

## INTENSIVE REFLEXIVES

by

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While reflexive pronouns have been analyzed and found to have important implications for transformational grammar study, the closely related phenomenon of the intensive reflexive has been ignored, perhaps on the assumption that in itself it is uninteresting or that it at least has nothing to contribute beyond the insights garnered from the study of the other reflexive pronouns. This paper will examine some of the facts of intensive reflexives--henceforth, merely intensives--relate these to other facets of the grammar, and raise some other questions without providing any answers to them.

1.0 Preliminaries.

1.1 Meanings. The main concern of this article is not to delineate all the possible semantic readings which may be attached to the intensive, but cursory research on my part in this area has shown there to be at least three possible readings for most intensives. Since some of the sentences to be cited later may not allow for all three readings and may consequently lead to unnecessary skepticism regarding the data and the conclusions drawn therefrom, these three interpretations will be dealt with briefly here.

1.1.1 "Personally." The intensive often, if not always, carries the force of the adverb personally when referring to a human antecedent. Thus

1 I myself have found numerous examples of this phenomenon.  
is synonymous with

2 I personally have found numerous examples of this phenomenon.

and

3 John himself wouldn't do that.  
can carry the implication that while John personally might not do it he might have someone else do it for him.

This particular reading of the intensive as meaning the same as personally can cause some problems since it cannot be applied to all instances of the intensive. This is definitely the case when the intensive appears referring to inanimate objects, and "personally" interpretations of the intensive when applied to animate non-human objects would be subject to various ad hoc considerations.

1.1.2 "Even." The intensive in many instances carries the force of even--that is, it establishes its antecedent as the upper or lower bound on some scale of values. Thus

4 The pope himself wouldn't pass up free dope.  
is equivalent to

5 Not even the pope would pass up free dope.  
both of which imply that everyone up to and including the pope would accept gratis grass.

It should be noted that this interpretation suggests itself primarily when the intensive's antecedent is well known and when the situation itself implies some sort of polarity or usually unexpected quality. Sentence (1) receives an even interpretation only if the speaker assumes himself not to be the sort to discover examples, and the intensive in

6 Nixon himself will vote Republican in '72.  
would generally be accepted as having only the personally interpretation whereas

7 Nixon himself will vote Democrat in '72.  
can have the even interpretation as well and, in fact, will have it as its primary interpretation.

1.1.3 Emphasis/sort of "even." This interpretation may actually be a lumping together of two separate readings; further inquiry would be needed on this point. The function of the

intensive here seems to be solely that of emphasis--the ur-intensive, so to speak. On the other hand, one can view the intensive here as participating somewhat in the even function noted above, but with the difference that there is no scale involved except insofar as there must be something with which to compare the antecedent to give it importance. This should be clarified by the following example.

8 I snubbed Spiro Agnew himself yesterday.  
means not that I snubbed everyone up to and including the Vice-President, but rather that I snubbed one individual whose importance I wish to emphasize. Note that a similar reading is not possible in

9 (?) I snubbed my paper boy himself yesterday.  
unless one has extreme feelings of inadequacy or unless someone like the editor of the Tribune delivers one's papers.

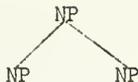
1.2.0 Relation to reflexives. Are intensives really reflexives--a proper subset of those pronouns called reflexives--or do they just look like them and act like them sometimes but really belong to a different class of linguistic entity?

1.2.1 Form. The fact that intensives are identical in form to reflexives would at first glance seem to settle the matter, but actually this is only a peculiarity of English. Even within closely related Indo-European languages this identity is not the case. Latin used different roots and different systems of declension endings for intensives and regular reflexives. German uses the indeclinable selbst for intensification and different, declinable forms for reflexives.

1.2.2 Function.<sup>1</sup>

1.2.2.1 The intensive has already been shown to have at least three interpretations. The ordinary reflexive does not get any of these interpretations under normal stress and can get only the last reading--the emphatic--under special stress.

1.2.2.2 The intensive is the most dependent of pronouns, with its natural position immediately following its antecedent--in effect, sharing a node with its antecedent as in the following structure.



The only time it is moved from this position is when an optional rule extraposes it to the end of the sentence or into the verb phrase. But either immediately following its antecedent or extraposed elsewhere, the intensive cannot occupy alone any slot in a sentence where a noun phrase would ordinarily go.

That is, the intensive in

10 I saw Big Ed himself coming down the street.

is acceptable in a regular NP slot by virtue of its immediately following its antecedent and sharing a node with it. But

11 \*I saw himself coming down the street.

is ungrammatical (except in motion-picture Irish brogue) since intensives may not stand alone in normal NP slots.

Reflexives, on the other hand, appear in just those positions where intensives do not (namely, as independent noun phrases) and do not appear where intensives do (immediately following their antecedents or extraposed elsewhere).<sup>2</sup>

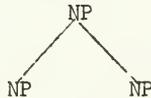
1.2.2.3 Intensives and reflexives behave differently with respect to movement rules. Intensives can optionally be moved to the end of the sentence or into the verb phrase in certain cases and, as will be shown later, cannot be moved to the left. Reflexives cannot be extraposed but can be moved to the left as in topicalization.

Actually, the fact that reflexives cannot be extraposed is trivial in any discussion of whether intensives are really reflexives since this merely harkens back to the fact that reflexives do not appear in the same position as intensives and therefore could not meet the structural description called for in the extraposition rule. Similarly, general constraints on movement rules will prevent intensives from moving to the left, again owing to the structural description of intensives. The whole question of different behavior with respect to movement

rules devolves back into the question of positional differences between intensives and reflexives.

1.2.3 All this discussion of position within the sentence merely shows that intensives and reflexives are in complementary distribution. Rather than arguing that they are separate sets this fact could be used to argue for their belonging to the same set of linguistic entities (at least in English). Then, too, one would obviously want the same rule to convert underlying NP's into the pronominal forms that both intensives and reflexives take rather than separate rules for each; and in fact the reflexiviation rule as currently accepted will do just this without the structural description having to specify any difference between intensives and reflexives.

The only thing arguing against intensives and reflexives being the same things is that the intensive carries more semantic information than the reflexive. This could perhaps be explained by some more involved and abstract structure underlying the relatively simple structure



which this paper assumes to be the source of intensive pronominalization as a working hypothesis. Anything more abstract than the above structure is beyond the scope and intention of this paper.

## 2.0 Intensives in simple sentences.

2.1 Intensives can appear with noun phrases in virtually any regular position in a sentence, as the following examples illustrate.

- 12 Agnew himself gave Nixon this copy of Mein Kampf.  
 13 She snubbed Nixon himself yesterday.  
 14 I gave Eustace himself the money.

- 15 I gave the money to Eustace himself.
- 16 In Boston itself you can't buy Boston baked beans.
- 17 In 1970 itself there were more traffic fatalities than in the entire first decade of automobile production.
- 18 The ghost of Captain Kidd himself walks these shores at night.
- 19 That man is the dean himself.

The only exception<sup>3</sup> to this occurs with possessives of the -'s type, where no combination of the possessive marker and the intensive is workable.

20 \*This is Lyndon's himself barbecue pit.

21 \*This is Lyndon('s) himself's barbecue pit.

2.2 Although intensives may appear in almost any NP slot in the sentence, they cannot appear with every noun phrase. To merit an intensive a noun phrase must be characterized by definiteness or particularity. As the following examples show, indefinite noun phrases cannot be accompanied by an intensive.

22 Hiding behind the door was (\*a man ) himself.  
(J. Edgar)

23 In (\*some countries ) themselves jungles abound.  
(Borneo and New Guinea)

24 \*For (centuries ) themselves men have been trying to fly.  
(two hundred years)

It should be noted, in conjunction with an earlier section of this paper, that intensives and reflexives differ in this respect also since reflexives can refer to indefinite antecedents.

25 (Someone) could injure himself with this faulty saw.  
(A man )

2.3 Although intensives may follow a noun phrase in any position in a sentence, it is not the case that they behave the same in all these positions. Actually, since intensives' behavior is more or less limited to the application of the optional extraposition process noted earlier, the differences in behavior are readily apparent.

26 Julie gave Nixon this book herself.

27 \*Tricia married Eddie Cox today himself.

28 \*Julie gave Nixon this book himself.

29 \*Julie gave the raspberries to Nixon yesterday himself.

30 \*In Boston you can't get Boston baked beans itself.

31 \*The platform of Wallace is an affront to intelligence himself.

32 ?\*That is John Wayne in the saddle himself.<sup>4</sup>

It is evident that the process of intensive extraposition cannot take place unless the intensive and its antecedent are in the subject position. Furthermore, as the following sentences show, it is the derived subject which is crucial to the operation of the rule and not the underlying subject.

33 Many people dislike Agnew himself.

34 Agnew himself is disliked by many people.

35 Agnew is disliked by many people himself.

36 Mary was amused at John himself.

37 John himself is amusing to Mary.

38 John is amusing to Mary himself.

39 Joyce herself disliked Agnew after his last speech.

40 Agnew was disliked by Joyce herself after his last speech.

41 \*Agnew was disliked by Joyce after his last speech herself.

42 Mary herself was amused at John yesterday.

43 John was amusing to Mary herself yesterday.

44 \*John was amusing to Mary yesterday herself.

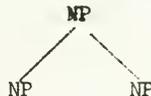
The fact that the derived subject is crucial here indicates that there is an ordering relationship between

intensive extraposition and other rules in the grammar--at least Passivization and Flip. If Extraposition precedes Passivization, then (35) can be derived from (33), but only if there is some condition which will permit extraposition from non-subject position (which was seen to be not allowable) if the sentence is later to be passivized. Since Intensive Extraposition is optional, it does not have to apply, and in this case Passivization would derive (34) from (33). This ordering, however, would also allow (41) to be generated as an acceptable sentence, with Extraposition and then Passivization applying. One would need another condition ruling out extraposition from subject position if the sentence were later to be passivized. These would both be rather strange conditions.

On the other hand, if Extraposition is ordered after Passivization, then all the grammatical sentences can be generated, but not the ungrammatical ones. Thus, Passivization would derive (34) from (33), and then Extraposition would produce (35). Also, (39) can be passivized to (40), but the restrictions on Extraposition (which it was seen were needed in simple straightforward active sentences) prevent (41) from being derived from (40).

In the case of ordering between Flip and Intensive Extraposition a parallel argument obtains, with the correct order being Extraposition following Flip.

3.0 Intensives and movement rules. Since Intensive Extraposition moves one element over others in a sentence and since the structure of antecedent and intensive as considered here is that of



it would be expected that intensives and their extraposition process would be governed by the constraints on movement

described by Ross. In fact they do--with some minor eccentricities-- as will be discussed in this section. Also discussed here is a quirk in the extraposition process itself which while perhaps having nothing to do with movement constraints is a movement phenomenon, which accounts for its inclusion at this point.

3.1 First of all, it is to be noted that Intensive Extraposition, like ordinary Extraposition (which will henceforth be called It-Extraposition here), takes the right member of a complicated NP<sup>5</sup> and moves it to the end of the sentence. This is mentioned not to imply that these two are instances of the same rule, but only to point out that Intensive Extraposition conforms in some ways to already well-discussed processes.<sup>6</sup>

3.2 Extraposition is blocked by the Co-ordinate Structure Constraint:

45 Mike and I and Ted Kennedy himself read dynamically.

46 \*Mike and I and Ted Kennedy read dynamically himself.

3.3 While intensives can be moved to the right by extraposition, nothing can move them to the left without their antecedents. Nor can the antecedent be moved to the left without the intensive.

3.3.1 Topicalization of either antecedent or intensive fails-- even from subject position, which seems to be a special position for intensives:

47 Agnew himself wouldn't vote for Nixon in '72.

48 \*Himself, Agnew wouldn't vote for Nixon in '72.

49 \*Agnew, himself wouldn't vote for Nixon in '72.

Of course, topicalization of the intensive would be a blatant violation of the Cross-over Condition; and topicalization of the antecedent would be a violation of the Left Branch Condition.

3.3.2 The intensive itself cannot be questioned.

50 Bill himself did it.

51 \*Who did Bill do it?

Nor can the antecedent be questioned.

52 \*Who himself did it?

Even if Intensive Extraposition is allowed to apply before Question Formation the result is still unacceptable;

53 \*Who did himself?

although on another reading this can be accepted as a sort of echo question.

To question the intensive--besides being semantically ridiculous--would be to violate the Cross-over Condition. The reason that the antecedent cannot be questioned is simply that no questioned element can be the antecedent of an intensive. This is not quite the tautology it seems: a questioned element is by definition an indefinite element--or so it appears in any analysis of questions--and, as it has already been seen, the intensive is incompatible with an indefinite noun phrase. Therefore, it is more the case that intensives are blocked from appearing in questions rather than that Question Formation is blocked from applying to intensive antecedents.

3.4 Extraposition is imperative in imperatives.

54 \*Ycurself do it.

55 Do it yourself.

56 \*Yourself wait in the car.

57 Wait in the car yourself.

The straightforward explanation of the data is that Intensive Extraposition is ordered before the transformation which results in the imperative's surface form (by deleting the antecedent you). If extraposition does not occur, then the imperativization transformation is blocked. But it seems that there is more to be gotten from these facts than an elementary exercise in rule ordering. If the deletion of the deep subject you in the imperative can be regarded as an instance of reordering of an element, a chopping rule, then, since it is this you which is the antecedent of the intensive in the underlying NP, the necessity of breaking up the antecedent-intensive NP before the imperativization

transformation could apply would conform to the Left Branch Condition that "no NP which is the leftmost constituent of a larger NP can be reordered out of this NP by a transformational rule." Thus the extraposition phenomenon in this case has larger theoretical ramifications in that there seems to be a justification for this particular rule ordering on the basis of a condition operable over the rest of the grammar.<sup>7</sup>

3.5 Up to this point Intensive Extraposition has been treated as though it only operated in one manner--namely, taking an intensive form from a subject NP and moving it to the end of the sentence. Even if this description is amended so that the intensive is extraposed to the end of an embedded sentence--as later will be seen to be the case with relative sentences--this is not the whole picture. Unlike It-Extraposition, Intensive Extraposition can move elements to places other than the end of the sentence, and in fact intensives seem to have something of an adverbial quality in that they fit easily within the verb phrase.

- 58 I have myself found numerous examples of this phenomenon.  
 59 Ralph Nader could himself be a presidential candidate in '72.  
 60 Agnew would himself join the Ku Klux Klan if he had the  
 chance.  
 61 You can yourself see that this is true.  
 62 You may yourself leave now.  
 63 Ky should himself be on patrol in the rice paddies.  
 64 Martha Mitchell is herself going to cause more trouble  
 for the administration than any group of dissenters.  
 65 Allen Ginsberg is himself a narc.

Thus far, if one were to characterize the environment into which intensives can be extraposed within the VP it would be following forms like have, be, and modals--in fact, after the environment (constituent?) discussed by Chomsky:

(have -EN)  
 TNS (Modal )  
 (be )

Furthermore, it would appear that the intensive cannot appear between the main verb and its object--that is, in the environment V\_\_NP. Whether this has any relation to the fact that adverbs cannot appear in this environment either, I have no idea; there is no obvious reason why it should.

- 66 \*Dillinger shot (himself ) the bank guard.  
(in cold blood)
- 67 \*Nixon wants (himself ) Agnew to retire before '72.  
(desperately)
- 68 \*Bill does not contribute (himself) money to worthy causes.  
(readily)

This apparent constraint does not hold, however, when the object of the verb is itself a sentence:

- 69 Dillinger admitted (himself ) that he shot the guard.  
(under pressure)
- 70 Nixon wishes (himself ) that Agnew would retire.  
(desperately)
- 71 Ari said (himself ) that he couldn't stand Jackie.  
(in private)

On the other hand, as (67) shows, the intensive cannot immediately precede a for-to complement.<sup>8</sup>

As yet, I have no explanation for the involvement of the intensive in the verb phrase, but in any case that is not the concern of this study. The foregoing data were presented to show further interesting aspects of intensives and Intensive Extrapolation without really hoping to explain them.<sup>9</sup>

#### 4.0 Intensive Extrapolation in complex sentences.

4.1 Relativization and intensives. Although relativization does interact with certain facets of the intensive, there seems to be no crucial relationship with the extraposition of intensives. On the other hand, there is a constraint on relativization involving intensives which is indirectly connected with extraposition.

4.1.1 The intensive itself cannot be relativized. Given the sentences

72 John Wayne himself acts in many Westerns.

73 John Wayne himself hates horses.

it is not possible to embed the latter in the former with a grammatical sentence as the result if it is the intensive which is relativized. The result is, rather, the ungrammatical

74 \*John Wayne himself who John Wayne hates horses acts in many Westerns.

Since Relativization preposes the relativized element, the application of this process to the intensive--besides being semantically odd--would be ruled out by the Cross-over Condition.

4.1.2 The antecedent, on the other hand, can be relativized:

75 Bill, who himself is no card player, tried to tell me how to play my hand.

76 Bill, who is no card player himself, tried to tell me how to play my hand.

This process interacts with extraposition in no interesting way, except insofar as the intensive is extraposed to the end of the embedded sentence only and no farther--that is, not to the end of the highest sentence, as in

77 \*Bill, who is no card player, tried to tell me how to play my hand himself.

(where the intensive is to be understood to originate in the relative clause).<sup>10</sup>

4.1.3 One interesting fact to be noted about intensives and Relativization is that if the antecedent of an intensive is relativized it can undergo this process only if it is in subject position.

78 Nixon, who gambled in the Navy himself, belongs to a church that disapproves of gambling.

79 \*Bill, (who himself Gladys shot), had refused to marry her.  
(who Gladys shot himself)

80 \*Adolf, (to whom himself I gave the book) burned it immediately.  
(to whom I gave the book himself)

Thus whether the relativized antecedent takes the intensive with it or leaves it behind when it is fronted, the result is an ungrammatical sentence if the antecedent is anything but the derived subject of the relative clause. This, however, is

also the only position (that is, derived subject) from which the intensive may be extraposed. At first glance it might seem that some sort of transderivational constraint is at work here, but perhaps there is some less exotic explanation.

The Left Branch Condition would certainly rule out the first forms of these sentences since they seem to parallel the grammatical

81 Frank James, whose brother John Ford shot, gave up his outlaw career.

where the leftmost NP of a higher NP has been relativized in object position and the higher NP preposed.

It might very well be the case that Pied Piping must have another condition added to it to rule out its applying in this case to prepose the intensive along with its antecedent. This would prevent any antecedent intensive NP in non-subject position from being relativized since then the intensive could neither be taken along (because of the new condition) nor remain behind (because of the Left Branch Condition). On the other hand, Relativization in subject position would be allowable since the preposing part of the transformation would apply vacuously to the antecedent--that is, it would not affect the constituent structure of the embedded sentence.

Adding another condition to an already condition-ridden convention such as Pied Piping seems at least a little more preferable than bringing in a device as powerful and of such different order as a transderivational constraint.

#### 4.2 For-to complements, Subject Raising, and intensives.

As noted earlier, intensives can appear in virtually any NP position in a sentence provided they share the NP node with their antecedents, but they can be extraposed only from subject position. The first half of this statement is in part substantiated by

82 I expected Bill himself to drive the car.

wherein the intensive appears in a noun phrase in object position. The second half of the same statment seems to be contradicted, however, by

83 I expected Bill to drive the car himself.  
which is an acceptable sentence with an intensive extraposed apparently from object position. Does this mean that Intensive Extraposition has further conditions or exceptions attached to it, or is something else at work here?

Of course, there is a complicating factor here. Up to this point the discussion has primarily been concerned with the behavior of intensives in simple sentences, but here there is interaction with the for-to complement construction. This brings in the process of subject-raising which one would certainly expect to have an effect on Intensive Extraposition since extraposition can only take place from subject position.

4.2.1 There are three possible explanations of the relationship between (82) and (83). First, Subject-Raising raises the complete antecedent-intensive NP from subject position in the complement into object position in the next higher S, which produces (82). Then a derivational constraint allows the intensive to be extraposed from object position just in case this object was the derived subject of the complement immediately before Subject-Raising took place. Second, Subject-Raising may raise either the whole antecedent-intensive NP or just the antecedent. If the former is the case, then (82) is the result; if the latter option is selected, then an obligatory rule extraposes the otherwise stranded intensive to produce (83). This obligatory rule is needed to eliminate sentences like

84 \*I expected Bill to himself drive the car.  
Third, Extraposition, which as already seen is an optional rule, can apply before Subject-Raising. If it is applied, then (83) is the result once Subject-Raising does apply. If

the option of extraposition is not exercised, then Subject-Raising raises the entire antecedent-intensive NP into object position, and (82) is the result.

Now the first hypothesis, that involving the derivational constraint, accepts the data as an exception to the already established constraints on Intensive Extraposition and then pulls in the powerful device of the Derivational Constraint to resolve this difficulty. But the difficulty is resolved with the barest minimum of descriptive adequacy, no insight into the workings of intensives or extraposition, and no relevance to the rest of the grammar except insofar as it might provide another justification for the theory of derivational constraints.

The second hypothesis is the most ragged of straw men since it explicitly violates the Left Branch Condition by raising the antecedent out of the complement while leaving the intensive behind. An ad hoc rule is then necessary to convert this ungrammatical sentence into the correct result.

The third hypothesis is definitely the most promising in that it preserves and conforms to the already described phenomena of intensives, it involves no violation of constraints, and it may have further significance for the grammar beyond a merely descriptively adequate analysis of intensives. A further discussion of this hypothesis follows.

4.2.2 In working with the third hypothesis mentioned above, the question of rule-ordering is important. Is Intensive Extraposition cyclic, pre-cyclic, post-cyclic, or last cyclic?

It has already been seen in sentences like (83) and is further verified in the following that Extraposition applies before Subject-Raising in these cases.

85 I consider John to be a fool himself.

86 The police believed Bill to have driven the car himself.

But since Intensive Extraposition works on derived subjects only, as in

35 Agnew is disliked by many people himself.

87 Marat was stabbed by Charlotte Corday himself.

88 Pat was suspected of infidelity by Dick herself.

it has already been noted that Intensive Extraposition must apply after Passivization.

Passivization and Subject-Raising are both cyclic, and, as has been shown by other researchers, the order of their application within the cycle is Subject-Raising before Passivization. But Intensive Extraposition was seen to apply before Subject-Raising and after Passivization, which results in the order: Extraposition, Subject-Raising, Passivization, Extraposition. This repetitive ordering means either that Intensive Extraposition is cyclic or that since Subject-Raising and Passivization can occur an indefinite number of times within a sentence there must be an indefinite number of Intensive Extraposition rules. This latter is obviously untenable, and so Intensive Extraposition must be cyclic.

The following sentences show that on the last cycle, at least, Intensive Extraposition must follow Subject-Raising.

89 I consider John to be a fool myself.

90 The FBI agent believed Sarah to have driven the car himself.

91 Pat expected Nixon to lose the '68 election herself.

This indicates that the correct order is Subject-Raising, Passivization, Intensive Extraposition. At this point it could very well be objected that sentences (89), (90), and (91) do not provide the best evidence for such a claim since they do not contain any passives which might enter into the ordering phenomenon. If the highest S is passivized and then an intensive extraposed from the subject thereby

derived, however, certain ambiguities arise--namely, the object which is moved by Passivization into subject position in the highest S originated as the subject of the embedded S before Subject-Raising raised it into object position, and because of this every sentence with a for-to complement and the next-higher S passivized would be ambiguous since the intensive could have been extraposed from either S.

92 Sarah was believed to have driven the getaway car herself.

93 Nixon was expected to lose the '68 election himself.

94 John was considered to be a fool himself.

The above sentences bear this out since each has two readings which depend for their differences on which S the intensives are understood to be extraposed from.

4.2.3 Continuing this line of the discussion, it is evident that in a sentence like

95 Seymour is reputed to have been believed to have been expected to have eaten the bagel himself.

the intensive can be extraposed from the highest S or from any of the series of complements where Seymour himself had been the subject at a stage when Intensive Extraposition could apply to it. Thus the sentence should be four ways ambiguous.

Similarly, in sentences where the subjects of a series of for-to complements are dissimilar, an intensive should be able to appear with any of the raised subjects and should moreover be permitted to be extraposed from any of these complements before Subject-Raising applies. Thus, in

96 Gladys believed me to have expected Harry and John  
to have ordered Seymour to eat the bagel (herself )  
(myself )  
(themselves)  
(himself )

each of the intensives listed is an allowable candidate for extraposition originating in the same structures that underlie.

- 97 Gladys herself believed me to have expected Harry and John to have ordered Seymour to eat the bagel.
- 98 Gladys believed me myself to have expected Harry and John to have ordered Seymour to eat the bagel.
- 99 Gladys believed me to have expected Harry and John themselves to have ordered Seymour to eat the bagel.
- 100 Gladys believed me to have expected Harry and John to have ordered Seymour himself to eat the bagel.
- respectively.

It may be the case, however, that an individual reader may not be able to distinguish the fourfold ambiguity of (95) or may not be willing to accept all the entries in (96) because some of them might sound strange. I am sure that more complicated sentences--or at least longer ones--would certainly sound less acceptable. What is at work here may be some sort of constraint on the length of the string over which an intensive may be extraposed. Certainly

- 101 We the people of the United States, in Order to form a more perfect Union, establish Justice, insure domestic Tranquility, provide for the common defense, promote the general Welfare, and secure the Blessings of Liberty to ourselves, and our Posterity, do ordain and establish this Constitution for the United States of America ourselves.

might give one pause to consider the suitability of the intensive, even though the Preamble, albeit a lengthy sentence, is less complicated syntactically than any of the readings of (96). Stick an extraposed intensive into one of William Faulkner's marathon sentences, and the mind at the very least boggles.

But rather than some distance constraint limiting extraposition syntactically, it seems more likely that what is at work here is a limitation of the short-term memory. It may be that to disambiguate sentences with multiple for-to complements or merely extra-long sentences the extraposed intensive must be given the same intonation as its antecedent. That is, in (95) and (96) there is a steadily falling tone

throughout the series of complements, and it may be that short-term memory runs into problems trying to recapture the tone of one of the intermediate members in the series in order to give the intensive the same tone.

In any case, it is undoubtedly some performance factor which complicates the sentences with series of complements rather than some syntactic constraint.

4.2.4 Finally, with respect to for-to complements and Intensive Extraposition, it is interesting to note that the order Subject-Raising, Passivization, Intensive Extraposition is the same order followed for It-Extraposition. This is not to suggest that Intensive Extraposition and It-Extraposition are the same process; but their functions are similar, and they are similarly ordered with respect to other, major rules. Any further connection remains to be seen.

#### 5.0 Nominalizations and Normal Nominals.

As noted early in this paper, intensives are incompatible with the possessive form of the noun. At the same time this is not quite true in the case of POSS-ing nominalizations.

102 \*John's himself driving the truck upset me.

103 \*John('s) himself's driving the truck upset me.

The above sentences are obviously no good, but if extraposition occurs, the result is acceptable.

104 John's driving the truck himself' upset me.

But (104) cannot be derived from the ungrammatical (102) or (103), so Intensive Extraposition must take place before complementizer placement. Furthermore, it must be the case that if the intensive is not extraposed the POSS-ing type of complementizer is blocked from applying.

In my dialect at least there is a related complement form in which extraposition is optional.

105 Nixon himself fighting in Viet Nam is a ludicrous thought.

106 Nixon fighting in Viet Nam himself is a ludicrous thought.

Of course both forms are acceptable here since no possessive is present.

In action nominals of the POSS-ing-of form the circumstances are entirely different; these are structures of the type

107 John's driving of the truck upset me.

108 Chomsky's shooting of the hunters will get him into trouble.

As expected, the intensive is not allowable immediately following its antecedent.

109 \*John('s) himself('s) driving of the truck upset me.

110 \*Chomsky('s) himself('s) shooting of the hunters will get him into trouble.

But in this case extraposition is also not allowable.

111 \*John's driving of the truck himself upset me.

112 \*Chomsky's shooting of the hunters himself will get him into trouble.

Whether this indicates that action nominals are not derived from underlying sentences or that the transformation that does derive them from underlying sentences applies before Intensive Extraposition and is blocked by the presence of an intensive immediately following its antecedent or even some third possibility is a question for further study. At present, however, there seems to be no convincing argument for either position that can be based on the behavior of intensives themselves.

## 6.0 Conclusion.

It has been shown that such a minor part of the grammar as intensives and their extraposition interact in interesting ways with other, more important and general facets of the grammar. Intensives behave at times like nouns and at other times like adverbs and so perhaps are not precisely the same beasts as reflexives. Extraposition of Intensives is a cyclic rule ordered after Subject-Raising and Passivization, and certain apparent quirks and idiosyncracies--like obligatory

extraposition in imperatives--have been shown to be regular and to conform to various constraints originally noted by Ross.

Other questions such as why intensives extrapose into some places in verb phrases but not into others and why intensives are not compatible with action nominals have been posed but not answered.

Still other questions such as what interactions do intensives have with cleft and pseudo-cleft sentences or with sentences of the type

113     Let them do it themselves

have neither been asked nor answered, but hopefully will be.

## NOTES

1. . .A blatant violation of the dictum "Form follows function!"
2. . .Also note that by virtue of node-sharing with its antecedent the intensive may appear in subject position whereas the reflexive cannot.
3. . .Actually, there is another position where the intensive is impossible--namely, with the direct address:  
\*John yourself, you may open the window.  
\*Julie yourself, put down that whip.
4. . .Upon further consideration of sentences of this type I am no longer certain that extraposition is incorrect here. If it is acceptable, however, I think that that fact would not complicate my analysis of intensive extraposition but would rather throw some light on the status of the verb be.
5. . .I use this term to avoid calling the antecedent-intensive combination a Complex NP and any consequent implication that the structural description of the antecedent-intensive node is  $[_{NP} \bar{S}]_{NP}$ . This probably is the case at a more abstract level of representation, but at present I am not prepared to make such a powerful claim. By "complicated NP" I refer merely to the structure  $[_{NP} X]_{NP}$  where X is a non-null variable.
6. . .Actually, I suspect they might be two aspects of the same rule, but cf. the sentiments expressed in the preceding note.
7. . .A similar ordering of rules and an identical justification of the rule order apply to the following data. If someone were to call you a bastard, a possible response would be "Oh, bastard yourself!" but certainly not  
\*"Oh, yourself bastard!"

## NOTES

8. . . It is also the case that intensives can get involved in factives in a strange way:

Dillinger admitted it himself that he shot the guard.

This apparently is an instance of both types of extra-position applying: first, Intensive Extraposition and then, It-Extraposition moving the factive around the intensive.

9. . . A further complication involving intensives in the VP arises when negatives are present.

John Wayne has (himself never) taken acting lessons.  
(never himself)

Eric Segal does (not himself) admit to being a hack.  
(\*himself not)

Segal is (himself not) a good writer.  
(not himself)

In some instances it seems the intensive must follow the negative, and in others it seems that it may either precede or follow the negative.

10. . . Another complication involving relatives and intensives can be seen in

A man who himself indulges in coprophagy can hardly be expected to condemn it as a failing in others.

where the embedded sentence cannot be

\*A man himself indulges in coprophagy.

which is ungrammatical since intensives are incompatible with indefinite NP's.