

中英語の再帰代名詞に関する諸問題

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On the Syntax of Reflexivization in Middle English

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Section 1. Reference of a Pronoun and a Reflexive.

In presentday English pronouns and reflexives show the following complementary ditribution.

- (1) (i) I wash myself. (ii) * I wash me.
(iii) You wash yourself. (iv) * You wash you.
(v) He washes himself. (vi) * He washes him. ¹
- (2) (i) I think I am a genius.
(ii) * I think myself is a genius. ²
(iii) You think you are a genius.
(iv) * You think yourself is a genius.
(v) He thinks he is a genius.
(vi) * He thinks himself is a genius.

In addition, no reflexives appear in subject position.

R. S. Jackendoff (1972: 136) formulates this restriction as follows.

(3) NP1 is coreferential with $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{NP2} \\ \alpha \text{ reflexive} \end{array} \right\}$ if each of the

following conditions holds:

- (a) NP2 has not yet appeared on the right-hand (i. e., anaphoric expression) side of the table³;
- (b) NP2 is immediately dominated (except for a possible preposition) by VP or N;
- (c) NP1 is in the main clause of the present cycle;
- (d) NP2 does not both precede and command NP1.

If NP1 precedes NP2 (forward reflexivization), rule is OBLIGATORY. (Backward reflexivization is OPTIONAL.)

As is pointed out by Moulton (1985 : 683), Germanic never had any 1st or 2nd person reflexive pronouns--only 3rd person. The North Sea Germanic languages (including English) at one time had no reflexive pronouns at all. English later developed *-self* in all persons and numbers. The simple pronoun served as a reflexive in Old and Middle English. Kellner (1892: 185-6) says as follows:

There is no special pronoun in Old English to denote an action reflected upon the agent, the personal pronoun being used in its stead. There are, however, numerous instances of personal pronouns emphasized by *self*, as in Modern English.

In Middle English the compound forms are steadily increasing, but as early as Caxton's time they seem to be the rule.

According to Visser (1963: 435–6), the simple pronouns are used as often as the compound reflexive forms in the first century of the Modern Period. The simple form is still used in the time of Shakespeare and Ben Johnson, but most of it occur in the poetry. Its use rapidly declines in the centuries after Shakespeare.

An interesting question arises as to the development of the reflexives in the history of the English language. In presentday English simple pronouns and reflexives cannot share the same position in the sentence because pronouns cannot refer to another NP within the same clause, while anaphors such as reflexives and reciprocals must have an antecedent within the same sentence which has a lexical head. N.Chomsky asserts in his book of *Lectures on Government and Binding* pronouns must be free and anaphors must be bound in their "binding category", which is roughly, the sentence with a lexical subject. Moulton (1985: 683) asserts that Chomsky's binding condition is not universal since there are no reflexive pronouns which show 'binding' in Old English and other languages. If it is the case that there were no bound anaphors in Old English, how and why have they developed into the present system?

It is to be noted in this connection that the simple pronouns serve as reciprocals, which are another bound anaphor, in Old English. That is why there are two interpretations for the sentence *tha gatu him to belocen haefdon* --'they had locked the gates against the others' or 'on themselves' (B. Mitchell 1985: 115).

Section 2. The Classification of Reflexive Verbs

In Old English verbs used reflexively include those found with a reflexive object --the personal pronoun alone, *self* alone, or combination of the two, in the accusative, genitive, and dative (B. Mitchell 1985: 438). Therefore, these verbs are classified into three groups, that is, those taking the accusative--subdivided into two groups: those which are otherwise transitive and those which are otherwise intransitive --those taking the genitive, and those taking the dative (Ibid). According to Mitchell, Voges further divides the verbs taking the reflexive dative into four groups --verbs of rest, verbs of bodily movement, verbs of emotion, and other verbs. Mitchell (1985: 438-9) asserts that this classification requires refinement because there are verbs which can be used absolutely, that is, with its reflexive object unexpressed. He further points out that the distinction should be made between transitive verbs used absolutely and intransitive verbs which sometimes appear used with a reflexive accusative as more or less pleonastic. He also notes that there is no parallel distinction in Old English that there is in Modern English between 'He himself did it' and 'He killed himself.' In Old English *self* can emphasize a personal pronoun whether it is used reflexively or not. Visser (1963: 420) says that in the earliest Old English text *self* could be added to the personal pronouns in the nominative whenever this was thought necessary for the sake of emphasis.

Visser (1963: 145-6) makes the following remarks on the absolute use of reflexive verbs. There are verbs in all periods of English which allow their reflexive object to be omitted when context supplies the necessary information. But he notes that the verbs should be called absolute only

when they are also used with the reflexive object during the same period. He says it is not necessarily true that the reflexive object tends to be dropped in Modern English, though some verbs prefer the absolute use.

Section 3. The Status of a Pronoun in Middle English

M. Everaert (1986) studies the distribution of a Dutch reflexive pronoun *zich* and analyzes it in the framework of government and binding. The pronoun *zich* has the following distribution.

- (1) Jani wast zich /zichzelf/ *hemi
 Jan washes himself/himself / *him
- (2) Mieke zag dat ik *zichi / *zichzelf /haari
 Mieke saw that I *herself / *herself /her
 schilderde
 painted
- (3) Prepositional objects
 Simonei zorgt voor *haari / *zichi /zichzelf
 Simone looks after *her / *herself/herself
- (4) Inherently reflexive verbs
 Arnoldi vergist *hemi/zichi / *zichzelf nooit
 Arnold mistakes *him /himself/ *himself never
- (5) A. c. I -constructions
 Peteri laat mij voor hemi/zichi /?*zichzelf
 Peter let me for him/ himself/?*himself
- (6) Locative and directional PP's
 Hansi zag de hond naast ? hemi/zichi /?*zichzelf
 Hans saw the dog next to ? him/himself/?*himself

He asserts that the weak reflexive *zich* is ditributionally limited to "non-argument positions", that is, the positions which cannot be assigned any thematic roles, such as adjuncts and heads, relative to its antecedent. He assumes that the grammar of Dutch contains the following principles (M.Everaert 1986: 39):

- (7) a A phonologically unmarked pronominal in a theta-position is a free anaphor.
- b A phonologically unmarked pronominal in a non-theta-position is a bound anaphor.

The pronoun *zich* is phonologically marked, and is always a bound anaphor. The principle (7) predicts that in those languages which allow phonologically unmarked pronominals for the third person those pronominals behave as a free anaphor in a theta-position and as a bound anaphor in a non-theta-position. He notes that Old English has a similar anaphoric system. Dutch adopted *zich* from German in the 14th and 15th centuries, while English decided to use the strong reflexive *self* as bound anaphor. The simple pronoun is always free in presentday English.

Let us examine how the anaphoric system operates in late Middle English. The compound form *-self* is used to give emphasis. See below.

- (8) ... , acordyng to poyntmen that ye made ther-for yowreself.
(*Paston Letters* No.13, ll. 3-4)

The simple pronoun is used as a bound anaphor more often than the *self* form. See the following.

- (9) ... John Wortes, that namyth hym-self Paston and affermith
hym vntrewly to be my cousyn.
(*Paston Letters* No.2, ll. 3-5)

- (10) I purpose me to come homward be london...

(*Paston Letters* No. 4, l. 35)

- (11) Ye shapen yow to talen and to playe ;

(*Canterbury Tales* Prologue 772)

- (12) How that we baren us... (Ibid. 721)

The simple form is also used in locative prepositional phrases.

The structure (14) constitutes an idiom.

- (13) ...; the which sute of decies tantum the seyde Walter bet-
wyx God and hym knowith verraly is vntrewe.

(*Paston Letters* No.5, ll. 156-7)

- (14) ...he that chuld do it chuld bettyr dor take it up-on hym
than he chuld. (*Paston Letters* No.21, ll. 9-10)

The simple pronoun is a phonologically unmarked form in Middle English. Therefore, the simple form should be free in a theta-position, and bound in a non-theta-position if the principle (7) is true. The anaphor system in Middle English, however, is complicated because the compound form *-self* is used as well.

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NOTES :

1. This sentence is not acceptable if *he* and *him* refer to the same person.
2. This sentence is not acceptable unless the embedded subject is emphasized.
3. The table of coreference indicates whether pairs of noun phrases in the sentence are coreferential or not.