final IRs:

- (60) **Peter Riley**'s volume of poetry is as much about the possibilities of lyric and specifically the continuities of English lyric as it is about archaic grave sites. Its ability to work against definitions of “poetry” like some of those that **Riley has himself** advanced is one of its virtues.
- (61) The writer contends that the Arabic-Hebrew background of **Petrus Alfonsi** poses particular problems with regard to establishing the authenticity of Latin texts attributed to him. The question, he explains, is whether it is to be supposed that **Alfonsi** would have written the Latin texts **himself** or whether their form is the result of a redactor or redactors.

In (61) the antecedent of *himself* refers to *Peter Riley*, who, as the context indicates, has written a commendable volume of poetry in which he pays tribute to the long-standing tradition of English lyric. Similarly, there does not seem to be any difficulty involved in identifying the referent for the NP intensified in (61). Clearly, *Alfonsi* is the name of the writer whose “Arabic-Hebrew background” has confounded scholars as to his authorship of some Latin texts.

Further, since personal pronouns like proper nouns have been said to be capable of having singular definite reference, it would be justifiable to inquire into whether they are acceptable as antecedents for IRs to the same degree as proper nouns are. To this end, the following examples will be considered:

- (62) The traditional view, as expounded by Eusebius, depicts **Constantine** as

responsible for the permanent displacement by the Christians of the Jews “in the heart of the Hebrew kingdom.” It cannot be ascertained how much of this influential strand of Christian apologetic determined **Constantine’s** actions, but he was doubtless receptive to flattering ideas from panegyrists like Eusebius who saw in **Constantine** the fulfillment of biblical prophecy and the culmination of the historical cycle. **His** public stance showed little of the toleration of Judaism displayed by earlier Roman rulers, but there is no evidence that **he himself**, as opposed to his interpreters, saw his Christian reclamation of Golgotha and the Tomb in Jerusalem as a blow against the Jews.

- (63) The writer examines **Martha Meredith Read’s** novel *Monima, or the Beggar Girland* and **her** essay “A Second Vindication of the Rights of Women.” Focusing on **Read’s** use of the categories of benevolence and sentiment, he contends that because **she was herself** from a wealthy mercantile family, her use of these categories suggests how a conscientious but comfortable writer would exploit the materials her culture offered to create a pragmatic feminism that actually relied on market place conventions.
- (64) This most recent volume of **Newman’s** *Letters and Diaries* maintains the lofty standards of the first volume. The editor’s introduction is particularly fine, as are the three appendixes, in which **Newman** comments on heresies of his time, especially the pantheism of English and German romantic writers. The period covered represents the most confident stage of **Newman’s** life as an Anglican, but **his** summer readings in the Monophysite heresy startled **him** with the notion that **he** might be a heretic **himself**.

Even a cursory look at the above evidence reveals that subjective pronouns with singular definite reference can become objects of intensification for both adjacent and non-adjacent IRs. However, at this point it must be emphasized that pronouns, unless used deictically (i.e., pronouns such as *I* and *you* when they glean their reference directly from the context of situation rather than from the text itself), would not be able to function as antecedents for IRs without the prior occurrence of a linguistic expression with reference such as proper nouns (Halliday & Hasan, 1976, pp. 47-57). This fact seems to be convincingly certified by the evidence from the above examples. It is clear in (62) that the intensified pronoun *he* refers all the way back to *Constantine*, who, as we learn from the abundant context, was a Roman ruler, supportive of the Christians’ actions against the Jews “in the heart of the Hebrew kingdom.” Also, the pronouns associated with the non-head-bound IRs in (63) and (64) draw their interpretation from the proper nouns that appear earlier in the context. In (64) *Martha Meredith Read*, a novelist, acts as the antecedent for the pronoun *she*, and in

(64) the pronoun *he* depends on *Newman*, a crusader against the pantheistic beliefs spread by the Romantics, for its “semantic decoding.” Thus, the referentiality of the intensified pronouns in (62), (63), and (64) derives from the referentiality of their NP antecedents. The referential dependability of non-deictic pronouns is additionally underscored by their compatibility with NP antecedents in terms of grammatical features such as person, gender, and number.

The way non-deictic pronouns “acquire” reference brings to mind Halliday and Hasan’s (1976) classification of reference items into exophoric and endophoric ones.⁶ The former group encompasses linguistic expressions like *Constantine*, *the man*, *Jewish immigrants*, *house*, *trees*, etc. which have referential meaning to the effect that they denote an individual, class of individuals, object, or class of objects. However, they do not name any individual, class of individuals, object, or class of objects but pick out a specific referent in the extra-linguistic world, as determined by the context of situation in spoken language or by the accompanying text in written medium (p. 33). By contrast, pronominals, i.e., non-deictic personal pronouns and RRs represent endophoric items in the sense that they “tap” their reference from NP antecedents with exophoric reference. Given these two different types of reference, the notion of reference as presented in section 5.2 seems to fall under an exophoric relation rather than an endophoric one.

Further, according to Halliday and Hasan (1976), endophoric items whose interpretation lies within a particular text contribute to the creation of texture in that text (p. 2). In order for a text to be a text it must have texture, which is defined as a set of cohesive relationships between elements within a text. Cohesive ties mirror underlying semantic relations that hold between, on the one hand, two exophoric items, and, on the other hand, exophoric and endophoric linguistic expressions. At this point it must be stressed that as opposed to endophoric items, exophoric ones do not play any role in textual cohesion since their interpretation lies outside the boundaries of a text. Hence, although *Constantine*, *Martha Meredith Read*, and *Newman* are deeply rooted in the text which specifies and clarifies their reference, their referents “exist” in the external world rather than in the texts themselves. On numerous occasions it happens that a text consists of multiple elements, each being connected either endophorically or exophorically to the same referent in the extra-linguistic world. In this way an intricate web of reference is formed and the internal cohesion of a text reinforced (1976, p. 52). Such a network of lines of reference turns out to be the case in (62), (63), and (64), respectively: *Constantine-Constantine’s-he-Constantine-His-he*, *Martha Meredith Read’s-her-Read’s-she*, *Newman’s-Newman-Newman’s-his-him-he*. Clearly, in all the three instances the reference “flows” not only from the proper noun to the pronoun (e.g., *Constantine’s-he*) but also from the proper noun to the proper noun (e.g., *Constantine-Constantine’s*).

The concept of a chain of reference implies that as the reader reads deeper into the text and encounters successive items that endophorically refer to the original expression like

Constantine in (62), he or she would have to go back up through the chain of reference to the original expression to achieve the reference of those items. Therefore, given this procedure, in order to arrive at the reference of the pronoun *he* in (64), the reader would have to travel back through all the links of reference, i.e., *Newman's--Newman--Newman's--his--him* to reach the initial expression which leads on to the referent in the real world. However, Brown and Yule (1983, pp. 200-201) argue that it is highly unlikely for the reader who comes across a non-deictic pronoun in a novel to trace its reference back through the text to the original expression. Instead, they suggest that the reader creates a mental image of a referent denoted by an expression and uses that image rather than the expression itself to identify a referent for all subsequent items that are endophorically related to the initial expression. Thus, in (64) the reader is most likely to visualize the referent of *Newman's* and relate subsequent references to that referent back to his mental representation of *Newman's* as opposed to the expression *Newman's*. In the light of this argumentation, the distinction between exophoric and endophoric reference becomes vacuous; in both cases the reader directly evokes in his or her mind a picture of a specific referent. On the one hand, the reader possesses a mental representation of the real world (exophoric relation). On the other hand, he or she holds a mental picture induced by the text (endophoric relation). However, the reader's mental picture of the text seems to be carved out of global mental representation of the outside world, which suggests a fuzzy distinction between endophoric and exophoric reference.

Last but not least, another drawback of the exophora/endophora approach lies in the fact that no matter how far the reader has moved away from the original expression and no matter how much new information he or she has gathered along the way about the referent a mental picture of which he or she has initially formed, he will have to "climb" up the ladder of reference, ignoring all the most recent facts about the referent, in order to reach the initially constructed referent through the original expression. The alternative approach suggests that, as the text unfolds, the reader uses the new information about the referent to better understand the nature of that referent whose picture he or she forms and invariably retains in his or her mind. Specifically, the "contours" of this referent may not be as sharp at the beginning of the text when the reader comes across the initial referring expression, but they become sharper every time he or she learns something new about the referent. For example, in (64) unless the reader is familiar with what *Constantine* stands for in the real world, he or she is likely to build up a preliminary mental representation of the referent of *Constantine* based on the facts given in the most immediate context surrounding the first occurrence of *Constantine*, i.e., that according to Eusebius' account, *Constantine* should be held responsible for complicity with the Christians in banishing the Jews from their own kingdom. However, when the reader comes upon the successive occurrences of *Constantine* as well as *His*, and *he* every time learning something new about *Constantine*, he or she uses that knowledge to systematically intensify and reinforce the initial mental

picture of *Constantine*. Therefore, I would speculate that the only plausible purpose the concept of a chain of reference serves is to accentuate that all the links in that chain (i.e., proper nouns, non-deictic pronouns, etc.) collectively contribute to the retention and enhancement of one mental image of a referent they all relate to.

Interestingly, much as proper nouns of different syntactic functions have been accepted in the role of antecedents for adjacent IRs, the same flexibility does not seem to apply to personal pronouns. The database contains only examples in which pronouns function both as subjects of sentences and antecedents for adjacent IRs. The question of why pronouns from other positions than that of a clausal or sentential subject are barred from acting as antecedents for adjacent IRs will be addressed in the subsequent sections. In the meantime, it must be asserted that subjective pronouns with singular definite reference are legitimate antecedents for adjacent IRs.

Finally, it remains to demonstrate that as proper nouns and subjective pronouns with singular definite reference can be intensified by IRs, definite noun phrases with the same referential properties should also be able to undergo intensification from IRs. Halliday and Hasan (1976) maintain that the definiteness of noun phrases in the co-text is signaled by such specific determiners as possessives, demonstratives, and definite article (p. 71). Thus, a noun phrase with a possessive attached to it is construed as denoting an individual or object that belongs to or is associated with some other person or object in the surrounding context. Further, a noun phrase preceded by a demonstrative is understood to denote an individual or object that has been mentioned earlier in the co-text. Finally, the definite article added to a noun phrase makes this noun phrase identify a specific individual or thing in a particular context. All the determiners contribute to the cohesion of a text to the effect that they make noun phrases to which they are adjoined refer endophorically to other noun phrases occurring earlier or later in the context. To put it differently, the determiners attached to noun phrases hint that the reference of those noun phrases is to be retrieved from the preceding or following context. In this connection, the examples in (65a) and (65b) are considered:

- (65a) Kramer portrays **Gilbert du Motier de Lafayette** as a “cross-cultural” “mediator,” whose strength was **his** ability to unite around **him** persons of diverse nationality, class, and gender. His study represents an intriguing experiment in writing a postmodern biography; it is more about the myth of **Lafayette** than **the man himself**.
- (65b) This book deals with the Esterhazy dynasty in Hungary, specifically the era of **Prince Pal Antal** and **Prince Miklos**. Its focus is less **the princes themselves** than the entire social hierarchy of the princely estates.
- (66) She contends that this evasion of difference is central to E. L. Doctorow’s *Ragtime*, and she shows that the novel’s refracted narrative structure presents the story of **Jewish immigrants** according to a

culturally generic model of exclusion. She concludes that **the novel's Jewish protagonist himself** elides the Jewish people into "the Jews" to achieve his assimilative vision that becomes the politics of forgetting.

In both (65a) and (65b) the adjacent IR intensifies the definite noun phrase. The definiteness of the noun is in both cases indicated by the definite article. In (65a) the intensified NP *the man* uniquely refers to *Lafayette*, a historical figure credited by Kramer with exceptional abilities to bring together people of different nationality, class, and gender. By the same token, the noun phrase *the princes* intensified by *themselves* uniquely identifies the two earlier mentioned princes of the Hungarian Esterhazy dynasty, i.e., *Pal Anatal* and *Miklos*. As in the case of pronouns, it seems plausible to suggest that the definite noun phrases in (65a) and (65b) refer to the reader's mental representations of the individuals denoted by the proper nouns rather than to the proper nouns themselves. By contrast, in (66) the intensified noun phrase *the novel's Jewish protagonist himself* is marked for definiteness and singularity by the definite possessive noun phrase *the novel's* as well as by the adjective *Jewish*. Thus, on the one hand, "protagonist" is uniquely attributed to the novel *Ragtime* written by E. L. Doctorow, and on the other hand, he is described as Jewish, which links him up to the earlier mentioned Jewish immigrants.

Undoubtedly, the examples in (65) and (66) manifest that adjacent IRs can have definite noun phrases for antecedents. It remains to examine whether the same holds of adjacent bound IRs. The examination of (67) and (68) below is likely to bring a solution:

(67) **The writer** reminisces about how **her family's** construction business was shut down due to government legislation regarding the desert tortoise, an endangered species. **She** recalls a family argument over the affair and reflects on how **her father**, with whom **she** argues, is **himself** an endangered species, threatened by her emotional nature.

(68) This volume offers the pleasures that come from **Martin's** gift as a craftsman of formal verse. The long meditation "A Walk in the Hills above the Artists' House" considers life and death and nature as well as poetry. Spacious and colloquial as the landscapes and interiors it inhabits, the poem makes a persuasive case for leading a civilized, sensuous, and temperate life, such as **the poet** can be witnessed living **himself**.

In (67) the post-copula IR *himself* is associated with the noun phrase *her father*, which is by all means singular and definite in reference. What makes its reference definite and easily identifiable is the fact that it is preceded by the possessive *her*. *Her* encapsulates the meaning "female" and in this context is understood to refer to *the writer*, an individual looking back on her family's going bankrupt as a result of governmental measures to protect the desert tortoise from extinction. It can also be said that the possessive *her* has cohesive power in the sense that it enables the reader to establish "underlying meaning relations" between *her father* and *the writer*. In addition, the fact that the noun *father* in *her*

father enters into a part-whole lexical relation with the noun *family* from *her family's* seems to fortify the definiteness and specificity of the NP *her father*. To be precise, the denotatum of 'father' is assumed to be one of the component parts of the denotatum of 'family' which usually is a group of individuals related by blood, i.e., father, mother, brothers and sisters. Thus, the cohesion of the text in (67) is guaranteed by the possessive pronoun *her* as well as by the lexical relationship holding between *her family's* and *her father*.

Similarly, in (68) the NP *the poet* linked to the clause-final IR *himself* appears to have specific and definite reference. First of all, the NP in question is supplied with the definite article, which suggests that its reference is recoverable from the co-text. Further, the noun 'poet' denoting an individual who writes poetry fits the description of the referent of *Martin* mentioned in the preceding context. *Martin* is presented as a master of formal verse and as the author of the poem entitled "A Walk in the Hills above the Artists' House." Accordingly, the NP *the poet* satisfactorily and uniquely identifies the referent of *Martin*, the poet.

By and large, the above considerations have shown that NPs with specific definite reference, i.e., proper nouns, pronouns, and definite noun phrases are capable of receiving intensification from both adjacent and non-adjacent IRs. In the next section an attempt will be made at showing whether IRs of both types can intensify NPs with general definite reference.

5.2.2 General Definite Reference

Definite noun phrases with general reference unlike those with specific reference refer to groups of individuals or things. Halliday and Hasan notice that general definite noun phrases are usually accompanied by the definite article, demonstratives, or possessives and thus constitute an important source of cohesion in the text (p. 275).⁷ The examples in (69a), (69b), and (69c) illustrate how adjacent IRs interact with general definite noun phrases:

- (69a) The writer reflects on the career and work of the ecclesiastical historian Peter Hinchliff. He notes that the core of Hinchliff's creative work can be seen in the exploration of English and Anglican theological liberalism from 1860-1900. He points out that Hinchliff also made many contributions to the study of both missionary history and South African church history but admits that his work in this regard was, unfortunately, too characteristic of the kind of "colonial" history that focused on the Britishers rather than **the Africans themselves**.
- (69b) The challenges involved in trying to bring military and **security agencies** under constitutional rule in new democracies are explored through analysis of the case of the Limann regime and the failed democratic transition in

Ghana in 1979-81. The question of why the government and the military command failed to make common cause is addressed. The conflict between civilian officials and the military high command over jurisdictional and other issues and between **the security agencies themselves** that provided the opening for the overthrow once again of democracy is examined.

- (69c) More attention should be paid to Chaplin's technique of using **dream sequences** to slowly reveal character nuances. He used dreams to synthesize his "mask," Charlie the Tramp, and his audience, creating a character whom audiences can look down on while observing their own faults. Charlie is like all of us, struggling against the daily pressures of life, yet he somehow remains contented, even when eating shoes, kissing mops, sleeping on park benches, or training to fight on the trenches. Chaplin's Little Tramp impresses himself on our collective unconscious because although he fails to live up to our socioeconomic level, he dares to dream **our dreams**. Because **these dreams themselves** are universal, we are drawn into a relationship with the character that Chaplin the director has worked to create.

In all the above examples the NP intensified by the adjacent IR *themselves* is definite but general in reference. In (69a) the definiteness of the expression *the Africans* results from the fact that it is included within the semantic field of the previously mentioned lexical unit, i.e., *South African church history*. To be specific, the reference of *the Africans* is determined by the preceding context which introduces the reader to the ecclesiastical historian Peter Hinchliff's contributions to exploring the evolution of the South African church. The generality of the NP *the Africans* implies that it refers to all the inhabitants of South Africa rather than to one specific individual. As in (69a), the intensified NP in (69b) is also marked for referential definiteness by the definite article. Specifically, the expression *the security agencies* is a superordinate of *security agencies* from the preceding context in the sense that the meaning of the indefinite noun phrase is broader and thus encompasses the meaning of the definite expression (Halliday & Hasan, p. 280). As a result, the level of generality is much higher with respect to *security agencies* rather than *the security agencies*. The indefinite expression orients the reader towards the question of incorporating military and security agencies into new-fangled democracies. This phenomenon is then discussed with regards to "the Limann regime and the failed democratic transition in Ghana." Although the subsequent occurrence of *security agencies* represents a subclass of security agencies and specifically refers to the turbulent political situation in Ghana in 1979-81, the intensified NP still does not denote one specific agency but one specific set of agencies and thus remains general in reference. Finally, in (69c) the IR is adjoined to the NP *these dreams*, which, as in the previous cases, seems to be definite and general in terms

of its referentiality. There are two factors that make it possible for the reader to conjure up a mental picture of the referent for *these dreams*. First, the expression under consideration is accompanied by the demonstrative *these*, which links it up with the preceding NP *our dreams*. The reference of the NP *our dreams* is definite by virtue of the fact that the general noun *dreams* is qualified by the possessive *our*, which selects from all types of possible dreams only those that are pertinent to the intimate experiences of each human being. Even so, the reference of *our dreams* or *these dreams* is still non-specific, but less general than the reference of the all-encompassing NPs such as *dreams* or *dream sequences* from the earlier context.

However, sometimes the definiteness of a noun phrase is not overtly marked by the definite article, demonstratives or possessives, but follows exclusively from the co-text. This situation is exemplified in (70) below:

- (70) It is a discussion of the unacceptably low health status of **women in Kenya**. The most important **female** health problems are high mortality and morbidity associated with pregnancy, childbirth, and fever caused by uterine infection after childbirth. More recently, AIDS and sexually transmitted diseases pose increasing problems, with **women** being most vulnerable because of such practices as **female** genital mutilation and polygamous marriages. Early education and information programs are the most effective ways of preventing HIV/AIDS, but harmful cultural practices must be treated sensitively. A major drawback to the success of programs designed to improve **women's** status in Kenya is the lack of solidarity among **young women themselves**.

Grammatically speaking, the intensified NP *young women* in (70) is non-definite. However, in terms of its reference this does not seem to be the case since the NP in question refers to all the young women of Kenya rather than to all young women in the world. In other words, the reference of *young women* is no less definite than the reference of *these dreams*, *the Africans*, or *the security agencies* from the previous examples. The use of the modifier *young* in the NP *young women* is justified by the context, which clarifies and delineates the referential scope of the intensified NP. As a result, the NP *young women* refers to those Kenyan women who are faced with pregnancy, childbirth, and other post-natal problems. Further, the reference of *young women* stands out as less general than that of any other NP that has come before and that has "paved the way" for the appearance of *young women*. Although the first occurrence of *women* does not include all women in the world, but only those that live in Kenya, it still does not differentiate between young and old women in Kenya, but encompasses all of them.

Finally, the last matter to be considered is whether non-adjacent IRs tolerate NP antecedents with general definite reference. To this end, the following examples will be examined:

- (71) It is a discussion of Felix Mendelssohn's *St. Paul*. The writer argues that the chorale settings in this piece culminate in a moment of self-reflexivity or self-critique in which the inappropriateness of the chorale in the context of the piece is effectively raised as an issue within the musical discourse itself. He argues that the work appears to offer a glimpse of a musical language that aims to establish an authorial perspective from which **the tensions and paradoxes** implicit in the musical pluralism of the time might **themselves** become the subject matter of the musical discourse.
- (72) The writer points out that the oral history collections at **presidential libraries** share the common goal of supplementing the written record by providing information that would otherwise be lost. She asserts that **the early libraries** were, without doubt, pioneers in the new field of oral history and that their ambitious programs contributed to the development of oral history as an accepted discipline. She states that all of **these libraries** continue to explore new ways of enriching their oral history collections, either by conducting interviews **themselves** or by soliciting interviews done by others.

The examples in (71) and (72) show that non-adjacent IRs readily accept NPs with definite but general reference for intensification. In (71) the referential definiteness of the intensified NP is reflected through the definite article it is accompanied by. On the one hand, tensions and paradoxes are restricted to those that are “implicit in the musical pluralism of the time,” and, on the other hand, they represent the referential amplification or broadening of one such specific tension or paradox that has been presented on the example of Felix Mendelssohn's *St. Paul* in the preceding context. This paradox derives from the fact that the composer uses the “chorale settings” only to discredit them, in a fit of artistic impulse, within the same musical masterpiece. In (72) the NP associated with the IR *themselves* is made definite by the adjoined demonstrative. Evidently, *these* in *these libraries* evokes in the reader's mind *presidential libraries* from the previous context. In other words, the definiteness of *these libraries* is achieved through the repetition of the initial non-definite expression *presidential libraries*. However, in this case the intervening context does not seem to affect the level of generality between the first and third mention of *presidential libraries*. The NP *these libraries* is general to the same degree as *presidential libraries* is.

By and large, both adjacent and non-adjacent IRs appear to be able to intensify not only definite NPs with specific reference but also those with non-specific reference.

5.2.3 Singular/General Indefinite Reference

This section concentrates on whether IRs can intensify NPs with singular or general indefinite reference. Owing to the complexities implicit in the concept of indefinite reference, the analysis is exploratory in character and does not aim at providing clear-cut solutions to the problem in question. Further, Lyons (1978, p. 188) introduces the

terminological distinction between non-definite and indefinite noun phrases. The former represent those noun phrases that are not definite noun phrases, whereas the latter include indefinite pronouns or noun phrases with the indefinite article. Indefinite reference implies that on encountering NPs with such reference, the reader is not able to identify a specific individual/object or set of individuals/objects denoted by those NPs. To this end, the examples in (73) and (74) are examined:

- (73) In ancient tragedy, the hero is shrouded in mystery, possesses a noumenal quality of human worth, and has a standard of character in an ascending pattern of development and meaning. The tragic figure in modern tragedy, however, is demystified and dehumanized by lostness and rootlessness. His world has no universal frontiers and is reduced in its physical and spiritual horizons; it is a localized, non-ontological, nonorganic world in which **man himself** is reduced, neutralized, or denatured.
- (74) The writer argues that Nick Kazlik from Margaret Laurence's *A Jest of God* and Nate Schocnhof from Margaret Atwood's *Life Before Man* show how the problem of women's misapprehension of **men** contributes to the dysfunctional relationships depicted in the novels. He asserts that Laurence and Atwood intended these characters to be as deserving of our sympathy as the women they are involved with and that without that sympathy the novels are only partially understood. He draws on Linda Hutcheon's assertion of intentionality in irony in reading **male** presence in the two novels. He finds that the ironized view of each of the characters reveals the sensitivity of Laurence and Atwood to a representation of male presence founded on uncertainty and binarism, not just in relation to women but within **men themselves**.

In (73) the NP intensified by the adjacent IR *himself* is not definite in a grammatical and referential sense. On the one hand, the NP *man* is not accompanied by the determiner, and, on the other hand, the preceding context does not provide the reader with clues as to the reference of *man*. Interestingly, *man* is described as embodying all the attributes of the world in which he is destined to exist. Thus, the reference of *man* is as indefinite as the reference of the world from the preceding context. By the same token, the reference of the intensified NP in (74) is difficult to define since *men* is not made by the surrounding context to refer to an identifiable group of individuals in the outside world. The following examples in (75) and (76) illustrate the co-occurrence of indefinite NPs with non-adjacent IRs:

- (75) W. H. Auden's sonnet sequence "In Time of War" displays an acute sense of the difference between journeying to, and standing in the time of, war. The poet takes extraordinary care to distinguish between observers and participants, but he also complicates the category of the observer, not

limiting it just to the touring poet/journalist who seldom came close to the front. One of the poem's most durable discoveries is its locating ways in which **strategizing generals and tactical technocrats** are **themselves** observers.

- (76) In his book *Born to Rebel: Birth Order, Family Dynamics, and Creative Lives*, Frank J. Sulloway asserts that **sibling arrangements** are the driving force behind human history. Sulloway's chief discovery is that **firstborns** have tended to be preservers of the status quo and have been both worshipful of authority and authoritative **themselves**.

In (75) and (76) the NPs associated with the non-adjacent IR *themselves* are general and indefinite in reference. Although "strategizing generals and tactical technocrats" are given as an example of observers rather than participants in the time of war, the reference of the intensified NP remains indefinite since the context does not provide any information either about *war* or *strategizing generals and tactical technocrats*. Likewise, in (76) the NP *firstborns* does not refer to any identifiable group of individuals. In a nutshell, it might be suggested that the reference of *man* in (73), *men* in (74), *strategizing generals and tactical technocrats* in (75), and *firstborns* in (76) is universal in the sense that it transcends the frontiers of time and space. Overall, both types of IRs accept NPs, on the one hand, ranging from specific to general, and, on the other hand, from definite to indefinite (universal).

To NPs with indefinite reference also belong indefinite pronouns such as *someone*, *something*, *everyone*, etc. Lyons (1978, p. 189) notices that they can also be used specifically or non-specifically. However, examples with intensified indefinite pronouns do not appear in the database. Thus, for the purpose of probing whether reflexive intensifiers can cooccur with indefinite pronouns, the following examples in (77a) and (77b) are considered:

- (77a) * His arguments are compelling, and although not **everyone themselves** will be convinced, **they** will have to take them seriously.
- (77b) ? His arguments are compelling, and although not **everyone** will be convinced **themselves**, they will have to take them seriously.

Clearly, the indefinite pronoun *everyone* in (77a) cannot be intensified by the adjacent IR *themselves*. The same does not seem to hold true of (77b), where the non-adjacent IR can co-occur with the indefinite pronoun. This discovery that is supported by Edmondson and Plank (1978, p. 382) opens up two avenues for further exploration. First, it remains to explain why non-definite NPs as opposed to indefinite pronouns qualify for intensification. Second, another question that arises from the examples in (77) is why non-adjacent IRs can be associated with indefinite pronouns.

All the definite and indefinite noun phrases studied thus far have had denotative potential. In addition to having reference, whether be it definite or indefinite, they have had

potential for denoting a specific individual/object or a specific class of individuals/objects. For example, *generals* or *technocrats* from (75) denote a class of individuals with certain characteristics extractable from the NPs themselves rather than the context of their appearance: generals (+human, +male, +military, +power, etc.) and technocrats (+human, +male, +technique, +power, etc.). Contrary to NPs with indefinite reference, indefinite pronouns may denote a class of individuals, but they cannot be parsed down into discrete characteristics (or semantic components). The fact that indefinite pronouns do not have denotative potential does not affect their intensification from non-adjacent IRs, as substantiated by the well-formedness of (77b). It has been shown in section 5.1 that non-adjacent IRs intensify the action instigated by an agent or the state in which that agent is involved rather than the NP denoting the agent. Thus, it may be tentatively assumed that there is no connection between the reference on intensified NPs and non-adjacent IRs. This link appears to hold between intensified NPs and adjacent IRs. In section 5.3 possibilities of addressing the second conundrum are considered.

5.3 Pronouns in Object Positions and IRs

The database does not only contain examples with indefinite pronouns intensified by adjacent IRs, but also, as has been mentioned earlier, there is no evidence sanctioning the intensification of non-subject pronouns by adjacent IRs. In the following sentence (78) below, an attempt at adding an IR to the pronoun *him* results in an ungrammatical sentence:

(78) This prize-winning collection of poetry chronicles the death of a **four-year-old boy** from injuries sustained after a cauldron of boiling jam overturns on **him**.

(79) *This prize-winning collection of poetry chronicles the death of a **four-year-old boy** from injuries sustained after a cauldron of boiling jam overturns on **him himself**.

Since subjective pronouns can be intensified by IRs (for evidence see 5.2.1), it seems plausible to suggest that it is the grammatical function of a pronoun that determines its eligibility for intensification. Hence, only pronouns in the subject position of a tensed clause or sentence are “visible” to intensification from IRs on the condition that their reference is identifiable in the context of their appearance. Additional evidence buttressing the assumption that non-subject pronouns are excluded from intensification comes from the following example:

(80) **Neeley and Barton** propose their “new” model without **themselves** having actually studied a single one of the assemblages in the Negev and Sinai that they treat.

In (80) the past participle clause may be headed by the pronoun *them* or *their* providing

that it is not simultaneously followed by the IR *themselves*.

Still another support for the supposition that a syntactic position might play an important role in the selection of NPs for intensification comes from a careful examination of the database. Non-adjacent IRs are associated only with subject NPs, and adjacent IRs display a marked preference for subject rather than non-subject NPs, though they intensify both. At the same time, the data studied above also supplies some counter evidence to the hypothesis that IRs do not accept pronouns when those fill non-subject syntactic slots. It should be noticed that non-pronominal NPs are intensified irrespective of whether they function as subjects or objects. This paradoxical situation may be resolved by positing that although pronouns are referring expressions, they must always be preceded by a noun phrase, whether be it definite or indefinite, to have their reference activated. In consequence, if this claim appears to hold in the majority of cases, the assumption that the syntactic positioning of pronouns is the sole indicator of whether they can be intensified by IRs becomes weaker. (For alternative explanations of why pronouns in object positions cannot be intensified see Bickerton, 1987; Fukuda, 1989; McKay, 1991)

5.4 Non-Referring Expressions

In the examples examined thus far intensified NPs have had reference. However, when definite and indefinite expressions appear as the complement of the verb *be* or *become*, they are not used as referring expressions (Lyons, 1978, p. 185). The following examples illustrate the matter in question:

(81a) **The writer** reminisces about **his** father's death. Within one month, **he** recalls, **he** lost a father, became a father **himself**, and nearly went blind.

(81b) **Giscard d'Estaing** is the President of France **himself**.

Brown & Yule (1983) explain that indefinite noun phrases in sentences like (81a) are predicated of subject noun phrases and thus do not have independent reference (p. 209). In (81a), although the IR *himself* is adjacent to the indefinite NP *a father*, the IR intensifies the subject NP *he* rather than *a father*. Similarly, Lyons (p. 185) contends that in (81b) *the President of France* does not refer to an individual but is used predicatively to assert something of the referent expressed by means of the subject NP *Giscard d'Estaing*. Therefore, it is the subject NP rather than the NP with predicative function that undergoes intensification from the IR *himself* in (81b).

Overall, the above discussion has brought into focus some other interesting facts about IRs. First of all, as has been presupposed earlier, there is a strong link between the referentiality of intensified NPs and the justification for the appearance of IRs in syntactic structures. As a result of the examination of a wide variety of examples, it has been suggested that IRs exhibit a relatively high level of tolerance as regards the referential status of their antecedents. In addition to NPs with specific definite reference, which accounts for the majority of examples included in the database under analysis, IRs have also been

shown to accept NPs whose reference is indefinite or less specific. All in all, the evidence presented above tilts in favor of the supposition that as long as the reference of NPs is identifiable within a particular context, those NPs can be intensified. In addition, the evidence has shown that if intensified NPs do not have identifiable reference but instead have denotative potential (i.e., their denotatum can be easily extracted), those NPs also seem to be legitimized in their function as antecedents for IRs. It appears plausible to assume that it is only NPs devoid of definite reference and denotative potential, i.e., indefinite pronouns, that cannot be intensified by adjacent IRs. In addition, it has been shown that indefinite or definite noun phrases in predicative position are not subject to intensification from IRs.

Moreover, the analysis of the referentiality of intensified NPs has also provided additional evidence to justify the division of IRs into adjacent and non-adjacent IRs. It is only adjacent IRs that seem to require their NP antecedents to have reference or denotative potential. The fact that the same link does not hold of non-adjacent IRs is likely to follow from their semantics. As has been shown in section 5.2, non-adjacent IRs, unlike adjacent IRs, do not directly intensify their NP antecedents. For example, clause- (sentence-) final IRs underscore self-action on the part of an agent. In this respect, they come close to RRs which express self-interaction. To add to this, as Saha (1987, p. 217) asserts, RRs accept indefinite pronouns as their antecedents:

(82) **Anyone** can analyze **himself**.

The example in (82) suggests that non-adjacent IRs (for evidence see section 5.2.3) and RRs behave identically with respect to indefinite pronouns. This finding indicates that IRs do not constitute a uniform grammatical category. It seems that only adjacent IRs “act” as pure intensifying elements. As a result, non-adjacent IRs are unlikely to be maximally intensive and minimally reflexive. It may be said that they are more intensive than reflexive in character; however, it remains to determine the exact proportions of the features (reflexive) and (intensive) in them. In the meantime, the incorporation of the above findings into Figure 2 gives rise to Figure 3 below:

RRs	IRs	Non-adjacent IRs
max reflexive min intensive	max intensive min reflexive	more intensive less reflexive
discourse-independent	discourse-dependent	discourse-dependent
non-contrastive and/or non-emphatic context	contrastive and/or emphatic context	contrastive and/or emphatic context
non-discourse-prominent antecedent	discourse-prominent identifiable (referential or denotative) antecedent	discourse-prominent antecedent
self-interaction	no self-interaction	emphasize self-action or self-involvement

Figure 3

7. Conclusions

The above study has offered insights into syntactic and semantic properties of IRs in English. It has been shown that IRs are syntactically optional in the sense that they do not take obligatory syntactic positions customarily associated with such grammatical functions as direct/indirect object, object of a preposition, subject complement, or subject. Instead, their distributional properties approximate those of adverbials. In addition to following the NPs they intensify, IRs take post-auxiliary (-modal, -copula) and sentence-(clause-) final positions. IRs that are adjacent to their NP antecedents are referred to as adjacent, while those that are separated from their NP antecedents by other intervening elements are characterized as non-adjacent IRs. As a result, adjacent IRs are associated with NPs in subject and non-subject positions, whereas non-adjacent NPs are only linked to NPs in subject positions. By contrast, RRs exhibit syntactic obligatoriness by filling syntactic positions that are essential to the structural completeness of sentences, clauses, or phrases. In consequence, they fulfill grammatical roles that are associated with obligatory syntactic positions.

The distribution of IRs and RRs has provided the justification for representing RRs and IRs in terms of the features (reflexive) and (intensive). Accordingly, IRs appear to be maximally intensive and minimally reflexive, while RRs seem to be maximally reflexive and minimally intensive. The components that make up these features come from syntax, pragmatics, and semantics. It has been shown that the feature (maximally intensive) cannot be activated unless IRs appear in contrastive and/or emphatic environments and have discourse-prominent antecedents. By contrast, the feature (maximally reflexive) does not

seem to be “visible” to such discourse- and context-related factors. In turn, it becomes “active” whenever interaction with one’s self is conveyed.

Another component that appears to be “built into” the feature (maximally intensive) has been identified as a result of examining the link between the reference of intensified NPs and the presence of IRs in syntactic structures. This link has been shown to gain ground only in the case of adjacent IRs which require their NP antecedents to be identifiable either referentially or denotatively. Non-adjacent IRs as well as RRs seem to be immune from the effects of the link in question.

Consequently, the study has demonstrated that IRs do not form a uniform grammatical category but fall into two discrete categories: (1) adjacent IRs that are maximally intensive and minimally reflexive and (2) non-adjacent IRs which seem to be neither maximally intensive nor minimally reflexive. In fact, it is plausible to assume that non-adjacent IRs come as closest to RRs as IRs can. It would be interesting to further investigate the semantic connection between RRs and non-adjacent IRs and to what extent that connection gets reflected in the content of the feature of (reflexive) in non-adjacent IRs. Is the content of (reflexive) in non-adjacent IRs high enough to turn them into RRs under certain circumstances?

Finally, this study has not addressed itself to yet another category of reflexives (i.e., long-distance or logophoric reflexives) that has become the object of growing interest in most recent linguistic literature (for such discussion see Carroll, 1986; Zribi-Hertz, 1989, 1996; Koster & Reuland, 1991; Reinhart & Reuland, 1993; Baker, 1995; Walther, 1995). Thus, future research into reflexives in English should concentrate on exploring the relationship, on the one hand, between RRs and logophoric reflexives, and, on the other hand, between adjacent/non-adjacent IRs and logophoric reflexives. One of the objectives of such an analysis should be an attempt at assigning the features (reflexive) and (intensive) to LRs.

Notes

1. Some linguists have found the designation “emphatic” ambiguous and have opted for “intensive” instead. Saha (1987, p. 218) contends that the semantic and syntactic differences between RRs and IRs render objectionable the tendency to call IRs “emphatic reflexives.” He further argues that the term “emphatic reflexive” may also be applied to “reflexives characterized by special emphasis that creates contrast,” as in (83) versus (84):

(83) John had mud on him.

(84) John had mud on **himself**, and yet he scolded Mary for having mud on her. He concludes that the reflexive in (84) receives extra stress and, therefore, merits the designation of an “emphatic reflexive” (p. 218). In order to avoid potential ambiguity in terminology, throughout the study, I will consistently refer to Quirk’s and Greenbaum’s emphatic reflexives as intensive reflexives.

2. Throughout this document, ill-formed structures will be marked with an asterisk.

3. However, Quirk presents some evidence to demonstrate that in highly elevated literary style IRs can fulfill the role of a subject (Note A, p. 361):

(85) Myself is thus and so, and will continue thus and so. (Bellow)

Given the rarity and the idiosyncratic character of such examples, they are unlikely to buttress the claim that IRs in Standard American English can be subjects of sentences.

4. Saha (1987, p. 216) notes that a regular reflexive approximates an IR when the former undergoes topicalization and, consequently, becomes attached to its antecedent as demonstrated in (86):

(86) She shows how **himself** Shakespeare consciously presented in *The Tempest* as an imitator...

He further observes that in such an instance an RR may be adjacent to its antecedent, but it is disallowed from the position immediately following that antecedent.

5. For the purpose of the current analysis, I extend “a character” in Baker’s formulation of the Condition of Relative Discourse Prominence to encompass an individual (a class of individuals) as well as a thing (a class of things).

6. Brown and Yule (1983, p. 192) subdivide endophoric reference into two distinct types, i.e., anaphoric and cataphoric. An anaphoric relation obtains when a non-exophoric form looks back in the text for its reference, whereas a cataphoric relation represents a case when a non-exophoric item looks forward in the text for its reference. For the sake of clarity, only personal pronouns or RRs with anaphoric reference will be considered throughout this section.

7. Lyons (1978, p. 187) asserts that general reference can be understood distributively and collectively. He gives the following example to illustrate this distinction:

(87) Those books cost \$ 5.

Distributive reference emphasizes individual elements in sets of elements, whereas

collective reference stresses sets of elements as a whole. Thus, the distributive interpretation of those books is bound to take the following shape: “each of those books.” Its collective reading is likely to be as follows: “that set of books.” For reasons of scope and economy, this study will not address itself to investigating the relevance of the above distinction to the relationship between IRs and the NPs they intensify.

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Appendix

2.1 Regular Reflexives

- (1)Throughout this collection, Sancho proves **himself** the quintessential self-made man of the emergent middle order, most particularly in the importance he ascribes to writing. (London, A. (1996). The letters of Ignatius Sancho. [On-line]. Review of English Studies, 47, 595. Abstract from: Wilson Humanities Abstracts: Citation: 84)
- (2) In this excellent work, Lea Brilmayer sets **herself** the task of seeking a measure of morality in the international scene as it is structured today.... (Tamir, Y. (1996). American hegemony; political morality in a one-superpower world. [On-line]. Ethics, 107, 155-7. Abstract from: Wilson Humanities Abstracts: Citation: 64)
- (3)Prison officials repeatedly cite problems they see with “infotainment” media and sensationalized crime reporting, but they may be placing **themselves** in the position of deciding who represents legitimate and nonlegitimate media. (Niederpruem, K. E. (1996). Reporters finding prison bars keeping them from inmates. [On-line]. The Quill, 84, 14. Abstract from: Wilson Humanities Abstracts: Citation: 22)
- (4)He argues that what made Davis exceptional was that he was not afraid to be **himself**. (Early, G. (1997). Miles Davis as Ahab and the whale. [On-line]. American Poetry Review, 26, 31-2. Abstract from: Wilson Humanities Abstracts: Citation: 263)
- (5)The essays on Lacan betray a whole panoply of unconscious mechanisms, including a clear idealization and identification at work, as Althusser finds in Lacan a purer, nobler mirror-image of **himself**. (Eagleton, T. (1997). Writings on psychoanalysis; Freud and Lacan. [On-line]. The Times Literary Supplement, 4933, 15-16. Abstract from: Wilson Humanities Abstracts: Citation: 61)
- (7) We like to **pride ourselves** on the care which we lavish on our children, so, why is child abuse not an issue of popular debate, other than around the times of extensive media coverage? (Greenbaum, S. (1996). English grammar. New York: Longman, 182.)
- (9)He concludes that Blake was unable to free **himself** from the complex and often contradictory web of ancient and modern beliefs that had settled around Africa and the African in the late 18th century. (Bindman, D. (1996). Blake’s vision of slavery revisited. [On-line]. Huntington Library Quarterly, 58 (3/4), 373-82. Abstract from: Wilson Humanities Abstracts: Citation: 21)
- (10)The writer discusses how Benjamin Netanyahu plans to accept the Oslo II agreement while portraying **himself** as agonizing over the “concession” involved in this acceptance. (“After Hebron: The peace process is still dead,” 1996. [On-line]. Tikkun, 11, 11-23. Abstract from: Wilson Humanities Abstracts: Citation: 64)
- (11)Representing **herself** as typical of women, Roiphe does not recognize decisively different circumstances experienced by people less economically and educationally privileged than she and others who attend prestigious schools. (Wood, J. T. (1996). The morning after; sex, fear, and feminism on campus. [On-line]. Quarterly Journal of Speech, 82, 171-85. Abstract from: Wilson Humanities Abstracts: Citation: 95)

(12a)He examines the strategies of serious authors who would seem to be inept at marketing **themselves** and their products but who, on closer inspection, are actually skilled marketers pursuing a circumscribed but powerful target market.... (Walle, A. H. (1996). Hack writing vs. belle letters: The strategic implications of literary achievement. [On-line]. Journal of Popular Culture, 30, 185-96. Abstract from: Wilson Humanities Abstracts: Citation: 14)

(12b)In this play, masculine aggression runs rampant in the figure of Richard, who refuses to subordinate **himself** to traditional patriarchal power structures and lines of succession.... (Moulton, I. F. (1996). "A monster great deformed": The unruly masculinity of Richard III. [On-line]. Shakespeare Quarterly, 47, 251-68. Abstract from: Wilson Humanities Abstracts: Citation: 18)

(13)Throughout the diaries, he detects a sense of Pym constructing and reconstructing **herself** in fiction. (Kaufman, A. (1996). A life like a novel: Pym's "Autobiography" as fiction. [On-line]. Journal of Modern Literature, 20, 187-97. Abstract from: Wilson Humanities Abstracts: Citation: 4)

(14a)Rather than attacking a model that is already largely discredited, it would be better if it explored the analogizing habit of mind that repeatedly allowed Dryden to see **himself** as another writer in whom he had a current interest. (Venturo, D. F. (1996). Literary transmission and authority; Dryden and other writers. [On-line]. Comparative Literature Studies, 33 (3), 322-6. Abstract from: Wilson Humanities Abstracts: Citation: 42)

(14b)A married woman, poet, and Presbyterian, Norris's religious quest led her to immerse **herself** in the life of liturgical prayer in a Benedictine monastery.... (Montgomery, A. (1996). The cloister walk. [On-line]. Sojourners, 25, 56-7. Abstract from: Wilson Humanities Abstracts: Citation: 35)

(15)They reveal her efforts to extricate **herself** from the surveillance imposed by the monarchy and devoted to managing the brisk market in noble marriages.... (Jordan, C. (1996). The letters of Lady Arbella Stuart. [On-line]. Sixteenth Century Journal, 27, 585-6. Abstract from: Wilson Humanities Abstracts: Citation: 92)

(16a) Philip's boundless admiration of himself is well known. (Quirk, R. (1985). A Comprehensive Grammar of the English Language. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 357.)

(16b) Your confidence in yourself is well known. (Quirk, R. (1985). A Comprehensive Grammar of the English Language. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 357.)

(16c)It is touch that functions as ultimate metaphor for Carter's incorporation of the patriarchal into **herself**. (Lappas, C. (1996). "Seeing is believing, but touching is the truth": Female spectatorship and sexuality in The company of wolves. [On-line]. Women's Studies, 25 (2), 115-35. Abstract from: Wilson Humanities Abstracts: Citation: 70)

(18)It is welcome not only for Cranston's vastly informed knowledge of Rousseau's life but also for his sanity, balance, and tact in dealing both with his subject's blindnesses about **himself** and with the exaggerated polemics of partisans for and against Rousseau.... (Olney, J. (1997). The solitary self; Jean-Jacques Rousseau in exile and adversity. The Southern Review, 33, 554-73. Abstract from: Wilson Humanities Abstracts: Citation: 44)

2.2 Intensive Reflexives

(19a)Coming at a time when Wong **himself** has moved onto the altogether more adult pleasures of Happy Together, this movie may well have missed its moment. (Rayns, T. (1998). Kitchen. [On-line]. Sight & Sound, 8, 48. Abstract from: Wilson Humanities Abstracts: Citation: 15)

(19b) Although she would not **herself** agree, actress Gloria Grahame, who died in 1981, was a real auteur product.... (Chase, D. (1997). In praise of the naughty mind: Gloria Grahame. [On-line]. Film Comment, 33, 50-6. Abstract from: Wilson Humanities Abstracts: Citation: 26)

(19c)The question, he explains, is whether it is to be supposed that Alfonsi would have written the Latin texts **himself** or whether their form is the result of a redactor or redactors.... (Burnett, C. (1997). The works of Petrus Alfonsi: Questions of Authenticity. [On-line]. Medium Aevum, 66 (1), 42-79. Abstract from: Wilson Humanities Abstracts: Citation: 186)

(20a) In this autobiographical novel, Murphy articulates her experience of sexual abuse, incest at the hands of her mother, her fear of committing incest **herself**, and her arduous journey toward healing and selfhood.... (Vyvyan, L. (1997). Connie's many stories; a novel of abuse and healing. [On-line]. Essays on Canadian Writing, 61, 21-5. Abstract from: Wilson Humanities Abstracts: Citation: 41)

(20b)The writer describes how becoming a lesbian **herself** provided a solution to the sense of homophobia that she experienced toward some of her lesbian friends.... (Alpert, R. T. (1996). Coming out of the closet as politically correct. [On-line]. Tikkun, 11, 61-3. Abstract from: Wilson Humanities Abstracts: Citation: 3)

(20c)He is remarkably even-handed in his approach, endorsing no model **himself** but concisely pointing out positive aspects and deficiencies of each one. (Powelson, J. P. (1997). Explaining long-term economic change. [On-line]. Journal of Asian Studies, 56, 138-9. Abstract from: Wilson Humanities Abstracts: Citation: 205)

(20d)She states that all of these libraries continue to explore new ways of enriching their oral history collections, either by conducting interviews **themselves** or by soliciting interviews done by others.... (Greenwell, R. (1997). The oral history collections of the presidential libraries. [On-line]. Journal of American History, 84, 596-603. Abstract from: Wilson Humanities Abstracts: Citation: 102)

(21a)That the reader is left to discover some of the secrets **herself** makes this book more engaging. (Beddoes, J. (1997). Fall on your knees. [On-line]. Canadian Literature, 154, 132-4. Abstract from: Wilson Humanities Abstracts: Citation: 35)

(21b)At the end of the film, Roy seems to be giving up his baseball career to become a family man **himself**, which is not the case in the novel. (Washburn, T. (1996). Levinson's Roy: A child's hero. [On-line]. Literature-Film Quarterly, 24 (1), 88-91. Abstract from: Wilson Humanities Abstracts: Citation: 28)

(21c)It demonstrates how Japan tried to profit from Western contact in order to escape Western domination and sought to dominate eastern Asia **herself**.... (Grenville, J. A. (1998). Japan and Germany in the modern world. [On-line]. English Historical Review, 113 (450), 237-8. Abstract from: Wilson Humanities Abstracts: Citation: 1)

(22a) This abundantly detailed description of Che Guevara's life from cradle to grave and the aftermath strongly resurrects the man **himself** and the spirit of the times in which he lived.... (Albert, S. (1997). Che Guevara; a revolutionary life. [On-line]. Tikkun, 12, 73-7. Abstract from: Wilson Humanities Abstracts: Citation: 39)

(22b)The book's central problem--that most of the counterdiscourse occurs in Petrarch **himself**--is also its most engaging conundrum. (Falco, R. (1997). Echoes of desire; English Petrarchism and its counterdiscourses. [On-line]. Shakespeare Studies, 25, 265-7. Abstract from: Wilson Humanities Abstracts: Citation: 57)

(23a)It is only a minor aspect of our entire pain and pain-inhibitory systems, which **themselves** are geared to help us flee, fight, or nurse ourselves, depending on the circumstances.... (Hardcastle, V. G. (1997). When a pain is not. [On-line]. Journal of Philosophy, 94, 381-409. Abstract from: Wilson Humanities Abstracts: Citation: 144)

(23b)They also illustrate some of the fundamental realities of academic and commercial publishing, which **themselves** speak to the notion of literary fame and scholarly endorsement. (Arnold, E. T. (1996-1997). The three Erskine Caldwells. [On-line]. Mississippi Quarterly, 50, 159-66. Abstract from: Wilson Humanities Abstracts: Citation: 39)

(24a) Intercessory rites at home for the success of a crusade by those who had not **themselves** joined it were organized throughout the Holy Roman Empire in the 12th and 13th centuries, particularly in support of military campaigns against non-Christian opponents.... (Maier, C. T. (1997). Crisis, liturgy and the crusade in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. [On-line]. Journal of Ecclesiastical History, 48, 628-57. Abstract from: Wilson Humanities Abstracts: Citation: 62)

(24b)At the end of the 18th century, he concludes, overland trade in the Kingdom of Naples was scarce and sea trade fairly limited, which reflected insufficient economic developments that were **themselves** the result of poor road and sea communications. (Rosa, L. (1996). Land and sea transport and economic depression in the Kingdom of Naples from the fourteenth to the eighteenth century. [On-line]. Journal of European Economic History, 25, 339-68. Abstract from: Wilson Humanities Abstracts: Citation: 21)

(25a) These papers on Greek colonization are dedicated to John Boardman, who gave one of the papers **himself**.... (Graham, A. J. (1997). The archaeology of Greek colonisation; essays dedicated to Sir John Boardman. [On-line]. Journal of Hellenic Studies, 117, 250. Abstract from: Wilson Humanities Abstracts: Citation: 28)

(25b)He points out that late-20th-century Thai Christians, who are supernaturalists **themselves**, have reclassified local spirit activity through their own Christian frameworks.... (Zehner, E. (1996). Thai Protestants and local supernaturalism: Changing configurations. [On-line]. Journal of Southeast Asian Studies, 27, 293-319. Abstract from: Wilson Humanities Abstracts: Citation: 87)

(26a)Focusing on the worship of Oshun (Osun), a Yoruba water divinity, in several parts of western Nigeria and the United States, Mojisola, **herself** a devotee of the goddess, investigates similarities and dissimilarities between diaspora practices and indigenous Yoruba approaches.... (Okediji, M. (1997). Osun: Her worship, her powers. [On-line]. African Arts, 30, 75-7. Abstract from: Wilson Humanities Abstracts: Citation: 1)

(26b) In this starkly titled collection, Newman, a trained dancer **himself**, is obsessed with shapes and shaping, with the possibility that imaginative order might equal personal order.... (Rubin, S. S. (1997). Order, or disorder. [On-line]. The Ohio Review, 56, 163-78. Abstract from: Wilson Humanities Abstracts: Citation: 47)

(27) Wittgenstein's writings, though not **themselves** poetry, are redolent of poetic elements.... (Perloff, M., & Brody, L. H. (1996). Wittgenstein's ladder. [On-line]. Library Journal, 121, 76. Abstract from: Book Review Digest Abstracts: Record: 114)

(28)While in the past much of this management was carried out by Bureau of Indian Affairs technical staff on behalf of Native American owners, there is an increasing trend, and need, for tribes to assume more of the responsibility **themselves**.... (Harris, R. R., & Cox, R. (1997). Curriculum on ecology and natural resources management for Indian natural resource workers. [On-line]. American Indian Culture & Research Journal, 21 (3), 33-48. Abstract from: Wilson Humanities Abstracts: Citation: 133)

(30a) Bartlett begins by noting that devotional literature, which is often strikingly misogynistic, circulated widely among medieval women readers. She shows how identification was not simple for women reading devotional texts. Her decision to modernize some Middle English English texts **herself** detracts from an otherwise rich study of women's ways of reading. (Cherewatuk, K. (1997). Male authors, female readers; representation and subjectivity in Middle English devotional literature. [On-line]. Journal of English & Germanic Philology, 96, 439-41. Abstract from: Wilson Humanities Abstracts: Citation: 42)

(30b) This passionate work contains a sustained attack on Jerome. It reveals the brutality and perversion of his advice to others and his readiness to ignore it **himself**.... (Rousseau, P. (1997). From feasting to fasting, the evolution of sin; attitudes to food in late antiquity. [On-line]. Journal of Theological Studies, 48, 662-5. Abstract from: Wilson Humanities Abstracts: Citation: 33)

(32)Karen Fields compares her task with that of the virtuoso jazz trumpeter who reintroduced Duke Ellington. Quite a virtuoso **herself**, her introduction explains why Durkheim's thought has always seemed so difficult and provoked so much opposition.... (Douglas, M. (1996). The elementary forms of religious life. [On-line]. Contemporary Sociology, 25, 467. Abstract from: Book Review Digest Abstracts: Record: 19)

3. A Contrastive Analysis of the Distribution of RRs and IRs

(34a)He notes that over a period of half a century and more, Welles always found a way to be **himself**--to insist, that is, on his uniqueness as a public persona.... (Anderegg, M. (1996). Cameos, guest stars, and real people, with a special appearance of Orson Welles. [On-line]. Michigan Quarterly Review, 35, 42-60. Abstract from: Wilson Humanities Abstracts: Citation: 8)

(34b) He argues, however, that ultimately it is not the memorist **himself** who wins the day, but the practical critic. (Hoy, P. C. (1996). Becoming what one is. [On-line]. Sewanee Review, 104, 692-700. Abstract from: Wilson Humanities Abstracts: Citation: 89)

(35a)Graffin has benefited from being a devoted student of the art of dance and has become an exception in the narrowly focused dance world in that he educates **himself** by regularly attending a broad range of dance events.... (Kaye, E. (1997). Guillaume Graffin: Ardent and exquisite grace. [On-line]. Dance Magazine, 71, 62-7. Abstract from: Wilson Humanities Abstracts: Citation: 2)

(35b)He summarizes the types of critiques that the citizens' groups made and analyzes a series of examples of activity by these groups who attempted to influence the intelligence estimates **themselves** or the policies based on them. (Evangelista, M. (1997). Second-guessing the experts: Citizens' group criticism of the Central Intelligence Agency's estimates of Soviet military policy. [On-line]. International History Review, 19, 563-93. Abstract from: Wilson Humanities Abstracts: Citation: 12)

(36a)The strength of this work lies in the fact that readers will recognize feelings and observations they have about Wagner's works but they have not fully articulated to **themselves** or to others. (Lindenberger, H. (1997). Wagner. [On-line]. Notes, 54, 447-9. Abstract from: Wilson Humanities Abstracts: Citation: 9)

(36b)Part of the difficulty lies with the elusive Jefferson **himself**, but the disappointing failure of this film to draw a coherent portrait ultimately rests with Burns; he attempts a comprehensive film biography but does not give himself sufficient time to do it properly.... (Egerton, D. R. (1997). Thomas Jefferson. [On-line]. American Historical Review, 102, 1273-4. Abstract from: Wilson Humanities Abstracts: Citation: 30)

(37a)She shows how Shakespeare consciously presented **himself** in *The Tempest* as an imitator, last in a series of distinguished poets who had handled with virtuoso capacity the same themes.... (Tarantino, E. (1997). Morpheus, Leander, and Ariel. [On-line]. Review of English Studies, 48, 489-98. Abstract from: Wilson Humanities Abstracts: Citation: 25)

(37c)Although the pope **himself** makes sure to speak of sin or error on the part of the church's members or representatives rather than the church in its fullness, that vital theological distinction is nearly always lost in media reports of these apologies.... (Glendon, M. A. (1997). Contrition in the age of spin control. [On-line]. First Things, 77, 10-12. Abstract from: Wilson Humanities Abstracts: Citation: 50)

(38) *Himself is the champion. (Saha, P. K. (1987). Strategies of reflexivization in American English. American English, 62 (3), 217.)

(39) John believes himself to be a person of integrity. (Saha, P. K. (1987). Strategies of reflexivization in American English. American English, 62 (3), 217.)

(40) John himself is a champion. (Saha, P. K. (1987). Strategies of reflexivization in American English. American English, 62 (3), 217.)

(41)He suggests that diversity functions best when all groups that **themselves** encourage diversity are allowed presence and power in the public arena.... (Kuroiwa, W. R. (1997). Paying the price for diversity. [On-line]. Journal of Feminist Studies in Religion, 13, 84-7. Abstract from: Wilson Humanities Abstracts: Citation: 104)

(43) The picture of himself that John saw was ugly. (Saha, P. K. (1987). Strategies of

reflexivization in American English. American English, 62 (3), 218.)

(44) John believes that wrestlers like himself are unbeatable. (Saha, P. K. (1987). Strategies of reflexivization in American English. American English, 62 (3), 218.)

(45) As for himself, John hates brussels sprouts, but he will defend to the death your right to eat the stuff. (Saha, P. K. (1987). Strategies of reflexivization in American English. American English, 62 (3), 218.)

(49)Believing **herself** to be armed with this ability, she committed her crimes as acts of mercy, stating that her victims wanted to die. (Connors, T. (1996). Destiny's disciple. [On-line]. American Theater, 13, 7. Abstract from: Wilson Humanities Abstracts: Citation: 128)

4. The Components of the Features of Reflexive and Intensive

(51a)As a major in the Morale Division of the United States Strategic Bombing Survey, Auden toured Germany for three months in 1945. This time marked for him the beginning of a relation to the war that, to some extent, was not to end--that is, the ontological state of living in a postwar world. Criticism has not fully addressed the significance of Auden's experience with the war, and Auden **himself** never discussed it. (Pearsall, C. D. (1997). The poet and the postwar city. [On-line]. Raritan, 17, 104-20. Abstract from: Wilson Humanities Abstracts: Citation: 3)

(51b) The writer describes the individual features of soldiers' stories of reenactment, shows how they intersect, and suggests why interpretations of these stories have changed over the years far more than have the stories **themselves**.... (Talbot, J. E. (1997). Soldiers, psychiatrists, and combat trauma. [On-line]. Journal of Interdisciplinary History, 27, 437-54. Abstract from: Wilson Humanities Abstracts: Citation: 381)

(52) Director Karoly Makk has brilliantly structured his rendering of Dostoyevsky's novel, which is both reverential to its spirit and ruthless in its detail. Atmosphere and period detail are retained, and although Makk makes revisions to the text, they are harmless. Michael Gambon as Dostoyevsky surpasses even **himself**, giving a performance that is utterly spellbinding. (Rayfield, D. (1997). The gambler. [On-line]. The Times Literary Supplement, 4936, 26. Abstract from: Wilson Humanities Abstracts: Citation: 49)

(55)She finds that despite Peirce's seeming admiration for Berkeley, his metaphysical agreement with him is superficial, more so than even Peirce **himself** leads us to believe.... (Friedman, L. (1997). Pierce's reality and Berkeley's blunders. [On-line]. Journal of the History of Philosophy, 35, 253-68. Abstract from: Wilson Humanities Abstracts: Citation: 189)

5.1 The Semantics of Adjacent and Non-Adjacent IRs

(56) This is an excellent volume of critical essays on Michael Walzer's *Spheres of Justice*. Its editor provides a comprehensive and lucid introduction to Walzer's views on justice, and Walzer **himself** offers a brief response to his critics.... (Nickel, J. W. (1997). Pluralism, justice, and equality. [On-line]. Philosophical Review, 106, 127-8. Abstract from: Wilson Humanities Abstracts: Citation: 8)

(57) In the article, Bloom tautologically calls freshman English composition a middle-

class enterprise. However, she dismisses any serious class analysis and focuses her analysis on composition teachers. In Bloom's mind, the values and virtues that she finds among compositionists belong to the middle class as a whole. However, she ignores the class distinctions among composition teachers. She is quite comfortable with a name professorship, but it is mainly grievously exploited graduate students and part-timers who actually teach freshman composition. Furthermore, teachers of English are a distinct and suspect group within the middle class and are **themselves** divided by income, education, and the cultural manifestations of American social class. (Sledd, J. (1997). A comment on "Freshman composition as a middle-class enterprise." [On-line]. College English, 59, 712-14. Abstract from: Wilson Humanities Abstracts: Citation: 69)

(58) Brent's study is marked by immense erudition and a devotion to historical investigation that approaches the heroic. He admits his debt to a large number of predecessors, but he invariably examines the evidence **himself** and draws his own conclusions, providing a dramatic revision of the traditional picture of the dispute between Hippolytus and Callistus. (Bonner, G. (1997). Hippolytus and the Roman Church in the third century; communities in tension before the emergence of a monarch-bishop. [On-line]. Journal of Ecclesiastical History, 48, 517-19. Abstract from: Wilson Humanities Abstracts: Citation: 88)

5.2.1 Singular Definite Reference

(59a) This novel, the eighth of Patricia Cornwall's blockbusting thrillers featuring the forensic pathologist Kay Scarpetta, marks a return to a well-tried formula with the usual suspects. The result is a familiar blend of science and sentiment. The real, dark appeal of the novel, however, is in the way Scarpetta **herself** is relentlessly victimized on the readers's behalf. (O'Donoghue, H. (1997). Unnatural exposure. [On-line]. The Times Literary Supplement, 4932, 24. Abstract from: Wilson Humanities Abstracts: Citation: 21)

(59b) The writer explores Mark Twain's travels in Italy, particularly Venice, as recounted in *The Innocents Abroad*. He looks as much at the traveler as at the sights encountered and perceived. He shows that what readers of Twain's *The Innocents Abroad* learn most about is Twain **himself**. (Beauchamp, G. (1997). Mark Twain in Venice. [On-line]. The Midwest Quarterly, 38, 397-413. Abstract from: Wilson Humanities Abstracts: Citation: 7)

(59c) Zora Neale Hurston's *Dust Tracks on a Road* and *Mules and Men* can be discussed in terms of their autobiographical impulses, for each has among its objects of knowledge Hurston **herself**.... (Domina, L. (1997). "Protection in my mouf": Self, voice, and community in Zora Neale Hurston's *Dust tracks on a road* and *Mules and men*. [On-line]. African American Review, 31, 197-209. Abstract from: Wilson Humanities Abstracts: Citation: 60)

(59d) This bibliography of Julian Symons includes an "Autobiographical Note," numerous explanatory and background comments written by Symons **himself** to accompany Walsdorf's descriptions, and a brief memoir by his wife, Kathleen Symons.... (Smith, S. E. (1997). Julian Symons. [On-line]. Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America, 91, 434-6. Abstract from: Wilson Humanities Abstracts: Citation: 70)

(60) Peter Riley's volume of poetry is as much about the possibilities of lyric and specifically the continuities of English lyric as it is about archaic grave sites. Its ability to work against definitions of "poetry" like some of those that Riley has **himself** advanced is one of its virtues. (Tuma, K. (1997). Distant points; from the researches of J R Mortimer

in the Yorkshire Worlds. [On-line]. Chicago Review, 43, 8-17. Abstract from: Wilson Humanities Abstracts: Citation: 68.)

(61) The writer contends that the Arabic-Hebrew background of Petrus Alfonsi poses particular problems with regard to establishing the authenticity of Latin texts attributed to him. The question, he explains, is whether it is to be supposed that Alfonsi would have written the Latin texts **himself** or whether their form is the result of a redactor or redactors.... (Burnett, C. (1997). The works of Petrus Alfonsi: Questions of authenticity. [On-line]. Medium Aevum, 66 (1), 42-79. Abstract from: Wilson Humanities Abstracts: Citation: 186)

(62)The traditional view, as expounded by Eusebius, depicts Constantine as responsible for the permanent displacement by the Christians of the Jews “in the heart of the Hebrew kingdom.” It cannot be ascertained how much of this influential strand of Christian apologetic determined Constantine’s actions, but he was doubtless receptive to flattering ideas from panegyrists like Eusebius who saw in Constantine the fulfillment of biblical prophecy and the culmination of the historical cycle. His public stance showed little of the toleration of Judaism displayed by earlier Roman rulers, but there is no evidence that he **himself**, as opposed to his interpreters, saw his Christian reclamation of Golgotha and the Tomb in Jerusalem as a blow against the Jews. (Hunt, E.D. (1997). Constantine and Jerusalem. [On-line]. Journal of Ecclesiastical History, 48, 405-24. Abstract from: Wilson Humanities Abstracts: Citation: 106)

(63) The writer examines Martha Meredith Read’s novel *Monima, or the Beggar Girl* and her essay “A Second Vindication of the Rights of Women.” Focusing on Read’s use of the categories of benevolence and sentiment, he contends that because she was **herself** from a wealthy mercantile family, her use of these categories suggests how a conscientious but comfortable writer would exploit the materials her culture offered to create a pragmatic feminism that actually relied on marketplace conventions.... (Fitchtelberg, J. (1997). Friendless in Philadelphia: The feminist critique of Martha Meredith Read. [On-line]. Early American Literature, 32 (3), 205-21. Abstract from: Wilson Humanities Abstracts: Citation: 10)

(64) This most recent volume of Newman’s *Letters and Diaries* maintains the lofty standards of the first volume. The editor’s introduction is particularly fine, as are the three appendixes, in which Newman comments on heresies of his time, especially the pantheism of English and German romantic writers. The period covered represents the most confident stage of Newman’s life as an Anglican, but his summer readings in the Monophysite heresy startled him with the notion that he might be a heretic **himself**. (Griffin, J. R. (1997). The letters and diaries of John Henry Newman v7 Editing the British critic, January 1839-December 1840. [On-line]. Church History, 66, 380-1. Abstract from: Wilson Humanities Abstracts: Citation: 159)

(65a) Kramer portrays Gilbert du Motier de Lafayette as a “cross-cultural” “mediator,” whose strength was his ability to unite around him persons of diverse nationality, class, and gender. His study represents an intriguing experiment in writing a postmodern biography; it is more about the myth of Lafayette than the man **himself**. (Klinck, D. (1997). Lafayette in two worlds; public cultures and personal identities in an age of revolutions. [On-line]. International History Review, 19, 664-6. Abstract from: Wilson Humanities Abstracts: Citation: 107)

(65b) This book deals with the Esterhazy dynasty in Hungary, specifically the era of Prince

Pal Antal and Prince Miklos. Its focus is less the princes **themselves** than the entire social hierarchy of the princely estates.... (Szabo, F. A. (1997). The landed estates of the Esterhazy princes; Hungary during the reforms of Maria Theresia and Joseph II. Canadian Journal of History, 32, 253-4. Abstract from: Wilson Humanities Abstracts: Citation: 167)

(66)She contends that this evasion of difference is central to E. L. Doctorow's *Ragtime*, and she shows that the novel's refracted narrative structure presents the story of Jewish immigrants according to a culturally generic model of exclusion. She concludes that the novel's Jewish protagonist **himself** elides the Jewish people into "the Jews" to achieve his assimilative vision that becomes the politics of forgetting. (Persell, M. (1996). "The Jews," *Ragtime* and the politics of silence. Literature & Psychology, 42 (4), 1-15. Abstract from: Wilson Humanities Abstracts: Citation: 9)

(67) The writer reminisces about how her family's construction business was shut down due to government legislation regarding the desert tortoise, an endangered species. She recalls a family argument over the affair and reflects on how her father, with whom she argues, is **himself** an endangered species, threatened by her emotional nature. (Williams, T. T. (1997). To be taken. [On-line]. Iowa Review, 27, 24-32. Abstract from: Wilson Humanities Abstracts: Citation: 214)

(68) This volume offers the pleasures that come from Martin's gift as a craftsman of formal verse. The long meditation "A Walk in the Hills above the Artists' House" considers life and death and nature as well as poetry. Spacious and colloquial as the landscapes and interiors it inhabits, the poem makes a persuasive case for leading a civilized, sensuous, and temperate life, such as the poet can be witnessed living **himself**. (Disch, T. M. (1997). What the darkness proposes; poems. [On-line]. Hudson Review, 50, 503-5. Abstract from: Wilson Humanities Abstracts: Citation: 127)

5.2.2 General Definite Reference

(69a) The writer reflects on the career and work of the ecclesiastical historian Peter Hinchliff. He notes that the core of Hinchliff's creative work can be seen in the exploration of English and Anglican theological liberalism from 1860-1900. He points out that Hinchliff also made many contributions to the study of both missionary history and South African church history but admits that his work in this regard was, unfortunately, too characteristic of the kind of "colonial" history that focused on the Britishers rather than the Africans **themselves**. (Hastings, A. (1997). From Africa to Oxford and back: A study of the work of professor Peter Hinchliff. [On-line]. Theology, 100, 402-10. Abstract from: Wilson Humanities Abstracts: Citation: 20)

(69b) The challenges involved in trying to bring military and security agencies under constitutional rule in new democracies are explored through analysis of the case of the Limann regime and the failed democratic transition in Ghana in 1979-81. The question of why the government and the military command failed to make common cause is addressed. The conflict between civilian officials and the military high command over jurisdictional and other issues and between the security agencies **themselves** that provided the opening for the overthrow once again of democracy is examined.... (Hutchful, E. (1997). Reconstructing civil-military relations and the collapse of democracy in Ghana, 1979-81. [On-line]. African Affairs, 96, 535-60. Abstract from: Wilson Humanities Abstracts: Citation: 30)

(69c) More attention should be paid to Chaplin's technique of using dream sequences to

slowly reveal character nuances. He used dreams to synthesize his “mask,” Charlie the Tramp, and his audience, creating a character whom audiences can look down on while observing their own faults. Charlie is like all of us, struggling against the daily pressures of life, yet he somehow remains contented, even when eating shoes, kissing mops, sleeping on park benches, or training to fight on the trenches. Chaplin’s Little Tramp impresses himself on our collective unconscious because although he fails to live up to our socioeconomic level, he dares to dream our dreams. Because these dreams **themselves** are universal, we are drawn into a relationship with the character that Chaplin the director has worked to create. (Le Master, D. J. (1997). The pathos of the unconscious: Charlie Chaplin and dreams. [On-line]. Journal of Popular Film & Television, 25, 110-17. Abstract from: Wilson Humanities Abstracts: Citation: 5)

(70) It is a discussion of the unacceptably low health status of women in Kenya. The most important female health problems are high mortality and morbidity associated with pregnancy, childbirth, and fever caused by uterine infection after childbirth. More recently, AIDS and sexually transmitted diseases pose increasing problems, with women being most vulnerable because of such practices as female genital mutilation and polygamous marriages. Early education and information programs are the most effective ways of preventing HIV/AIDS, but harmful cultural practices must be treated sensitively. A major drawback to the success of programs designed to improve women’s status in Kenya is the lack of solidarity among young women **themselves**. (Patel, P. (1997). Women’s health issues in Kenya. [On-line]. Contemporary Review, 271, 288-93. Abstract from: Wilson Humanities Abstracts: Citation: 23)

(71) It is a discussion of Felix Mendelssohn’s *St. Paul*. The writer argues that the chorale settings in this piece culminate in a moment of self-reflexivity or self-critique in which the inappropriateness of the chorale in the context of the piece is effectively raised as an issue within the musical discourse itself. He argues that the work appears to offer a glimpse of a musical language that aims to establish an authorial perspective from which the tensions and paradoxes implicit in the musical pluralism of the time might **themselves** become the subject matter of the musical discourse.... (Mercer-Taylor, P. (1997). Rethinking Mendelssohn’s historicism: A lesson from St. Paul. [On-line]. Journal of Musicology, 15, 208-29. Abstract from: Wilson Humanities Abstracts: Citation: 204)

(72)The writer points out that the oral history collections at presidential libraries share the common goal of supplementing the written record by providing information that would otherwise be lost. She asserts that the early libraries were, without doubt, pioneers in the new field of oral history and that their ambitious programs contributed to the development of oral history as an accepted discipline. She states that all of these libraries continue to explore new ways of enriching their oral history collections, either by conducting interviews **themselves** or by soliciting interviews done by others.... (Greenwell, R. (1997). The oral history collections of the presidential libraries. [On-line]. Journal of American History, 84, 596-603. Abstract from: Wilson Humanities Abstracts: Citation: 102)

5.2.3 Singular/General Indefinite Reference

(73)In ancient tragedy, the hero is shrouded in mystery, possesses a noumenal quality of human worth, and has a standard of character in an ascending pattern of development and meaning. The tragic figure in modern tragedy, however, is demystified and dehumanized by lostness and rootlessness. His world has no universal frontiers and is reduced in its physical and spiritual horizons; it is a localized, non-ontological, nonorganic

world in which man **himself** is reduced, neutralized, or denatured.... (Panichas, G. A. (1997). Aspects of tragedy, ancient and modern. [On-line]. Modern Age, 39, 378-83. Abstract from: Wilson Humanities Abstracts: Citation: 43)

(74) The writer argues that Nick Kazlik from Margaret Laurence's *A Jest of God* and Nate Schoenhof from Margaret Atwood's *Life Before Man* show how the problem of women's misapprehension of men contributes to the dysfunctional relationships depicted in the novels. He asserts that Laurence and Atwood intended these characters to be as deserving of our sympathy as the women they are involved with and that without that sympathy the novels are only partially understood. He draws on Linda Hutcheon's assertion of intentionality in irony in reading male presence in the two novels. He finds that the ironized view of each of the characters reveals the sensitivity of Laurence and Atwood to a representation of male presence founded on uncertainty and binarism, not just in relation to women but within men **themselves**. (Heinimann, D. (1997). Ironized man: A jest of God and Life before man. [On-line]. Canadian Literature, 154, 52-67. Abstract from: Wilson Humanities Abstracts: Citation: 112)

(75) W. H. Auden's sonnet sequence "In Time of War" displays an acute sense of the difference between journeying to, and standing in the time of, war. The poet takes extraordinary care to distinguish between observers and participants, but he also complicates the category of the observer, not limiting it just to the touring poet/journalist who seldom came close to the front. One of the poem's most durable discoveries is its locating ways in which strategizing generals and tactical technocrats are **themselves** observers.... (Berger, C. (1997). Auden in time of war. [On-line]. Raritan, 17, 79-89. Abstract from: Wilson Humanities Abstracts: Citation: 2)

(76) In his book *Born to Rebel: Birth Order, Family Dynamics, and Creative Lives*, Frank J. Sulloway asserts that sibling arrangements are the driving force behind human history. Sulloway's chief discovery is that firstborns have tended to be preservers of the status quo and have been both worshipful of authority and authoritative **themselves**.... (Epstein, J. (1997). Born to rebel; birth order, family dynamics, and creative lives. [On-line]. Commentary, 103, 51-4. Abstract from: Wilson Humanities Abstracts: Citation: 307)

(77a)His arguments are compelling, and although not **everyone** will be convinced, they will have to take them seriously. (Gnuse, R. (1997). The sanctuary of silence; the priestly Torah and the holiness school. [On-line]. Catholic Biblical Quarterly, 59, 740-1. Abstract from: Wilson Humanities Abstracts: Citation: 5)

5.3 Pronouns in Object Positions and IRs

(78) This prize-winning collection of poetry chronicles the death of a four-year-old boy from injuries sustained after a cauldron of boiling jam overturns on **him**.... (Rogoff, J. (1998). Toward desire. [On-line]. Sewanee Review, 106 (1), xi-xii. Abstract from: Wilson Humanities Abstracts: Citation: 5)

(80)Neeley and Barton propose their "new" model without **themselves** having actually studied a single one of the assemblages in the Negev and Sinai that they treat.... (Goring-Morris, A. N. (1996). Square pegs into round holes: A critique of Neeley & Barton. [On-line]. Antiquity, 70, 130-5. Abstract from: Wilson Humanities Abstracts: Citation: 29)

5.4 Non-Referring Expressions

(81a) The writer reminisces about his father's death. Within one month, he recalls, he lost a father, became a father **himself**, and nearly went blind.... (Hellerstein, D. (1997). Vision. [On-line]. North American Review, 282, 40-4. Abstract from: Wilson Humanities Abstracts: Citation: 5)

(81b) Giscard d'Estaing is the President of France himself. (Lyons, J. (1978). Semantics (Vol. 1, p. 185). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

(82) Anyone can analyze himself. (Saha, P. K. (1987). Strategies of reflexivization. American Speech, 62 (3), 217.)