

English Emphatic Reflexives: A Lexicalist Analysis*

Abstract

English emphatic reflexives (ER) have at least three different distributional possibilities: adnominal ER, adverbial ER in the VP final position, and medial ER after an auxiliary. Each of these three ER types also has different semantic contributions. In this paper, we first examine the distributional possibilities of each ER in detail together with its semantic and pragmatic contributions and then offer a lexicalist analysis that captures these grammatical properties. In particular, we show how the lexicalist analysis, allowing tight interactions among syntax and semantics, in a streamlined way accounts for the mismatches between syntax and semantics in English ER constructions.

Key words: emphatic reflexive, adnominal, adverbial, contrast, reaffirmation, lexicalist

1 Introduction

In English, there are at least two different uses of English reflexives, as attested from the following corpus examples:

- (1) a. Jimmy tells police [she] shot **herself** after a night of partying.
b. [She] kept so many things to **herself**.
- (2) a. [Anna] **herself** had collected the cash.
b. [She] has stopped going to church **herself**.

Both the reflexive *herself* in (1) and the one in (2) are alike in that they all agree with the potential antecedent in terms of number and gender. However, they are different in distributional properties and meaning. For example, the reflexive in (1), called ‘anaphoric reflexive’, occurs in an argument position while the one in (2), called ‘emphatic reflexive (ER)’, is in the optional adjunct position (see König

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and Gast 2002, Huddleston and Pullum 2002, Gast 2006). The distinction between ‘anaphoric’ and ‘emphatic’ reflexive is quite intuitive in terms of meaning. The anaphoric one signals referential identity between the reflexive and its antecedent in the same binding domain (canonically the same clause). Meanwhile, the emphatic reflexive (ER) expresses some kind of focus or emphasis on the participant in question.¹

In this paper, we look into the grammatical properties of three different types of ER and provide a lexicalist analysis in accounting for these properties. After identifying three different types of ER, in the paper, we review the distributional properties of each ER type and then discuss its semantic and pragmatic properties. In doing so, to check authentic uses of each ER type, we have performed a corpus search, using the ICE-GB (International Corpus of English-Great Britain) and COCA (Corpus of Contemporary American English).² We then sketch our lexicalist analysis that can generate the appropriate syntactic and semantic structures for each type of ER in English.

2 Grammatical Properties

2.1 Distributional Properties of Emphatic Reflexives

The ER can appear at least in three major positions illustrated by the attested examples (see, among others, König and Siemund 2000a, Huddleston and Pullum 2002):

- (3) a. Adnominal: We **ourselves** are having problems again at the moment. (ICE-GB)
- b. Adverbial: How did you manage to raise the money for this **yourself**? (ICE-GB)
- c. Medial: I could **myself** have expressed it as well. (ICE-GB)

The ER in (3a) is in the adnominal position, linked to the preceding subject *we*. This adnominal ER forms a syntactic unit with the subject and interacts with its referent, evoking a meaning something like *no one other than*. Meanwhile, the reflexive *yourself* in (3b) is in the VP final adverbial position, associated with the matrix subject. This in a sense places an emphasis on the fact that the action denoted by the VP is eventually performed by the subject *alone*. Finally, the reflexive *myself* in (3c), being in the sentence medial position, follows the finite auxiliary

¹The two are also different with respect to stress: the emphatic one is always stressed or at least carries sentence stress.

²The ICE-GB contains a million words of spoken and written English (83,394 parse trees) and each text is grammatically annotated, permitting complex and detailed searches across the whole corpus. The COCA is the largest freely-available corpus of English containing about 450 million words, created by Mark Davies of Brigham Young University.

verb *could*, agreeing with the subject too. The interpretation of this ER is similar to an additive particle like *also* or *too*.

The adnominal ER can be linked not only to the subject but also to the object of a preposition or a verb, as seen from the following corpus data (cf. Quirk et al. 1995):

- (4) a. Was it refreshing to hear the music itself there and see it staged?
- b. Let 's just deal with the one that has to do with Mr Watson himself.
- c. Did you look at the set of steps themselves?

The ER in (4a) is associated with the direct object *the music* while the one in (4b) and (4c) is linked to the prepositional object *Mr Watson* or *steps*. The adnominal ER can also be linked with the object of a transitive control verb:

- (5) a. I persuaded John himself to attend the party.
- b. I promised John himself to attend the party.

It is noted that the adnominal NP cannot be associated with a pronominal object (König and Siemund 2000a):³

- (6) a. *John says that Mary saw him himself .
- b. *John believes him himself to be in danger.

The corpus search also yields examples in which the adnominal ER is linked with a predicative complement:

- (7) a. James has been kindness itself all day.
- b. The Whips were politeness itself with me.

The ER after the predicative NP as in *John is a gentleman himself* is usually linked to the subject, but the ER in cases like (7) is associated with the predicate NP.⁴

Another constraint that exists in the adnominal ER is that it cannot be linked to a genitive NP (cf. Huddleston and Pullum 2002):

³As noted by König and Siemund (2000a), there might be cases where the pronominal antecedent is in the object position:

- (i) He besought his mother that she would love her even as she loved him himself. (BNC)

Our corpus search gives us only two or three cases where the antecedent of the adnominal NP is the object, hinting that such cases might be a noise.

⁴The predicative NP *a gentleman* cannot be the antecedent of *himself* because it is indefinite: the antecedent of an ER needs to be definite. The antecedent *kindness* and *politeness* has no definite article, but can be assumed to denote a generic property. See section 2.2.

- (8) a. *I met Mary's herself son.
 b. They objected to Tom/Tom's doing it himself .
 c. They objected to Tom/*Tom's himself doing it.

The adverbial ER, appearing in the VP final position, behaves differently from the adnominal ER. We can first notice that the adverbial ER need not be in the VP final or sentential final position (cf. Storoshenko 2011):

- (9) a. He wrote the speech himself last week.
 b. The man started the fire himself in order to break into the apartment.
 c. She was going to a medical seminar herself in a few weeks.

These examples imply that the adverbial ER can adjoin to any minimal VP.⁵ This basic restriction explains the ungrammaticality of examples like the following:

- (10) a. *I persuaded John myself to attend the party.
 b. *I promised John myself to attend the party.

These are simply unacceptable since the ER appears in the non-VP final position.

As for the medial ER occurring after an auxiliary verb, there is one peculiar distributional constraint (cf. Storoshenko 2011):

- (11) a. Jane had herself been jumping to the left.
 b. *Jane had been herself jumping to the left.

Note here that the medial ER needs to follow a finite modal auxiliary. It cannot follow a nonfinite auxiliary verb, further evidenced from examples like the following:

- (12) a. *Iran claims to have itself beaten 'Flame' computer virus.
 b. *He wants to be himself your friend.

Each of the three different types of ER can have an overt antecedent: the adnominal ER is linked with the head noun while the adverbial and medial ER has the subject as its antecedent. However, the antecedent of the adverbial and medial ER need not be overt:

- (13) a. Having read the report herself, Mary was able to confirm what I said.

⁵The minimal VP means a VP with all of its required complements while the maximal VP can include any modifier.

- b. Being one of the beautiful people himself, he has these high standards.

The ER *herself* and *himself* here have their antecedents unexpressed though each is coindexed with the matrix subject. A similar example can be found in ascriptive supplements (Huddleston and Pullum 2002):

- (14) a. John, himself a religious man, defended the exhibition.
- b. Himself a bachelor, Ed knew well how to entertain his bachelor friends.

In these examples, the antecedent of *himself* in (14a) is the subject of the predicate *a religious man* while that of *himself* in (14b) is the subject of the predicate *a bachelor*.

One further property worth noting is that the antecedent can be a relative pronoun too, as seen from the COCA examples:

- (15) a. I have an Uncle who himself changed my grandmother's will.
- b. Allow to Use a keyword which itself has sub-keywords.
- c. I've seen many people declare another method that itself returns a string.

As observed from the examples, not only the *wh*-relative pronoun but also the relative pronoun *that* can function as the antecedent of an ER. In the present analysis, this type of ER then can be taken to be an adnominal ER modifying the preceding relative pronoun.

2.2 Semantic and Pragmatic Properties

Seeing the three different types of ER in English, an immediate question arises if all the three types have identical semantic/pragmatic functions (König and Siemund 2000a and 2000b, König and Gast 2002, Hole 2002, König and Siemund 2005, Gast 2006). There is evidence that each of the three ERs has different semantic functions, as hinted earlier too. Consider the following three canonical examples:

- (16) a. The president himself could write the speech. (adnominal ER)
- b. The president could write the speech himself. (adverbial ER)
- c. The president could himself write the speech. (medial ER)

The observation we can make here is that the adnominal ER *himself* in (16a) has a contrastive meaning unlike the other two types. That is, the adnominal ER serves the pragmatic function of contrasting or comparing *the president* with the other salient individuals in context, evoking alternatives to the value of their nominal associate. The adverbial ER places an emphasis on the fact that the action involved

is performed by the subject alone or by the subject too. The medial one functions like an additive particle. In what follows, we consider these different semantic contributions in more detail.

The adnominal ER has an emphatic contrastive effect on the individual in question with a meaning similar to *none other than* or *no less than*. Consider the following corpus data from the COCA:

- (17) a. King **himself** had anticipated this kind of analysis and warned against it.
- b. George's heart began to beat faster. He ran his thumb over the coins in his hand. But Alice **herself** has not seen her son in years.

The expression *King himself* indicates that none other than the King (e.g., the cabinet members) had anticipated the analysis. Similarly, (17b) describes the fact that the other people except Alice has seen his son. The contrastive meaning of the adnominal ER can be further attested from cases with a denying answer (cf. Ahn 2010):

- (18) A: John himself fixed the car.
- B: No, John's mother did.

The individual named John contrasts with the other individuals in context. If the adnominal ER does not represent contrastive information, we have an infelicitous exchange of dialogue:⁶

- (19) A: What happened to Tom at the party?
- B: #Bill himself got a present.

There is no accessible information with respect to Bill, making the exchange inappropriate.

The constraint on 'contrastive' also explains why the adnominal NP requires its antecedent to be definite, unlike the adverbial ER:

- (20) a. *Any mother herself will understand what I mean.
- b. Any mother should be able to do this herself.
- (21) a. *An athlete himself helped put out the fire.
- b. An athlete helped put out the fire himself.
- (22) a. *No man himself could have stopped the final vote.

⁶As a reviewer points out, the B's reply here is infelicitous even without the ER. The example here tries to show the requirement on contrastive information on its antecedent.

- b. No man could have stopped the final vote himself.

To assign a contrastive meaning to the individual in question, we need to evoke alternatives to the contextually salient individual, not to any unspecified individual. Of course, if the context provides salient information on the referred individual, the adnominal ER can be indefinite as seen from the following examples (Edmondson and Plank 1978):

- (23) A: All Cretans lie.
B: Where did you hear that?
A: A Cretan himself told me/Cretans themselves told me/Some Cretans themselves.

The antecedent of the adnominal ER here is indefinite since each has a clear and substantial referent in context.

The semantic contribution of the adnominal ER is thus similar to focus delimiters like *even, only, also, too*. The associate referent is the most prominent of a set of related entities and this prominent entity contrasts with the other individuals in the discourse domain. The adnominal ER, evoking alternatives to the referent of the associate NP, is thus appropriate in contexts where contrast is called upon with emphasis.

Now consider the adverbial ER type. Unlike the adnominal ER, the adverbial ER can induce two different readings: exclusive and inclusive reading. Consider the following contrast (cf. König and Gast 2002, Gast and Siemund 2006, Ahn 2011, Storoshenko 2011):

- (24) A: Did Mary have help getting that money?
B: No, she earned that money herself.
(25) A: Can you lend me some money?
B: I'm a broke myself.

The ER *herself* in (24) has a reading such that the speaker carried out the action with no outside help. Its meaning is roughly similar to *alone* or *without assistance*. The adverbial ER *herself* implies that the person interested in the action is also the most directly involved agent. The eventuality involved with this reading is thus usually activities. Meanwhile, in the ER *myself* in (25), the speaker signals a shared plight between herself and her interlocutor. In this sense, the ER can roughly be interpreted as *also*. The eventuality associated with this reading is usually stative. The exclusive adverbial ER thus selects an agentive subject while the inclusive ER can be in conjunction with any subject. This contrast implies that the actor-oriented adverbial ER with an exclusive reading prefers to have an animate subject:

- (26) a. The gardens are quite ugly, but the castle itself is wonderful.
 b. ??The wind opened the fridge door itself.

The two possible readings also can be attested from question-answer pairs (cf. Ahn 2010):

(27) A: John fixed the car himself.

B: No, John did it with Mary.

(28) A: John fixed the car himself.

B: Yes, John did it with Mary.

As seen here, the ER in (27) has an exclusive reading while the one in (28) has an inclusive reading. The adverbial ER can thus induce either an exclusive or an inclusive reading, interacting with the eventuality in question.

Finally, consider the meaning of the medial ER with the following examples:

(29) a. The new structures it was said wouldn't themselves conceal policy differences. (ICE-GB)

b. He had himself frequently grumbled about the state of the yard. (ICE-GB)

As these examples tell us, the prominent reading of the medial ER is inclusive, whose meaning is similar to 'also' or 'too' (König and Siemund 2000). In this sense, the medial ER is a subset of the adverbial ER inducing both exclusive and inclusive meaning. A possible difference between these two types seems to come from examples like the following (cf. Emondson and Plank 1978):

(30) a. Mary poisoned Jane, and was herself poisoned by Lee (agent → patient).

b. John is taller than Smith, who is himself shorter than my uncle. (standard of comparison → person compared)

Even though in most cases, the medial ER is similar to the adverbial ER in terms of meaning, such examples indicate that the medial ER has the effect similar to 'reversal of semantic roles'. For example, in (30a), the subject has an opposite role in a similar predication that precedes it. That is, the subject's semantic role is an agent in the first sentence but changed into a patient in the second.

One further issue worth discussing is the possible antecedent of an ER. In interpreting the antecedent of the ER in each case, we can observe that unlike the anaphoric reflexive, the referent of the ER need not be in the same clause. As a main function, the ER at first glance seems to reduce the reference possibilities (Bickerton 1987, McKay 1991). Consider the following:

- (31) a. [John_i's father_j] thinks that he_{i/j} is smart.
 b. [John_i's father_j] thinks that he himself_{*i/j} is smart.

Unlike the pronoun *he* in (31a), the one in (31b) can refer to only the head of the subject, limiting its possible antecedent. However, context may change the situation. That is, depending on the context, the ER may open more possibilities, not restrict them (cf. Bickerton 1987, McKay 1991):

- (32) Ann_i wants to interview the winner. Joan_j believes that she herself_{i/j} will win.

The antecedent of *herself* here can be either Ann or Joan, whose situation is different from the one in (31b). As such, when context provides a clear referent with a relevant contrast or comparison class, the possible referent of the ER can be more flexible. What the contrasting examples in (31) and (32) tell us is that the antecedent of an ER depends on context: we cannot argue the use of an ER will reduce its possible antecedents.

In addition, as we have noted earlier, the antecedent of an ER need not be overt.

- (33) a. On these journeys he would have been accompanied by his son, himself working in that same neighborhood. (ICE-GB)
 b. A teenager myself at the time, I found the occasion awkward and somewhat embarrassing. (COCA)

In (33a), the antecedent of *himself* is the unexpressed subject of the nonfinite VP *working in that same neighborhood* while that of *myself* in (33b) is the unexpressed subject of the teenager. Of course, in both cases, the antecedent is coindexed with the matrix subject too. Such data also indicate that the identification of an ER's antecedent is determined not solely by syntax but by interactions with other grammatical levels.

3 A Lexicalist Perspective

The three types of ER display a considerable degree of distributional and semantic variability, but a question still remains if it is possible to have a single, uniform treatment for the three uses. We have seen that the three ER types have different semantic contributions. The adverbial and medial ERs are similar, but slight different in sophisticated meaning, while the adnominal ER evokes a clear contrastive meaning (cf. Cohen 1999). As noted by Verheijen (1986) and others, there are many cases where the three behave differently:⁷

⁷As a reviewer points out, examples like *I myself went to pick up the order, but Bob sent his wife to pick it up*. This kind of example is better since the pronoun *I* now has clear contrast information, compared to the individual Bob.

- (34) a. *I **myself** went, but Bob sent his wife.
 b. I went **myself**, but Bob sent his wife.
- (35) a. No one has himself ever been arrested by a sheriff.
 b. *No one himself has ever been arrested by a sheriff.
- (36) a. These cops know what it means to be arrested by a sheriff because they have been arrested by a sheriff themselves .
 b. *These cops know what it means to be arrested by a sheriff because they've themselves been arrested by a sheriff themselves .

In (34), since there is no contrast information on *myself*, it cannot be used as the adnominal ER. The adnominal ER places a restriction on its antecedent – to be definite. This is violated in (35). In (36), the two ERs with identical semantic functions cannot occur at the same time.

Let's consider the adnominal ER type first. Evidence indicates that the adnominal ER forms a syntactic constituent with its associate. Consider the following two phenomena (König and Siemund 2000a and 2000b):

- (37) Stand Alone:
 A: Who wrote the letter?
 B: John himself.
- (38) Topicalization
 a. The director himself, I would like to meet.
 b. *The director, I would like to meet himself.

In both examples here, we note that the adnominal ER and its associate behave like a syntactic unit. In addition, we can observe that the associate NP can be a maximal NP (cf. Verheijen 1986):

- (39) a. [the girl] herself
 b. [the blondes in the corner] themselves
 c. [the man who came to dinner] himself
 d. [the room underneath the kitchen] itself

This means the adnominal ER attaches to the preceding nominal antecedent, forming a full NP. As a way of dealing with this pivot property, we can take the optional adnominal NP to function as a modifier to its associate head NP. This idea can be implemented in the lexical entry, represented in terms of the HPSG feature structure system (cf. Ahn 2009, Kim and Sells 2008, Choi 2011):

$$(40) \left[\begin{array}{l} \textit{adn-emph-ref} \\ \text{HEAD} \mid \text{AGR } \boxed{1} \\ \text{MOD} \left\langle \text{NP} \left[\begin{array}{l} \text{AGR } \boxed{1} \\ \text{DEF } + \end{array} \right] \right\rangle \\ \text{SEM} \mid \lambda x.x \\ \text{INFO-ST} \mid \text{CONTRAST-FOC } + \end{array} \right]$$

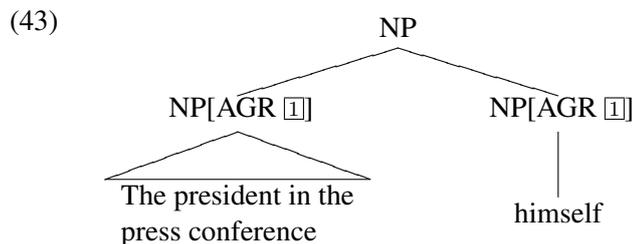
The lexical information specifies that the ER modifies a full NP whose agreement features (AGR) are identical with its own agreement features (person, number, and gender), as indicated by the shared boxed number ($\boxed{1}$). The modified head NP needs to be a definite NP, capturing the following contrast:

- (41) a. The students themselves organized the funding drive.
 b. *Some students themselves organized the funding drive.

This constraint of course has to do with the contrastive meaning of the adnominal ER.⁸ The meaning of the ER is an identification function, telling us that the adnominal NP takes its antecedent (*i*) as its argument and returns its referent (König and Gast 2002, Tavano 2006, Howell 2010).

- (42) a. $[[\textit{himself}]] = \text{ID} == \lambda x.x$
 b. $[[\textit{John himself}]] = \text{ID}([[John]]) = \text{John}$

As illustrated here, the ID function takes a given nominal as its argument and maps it onto itself. The semantic contribution of this ID is thus trivial, but the contrast focus on the ER specified as the value of the information structure (INFO-ST) is the main motivation for its use in a given sentence. The lexical entry in (40) will then project a head-modifier structure like the following:



This way of adverbial treatment of the adnominal ER can immediately explain why examples like the following are not licensed (cf. Verheijen 1986).

⁸The definiteness constraint on the antecedent NP (DEF) may thus be derived from semantics, but is added here in the feature structure for ease of explanation.

- (44) a. *[John herself] went to the office.
 b. *[_ himself] went to the office.

(44a) is out because of the disagreement in the AGR value between the adnominal ER and its head NP. Meanwhile (44b) is illegitimate simply because there is no element that the ER can modify.

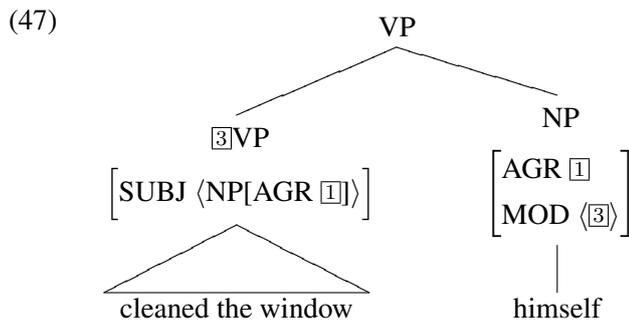
Now, consider the VP final adverbial ER that can appear in any VP final positions:

- (45) a. John hates Mary himself.
 b. One hates to do this oneself.
 c. The president wrote the speech himself last week.

The adverbial ER is not different from the adnominal ER in that it is also an optional modifier. The difference comes from what it modifies and what it contributes to as the semantics of the resulting phrase. Consider its lexical information:

- (46)
$$\left[\begin{array}{l} \textit{adv-emph-ref} \\ \text{HEAD} \mid \text{AGR } \boxed{1} \\ \text{MOD} \langle \text{VP}[\text{SUBJ} \langle \text{NP}[\text{AGR } \boxed{1}] \rangle] \rangle \end{array} \right]$$

The lexical information tells us that the adverbial ER syntactically modifies a verbal expression (VP) but semantically linked to the VP's unsaturated subject argument by agreeing with its AGR value.⁹ This lexical entry will then license a structure like the following:



As given in the structure, the adverbial ER *himself* here modifies the head VP whose subject's AGR feature is structure-sharing with its own AGR value. There is thus an agreement matching condition between the VP's subject and the ER itself. The present analysis will then block us from generating examples like the following:

⁹See Kim (2004) and Kim and Sells (2008) for the discussion of subject-verb agreement in English.

- (48) a. *John cleaned the window herself.
 b. *Mary would finish the project on time himself.

The ER *herself* syntactically modifies the preceding VP, while disagreeing with its subject *John*. The similar reason makes (48b) ungrammatical.

In terms of meaning, we have seen that the adverbial ER can be interpreted either as exclusive or as inclusive. In particular, when the predication that the ER modifies is action-involved, it evokes a meaning like ‘alone’. Meanwhile, the ER modifies a state eventuality, it is canonically interpreted as inclusive, similar to ‘also’ (Gast and Siemund 2006). Note that when the adverbial ER interacts with negation, we have a clear difference between the two readings. Observe the following:

- (49) a. I did not feel hungry myself. (inclusive)
 b. I did not write the report myself. Jo wrote it. (exclusive)

The ER in (49a) is inclusive while the one in (49b) is exclusive. These two display different scope possibilities with the negation. The inclusive ER in the former is outside the scope of negation while the exclusive one in the latter is within the scope of negation. What this means is that *not* has a wide scope reading over the exclusive ER but a narrow scope reading over the inclusive ER.

At this point, we need to compare the difference between manner and act-related adverbials:

- (50) a. He spoke to them quite rudely.
 b. He carefully closed the door before answering my question.
 (51) a. Rudely, he spoke to them quite.
 b. Carefully, he closed the door before answering my question.

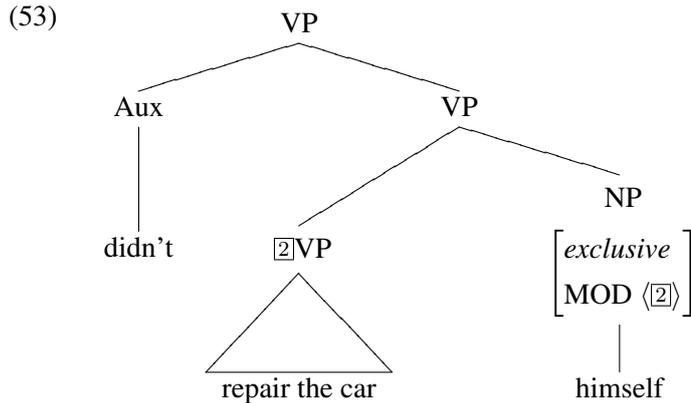
The manner adverb describes the way the action is performed while the act-related expresses the property of the action performed. As pointed out by Huddleston and Pullum (2002), this may indicate that manner adverbials are canonically within the VP scope.

One thing worth noting is that the exclusive ER also denotes the way the action is performed, and that we thus can expect it may behave like other manner adverbs. Given the assumption that the structure may map different scope possibilities, we assume the following generalization:¹⁰

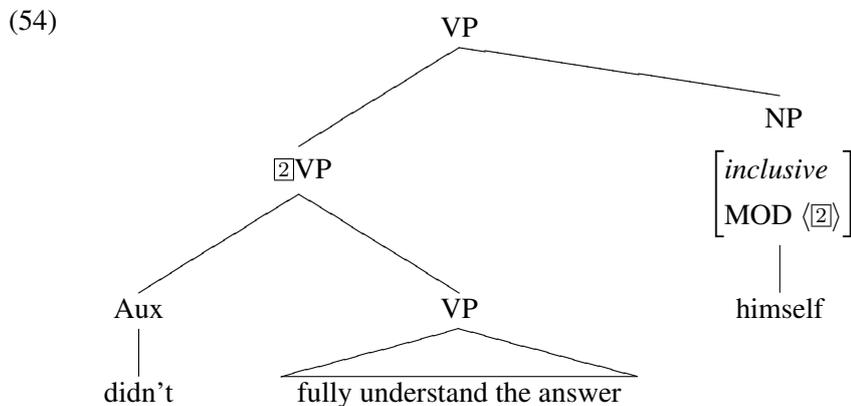
¹⁰To capture such differences between exclusive and inclusive ER readings, Gast (2006) proposes that in exclusive uses, the VP domain undergoes a leftword movement to the functional category T, leaving the ER below the head I, but in inclusive uses, the whole DP with the ER moves leftward across T, raising everything to a higher position. This way of positing different movement operations to exclusive and inclusive uses may give different scope possibilities, but there is no grammatical motivations for these two different movement operations.

- (52) Constraints on the scope of manner adverbs ER:
Manner adverbs including the exclusive ER are within the scope of negation.

What this constraint means is that when the exclusive ER, with action involvement, is within the scope of negation, we will have a structure like the following:



As given here in the structure, the ER has an exclusive reading and narrow scope over the negation. Note that the situation is different when we have an inclusive reading. The inclusive reading can have a wide scope reading, in addition to a narrow reading, whose structure we can represent as following:



The inclusive reading can have either a wide or narrow scope reading. In this structure, the adverbial ER attaches to the higher VP, inducing wide scope over the negation.

Now, let us consider the syntax of the medial ER, whose canonical examples are given in the following again:

- (55) a. He will himself wash his car.
b. The queen has herself cleaned the windows of her palace.

- c. Oscar was himself to die soon.

At first glance, the medial ER and the final ER seem to be similar in that they both modify a VP and its antecedent is the VP's subject. That is, examples like the following are ungrammatical due to the mismatch in the agreement with the subject:

- (56) a. *John has herself called Mary.
b. *The queen has himself helped the man clean windows.

However, there are several important constraints in the medial ER: the medial ER needs to appear right after the finite auxiliary with an additive meaning (Jackendoff 1972):

- (57) a. John knows what it means to be honored, because he is himself being (*himself) honored.
b. Jane had herself been (*herself) jumping to the left.

However, there are cases where the medial ER follows a nonfinite auxiliary as given in the following:

- (58) a. He has been himself reading the novel.
b. You've never yourself gone around checking the steps.

The medial ER in such cases occurs not immediately after a finite auxiliary, but induces an exclusive reading. That is, the medial ER denotes an inclusive reading in the position immediately following a finite auxiliary.

What we assume here is that the medial ER right after a finite auxiliary has a kind of 'reaffirming' function similar to expressions like *too* and *so*. Consider that there is a limited number of adverbs (including manner adverbs) that can appear right after the finite auxiliary verbs:

- (59) a. The finite can **too** contain the infinite!
b. Computer malfunctions can **so** disrupt a company's operations.
c. The myth of the philosopher king could **indeed** become reality.

The expressions *too*, *so* and *indeed* perform a 'reaffirmation' function here. That is, these expressions reaffirm the truth of a proposition that has just been denied or questioned. One intriguing property of these expressions is that they can occur only after a finite auxiliary verb (Jackendoff 1972):

- (60) a. *The finite may have too contain the infinite!

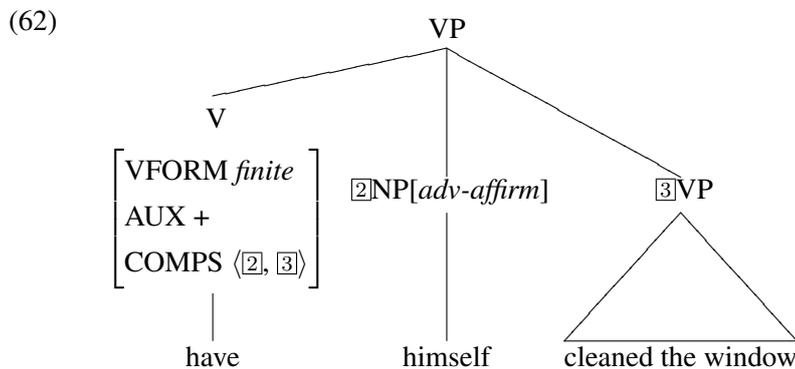
- b. *Malfunctions can have so disrupted a company's operations.

As far as we can see, the medial ER also has a similar function. It reaffirms what is said in the previous context, as seen from the following attested examples from the ICE-GB:

- (61) a. The emphasis overall must be on integration, and so the technological and organizations aspects have themselves become increasingly interdependent.
 b. It is expected that from time to time they may themselves have slightly more to drink than is wise.

The ER *themselves* in (61a) is inclusive, reaffirming the previous proposition. The same goes for the ER in (61b), reaffirming the proposition in question.

Seeing these, we can provide a uniform treatment of the reaffirmative expressions including the medial ER (which we call *adv-affirm*). That is, adopting the idea set forth by Kim and Sag (2002), we assume all the reaffirming expressions can function as the complement of a finite auxiliary verb as represented in the following head-complement structure:



Note that we do not need to posit a different lexical entry for the medial ER, different from the adverbial ER. Since the adverbial ER can function as a reaffirming expression (*adv-affirm*), it can be the complement of a finite auxiliary.¹¹ Instead, what we need to assume is a special reaffirmative construction in English, independently required for reaffirmation expressions. This kind of complement treatment will easily predict examples like the following in a straightforward manner:

- (63) a. The queen has herself cleaned the window herself.
 b. The queen was herself cleaning the windows of her palace when her husband entered the room.

¹¹We assume that this complementhood property is evoked as a constructional constraint.

- c. Oscar was himself to die soon.
- d. Bill was himself the clown in the company.

The ER here functions as the complement of the immediately preceding auxiliary, reaffirming the proposition in question.

Note that just like the polarized items *not*, *so*, and *too* with polarized meanings such as reaffirming or denying, the medial ER appears right after the finite auxiliary and allows no iteration.

- (64) a. John has himself understood the answer fully.
- b. *John has not himself understood the answer fully.
- c. *John has never himself understood the answer fully.

(64b) is not licensed since there are two reaffirming expressions, *not* and *himself*. In (64c), the ER *himself* does not follow a finite auxiliary. When the ER is inclusive, it needs to be the complement of the finite auxiliary *has*, but *never* intervenes between the two. For this sentence to be unacceptable, the ER needs to be interpreted as exclusive.

In addition, the present analysis predicts the following contrast:

- (65) a. I have **myself** really known that.
- b. *I have really **myself** known that.

The adverb *really* intervenes between the finite auxiliary and the medial ER, preventing it from being its complement. In a similar fashion, examples like the following are not licensed in particular when the medial ER is inclusive (cf. Verheijen 1986):

- (66) a. *John may have himself been forced to do this.
- b. *John may have been himself forced to do this.

This treatment brings us an interesting, welcoming consequence. Given the general constraint that the same expression cannot occur recursively (Storoshenko 2011, König and Siemund 2000):

- (67) a. The president himself repaired his car himself.
- b. The president has himself repaired his car himself.

In (67a), we have two different ERs: adnominal ER and adverbial ER. Since each has different semantic contributions, nothing is wrong to have these two in the same sentence. In (67b), we have a medial and an adverbial ER. The medial ER here is inclusive while the adverbial ER is exclusive.

4 Conclusion

We have seen that the emphatic ERs, basically different from anaphoric reflexives, can be classified into three different types in terms of distributional possibilities: adnominal, adverbial, and medial ER. Each of these three types, linked to a particular syntactic position, has different semantic contributions. For example, the adnominal ER evokes a contrast meaning to the associate NP, while the adverbial ER can induce either an exclusive or an inclusive reading which has closely linked to the type of eventuality involved. The medial ER is basically used as an inclusive one with an additive meaning.

In generating each of these three types of ERs, we resort to lexical specifications of the ER. The adnominal ER modifies a preceding nominal while the adverbial ER adjoins to a preceding VP. The inclusive ER, as a reaffirming expression, is taken to function as the syntactic complement of a finite auxiliary. This lexical information projects a proper syntactic structure with assumed semantic representations.

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