INTENSIFIERS AND REFLEXIVE PRONOUNS IN ENGLISH AND MANDARIN CHINESE:

A CONTRASTIVE STUDY

A Dissertation

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We must not cease from exploration and the end of all our exploring will be to arrive where we began and to know the place for the first time.

---- T. S. Eliot

to my mother

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Thank Berlin. This wonderful city gives me five years of beautiful memories. The fresh air, nice flowers, kind people, local Cafes, stay with me as I go on the next stage of my life.

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Zusammenfassung

Intensifikatoren und Reflexivpronomina im Englisch und Chinesischen: eine kontrastive Untersuchung

Zielsetzung

Auf der Basis neuerer Ergebnisse in der Typologie, wird in der vorliegenden Dissertation der Versuch unternommen, eine umfassende und gründliche kontrastive Analyse zu Ausdrücken der Identität (Intensifikatoren und Reflexivpronomina) im Englisch und Chinesischen vorzunehmen. Dieser Zielsetzung entsprechend, bedürfen die drei wichtigsten Begriffe der Untersuchung, d.h. die Begriffe 'Reflexivpronomina', ,Intensifikatoren', und ,kontrastive Analyse' zunächst einer genaueren Erläuterung.

Methodologie

Die meisten Beispielsätze in meiner Dissertation sind authentische Beispiele und stammen aus zwei Korpora. Die englischen Beispiele stammen aus dem *BNC* (http://www.natcorp.ox.ac.uk/), und die chinesischen finden sich im Korpus CCL, *Center for Chinese Linguistics PKU* (http://ccl.pku.edu.cn/Yuliao_Contents.Asp). Alle Beispiele, die sich auf *ben* Ausdrücke beziehen, stammen aus dem *CHINESISCH-ENGLISCHEN WOERTERBUCH* (1998) von Guanghua Wu.

Überblick

Meine Dissertation besteht aus einer Einleitung, zwei Hauptkapiteln über (a) Intensifikatoren und (b) Reflexivpronomina sowie einer Zusammenfassung der Ergebnisse. Es ist die erste kontrastive Studie zu den genannten Bereichen für irgendein Sprachpaar und macht in der Feinkörnigkeit des Vergleichs Eigenschaften der beiden Sprachen sichtbar, die bei Einzelbeschreibungen oft unentdeckt bleiben.

Als Identitätsausdrücke bezeichne ich in den beiden Sprachen sowohl die Intensifikatoren, die den deutschen Gegenstücken *selbst, selber, persönlich*, etc. entsprechen als auch die Reflexivpronomina, die im Deutschen dem Ausdruck *sich* entsprechen. Meine Studie zeigt, dass diese beiden Gruppen von Ausdrücken, die im Englischen und im Chinesischen formal identisch sind, jeweils auch weitere Ähnlichkeiten aufweisen aber dennoch zu unterscheiden sind. Darüber hinaus sind auch die Eigenschaften der beiden Klassen von Ausdrücken in den beiden Sprachen nicht identisch. Es gibt deutliche Parallelen jeweils zwischen den Intensifikatoren und den Reflexiva der beiden Sprachen, aber auch auffällige Differenzen. Die folgenden Ausdrücke rechne ich in meiner Dissertation zu den Identitätsausdrücke in den zwei Sprachen:

	English	Mandarin Chinese	
major identity expressions used as intensifiers	*self*-forms	*zìjǐ, běnrén, X-*	*qīnzì*
major identity expressions used as reflexive pronouns	*self*-forms	*zìjǐ, X-běnrén, běnshēn*	*zìshēn*

Tabelle 35:   Identitätsausdrücke im Englischen und Chinesischen

Wichtige zwischensprachliche Ähnlichkeiten und Differenzen von Identitätsausdrücke in den beiden Sprachen können wie folgt zusammengefasst werden:

Zunächst einmal, gibt es Ähnlichkeiten in der Form, in der syntaktischen Distribution, in den Bedeutungen, und auch in der Benutzung dieser Identitätsausdrücke (cf. Tabelle 35). Das Englische benutzt self-Form als Intensifikatoren und als Reflexivpronomina; das Chinesischen benutzt zìjǐ, běnrén, běnshēn, zìshēn gemeinsam mit ihre Komposita ebenso sowohl als Intensifikatoren als auch als Reflexivpronomina. Diese Gemeinsamkeit gibt diesen zwei Sprachen typologische Ähnlichkeit. Zudem kann einer von diesen Ausdrücken als "middle marker" verwendet werden. Das entspricht einer anderen typologischen Beobachtung. Die Intensifikatoren kommen in beiden Sprachen nicht in der Position von Ergänzungen vor, während die Reflexivpronomina nur in solchen Argumentpositionen anzutreffen sind. Semantisch betrachtet, haben die adnominalen Intensifikatoren in den beiden Sprachen fast die gleichen Bedeutungen, aber nur im Chinesischen kann zìjǐ auch als attributiver Intensifikator verwendet werden. Wenn sie als Reflexivpronomina benutzt werden, können die entsprechenden Formen im Chinesischen sowohl lokal gebunden als auch lokal frei sein. Die Tabelle 36 in meiner Dissertation (wesentliche Ähnlichkeiten von Identitätsausdrücke im Englischen und im Chinesischen) gibt einen Überblick über die wesentlichen Kontraste.

Neben diesen Ähnlichkeiten, finden wir auch viele Differenzen in den Verwendungen von Identitätsausdrücke in den zwei Sprachen. Intensifikatoren sind im Englisch aufgrund ihrer syntaktischen Position erkennbar, während das im Chinesischen nicht immer möglich ist. Adnominale Intensifikatoren sind im Chinesischen auch mit pronominalen Objeken kombinierbar, während das für die *self*-Formen im Englischen nicht möglich ist (**I wanted to talk to him himself*).

Im Chinesischen ist die Verwendung des Intensifikators *zìjǐ* nicht aus der syntakrischen Position ablesbar: Auch wenn dieser Ausdruck unmittelbar auf eine Nominalphrase folgt, kann eine adverbiale Verwendung vorliegen. In solchen Fällen kann *zìjǐ* drei verschiedene Bedeutungen haben. In ihrer adverbialen Verwendung haben Intensifikatoren im Englischen sowohl eine exklusive und eine inklusive Bedeutung. Diese zweite Bedeutung bzw. Verwendungsweise ist im Chinesischen nicht zu finden. Der

attributiven Verwendung von *zìjǐ* im Chinesischen entspricht im Englischen ein besonderer Ausdruck (*own*), der sich von einer ursprünglich possessiven Bedeutung zu einem Intensifikator entwickelt hat. *Self*-Formen in Argumentpositionen können im Allgemeinen nicht ohne nominale Ko-konstituente benutzt werden. Dies ist jedoch für Identitätsausdrücke im Chinesischen akzeptable. Auch sind „long-distance binding" und der „Blockierungseffekt" zwei wichtige Eigenschaften von Reflexivpronomina im Chinesischen, die sich im Englischen nicht finden. In beiden Sprachen können Reflexivpronomen logophorisch verwendet werden. Über die wichtigsten kontrastierenden Befunde unserer Arbeit gibt die Tabelle 37 in meiner Dissertation (Hauptdifferenzen in der Verwendung von Identitätsausdrücke im Englisch und Chinesischen) Auskunft.

Drittens, gibt es auch noch weitere Ergebnisse meiner Studie, die ohne eine kontrastive Analyse nicht erkennbar wären. Ein Phänomen ist die Verstärkung (‚reinforcement') durch Kombination von Intensifikatoren im Chinesischen, und die andere ist die Benutzung von *běn*-Ausdrücke und mögliche Referenzen von *běnrén*. Diese Eigenschaften und auch noch andere, zum Beispiel die „Blockierungseffekte" von Reflexivpronomina im Chinesischen, die Verfügbarkeit von „inheränten Reflexivverben" im Englisch, etc. sind nur in jeweils einer Sprache zu finden. (Tabelle 38: Ähnlichkeiten und Differenzen in der Verwendung von Intensifikatoren im Englisch (*self*-Form) und im Chinesischen (*zìjǐ & běnrén*) und Tabelle 39: Ähnlichkeit und Differenz in der Verwendung von Reflexivpronomina im Englisch (*self*-Form) und im Chinesischen (*zìjǐ & běnrén*)).

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Abbreviations

ADV = adverb

INT = adnominal intensifier

INT = adverbial intensifier

INT = attributive intensifier

CLASSIFIER = classifier

H.INT = headless intensifier

INT = intensifier

PAST = past tense

POSS = possessive

PREP = preposition

PROG = progressive

REFL= reflexive pronouns

1.SG = first person singular pronoun

2.SG = second person singular pronoun

3.SG = third person singular pronoun

1PL = first person plural pronoun

2PL = second person plural pronoun

3PL = third person plural pronoun

SING = singular

PL = plural

[M] = male, gender

[F] = female, gender

[N] = neutral, gender

0. Introduction

0.1. Aim of the Study

Based on recent findings in typology, this study is dedicated to *a comprehensive and in-depth* contrastive analysis of intensifiers and reflexive pronouns in English and in Mandarin Chinese. In accordance with this aim, the three key terms of the title, reflexive pronouns, intensifiers, contrastive analysis, require detailed comments and explanations.

Following the lead of work done by König, Siemund, Gast etc. (1991, 2000a, b, c, 2002), I will keep the term 'reflexive pronoun' (anaphor) for the reflexive use, but use the term 'intensifier' for the emphatic use of formally identical expressions in the two languages[1]. For the purpose of my contrastive study of English and Mandarin Chinese, the term 'identity expression' is used as a comparative concept and cover term for both languages:

<div align="center">

IDENTITY EXPRESSIONS

INTENSIFIERS   REFLEXIVE PRONOUNS

[Engl. *self*-forms] [Mand. *Zìjǐ*]

[German *selbst*]   [German *sich*]

</div>

0.2. A General Picture

The conflation and identity of reflexive pronouns with either intensifiers or middle markers is a wide-spread phenomenon in the world's languages. As studies have revealed in the relevant map in the World Atlas of Language Structures (WALS: http://wals.info/), the relationship between reflexive pronouns and intensifiers can be taken as one of the criteria in distinguishing types of languages. In a wide variety of languages, reflexive pronouns and intensifiers are not formally differentiated and can only be distinguished on the basis of distributional, prosodic and semantic criteria; whereas in some other languages, reflexive pronouns and intensifiers are formally differentiated and intensifiers can be used to reinforce reflexive pronouns. In English, for example *self*-forms can be used both as reflexive pronouns and as intensifiers. In other languages, by contrast, reflexive pronouns and intensifiers are formally differentiated and intensifiers can be used to reinforce reflexive pronouns. For instance, in German *'sich selbst', sich* is a reflexive pronoun while *selbst* is an intensifier. On the other hand, there seems to be no language where the same form manifests all three uses as an intensifier, a reflexive and a middle marker. As is claimed by König & Siemund, 'If a

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1 As mentioned in Siemund (2000: 2), terminologies such as 'intensifiers', 'emphatic reflexive' and others are used for similar expressions, but the term 'intensifiers' is also covering 'languages in which intensifiers and reflexives are formally distinguished' Siemund (2000: 2).

language uses the same expression both as intensifiers and as reflexive pronouns, this expression is not used as a middle marker or marker of derived intransitivity' (cf. König and Siemund 2000a: 59). The following example shows, languages like English never use reflexive pronouns in middle constructions, while this is clearly possible in German:

(1)	a.	*Die*	*Tür*	*öffnete*	sich.
		the	door	opened	REFL
		'The door opened.'			

Reflexive pronouns in English are defined in terms of their morphological make-up in the major handbooks of English grammar, as combinations of a pronominal element agreeing with a noun phrase in the same clause, and of the morpheme *self* inflecting for person, number and gender in its complex forms. To quote from the latest major reference grammar of English (Quirk et al. 1985: 1483ff.; Biber et al. 1999: 342ff.; Huddleston & Pullum, 2002: 1483ff):

> *Reflexive pronouns are inflectional forms of the personal pronouns, formed morphologically by the compounding of* self *with another form.*

> (Huddleston et al. 2002: 1483)

This means that all *self*-forms are assigned to one and the same category by many grammarians, and a distinction is drawn between a reflexive use and an emphatic use (non-reflexive use) of such forms. Illustrations can be seen in the following examples:

| (2) | a. | *But, a little further, where Whiteadder joined Tweed, and with the nearest of the English encampments liable to come into view within the next mile or so, he could no longer restrain* himself. *[BNC,* CD8*1665]* | [reflexive use] |

| (2) | b. | *He* himself *is moved to relieve his distress, but why should my imaginative simulation move me to do the same? [BNC,*CB1*290]* | [emphatic use] |

English is in this sense quite special among European languages in not drawing distinction between reflexive pronouns and intensifiers. Other European languages such as German, Romance or Slavic make such a distinction. "Within the bounds of Central and Western Europe only Finnish, Hungarian and the Celtic languages illustrate a similar identity of reflexive pronouns and intensifiers, and influence from Celtic has often been suggested as a possible cause for identical coding of reflexives and intensifiers in Modern English" (Siemund 2002: p. 251).

However, as will be mentioned in the section on the methodology of my study, a

description of languages in terms of what is known as 'descriptive categories' is not sufficient for establishing the proper basis for a cross-linguistic comparison, since a cross-linguistic comparison needs as its basis the creation of comparative concepts, identifying comparable phenomena across languages and formulating cross-linguistic generalizations (cf. Haspelmath 2010). To put such theoretical knowledge into the practice of my comparative work means that defining reflexive pronouns cannot be done on the basis of the same criteria that are relevant for Mandarin Chinese.

We find the same double use of the relevant forms, both as reflexive pronouns in the strict sense of the word and as emphatics if we turn to the corresponding domain in Mandarin Chinese ((pronoun) + *zìjǐ*). In other words, like many other languages, Turkic, Indic, Finnish and, of course, English, Mandarin Chinese uses identical form for both reflexive pronouns and for intensifiers, as in the following examples:

(3) a.	[...]	*tā*ᵢ	*jiù*	*shì*	*zhè-yang*	*yí*	*ge*	*rén,*
		3PS	ADV	be	such	one	CLASSIFIER	person
	yí-bèi-zi	*yě*	*bù*	*kěn*	*duō*	*tán*	tā-zìjǐᵢ.²	
	lifetime	yet	no	want	much	talk	REFL	
							[reflexive use]	
	'He is just someone who does not like to talk about himself all his life.' 他就是这样一个人，一辈子也不肯谈论他自己。							

(3) b.	*Zhāng-bǎi-chuān*ᵢ	*xīn*	*lǐ*	*shí-kè*	*zhǐ*	*zhuāng*	*zhe*
	NAME	heart	in	time	only	put	PROGRESSIVE
	qún-zhòng,	*wéi-dú*	*méi-yǒu*	tā-zìjǐᵢ.			
	mass	only	no	REFL			
				[reflexive use]			
	'Zhāng-bǎi-chuān puts everyone in his heart except himself.' 张百川心里时刻只装着群众，唯独没有他自己。						

(3) c.	[…],	*yuè-fū*	*shū*	tā-zìjǐ	*qiān*	*dǎo*	*wàn*	*shì*	*jù*
		NAME	uncle	INT	move	Island	ten-thousand	thing	have

2   Due to the ways reflexive pronouns in Mandarin Chinese are used, it is necessary to mention here as well as in the later part of the dissertation, as complementary to the corpus based analysis, that alternative choices of reflexive pronouns could lead to the alternation to the meaning of the sentence. In this example, the choice of *tā-zìjǐ* is strictly in agreement with the subject, which means there is no other possibility that the reflexive pronouns might find the antecedent than the subject within the sentence. However, the antecedent of the reflexive pronouns can either be identical to that of *tā-zìjǐ*, or it could also be the speaker found in the speech situation when *tā-zìjǐ* is replaced by *zìjǐ*. It is also worth mentioning that if *tā-zìjǐ* is substituted by *tā-běnrén*, the situation of antecedent is found to be exactly the same. Whereas if *tā-zìjǐ* is replaced by *běnrén*, reflexivity is no longer there because *běnrén* then picks up the speaker in the speech situation as its possible referent. The later part of the dissertation will have particular focusing on the resemblance as well as differences in the uses of *zìjǐ*, *běnrén* as well as their complex forms.

	bèi,	dàn	tā	bù	xiǎng	zì	jiā	qiǎo-rán	lí-qù.[3]	
	ready	but	3PS	no	want	INT	home	quiet	leave	
									[intensifier use]	

'Uncle Yuè-fū himself had got everything ready for moving the island, but he did not want to leave alone without telling anyone.'
岳父叔他自己迁岛万事具备，但他不想自家悄然离去。

This double use of 'identity expression', as we will call them independently of a specific use provides a clear basis for the contrastive study between the two languages. We notice at this point that English and Mandarin Chinese differ in this domain from the majority of European languages, in which reflexive pronouns manifest a completely different type of double use, i.e. as (i) reflexive pronouns and as (ii) middle markers, i.e. markers of derived intranstivity (Kemmer 1995 Geniušienė 1987, König 2001, König & Gast 2007a).

The comparative basis of our contrastive study can therefore be established, by selecting all uses of *self*-forms and all expressions in Mandarin Chinese that can be used either as reflexive pronouns or as intensifiers (emphatics). We can expect that there will be a large overlap in the uses of these expressions, even though there will also be clear differences. We will thus use the term 'identity expression' as a comparative concept in the sense of Haspelmath (2010).

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3 Distribution is not a decisive factor in distinguishing the sub-types of an intensifier in Mandarin Chinese. In other words, an intensifier occurring immediately after the subject can be either in its adnominal use or adverbial exclusive use. One way to distinguish them is to put such sentences into negative forms. However, in some cases, even the use of negation cannot manage to disparate the two uses. Meaning instead of distribution is the fabric factor in judging an intensifier in Mandarin Chinese. This is contrary to English, in which both distribution as well as meaning are decisive factors.

A. Defining the object of the Study

1. Two Uses of the Same Form

1.1. Intensifiers

Referentially dependent expressions in general, and anaphors[4] in particular, have been of great interest to linguists for years now and have been studied from a wide variety of different perspectives. Such discussions have been inspired and led to numerous new insights by typological studies such as by Faltz (1985) and the generative studies inspired by Chomsky's Binding Principles (1981).

First introduced by Moravcsik (1972) (cf. also Edmondson & Plank 1978, König 1991; Siemund 2000), *intensifiers*[5] are defined in the World Atlas (http://wals.info/feature/47) on the basis of their prosodic, syntactic and semantic properties as well as on the basis of cross-linguistic considerations:

> *By intensifiers we mean expressions like German* selbst*, Russian* sam*, Turkish* kendi*, Mandarin* zìjĭ*, English* X-self*, which can be adjoined to either NPs or VPs, are invariably focused and thus prosodically prominent. The main function of intensifiers can be seen in the evoking of alternatives to the referent of the NP they relate to.*

In traditional grammar and even in modern grammar handbooks there is no established term for these expressions. They are typically called *emphatic reflexives or emphatics* (e.g. Quirk et al. 1985; Huddleston & Pullum 2002), *emphasizers* (Dirven 1973), and *intensive pronouns* (Cantrall 1973).

As has already been mentioned, there are (at least) two uses of identity expressions in English and German and their uses as intensifiers clearly contrast in meaning and distribution with their

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4 'Anaphor(a)' is the traditional term used to refer to referentially dependent expressions, including personal pronouns (e.g. *she* in English), reflexive pronouns (e.g. *herself* in English) and reciprocal pronouns (e.g. *each other* in English). Anaphors are in contrast to proper names or definite descriptions.

5 Note that the term *intensifier* is also used for degree adverbs such as *extremely* or *very* in traditional descriptions.

uses as reflexive pronouns despite their formal identity in a wide variety of languages. On the basis of several criteria several uses of intensifiers can be distinguished: an adnominal use, an adverbial use (further divided into an exclusive use and an inclusive use) and an attributive use of intensifiers. As far as distribution is concerned, intensifiers in English occur in non-argument / adjunct positions (except for some cases to be discussed below). An adnominal intensifier finds its position right adjacent to the noun phrase it modifies, while an adverbial intensifier occurs in non-adjacent position to the noun it relates to, as part of a VP or at the end of a sentence in languages like English (König 1991; König & Siemund 1996; Siemund 2002) but this is not the case in Mandarin Chinese. In both languages the adverbial intensifiers can be assumed to be dominated by a verbal projection, however, in the attributive use[6], the intensifiers look like an adjectival modifier of nouns.

(4)   THE ADNOMINAL USE

Examples in English:

(4) a.	*Henry VIII* himself, *having heard and seen something of Renaissance art in France, tried to attract French and Italian craftsmen to England.* [BNC, HR1 *1515]*

(4) b.	*The gates* themselves *are wide open.* [BNC, HRA *4702]*

Examples in Mandarin Chinese:

(4) c.	[…],	*hái*	*yǒu*	*Chén Wén-tíng*	tā-zìjǐ.
		still	have	NAME	ADN.INT
'… and Chen Wenting herself.'					
… … 还有陈伟庭他自己。					

(4) d.	[…]	*rán-ěr*	*duàn*	*xiān-sheng*	tā-men-zìjǐ	*shì*
		however	SURNAME	Mr.	ADN.INT	be
	méi-yǒu	*shí-jiān*	*jì-mò*	*de.[7]*		

6 Among the four types of uses illustrated, only the adnominal use and the adverbial exclusive use can be found in nearly all languages in the attested samples (the sample comprises the 102 languages and are documented in the Typological Database of Intensifiers and Reflexives (TDIR) (cf. Gast et al. 2003 or online at http://www.philologie.fu-berlin.de/~gast/tdir). The adverbial inclusive use is the rarest of the four uses and the attributive use is often associated with a specific attributive / possessive intensifier that is formally differentiated from the form found in the other uses (English: *own;* German: *eigen* etc.) (König & Gast, 2004).

7 The agreement of complex form *X-zìjǐ* is that *zìjǐ* does not inflect for number in the *X* part; the plural forms of personal pronouns are allowed to appear in this combined constituent whereas *zìjǐ* invariably remains the same form.

no	time	lonely	POSS	
'…, however, Mr. Duan (and his people) do not belong to those who can be with loneliness.' …… 然而段先生他们自己是没有时间寂寞的。				

(5)   THE ADVERBIAL EXCLUSIVE USE

[can be paraphrased as 'alone', 'without assistance']

Examples in English:

(5)	a.	*Dressed in flowing trousers and a tunic of billowing rose --; they let her have clothes, now, providing she chose them* herself *by drawing what it was she wanted --;...* [BNC, FP0*265*]

(5)	b.	*I can lie on the floor, reach up in a rather contorted way and focus it* myself, *rather than shouting instructions to somebody else, as you have to with a more conventional one.* [BNC,FBR*395*]

Examples in Mandarin Chinese:

(5)	c.	[…]	*yīn-yuè*	*shì*	wǒ-men -zìjǐ	*tiāo*	*de.*[8]
			music	be	1PP REFL/INT	pick.out	POSS
		• 'We chose the music (by) ourselves.' • 'The music is picked out by us alone.' …… 因而是我们自己挑的。					

(6)   THE ADVERBIAL INCLUSIVE USE

[can be paraphrased as 'also', 'too']

Examples in English:

(6)	a.	*She realized at once that he could be forgiven if he reminded her that she hadn't been too sugary* herself *during that phone call....* [BNC, JYF*2674*]

(6)	b.	*I remember these nomads* myself, *from a long while ago in Scotland.* [BNC, A05*1702*]

There are no examples of this use in Mandarin Chinese.

(7)   THE ATTRIBUTIVE USE

Examples in English:

(7)	a.	*Although described by the World Challenge brochure as an area rarely visited by Europeans, it turned out to be popular enough with tourists for each village to have its* own[9] *visitors' book!* [BNC,

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8 There are two ways of understanding the uses of '*wǒ-men-zìjǐ*': on the one hand it is taken as a single element used as a reflexive pronoun; on the other hand, '*Wǒ-men'* and '*zìjǐ'* are considered as separate elements with the latter part used as intensifier.

9 English *own* exhibits the even stronger restriction of requiring a preceding possessive pronoun or genitive

		AHC*1336]*

(7)	b.	*The cheese maker has the best control over his cheese if he is able to use the milk from his* own *flock or herd --; ...[BNC,* ABB*1972]*

Examples in Mandarin Chinese:

(7)	c.	[…],	*bào-lù*	*le*	tā-men-zìjǐ-de[10]	*wú-zhī.*
			reveal	PAST	ATTR.INT	ignorance
		'…, which revealed their own ignorance.' … … 暴露了他们自己的无知。				

(7)	d.	[…]	*zhè*	*shì*	*yì*	*zhǒng*	*gǎn-shòu,*	nǐ-zìjǐ-de	*gǎn-shòu.*
			this	be	one	CLASSIFIER	feeling	ATTR.INT	feeling
		'… it is a feeling, your own feeling.' … … 这是一种感受，你自己的感受。							

As mentioned above, adverbial uses of intensifiers are further sub-divided into two sub-types on the basis of their meaning: *an adverbial exclusive use* and *an adverbial inclusive use* (König 1991; Siemund 1999; etc.). Each of these two uses has its own distributional properties: the adverbial exclusive use of intensifiers has a clear tendency to combine with *event predicates*; whereas the adverbial inclusive use of intensifier is mainly found in connection with *states*[11].

The two adverbial uses are also differentiated from a semantic perspective in that they have distinct paraphrases. The adverbial exclusive use of intensifier can be paraphrased by *alone*, *without help*, *without assistance*. For an adverbial inclusive use of an intensifier, suitable paraphrases are *too*, *also*:

(8)	a.	*The course was organized by Wynne Norris with some financial help from*

phrase:

[a] *his* own *book;*
[b] *a book of his* own.

10 Also in the attributive use of intensifier, the *X* part in *X-zìjǐ* is necessary to identify the antecedent of the intensifier *X-zìjǐ*. Without *X*, *zìjǐ* still has two referents, one within the verbal context, the other in the speech situation. The *X* part agrees with its antecedent.

11 In some languages, the distinction between adverbial exclusive and adverbial inclusive intensifiers has clear syntactic reflexes in surface syntax. In German, for example, only adverbial-exclusive intensifiers may occupy a position between the main verb and indefinite direct objects (*...dass der Direktor einige Kinder selbst unterrichtet hat '*...that the director has taught some children himself'), while this is excluded for inclusive intensifiers (**...weil der Direktor einige Kinder* selbst *interrichtet hat,* with the intended meaning '...because the director has some children *himself'*) (König & Gast, 2004).

		Manchester Education Committee, but the only way to afford visits from the London Trainers was to raise the fare themselves. *[BNC,* HU8 *156]*
		[adverbial exclusive]

(8)	b.	*If you contrast that with holidaying in Britain, even today relatively few people will buy a package holiday in Britain because somehow we think we can do it better* ourselves. *[BNC,* F88 *158]*
		[adverbial exclusive]

(8)	c.	*She realized at once that he could be forgiven if he reminded her that she hadn't been too sugary* herself *during that phone call:… [BNC,* JYF *2674]*
		[adverbial inclusive]

The two adverbial uses are frequently distinguished by their syntactic positions. The adverbial exclusive use of intensifiers tends to follow the VP, as in *I will do that myself;* whereas in the additive use, the intensifier may be precede (parts of) the VP, as in *I am myself a drinker* (cf. Siemund 2000:2).

Another difference between the two uses of adverbial intensifiers can be found in their interaction with negation. In contrast to the exclusive use, the adverbial inclusive use always "takes wide scope over negation" (cf. also Huddleston et al. 2002: 1498):

(9)	a.	*Everything in it was old and shabby; little had been chosen by Edward himself. [BNC,* G0Y *2964]*
		[adverbial exclusive]

(9)	b.	*But no, I do not want to take the chance* myself *in case it turns out to be a family weakness. [BNC,* BN6 *776]*
		[adverbial inclusive]

The contrast between the two uses of adverbial intensifiers in English can therefore be summarized as follows:

	ADVERBIAL EXCLUSIVE USE	ADVERBIAL INCLUSIVE USE
morphological make-up	*Self*-forms	
distribution	adjunct position	
	not adjacent to the NP they agree with	
	constituent of the verb phrase	
paraphrases	*alone*	*also*
	without assistance	*too*
	without help	
combinational	combine preferably with event predicates	combine preferably with state predicates

| examples | *On arrival at Sheerness naval barracks Binding was told to train them* himself. *[BNC,* AKY *1048]* | I remember these nomads myself, *from a long while ago in Scotland. [BNC,* A05 *1702]* |

Table 1: a comparison between exclusive adverbial intensifiers and inclusive adverbial intensifiers

Whether these two uses of adverbial intensifiers are the result of one general meaning interacting with different contextual factors or are manifestations of two different meanings remains unclear at the current state of our knowledge (König & Gast 2002, 2007). It is suggested by the fact that the two uses are largely complementary in their distributions. But there are also the contrasts as mentioned above.

1.2. Reflexive pronouns

The most salient use of reflexive pronouns is that they indicate that the subject and the object of a transitive or ditransitive predicate pick out one and the same referent both as target and source of that predicate, as in the example (10). Reflexive pronouns occur in argument positions and can therefore not be omitted without making the sentence ungrammatical. Only in very rare cases can they also be in non-argument positions.

The definition of reflexive pronouns presented in the World Atlas as a comparative concept is as follows:

> *Reflexive pronouns (for 'reflexive anaphors') are expressions which are prototypically used to indicate that a non-subject argument of a transitive predicate is co-referential with (or bound by) the subject, i.e. expressions like German sich, Russian sebja, Turkish kendi, Mandarin zìjǐ, English X-self.*

Consider the following English example:

(10)   *They$_i$ wore immaculate clothes, regarded* themselves$_i$ *as an élite and behaved like gods. [BNC,* ARP *38]*

The subject *they* and the direct object *themselves* in this case are co-referential, i.e. the persons referred to by the subject *they* and the *self*-form are source and target of the predicate 'regard'. The reflexive anaphor and its antecedent occur in the same clause; and the reflexive pronoun *themselves* cannot be left out without making the sentence ungrammatical.

In the history of linguistics, the term 'reflexive' has been used for at least two senses, either referring to "the function of marking two arguments of a verb as coreferential", or "morphologically markers of coreferentiality" (Frajzyngier 2000a).

There is no perfect agreement with regard to the criteria used for defining reflexive anaphors in contemporary studies. Some studies suggest that a form is reflexive if it is used "in the coding of coreferentiality of subject and another argument, or agent and another role"; while according to Chomsky's Binding Theory, reflexives are characterized by Principle A of that theory (Chomsky 1981). Such a classification is not without its problem because the strict orientation to the Binding Theory leads to the exclusion of many forms; also, it is not in harmony with typological or cross-linguistic work on reflexive pronouns where reflexive pronouns have been shown to violate Principle A (Frajzyngier 2000a).

2. Methodology and the Languages under Investigation

First of all, as stated in Haspelsmath (2010), language-particular studies use descriptive categories and are different from cross-linguistic studies, which rely on comparative concepts. The two domains are independent of each other as theoretical enterprises. Secondly, a comparative study can normally be carried out in at least two ways: one is a contrastive Analysis and the other, a typological study. My study is an instance of the first type of comparative studies. Thirdly, identity expressions in English and in Mandarin Chinese are language-specific categories.

The following sections provide a short introduction of the goals, potential as well as limits of Contrastive Analysis, while leaving the discussions of other relevant terms such as 'comparative concepts', 'linguistic typology' and their relationships to 'contrastive analysis' to the section on *previous research*.

2.1. Contrastive Analysis

Contrastive Analysis is the systematic study of a pair of languages with the view to identify their structural differences and similarities. "A pair of languages" typically refer to "the detailed comparative investigation of two languages" (Comrie 1986: 1155).

The emergence of Contrastive Analysis as a systematic branch of linguistics can be traced back to 1950s with the publication of Robert Lado's *Linguistic across Cultures* marking the real beginning of modern applied contrastive linguistics (Nickel 1971: 2). The term *contrastive* implies that Contrastive Analysis is more interested in differences between languages than in their shared features (James 1980:2-3). Later in the 1960s and early 1970s, Contrastive Analysis was used extensively in the field of Second Language Acquisition (SLA), as merely being relevant to foreign-language teaching.

Contrastive Analysis can also be considered as a sub-field of comparative linguistics. The primary goal of Contrastive Analysis is to formulate generalizations about contrasts between two languages. It is therefore focused on inter-linguistic variations instead of the intra-linguistic ones. The scope of Contrastive Analysis is limited to two languages and is typically concerned with a comparison of corresponding subsystems of these two languages. Such a comparison can be made between mother language and foreign language, between source language and target language, or

between the first language and second language, depending on the interests and focus of the research. A very strong feature of Contrastive Analysis is that it "describes one language from the perspective of another and will therefore reveal properties of languages that are not easily visible otherwise. To put it differently, Contrastive Analysis has a great heuristic value for the analysis of highly language-specific properties" (König 2011).

Because of these properties, Contrastive Analysis is therefore suitable to be taken as the *methodology*.

2.2   Contrastive Analysis vs. Linguistic Typology

Another comparative approach that Contrastive Analysis has to be distinguished from is linguistic typology. Since both of them are concerned with inter-linguistic comparison from a synchronic perspective, it is therefore necessary to clarify why my study is a contrastive one instead of a typological one.

This has to do with the aims and the scopes of these two approaches. The aim of Contrastive Analysis is best summarized as analyzing many parameters of variation in only two languages (cf. Hawkins, 1986), whereas language typology aims at mapping out the space and limits of variation between all languages irrespective of their genetic affiliation (König, 2011). These two approaches have different scopes: 'language typology analyzes a few parameters of variation across a wide variety of languages whereas the goals of Contrastive Analysis is to analyze many parameters of variations in only two (or three) languages' (cf. Hawkins, 1986). In other words, Contrastive Analysis goes beyond the basic statements of similarity and contrast and also takes the peripheries of two languages as its center of attention, whereas language typology has an unlimited and panchronic scope, which means it usually takes a representative sample of the world's (7000 or so) languages as its empirical basis for investigation.

But these two comparative approaches also share certain properties. They have an aim that is the same far any other sub-field of linguistics, i.e. to formulate generalizations about contrasts between two languages.

In spite of the differences mentioned above, there is also room for interaction and cooperation. 'A contrastive study revealing striking differences between two languages is often the starting point for a comprehensive typology and typology provides a highly important basis for contrastive studies' (König 2011: p.11).

For the above reasons I have chosen to engage in a Contrastive Analysis, while taking relevant cross-linguistic findings as basis.

2.3 Comparative Concepts vs. Descriptive Categories

Comparative concepts are concepts created by comparative linguists for the specific purpose of cross-linguistic comparison. Therefore they are needed by typologists though no t by descriptive linguists. They belong to a set of meta-category instead of the inner language system, and they are irrelevant to language description / linguistic analysis. Comparative concepts are universally applicable and are defined on the basis of other universally applicable concepts such as universal conceptual-semantic concepts, general formal concepts as well as other comparative concepts.

Comparative concepts have a 'many-to-many' relationship with descriptive categories. On the one hand, there is a common phenomenon that both of them are often labeled with the same grammatical terms. On the other hand, these two uses of the terms refer to different kinds of entities and are actually independent of one another. Comparative concepts are created by typologists especially for the purpose of comparison, whereas descriptive categories are designed by descriptive linguists to be part of the structure of a language. Comparative concepts do not introduce language-particular concepts and are therefore universally applicable, whereas descriptive categories are language-specific.

2.4 Choices of Languages

There are two reasons why I have chosen Mandarin Chinese and English for my study. First is all, Mandarin Chinese is chosen because it is my native language and I have not only easy access to authentic data but also clear intuition about basic regularities and about meaning. English, on the other hand, is the most important foreign language in China and therefore an important point of orientation for all linguistic studies. By contrasting the two languages in the domain of reflexivity and intensification, my dissertation will also have practical implications. Secondly, in addition to using identical forms as intensifiers and reflexive pronouns, Mandarin Chinese and English share many typological properties. Choosing two languages with similar categories of description offers good chances to reveal how similar forms may have different uses.

2.5 Sources of Examples

Most of the examples presented in my dissertation are authentic and are mainly taken from two corpora: the English examples are from *BNC* (*http://www.natcorp.ox.ac.uk/*) and the Mandarin Chinese ones, a corpus provided by CCL, i.e. *Center for Chinese Linguistics PKU* (*http://ccl.pku.edu.cn/Yuliao_Contents.Asp*). The examples related to the *běn*-expressions in particular are taken from *CHINESE-ENGLISH DICTIONARY* (1998) written by Guanghua Wu. It is one of the largest Chinese-English dictionaries published in the relevant field.

3. Outline

My dissertation comprises the following parts: an introduction is followed by a discussion of the methodology, the aims of the contrastive study, and a brief introduction to the literature relevant to my research. Then comes the central part of my study: the contrasts between English and Mandarin Chinese in the domain of intensifiers and in the domain of reflexive pronouns in their morphological make-up, their distribution, their semantics and uses. An analysis on reflexive constructions in Mandarin Chinese is found in an independent chapter, which presents the findings which are not visible without the comparative approach. My study ends with a summary of the main results of the analyses.

B. Previous Research

4. General Picture of Previous Research

There are at least two approaches concerning to linguistic analysis, one is the approach of language-specific descriptive categories; the other is the comparative approach, i.e. cross-linguistic comparison. Language-particular categories contain properties that are language-specific and aim at describing language systems in their own terms (e.g. Boas 1911). The relationship of these two approaches has been treated differently, which leads to two influential branches of cross-linguistic comparison: the Greenbergian approach and the generative approach. The Greenbergian approach (e.g. Greenberg 1963, Mallinson & Blake 1981, Comrie 1989, Dryer 1992, Croft 2003, Haspelmath *et al.* (eds.) 2005, Song (ed.) to appear) treats language-specific descriptive categories as part of the language system and it is independent of comparative concepts, which belong to a set of meta-category. Their assumption is that language specific descriptive categories vary from language to language and should not be mixed up with comparative concepts despite the fact that the two are often referred to by the same terms. The differences between the categories in each language are striking and exclude the possibility of regarding these categories as universal. Typologists therefore adopt comparative concepts for a comparative work, since in their view, pre-established cross-linguistic categories do not exist. On the other hand, the generative approach accepts the idea of the existence of the pre-established cross-linguistic categories and one of the main tasks of comparative linguists in that view is to determine what these cross-linguistic categories are. All that linguists have to do is to identify the identity expressions that is contained in a certain language and then analyze the ways in which the properties of the categories vary across languages. In other words, the generative approach assumes the existence of cross-linguistic categories.

As Haspelmath (2010) argued, cross-linguistic comparison should be based on comparative concepts. This is what the present analysis is based on, assuming that identity expressions in English and in Mandarin Chinese are described in their own terms but it is necessary to establish a comparative concept for carrying on the comparison. However, it should be recognized that the generative approach to the study of identity expressions has been extremely fruitful; identity expressions have been widely studied in language-specific descriptions and there are many relevant and new particular languages, including English and Mandarin Chinese. To be exact, the generative approach has led to strikingly new results; the practice of describing reflexive pronouns in terms of binding is a highly influential move. Apart from that, facts from language-particular observations in

general are useful for comparative work for revealing the similarities and differences of the identity expressions in the two languages as long as our language comparison adopts its own methodology that is not mixed up with language-specific descriptions. Detailed discussion on Comparative Concepts vs. Descriptive Categories can be found in Chapter 2.

5.   A brief summary of the theoretical discussions

Referential dependence and the meaning of pronouns in the traditional sense of the word have been attracting the attention of linguists for a long time. A detailed summary of the literature is beyond the scope of current analysis. I will therefore only discuss the lines of analysis that have been particularly influential and thus important for my contrastive study.

Referentially dependent expressions in general and reflexive pronouns in particular, have been studied from different viewpoints both synchronically and diachronically. Not only have their formal identities, namely its morphological make-ups as well as syntactic positions been under discussion, linguists have also made new observations on the semantics and the pragmatics of reflexive especially when different languages were under consideration. Theoretical developments can continuously be observed through the decades, all the way from Chomsky's (1981) Binding Conditions and its subsequent revisions within the standard framework, to Reinhart & Reuland's (1993) radical conceptual departure from the standard notion of anaphor binding. These theories established new foundations for discussions of reflexivity. Along the line, adequacies and flaws of these theories in dealing with particular languages also aroused hot debates. In particular, the phenomena of logophoricity, long-distance reflexives and Blocking Effect observable in Mandarin Chinese became a focus. After the first detailed analysis of Mandarin Chinese reflexives by Y. H. Huang (1984) (cf. Also Huang *et al.* 1984), Pan (1997) and Huang (2001) also devoted their energy to an intensive study of this topic. As mentioned in Huang (2001), three major approaches can be distinguished in the previous analyses: the formal/syntactic approach, the functional / pragmatic one, and a 'mixed' approach that incorporates both the formal and functional view (Huang 2001: 4). Apart from the studies focusing on particular languages, Faltz (1985) made a breakthrough in the study of reflexivity by giving it a cross-linguistic point of view. New and interesting results come to light when hundreds of forms and distributions of reflexives are under comparison. And it becomes more and more clear that an analysis of reflexivity cannot be complete without the semantic point of view. This gap was filled by König & Siemund (2000a, 2000b, 2000c), focusing on the semantics of reflexives and distinguishing reflexivity from intensification. In König & Vezzosi (2002), and many

other studies (van Gelderen 2000) the historical development of reflexive pronouns is analyzed in detail. Some general observations on reflexivity in the languages of the world can be seen in the World Atlas, in which two major types have been distinguished: reflexive pronouns that are identical to intensifiers, and reflexive markers that are clearly differentiated from intensifiers.

A great deal of recent cross-linguistic research has focused on the relationships and interaction between reflexive markers and intensifiers (emphatics) such as Latin *ipse*, Russian *sum* and English *him-/herself*. The fact that intensifiers and reflexives have exactly the same form in many languages and that intensifiers play an important role in the genesis, reinforcement and renovation of reflexive markers strongly suggests that these two domains should be studied in tandem. Based on seminal studies by Edmonson & Plank (1978) and König (1991), a typological project on the salient properties of intensifiers --- including their relationships to reflexives --- was carried in Berlin under the direction of E. König. Major contributions to this project are published, (also Siemund (2000), König & Siemund (2000a)). The results of this project also include a study of intensifiers in Mandarin Chinese by D. Hole (Hole 2008), which studies the properties of the three expressions *zìjǐ*, *běnrén*, *běnshēn* in their uses as intensifiers for the very first time within a typological framework.

Early studies of these expressions which my study is based on are Pan (1997) and Huang (2001), who took a look at the same forms of the same language from syntactic and functional point of view. Their studies mainly dealt with reflexive pronouns in Mandarin Chinese, rather than with intensifiers. In particular, their studies more dedicated to the phenomena of long distance reflexives, logophoricity as well as Blocking Effect.

These are the analyses that my study is based on. It differs from them, however, in analyzing the properties of intensifiers and reflexives in only two languages and from a strict comparative point of view. Such a fine-grained contrastive perspective can be expected to reveal properties of the languages under comparison that would not be visible otherwise. Instead of assuming the fact that intensifiers and reflexive anaphors are cross-linguistic categories, we will try to reveal the language-specific nature of these categories. In doing so, it is also a contribution on describing the 'inner form' of the languages concerned.

5.1   Typological studies

In the following sections I will provide a brief summary of the theoretical discussion as far as

it is important for my study. Faltz was the first to offer a cross-linguistic perspective on the study on reflexives. And one of his most important contributions is his classification of what he called 'reflexive markers' into two strategies, i.e. *verbal strategies* and *nominal strategies*, the latter being further divided in *pronominal reflexive* and *head/adjunct reflexives*. It was also Faltz who pointed out that that binding properties of nominal reflexive markers vary along two dimensions: (a) the nature of the antecedent. Are they always or can they also be object to, and (b) the domain in which they must be bound.

5.2   Generative Studies

A very important point of orientation for any syntactic study on reflexivity, whatever its theoretical orientation might be, is the Binding Theory developed by Chomsky, whose early classic formulated can be summarized as follows.

Chomsky's Binding Conditions (Chomsky 1981: 188):

Condition A: An anaphor is bound in its governing category.

Condition B: A pronoun is free in it governing category.

Condition C: An R-expression is free.

The BT is meant to capture a certain complementarity in distribution of personal pronouns and that of reflexive pronouns and it works well for major structures in a wide variety of languages. Condition A says that anaphors (reflexive pronouns and reciprocal pronouns) find their antecedents in a local domain, typically in the same minimal clause. Thus in the most frequent case the antecedent of a reflexive is the subject of the same minimal clause, as in (11). Personal pronouns, by contrast, find their antecedent in a non-local domain, i.e. in a higher clause or different sentence, as in (11b):

(11)   a.   *Sam$_i$ knows that Bill$_j$ was defending* himself $_{*i/j}$.

(11)   b.   *Sam$_i$ knows that Bill$_j$ was defending* him$_{i/*j}$

In example (11a), the third person singular *self*-forms is bound in the local domain and it finds its antecedent within the minimal clause. In a contrast to this, the pronominal / personal pronoun in its third person singular form finds its antecedent outside the local domain.

5.3   Reinhart & Reuland

As mentioned in the introduction to analysis of Mandarin Chinese long distance reflexive *zìjǐ*, "three approaches can be distinguished, i.e. the formal/syntactic, the functional/pragmatic, and a 'mixed' approach that incorporates both the formal and functional view" (Huang 2001: 4). While Chomsky (1981) and others such as Tang (1989), Lebeaus (1983) and Pica (1987) took the formal direction with the strategies of either revising the theory or reanalyzing the facts, Reinhart & Reuland (1993)'s study was a non-uniform one. They pointed out that Binding Conditions concern only the reflexive marking of reflexive predicate and therefore they do not apply to locally free *self*-forms. Reinhart & Reuland (1993) "proposed a radical conceptual departure from the standard notion of anaphor binding" and argue that "it is a property of predicates"; to be 'reflexive-marked' and being 'reflexive'" (Huang 2001: 11). In other words, Reinhart & Reuland (1993) took reflexive anaphors as "locally bound and restricted to argument positions of predicates, whereas untriggered *self*-forms are locally free and occur in adjunct position" (König & Siemund 2000).

5.4   Haihua, Pan

Following Baker's line (1995), which made a fundamental distinction between *syntactic binding* and *discourse prominence*, Pan's work[12] is based on the textual search of large corpora on the usage of *zìjǐ*, *běnrén*, *běnshēn* and their complex forms; he claims that the two main factors playing an essential role in the interpretation of Mandarin Chinese reflexive pronouns are a semantic factor called '*self-ascription'* and a discourse factor called '*prominence'*. In his study, reflexive pronouns in Mandarin Chinese are mainly classified into 'contrastive reflexives' and 'non-contrastive reflexives'. The former include forms like *běnrén, X-běnrén, běnshēn, X-běnshēn, zìshēn, X-zìshēn* and contrastive *zìjǐ*; and the later group covers non-contrastive *zìjǐ* as well as *X-zìjǐ*. Moreover, Pan claims that non-contrastive *zìjǐ* and *X-zìjǐ* are constrained either by locality or by self-ascription. There are two uses of non-contrastive *zìjǐ* and *X-zìjǐ*: on the one hand, they are constrained by locality and compatibility conditions; on the other hand, they are regulated by self-ascription, i.e. "the *self*-ascription *zìjǐ* is a *de se* anaphor" (Pan 1997: xv) and therefore must be bound by the most prominent self-ascriber. As for the description of *běnrén, X-běnrén, běnshēn,* and *X-běnshēn*, Pan claims that these forms are inherently contrastive and they are different than the forms of *zìjǐ* and *X-zìjǐ*: while *zìjǐ* and *X-zìjǐ* can only access linguistic contexts, *běnrén, X-běnrén, běnshēn,* and *X-běnshēn* can also have access to utterance situations as well as to world knowledge.

12 In Pan's work: *Constraints on Reflexivization in Mandarin Chinese* (1997), the scope of study has been limited to only cover the reflexive use of reflexive pronouns in Mandarin Chinese; the intensifier use was not under discussion.

Also according to Pan (1997), perspectivity is not a sufficient factor for the interpretation of the logophoric use of reflexive pronoun *zìjǐ* in Mandarin Chinese.

5.5　James Huang

Huang (2001)'s work presented a detailed discussion of previous research on long distance reflexives, logophoricity as well as the Blocking Effect.

In his work, Huang (2001) defined long-distance reflexives as "those that have their antecedents outside their governing categories" (Huang 2001: 2). Ever since it has been noticed that Mandarin Chinese *zìjǐ* obviously violate the standard theory of anaphor binding in Chomsky (1981) as well as the later revisions within its framework, the Mandarin Chinese *zìjǐ* has been studied by various scholars. The first serious one is carried out by Y. H. Huang (1984) (cf. Also Huang et al. 1984) where the four basic properties of the Chinese reflexives are mentioned: (i) mono-morphemicity, (ii) subject-orientation, (iii) sub-commanding antecedent, and (iv) blocking effect.

In his literature review, Huang (2001) makes a comparison of his work and that of Pan (1997)'s, whose chief argument is that long distance *zìjǐ* is a '*de se* anaphor'. There are mainly three differences between their findings: first of all, they consider logophoricity differently. On the one hand, Pan (997) argues that long distance *zìjǐ* is not really a logophor. On the other hand, Huang (2001) considered logophoricity "to be a descriptive cover term for a number of related phenomena whose content has been enriched by the properties of Chinese long distance *zìjǐ*" (Huang 2001: 46). Secondly, they treat the syntax and semantics of *de se* beliefs differently. And lastly, they have different explanations for the Blocking Effects.

The conclusions Huang (2001) reached also supported the claims from Reinhart & Reuland (1993) in that reflexive may be a syntactic anaphor in some contexts but a pragmatic logophor in others. Also he argued that "the traditional notion of governing category provides a satisfying 'dividing line' between the anaphoric and logophoric uses of the reflexive" (Huang 2001: 3).

5.6　König & Siemund

König, Siemund and Gast established a semantic perspective in studying reflexivity and intensification. Their contribution can mainly be described as follow:

First of all, based on observations made for English, the uses of *self*-forms are further divided into reflexive pronouns and intensifiers. König (1991) described intensifiers "in terms of an ordering relation: the alternatives (Y) are characterized as periphery, entourage or environment of a value (X) characterized as central." (cf. also König & Siemund 2000: 18) This is in line with Baker's (1995) description of "discourse prominence"; "the value given has a higher discourse prominence than the alternatives under consideration." (König & Siemund 2000: 18) What is more, the sub-uses of intensifiers are classified and compared with intensifiers in other languages.

König (1991), and König & Siemund (1996a/b) develop a semantic analysis of intensifiers which suggests that certain *self*-forms are subject to the conditions that regulate the use of intensifiers in general. The analyses focus on the use of adnominal intensifiers because it is the use we know most about. The two semantic properties of adnominal intensifiers are therefore observed: on the one hand, they evoke alternatives to the value of their nominal co-institutes, which is what Baker labeled as 'contrastive requirement'. On the other hand, adnominal intensifiers induce a structure for the value of their co-constituents and the alternatives under consideration in a context.

Secondly, they underline the importance of a semantic point of view in their study of reflexivity, which is also one of their chief contributions to the study of reflexivity. The basic uses of reflexive pronouns are discussed detail, together with the more complicated situations such as logophorics and locally-free reflexives. Other than that, marginal uses of reflexive pronouns are mentioned as well, namely, generic use of *self*-forms, headless intensifiers, inherently reflexive verbs.

In König & Gast (2002) English reflexive pronouns are characterized as follows:

> *Reflexive pronouns (anaphors) are self-forms used in order to indicate that a semantic or a syntactic argument a predicate is co-referent with another argument of the same predicate (a co-argument), typically with the subject. This co-argument is called the antecedent of the reflexive pronoun.*

In König & Siemund (2000c), which is based on a large corpus of data, which include material of both earlier studies and relevant data from BNC (the British National Corpus), the authors conclude that a suitably modified version of Baker's theory is the most promising and adequate one as far as locally-free *self*-forms in English are concerned:

Locally-free self-forms are headless intensifiers (intensified non-nominative pronouns, intensifiers with incorporated pronominal heads) and thus manifest distributional and semantic properties of both pronouns and intensifiers. Their logophoric use is only one of the several possible manifestations of the structuring of a set of focal referents and the alternatives evoked by such focusing into a center and a periphery generally associated with intensifiers. The binding properties of such forms are simply the ones characteristic of pronominal in general.

König & Siemund (2000c)

Thirdly, their study also took a look at the historical development of the uses of *self*-forms in different stages of the language English. Moreover, they also considered the role of predicate meaning in the development of reflexivity (cf. also König & Vezzosi 2002).

C. Contrasts between Intensifiers

6. Intensifiers in English and Mandarin Chinese

6.1. Inventories and selected areas

Both English and Mandarin Chinese have more than one intensifier; but not every one of these functionally similar expressions can be used as reflexive pronoun. My contrastive study will focus on the intensive uses of the identity expressions that can also be used as reflexive pronouns in the two languages.

6.1.1. Inventory in English

The list of intensifiers in English includes *self*-forms as well as combinations of these forms with prepositions, *in itself, by itself*. Moreover, *personally, in person* and *own* can also be added to this list.

Even though 'several varieties of a language exist and co-exist even within one and the same speaker' (Siemund, 2002: 50)[13], my contrastive study cannot take all the varieties of English into consideration for both practical and theoretical reasons, but has to be restricted to Standard English[14].

6.1.2. Inventories in Mandarin Chinese

The list of intensifiers in Mandarin Chinese includes the following expressions: *zìjǐ, X-zìjǐ, běnrén, X-běnrén, qīnzì, zìshēn, běnshēn*, etc. Among these elements, we particularly focus on the contrasts between *zìjǐ, X-zìjǐ, běnrén, X-běnrén* and *self*-forms in English, since these four identity expressions show a much higher percentage of occurrence than the others, as is shown by a corpora search (cf. Table 2 & 3).

forms of *zìjǐ*	entires	forms of *běnrén*	entries

13According to Siemund (2002:50), varieties of language can be of four kinds: i.e. social, functional, regional and historical ones. In his paper *reflexive and intensive self-forms across varieties of English*, the two latter ones have been neatly covered in the discussion of the form and function of reflexive and intensive *self*-forms in non-standard varieties of English.

14 Since the focus of the present study is strictly on the comparison between Mandarin Chinese and Standard English, other varieties in the two languages will not be covered. Interested readers are therefore referred to the discussion in Siemund (2002: 250-268)

zìjǐ	*202,366*[15]	*běnrén*	*7,781*[16]
wǒzìjǐ	*7,084*	*wǒběnrén*	*635*
nǐzìjǐ	*4,264*	*nǐběnrén*	*125*
tāzìjǐ [M.][17]	*11,991*	*tāběnrén*	*2,661*
tāzìjǐ [F.]	*4,080*	*tāběnrén*	*473*
tāzìjǐ [N.]	*1,277*	**tāběnrén [N.]*	*0*
tāzìjǐ[altogether]	*17,348*	*tāběnrén[altogether]*	*3,134*
wǒmen zìjǐ	*2,961*	*wǒmen běnrén*	*9*
nǐmen zìjǐ	*457*	*nǐmen běnrén*	*0*
tāmen zìjǐ [M.]	*2,705*	*tāmen běnrén [M.]*	*70*
tāmen zìjǐ [F.]	*150*	*tāmen běnrén [F.]*	*7*
tāmen zìjǐ [N.]	*217*	**tāmen běnrén [N.]*	*0*
tāmen zìjǐ[altogether]	*3,072*	*tāmen běnrén[altogether]*	*77*

Table 2: entries containing forms of identity expressions in Mandarin Chinese in the CCL corpora

As listed in table 2, *zìjǐ* and *běnrén* together with their complex forms are the main identity expression in Mandarin Chinese; they are also the only forms used both as reflexive pronouns and as intensifiers. *Zìjǐ*, in particular, is the only identity expression to combine with all pronominals to derive complex forms. Moreover, *zìjǐ* (together with its complex forms) is the only intensifier that can be related to animate as well as inanimate noun phrases. *X-běnrén* (*X*=3PS inanimate), by contrast, is unacceptable in inanimate contexts. No entry containing *X-běnrén* (with an animate antecedent) was found in the corpora. Apart from that, we can see from table 2 that *zìjǐ* together with its complex forms is used much more widely in all contexts compared with *běnrén* and its complex forms. The basic difference between these two forms is the scope of their binding properties: while *zìjǐ* may have both animate and inanimate antecedents or referents, *běnrén* can only have human referents. If we compare *X-zìjǐ*, and *X-běnrén*, we also notice that *X-běnrén* is not attested in CCL when the pronominal part is the second person plural form; but there is no such problem with *X-zìjǐ*.

Besides, there are three identity expressions in Mandarin Chinese that are only used as intensifiers. All of them can be used to refer to both animate as well as to inanimate referents, as is

15 The original number of *zìjǐ* found in the corpora is 237,552, which contains both the simplex form of *zìjǐ* and all of its other complex forms. Therefore the number 202,366 is a calculation after the split of the simplex form and the complex ones. Or to put it simple: 237,552 [*zìjǐ*] – 95,186 [*X- zìjǐ [X=singl. & pl.]*] = 202,366

16 The original number of tokens of *běnrén* found in the corpora is 18,278, which is a combined number of two entires, i.e., *běnrén* and the other is *rìběnrén; and they are of* completely distinct meanings. *Rìběnrén* [日 本 人]contains one more character before *běnrén* but with the meaning of 'Japanese'. Therefore after calculating the number of *rìběnrén* to be 6,517, the final entries that only consists of the simplex form of *běnrén* is 7,781.

17 [M] = male, [F] = female, [N] = neutral

shown below:

forms	entries	forms	entries	forms	entries
zìshēn	*19,783*	*běnshēn*	*19,093*	*qīnzì*	*13,545*

Table 3: number of forms of *zìshēn*, *běnshēn*, and *qīnzì* found in the CCL corpora

The frequency of use these three intensifiers in Mandarin Chinese is ranked as follows:

zìshēn > běnshēn > qīnzì

Table 4: frequency of use of three intensifiers in Mandarin Chinese

Our comparison will cover the following: formal, distributional / syntactic as well as semantic points of view:

- Standard English: *self*-forms (also *in person, personally, by itself*);
- Mandarin Chinese: *zìjǐ, X-zìjǐ, běnrén, X-běnrén*[18]

7.   Contrastive Study of the Forms of Intensifiers in Standard English and Mandarin Chinese

The simplex forms and complex forms of intensifiers in Mandarin Chinese, i.e. *zìjǐ/běnrén* and *X-zìjǐ/X-běnrén* are defined as different elements in my study: *zìjǐ* v.s. *běnrén* are the simplex forms of the intensifiers; and *X-zìjǐ* and *X-běnrén* are the complex forms of the intensifiers, in which *X* stands for the inventories of personal pronouns in Mandarin Chinese[19].

7.1.   Simplex forms of intensifiers in Mandarin Chinese: *zìjǐ & běnrén*

romanization	*zì - jǐ*	*běn - rén*
	REFL oneself	REFL person
literal translation	self	this person
counterpart in English	'X-self'	'X-self'

Table 5:   simplex form of intensifier *zìjǐ* and *běnrén* in Mandarin Chinese

7.2.   Complex forms of intensifier in Mandarin Chinese

7.2.1.   Complex form [*X-zìjǐ*] = [personal pronoun] + [*zìjǐ*]

singular form	plural form

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18 Other elements such as *qīnzì, běnshēn,* and *zìshēn*, etc. are treated as marginal in the contrastive part.

19 Similar to the *běn* expressions, *zì* expressions are also widely used in Mandarin Chinese in which *zì* contains reflexivity. The morphological make-up, distributional properties as well as semantics of these *zì* expressions require a separate chapter of discussion.

wǒ　　　*zìjǐ* 我　　　自己 1PS　　　REFL 'I/me/myself'	*wǒ-men*　　　*zìjǐ* 我 们　　　自己 1PS PL　　　REFL 'ourselves'
nǐ　　　*zìjǐ* 你　　　自己 2PS　　　REFL 'yourself'	*nǐ-men*　　　*zìjǐ* 你 们　　　自己 2PS PL　　　REFL 'yourselves'
tā　　　*zìjǐ* 他/她/*它　　　自己 3PS　　　REFL 'himself/herself/itself'	*tā – men*　　　*zìjǐ* 他/她/*它们　　　自己 3PS PL　　　REFL 'themselves'

Table 6: an inventory of *X-zìjǐ* (X=personal pronoun)/complex forms of *zìjǐ*

7.2.2. Complex form [*X-běnrén*] = [personal pronoun] + [*běnrén*]

The complex forms of *běnrén* has the structure [personal pronoun + *běnrén*] as seen below:

singular form	plural form
wǒ　*běn*　*rén* 我　本　人 1PS　REFL 'I/me/myself'	*wǒ-men*　*běn*　*rén* 我 们　本　人 1PS PL　REFL 'ourselves'
nǐ　*běn rén* 你　本 人 2PS　REFL 'yourself'	*nǐ-men*　*běn*　*rén* 你们　本　人 2PS PL　REFL 'yourselves'
tā　*běn rén* 他/她/*它　本　人 3PS　REFL 'himself/herself/itself'	*tā men*　*běn rén* 他/她/*它们　本 人 3PS PL　REFL 'themselves'

Table 7: an inventory of *X-běnrén* (X=personal pronouns) / complex forms of *běnrén*

In the structures listed in Table 7, *běnrén* functions as an intensifier and stays invariably in non-argument position behind a proper name or pronoun. The position *X* can always be filled by either personal pronouns (either in the singular or in the plural) or by proper names.

The basic morphological make-up of these expressions corresponds to the schema *X-zìjǐ*. To express singularity, a personal pronoun is added in front of the basic marker (*běnrén* or *zìjǐ*)[20]. To

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20 Gender differences of the third person pronominal in Mandarin Chinese can only be recognized in written

express plurality, the default plural suffix '-*men*' is added to the personal pronoun.

The forms of reflexive pronouns in Mandarin Chinese are classified into simplex and complex forms; such a distinction does not make sense for *self*-forms in English because *self* does not exist as a separate form and has to be combined with a pronominal part. *Self*-forms inflect for number and in the third person for gender. Historically, one can also distinguish forms based on object forms of personal pronouns (*himself*) from forms based on possessive pronouns (*myself, yourself, ourselves*).

7.3. Intensifier in English: *self*-forms

object forms of pronominal			possessive / genitive forms of pronominal	
himself	*herself*	*itself*	*myself*	*yourself*
REFL	REFL	REFL	REFL	REFL
themselves			*ourselves*	*yourselves*
REFL			REFL	REFL

Table 8:   forms of *self*-forms in English

Comparing the forms of these inventories, we can see that the morphological make-up of reflexive pronouns of English and in Mandarin Chinese fall into two groups: they have similar counterparts in the first and the second person forms, and are identical in the third person forms. Detailed contrasts are listed in Appendix I.

Each of the components in the complex forms of the intensifiers *X-zìjǐ/X-běnrén* can be used separately; they are basically independent words, *a combination of personal pronouns* and the *identity expressions zìjǐ/běnrén*. English *self*-forms, on the other hand, are formed of a combination of *personal or possessive pronouns* and a suffix *-self*. Only the first part of the reflexive pronouns can be used independently as a personal pronoun.

In English, intensifiers and reflexive pronouns can no longer be decomposed into smaller expressions. As already mentioned earlier, the *self* part is not a free form in Standard English and can only be used together with a pronoun. In forming plurality, both the *X* part and the *self* part need to be changed into the plural forms. In Mandarin Chinese, however, the components of construction like [personal pronoun + intensifier] are independent elements. Both can be used on their own. Therefore both parts are viewed as lexemes rather than affixes. The pronouns combined with *běnrén/zìjǐ* are personal pronouns. In forming plurality, the plural suffix *-men* is added to the

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forms/characters because the masculine [+human, +animate], feminine [+human, +animate] and neuter forms are identical in pronunciations.

personal pronouns while keeping *běnrén/zìjǐ* unchanged.

As has already been discussed before, an adnominal intensifier in English invariably occurs in the position immediately next to the noun phrase it agrees with. *Self*-forms in an adnominal use and those in an adverbial use can be kept apart in their distribution. Combinations such as [PERSONAL PRONOMINAL + REFL~complex form~] are not acceptable in Mandarin Chinese (such as the example * *tā + tā-zìjǐ/* tā + tā-běnrén*). But there is no problem with the combinations of [PERSONAL PRONOMINAL + REFL~simplex form~]. On the other hand, analogous combinations of [PERSONAL PRONOMINAL + SELF FORMS] such as *he himself* are never found in other than subject positions (cf. König & Siemund, 2000: 54). Other combinations like *him himself or *her herself as object pronouns and adnominal intensifiers are almost never found in English. What is more, one of the intensifiers can be used to reinforce another in Mandarin Chinese while this is not possible in English. As argued in Baker (1995) and König & Siemund (2001), untriggered reflexives which share properties of both intensifiers and reflexive pronouns are "fused combinations of personal pronouns and intensifiers, i.e., the personal pronoun has been incorporated into (or: omitted before) the intensifier as it were, since the latter contains a pronoun as part of its morphological make-up anyway (*him+self*)" (Siemund 2002: 146). That is to say, intensifiers in English and in Mandarin Chinese (*zìjǐ* & *X-zìjǐ* and *běnrén* & *X-běnrén*) are different both in their morphological make-ups, formal restrictions, distributions as well as in their use.

The morphological make-up in their attributive use of intensifiers in Mandarin Chinese can be summarized in the following table:

	pronominal forms of personal pronoun	possessive / attributive forms of personal pronoun
singular form	*wǒ zìjǐ / běnrén* 1PS INT INT	*wǒ zìjǐ / běnrén de* 1PS ATTR.INT
	nǐ zìjǐ / běnrén 2PS INT INT	*nǐ zìjǐ & běnrén de* 2PS ATTR.INT
	tā zìjǐ / běnrén 3PS INT INT	*tā zìjǐ / běnrén de* 3PS ATTR.INT
plural form	*wǒ-men zìjǐ / běnrén* 1PS PL INT INT	*wǒ-men zìjǐ / běnrén de* 1PS PL ATTR.INT
	nǐ-men zìjǐ / běnrén 2PS PL INT INT	*nǐ-men zìjǐ / běnrén de* 2PS PL ATTR.INT
	tā-men zìjǐ / běnrén 3PS PL INT INT	*tā-men zìjǐ / běnrén de* 3PS PL ATTR.INT

Table 9: forms of attributive use *X-zìjǐ/X-běnrén* in Mandarin Chinese

The attributive uses of identity expressions in Mandarin Chinese require an additional possessive modifier *de-(POSS)*, which can also be omitted depending on the context. The attributive

use of identity expressions in English, on the other hand, is realized by two forms, either identity expressions are used in the structure [of + *X-self*], or the English attributive intensifier takes the form *own*.

Summary of contrast:
X-běnrén / zìjǐ   *X-self*
X=personal pronoun   *X*= personal pronoun
**X*= possessive pronoun   *X*= possessive pronoun[ok]
word+word   word+suffix
plurality =[*X*+men] + *běnrén / zìjǐ*[*X*=>*X*PL.] plurality=X+[*-self*=>*-selves*]

8. Contrastive Study of the Distribution and Meaning of Intensifiers in Standard English and Mandarin Chinese

Based on distribution as well as on meaning, the uses of intensifiers in English and in Mandarin Chinese can be summarized by the tree chart below (cf. König & Gast, 2007). Cross-linguistically, there are four use types of intensifiers that can be distinguished, but not all of them are available in each language (cf. Edmondson & Plank 1978: 374–88; König & Siemund 2000a: 43–4; Siemund 2000: 11–3; König 2001: 748). Adnominal and adverbial exclusive intensifiers are the two most widely spread uses cross-linguistically; whereas the adverbial inclusive use is the rarest of the four. Therefore it does not come as a surprise that it cannot be found in Mandarin Chinese. Attributive intensifiers, on the other hand, are often used in association with a possessive marker, which in some cases can be omitted. Generally speaking, *self*-forms as intensifiers have three uses, i.e. they cannot be used in attributive position, whereas intensifiers in Mandarin Chinese also manifest three uses, with exclusion of the adverbial inclusive one.

Intensifiers in their adverbial uses in the two languages are not entirely parallel. As far as adverbial *zìjǐ* is concerned, it may take the meaning of 'alone', which is the same as the adverbial exclusive use of *self*-forms; or it may also have the meaning of 'in person', or 'personally'. In other words, adverbial uses of *zìjǐ* can be an exclusive intensifier, but 'alone' is not the only possible translation for the adverbial uses of *zìjǐ*. It does not only find equivalents as *self*-forms in English but also two other counterparts, i.e. *in person* and *personally*. Apart from this, *běnrén*, too, shares semantic features with *in person* and *personally*. The differenc between the relevant uses of *zìjǐ, běnrén, qīnzì, self-forms, in person,* and *personally* will be discussed later.

intensifiers

adnominal intensifiers   adverbial intensifiers   attributive intensifiers

adverbial exclusive intensifiers   *adverbial inclusive intensifiers*
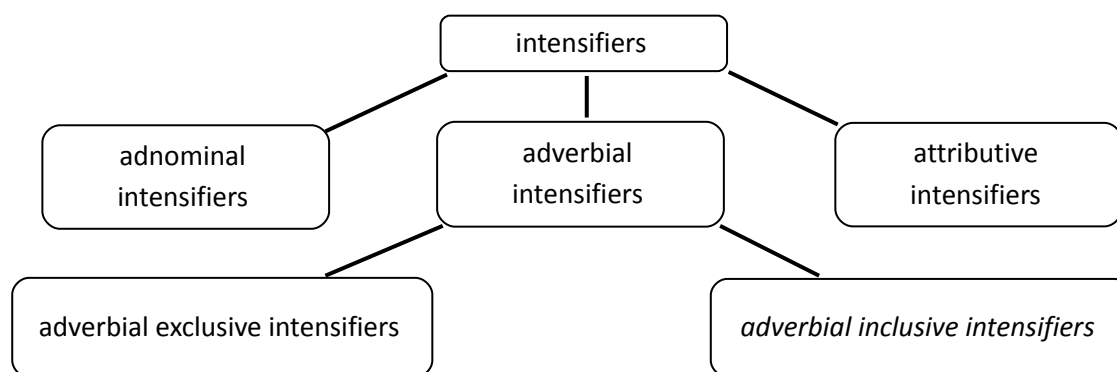
Chart 1:   four uses of intensifiers

Based on this classification, the comparison between the intensifiers in the two languages will focus on similarities as well as differences, i.e. on (a) structures, (b) syntactic positions of adnominal and adverbial exclusive intensifiers in the two languages, and (c) on meanings of *self-*forms and intensifiers (both adnominal and adverbial exclusive uses) in Mandarin Chinese.

Roughly speaking, there are circumstances where intensifiers in their adnominal, adverbial exclusive as well as attributive uses in Mandarin Chinese and *self*-forms in English are all acceptable; while there are also situations in which a certain option in Mandarin Chinese is clearly to be favored over another. Not every intensifier in Mandarin Chinese has all the three uses. *Zìjǐ &* *X-zìjǐ* manifest all of the three possibilities. Other intensifiers such as *běnrén & X-běnrén* do not have adverbial uses, while *qīnzì* can only be used as an adverbial intensifier. The behavior of adnominal *zìjǐ* is strongly influenced by the nature of predicates. *Self*-forms in the adnominal use manifests the same behavior with stative predicates and event predicates. As for the adverbial intensifier use of *X-self*, 'there is a tendency for the exclusive use to show up in connection with event predicates, whereas the inclusive use is typically found in connection with states' (König & Gast, 2006).

Apart from the main points mentioned above, other properties of intensifiers as well as functionally similar expressions such as instrumental intensifiers, combinations of two intensifiers in Mandarin Chinese with or without reinforcement will also be covered. It will be observed that there are differences in the potential for reinforcement between the intensifiers in the two languages (cf. Table 28). In German as well as in many other continental European languages, intensifiers can combine with the reflexive pronoun (*sich selbst*) and be used to emphasize cases of remarkable reflexivity, which never happens in languages where reflexive pronouns and intensifiers have the same form such as English. Findings from CCL reveal, however, that five of the intensifiers in

Mandarin Chinese, i.e. *zìjǐ, běnrén, qīnzì, zìshēn* and *běnshēn* (sometimes with their complex forms) may be combined into seven ways for reinforcement, covering all the three sub-uses of intensifiers.

8.1.   Contrasts in general structures

Intensifiers in English and in Mandarin Chinese take different structures. In English we see and find two or three different word order patterns correlating with different meanings, whereas in Mandarin Chinese we do not find such a distinction of word order patterns. In other words, uses of intensifiers in English are indicated by word order; intensifiers in Mandarin Chinese do not differentiate their uses by this syntactic criterion. Therefore we need to make a distinction between the structures of the intensifiers in the two languages before any further comparison is carried out.

In English, *self*-forms as intensifiers can be classified into adnominal and adverbial uses based on word order patterns (cf. (4 b), (5 a) and (6 a)); the two adverbial uses are further classified into the exclusive uses (cf. (5 a) and (5 b)) and the inclusive ones (cf. (6 a) and (6 b)) depending on the two types of predicates they correlate with. *Self*-forms as intensifiers have the feature that one word order pattern only correlates with a specific meaning; we cannot find a *self*-form that is in the position of an adnominal intensifier but somehow expresses the function of an adverbial one, and vice versa. Stative predicates preferably combine with adverbial exclusive intensifiers (cf. (5 a) and (5 b)) and action predicates are found in combination with adverbial inclusive ones (cf. (6 a) and (6 b)). Basically, the decisive factor for the interpretation of intensifiers in English is the one-to-one relationship between the word order patterns and the meanings of intensifiers. The two adverbial uses are frequently distinguished by their syntactic positions. The adverbial exclusive use of intensifiers tends to follow the VP, as in *I will do that myself;* whereas in the additive use (adverbial inclusive use), the intensifier may be precede the VP, as in *I am myself a drinker* (cf. Siemund 2000: 2)*.

In Mandarin Chinese, on the other hand, intensifiers cannot be classified in the same way as in English on the basis of constituent order alone. The distinction between uses of intensifiers in Mandarin Chinese is not based on the syntactic positions of the related forms but relies much more on meaning conveyed by hierarchical structure. We can often find an intensifier in Mandarin Chinese that occurs in one position but may exhibit two different uses, i.e. an intensifier in Mandarin Chinese that occurs in the position immediately next to the matrix subject can have an adnominal use as well as an adverbial as is shown by the meaning of the sentence as well as the types of predicates it relates to (cf. (15 a)). That is to say, types of predicates also play a role in

distinguishing an adnominal intensifier and an adverbial one. This raises, of course, the question whether these two uses essentially depend on the properties of the verb and thus are in complimentary distribution. More detailed discussion will be given below. In other words, a one-to-one relationship between the word order patterns and the meanings of intensifiers in Mandarin Chinese does not always exist. An intensifier occurring in one syntactic position may have several functions.

Whether other intensifiers in Mandarin Chinese such as *běnrén*, and *X-zìjĭ* share this feature needs to be tested further. We will look at this question at a later point.

8.2. Contrasts in syntactic positions of adnominal intensifiers

Roughly speaking, adnominal intensifiers in both Mandarin Chinese and in English can occur in the position immediately after the subject. As for the positions of being adjacent to the object, it is unacceptable for pronouns in Standard British English. In Standard British English intensifiers can only be adjoined to pronouns in subject position. Combinations of pronoun + intensifier in object position are not only judged to be unacceptable by most native speakers, there are also hardly any attested examples found in the major corpora of English (cf. König & Siemund 2000a: 52).

The following examples (12) provide instances of the variety of forms of intensifiers in Mandarin Chinese as well in English based on a corpus search. All of them share the syntactic feature of occurring immediately behind an NP; semantically they all evoke alternatives to the value of that NP. Forms such as **him himself, *her herself,* and **us ourselves* in English are grammatically unacceptable. The following is a list of the possible syntactic positions of all the intensifiers under discussion in their adnominal use, i.e. in the structure of [[NP + adnominal intensifier] (+ VP)]:

(12)	a.	*Wǒ*	zìjĭ	*yǒu*	*liàng*	*chē,*	*wǒ*	*dì-di*
		1PS	INT	have	CLASSIFIER	car	1PS	brother
		yě	*yǒu*	*yí*	*liàng.*[21]			
		also	have	one	CLASSIFIER			
		'I myself have a car; my brother also has a car of his own.' 我自己有辆车，我弟弟也有一辆。 [adnominal intensifier]							

(12)	b.	*The `Dawn of civilization'; produced events of a different kind, different because they were, for the first time, modified by man* himself *to provide a new source of `;goodness'; to be added to the*

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21 *Běnrén* can also be accepted in this authentic instance.

(12)		*storehouse that is the Created God. [BNC,* BM2850*]*							

(12)	c.	*Indeed this latest move to de-mystify Her Majesty was so unconvincing I couldn't help but wonder if --; at any moment --; Beadle* himself *(albeit heavily disguised) might not appear beside the Queen to inform her that she had been framed. [BNC,* CBC*8930]*

(12)	d.	*'What of the prince* himself*?'; asked Elizabeth Mowbray, curious to know her daughter's views on the subject. [BNC,* CCD*958]*

(12)	e.	*[...]*,	*Mó-tè*	zìjǐ	bù	néng	dài	bāo	jìn	chǎng.
			model	INT	no	can	bring	bag	enter	place

'[Because the exhibition is full of expensive jewelleries, the security requires that] models themselves are not allowed to take their bags with them.'
……，模特自己不能带包进场。

(12)	f.	*[…]*,	*Yuè-fū*	shū	tā-zìjǐ	qiān	dǎo	wàn	shì
			NAME	uncle	INT	move	island	ten-thousand	thing

		jù	*bèi,*	*dàn*	*tā*	*bù*	*xiǎng*	*zì*	*jiā*	*qiǎo-rán*	*lí-qù.*
		have	ready	but	3PS	no	want	REFL	family	quiet	leave

'Uncle Yue-fu himself had got everything ready for moving away from the island, but he did not want to leave alone without telling anyone.'
岳父叔他自己迁岛万事具备，但他不想自家悄然离去。
[intensifier use]

(12)	g.	*Huáng-dì*	běnrén	*yě*	*qīn*	*lín*	*qián-xiàn.*
		Emperor	INT	also	INT	at	front-line

'[…], even the emperor himself went to the frontline.'
皇帝本人也亲临前线。

(12)	h.	*[…]*,	*zhì-yú*	*ā-ěr-hàn-nà*	tā-běnrén[22]
			as.for	NAME	INT

'… as for Alhanna herself'
……，至于阿二罕那她本人

(12)	i.	*zuò-wéi*	*fǎ-lǜ*	*wén-jiàn*	běnshēn
		as	law	document	INT

'as for the legal document itself'
作为法律文件本身

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22 Among 473 entries containing *ta-běnrén [f.],* there are only one or two cases showing that *ta-běnrén* is in an adnominal use, the rest of them are either headless intensifiers, the attributive intensifiers or adverbial intensifiers.

(12)	j.	*rèn-hé*	*yǐng-piān*	tā-běnshēn	
		any	film	INT	
		'any film' 任何影片它本身			

(12)	k.	*huǒ-jiàn*	zìshēn	*dài-yǒu*	*yǎng-huà-jì*
		rocket	INT	contain	oxidants
		'The rocket itself has oxidants' 火箭自身带有氧化剂			

(12)	l.	*Zhè*	*ge*	*zuò-jiā*	tā-zìshēn
		this	CLASSIFIER	writer	INT
		'The writer himself' 这个作家他自身			

Adnominal intensifiers in English and in Mandarin Chinese occur in the same position, i.e. they are in non-argument position adjacent to the nominal they agree with. This is also the only possible position for an intensifier in its adnominal use, but on the other hand, not every intensifier that occurs in this position has an adnominal use. Mandarin Chinese in this case is more flexible than English in the use of the *self*-forms. When *zìjǐ* is adjacent to a nominal, it may either have an adnominal use or an adverbial use depending on the type of verb. Verbs indicating a state give rise to adnominal use of *zìjǐ* whereas verbs of action indicate an adverbial use. No other intensifiers in the two languages manifest this property.

8.2.1. *Zìjǐ* v.s. *self*-forms in adnominal position:

The term *adnominal position* here identifiers the position of an intensifier that is adjacent to the nominal. It is labeled so because in English, *self*-forms in an adnominal position can only have an adnominal use, which is not true in Mandarin Chinese.

The intensifier *zìjǐ* does not distinguish between its possible uses syntactically. *Zìjǐ* in example (12 a) is an instance of an adnominal use, whereas (13 b) exhibits an adverbial use. *Zìjǐ* in (12 a) modifies the NP preceding it and *zìjǐ* in (13 b) is related to the VP and modifies the verb following it.

(13)	a	[…]	*Wǒ*	zìjǐ	*kāi*	*le*	*jiā*	*gōng-sī.*
			1PS	INT	open	PAST	CLASSIFIER	company
		'I opened the company myself.' … … 我自己开了家公司。						

(13)	b.	[…]	*Wǒ-men*	*xué-xiào*	zìjǐ	*shāo*	*nuǎn-qì.*
			1PS PL	school	INT	burn	heating

		'Our school has its own heating system.' … … 我们学校自己烧暖气。

Comparing examples (12 a) and (13 a), we find the former is non-ambiguous whereas the latter one has two possible interpretations. In the case (13 a), the verb '*kāi*' (open) can be understood from two perspectives, one represents a state (stative), the other is an action (dynamic). When the interpretation of the verb *kāi* is a stative one, the meaning of the sentence can also be transferred into 'I own/have the company instead of anyone else being the owner'; the intensifier is an adnominal one; whereas when the predicate is understood as an action, it leads the sentence to the meaning of 'I manage to establish a company alone'. The intensifier is therefore an adverbial exclusive one. That is to say, the intensifier *zìjǐ* may have two instead of only one possible uses in the same syntactic position. To be specific, this situation only occurs when *zìjǐ* is adjacent to the subject, which is the adnominal position for its English counterpart. On the other hand, example (12 a) does not have such an ambiguity because the predicate expresses a state rather an action. Therefore the intensifier in (12 a) exhibits only the adnominal use.

The statement that *zìjǐ* invariably has the adnominal use when it is in connection with a stative predicate, whereas the adverbial use of *zìjǐ* is found in connection with verbs related to actions is also true when we compare examples (13 a) and (13 b). Since sentence (13 a) can be understood, on the one hand, as 'the agent does something without the help of others, (he accomplishes it by using his own ability'), while on the other hand, (15 a.) can also be transformed into a structure parallel to (12 a) (cf. (16) below), in which the predicate is semantically identical to a stative one. We can once more draw the conclusion that the predicate is a decisive factor for distinguishing the uses of *zìjǐ* in Mandarin Chinese. *Yǒu* (with the meaning 'to have') is stative; *zìjǐ* in that case only makes sense as an adnominal intensifier; therefore *zìjǐ* in that case is an adverbial intensifier because it is in construction with the VP. Even though *kāi* (with the meaning 'to open') is also a verb referring to an action, *kāi-le* (with the meaning 'has already been opened') indicates that the action has already been done and has been transformed into a state. Therefore *zìjǐ* in that case has two interpretations, either as an adnominal intensifier, or an adverbial intensifier.

(13)	c.	[…]	*Wǒ*	zìjǐ	*kāi*	*le*	*jiā*	*gōng-sī,*	*wǒ*	*dì-di*
			1PS	INT	open	PAST	CLASSIFIER	firm	1PS	brother

	yě	*kāi*	*le*	*yì*	*jiā*	*gōng-sī.*
	too	open	PAST	one	CLASSIFIER	firm
	'I have a company of my own, and my brother has his own, too.'					
	我自己开了家公司，我弟弟也开了一家公司。					

Summary of Contrast:

The criteria for distinguishing an adnominal intensifier and an adverbial intensifier in the two languages are different:

•Syntactic position alone cannot distinguish between an adnominal use and an adverbial use of the intensifier *zìjǐ* in Mandarin Chinese. *Zìjǐ* can be either an adnominal intensifier or an adverbial one in the same syntactic position. This distinction can be made depending on the basis of different types of verbs or VPs. An adnominal intensifier *zìjǐ* tends to occur in combination with stative predicates whereas an adverbial use of *zìjǐ* is more related to actional predicates

•In English it is not possible to have two different uses of an intensifier (an adnominal use & an adverbial use) in one and the same syntactic position. In other words, positional variance is one of the basic requirements for distinguishing these two uses of *self*-forms.

•The form of *zìjǐ* does not semantically distinguish singular and plural because the form of *zìjǐ* does not inflect for person, gender and number.

•*Self*-forms inflect for person, gender and number.

Comparing (13 a) and (13 c), we find that the later sentence is non-ambiguous anymore because the properties of the predicate/verb has already been defined by the given context with *zìjǐ* as an adnominal intensifier.

Even though *zìjǐ* can relate to both singular and plural NPs, it does not depend on the plural marker –*men* to express plurality, data from the CCL, however, suggests that *zìjǐ-men* [自己们] is actually used. There are entries in the corpus, and all of them were written before 1949 with a similar social background, the Chinese civil war in the thirties and forties of the twenties century. I personally think that such use of *zìjǐ-men* was due to the fact that *Pǔtōnghuà* as a standard for the Chinese language was just in its initial stages and therefore many usages were not yet standardized. Relevant data containing such a form used in more recent years cannot be found in CCL, which implies that the use of *zìjǐ-men* has disappeared and been replaced by either *zìjǐ* or the complex forms *X-zìjǐ*.

8.2.2. *X-zìjǐ* v.s. *self*-forms in adnominal positions:

Even though *X-zìjǐ* can be used as an adnominal intensifier (cf. (14 a)), corpus data suggest that

only occasionally do forms of *X-zìjǐ* actually occur in the adnominal use. In fact, there is almost no case of *X-zìjǐ* (*X* to be 3PS singular form) used as an adnominal intensifier. Most of them are either instance of attributive intensifiers or of reflexive pronouns and of headless intensifiers.

(14)	a.	*Xǔ-duō*	*yī-hù*	*rén-yuán*	tāmen - zìjǐ	*yě*	*gǎn-rǎn*	*le*	*SARS*[23]
		many	medical	person	3PS PL INT	also	infect	PAST	SARS
		'Many of the doctors and nurses themselvesare also infected by SARS.' 许多医护人员他们自己也感染了SARS.							

When X-*zìjǐ* follows an NP it is always in construction with it and manifests what we have called the adnominal use rather than an adverbial use (cf. (14 a)). This is different from the behavior of its simplex form as well as from *self*-forms in English. Comparing examples (4 b), (12 a) and (14 b), we find that the compound form of *zìjǐ* is similar to the English counterpart in that both of them have the one-to-one relationship between the position of the intensifiers and the adnominal use. Unlike *zìjǐ*, the compound form of *zìjǐ* does not have an adverbial use when it follows the subject, nor does *X-zìjǐ* actually have an adverbial use under any circumstance.

However, unlike *self*-forms which can only be used without separating the two components, *X-zìjǐ* is a combination of two free forms, used as a single form. When it occurs in an example such as (14 a), *X* takes the plural form with the nominal it agrees with, which can also be omitted. If so, *zìjǐ* is still an adnominal intensifier because the verb in (14 a) is stative rather than dynamic. But there are also circumstances such as in (14 c), in which *X-zìjǐ* is taken as one single form; neither of its components can be deleted without making the sentence problematic in its meaning. If the *zìjǐ*-part is omitted, the third person pronoun will not be bound by the matrix subject and denotes an entity other than *Chiang Kai-shek*. On the other hand, if the pronominal head is deleted, *zìjǐ* will either be coreferent with an antecedent, or denotes the external speaker as its referent, as also in (14 d) (cf. 17.5 *discussions on logophorics*).

Therefore, what we can roughly generalize at this stage is the fact that *X-zìjǐ* as an adnominal intensifier can be used with or without its pronominal head, whereas when it is used as a reflexive pronoun, it has to be used as a whole element to establish co-reference without ambiguity (cf. (14 c)).

(14)	b.	*Wǒ*	*chóng-bài*	*de*	*zhǐ*	*shì*	*zuò-pǐn,*	*ér*	*bú*	*shì*
		1PS	adore	POSS	only	be	work	but	not	be

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23 The intensifier in this sentence looks very much like an inclusive adverbial intensifier, but actually it is an adnominal one. Such a confusion was caused by the particle *yě* [also].the intensifier, however, does not carry the semantic feature of an inclusive adverbial intensifier, which is obvious when the particle is omitted.

	quán-lì	*hé*	*jīn-qián.*	*wǒ*	*yě*	*chóng-bài*	wǒ-zìjǐ
	power	and	money	1PS	also	adore	REFL
	'What I adore is only work instead of power and money. I also adore myself.' 我崇拜的只是作品,而不是权利和金钱。我也崇拜我自己。						

(14)	c.	*Jiǎng-jiè-shí*	*zhǐ*	*xiāng-xìn*	tā-zìjǐ.
		Chiang Kai-shek	only	trust	REFL
		'Chiang Kai-shek only trusts himself.' 蒋介石只相信他自己。			

(14)	d.	*[...]*	*yùn-dòng-yuán*	*zuì*	*dà*	*de*	*duì-shǒu*
			athlete	most	big	POSS	component
		qí -shí	*shì*	tāmen-zìjǐ.			
		in.fact	be	REFL			
		'The biggest components of athletes are themselves.' … … 运动员最大的对手其实是他们自己。					

(14 b) is an exception, since the matrix subject, the external speaker as well as the pronominal head of the *X-zìjǐ* is the first person, no problem as in (14 c) would ever occur if the pronominal head is omitted. In example (14 b), *wǒ-zìjǐ* is used as a reflexive pronoun, coreferent with the first person pronominal; *wǒ-zìjǐ* is used as reflexive pronoun as a whole, rather than being analyzable as an adnominal intensifier modifying the first person pronominal in object position. Such an analysis of the sentence would be in perfect harmony with the relevant context, in which the speaker is contrasted with his power, his work and his money. In other words, the reason for using *wǒ-zìjǐ* in argument position is because the first person pronominal cannot express the relevant meaning in object position, while on the other hand, the contrastive character of the sentence relies more on the contrastive structure of '*shì .... ér-bú-shì...*' (a clause indicating affirmation with a clause indicating negation) instead of the support from intensifiers. Such a reflexive use of *X-zìjǐ* is accepted only when it occurs in object position.

Cases where *wǒ-zìjǐ* appears in subject position are mostly a combination of the first person pronominal and the adnominal intensifier use of *zìjǐ*. This expression always denotes the external speaker in the outside world.

Structure (14 c) is an interesting case because it has an emphatic contrastive quality which is similar to an emphatic reflexive (like English *I also adore MYSELF*) or to a combination of reflexive and intensifier (cf. German *mich selbst*).

generalization:

forms	syntactic position	function

self-forms	[NP + adnominal intensifier] (+ VP)	adnominal use
zìjǐ	1. [NP + intensifier] + predicate	adnominal use & adverbial use
X-zìjǐ	2. predicate + [NP + intensifier]	adnominal use

Table 10 (a): contrast of syntactic positions and relevant functions of *self*-forms, *zìjǐ* & *X-zìjǐ*

8.2.3. *Běnrén* v.s. *self*-forms in adnominal positions

(15)	a.	*niú-dùn*	běnrén	*zuò-wéi*	*lì-xué*	*zhī*	*fù*
		Newton	INT	as	mechanics	POSS	father
		'Newton himself as Father of Mechanics' 牛顿本人作为力学之父					

(15)	b.	*Zhè*	*wèi*	*yì-zhě*	*jiù*	*shì*	*wǒ*	*běnrén*
		This	CLASSIFIER	translator	ADV	be	1PS	INT
		'The translator is me.' 这位译者就是我本人						

Běnrén and *X-běnrén* can also occur in adnominal position, as in (15 a & b). In this context, *běnrén* and *X-běnrén* can only be used as an adnominal intensifier. *Běnrén* does not have an adverbial use at all, and neither does *X-běnrén*. That is to say, they are invariably in construction with NPs rather than with VPs in a sentence. Both *zìjǐ* as well as *self*-forms in English, by contrast, can be used as adverbial intensifiers.

Our corpus search has revealed that *X-běnrén* is used only occasionally as an adnominal intensifier. And there is no instance showing that *X-běnrén* is used as an adnominal intensifier when the pronominal head is in the plural form. In most of the cases, it is either used as a headless intensifier, or attributively with or without the possessive marker.

generalization:

forms	syntactic position	function
self-forms	[NP + adnominal intensifier] (+ VP)	
běnrén	[NP + intensifier] + predicate	adnominal use
X-běnrén	predicate + [NP + intensifier]	

Table 10 (b): contrast of syntactic positions and relevant functions of *self*-forms, *běnrén* & *X-běnrén*

Another interesting property of Mandarin Chinese, as mentioned in Hole (2002), is that the different intensifiers in Mandarin Chinese have different selectional restrictions. *Běnrén* has a more restricted distribution than *zìjǐ* or *self*-forms in English when they are used as adnominal intensifiers. A comparison of the selectional restrictions of intensifiers in Mandarin Chinese can be

found in table 11 below:

forms	selectional restriction
zìjĭ	[NP_{animate}+ intensifier]
X-zìjĭ	[NP_{animate}+ intensifier]
běnrén	[NP_{human}+ intensifier]
X-běnrén	[NP_{human}+ intensifier]
běnshēn	[NP_{animate &inanimate}+ intensifier]
X-běnshēn	[NP_{animate &inanimate}+ intensifier]
zìshēn	[NP_{animate &inanimate}+ intensifier]
X-zìshēn	[NP_{animate &inanimate}+ intensifier]
qīnzì	[NP_{human}+ intensifier]

Table 11: selectional restrictions of adnominal intensifiers in Mandarin Chinese

Self-forms in English, by contrast, have no specific selectional restrictions except the restriction of not combining with *here* and *now* (because they are not nouns/DPs); but they can modify all kinds of NPs, except for the one that the NP to which they adjoin must be referential. Intensifiers in Mandarin Chinese, however, have three markers restricted to human referents, two to animate referents and four others to both animate and inanimate referents. As for *qīnzì,* this intensifier does not really have an adnominal use and its co-constituent is restricted to human referents.

Even though intensifiers in Mandarin Chinese are sometimes interchangeable, not every intensifier can be replaced by another. *Běnrén* and *zìjĭ* differ in this sense, too. As analyzed in Hole (2008), the biggest difference between adnominal *zìjĭ* and *běnrén* is their restrictions holding for the input and output, i.e. while *zìjĭ* does not require its input (=the value of its co-constituent) and output (=the alternatives under consideration) to be strictly human, *běnrén* does. That is to say, when the input (=referent or co-constituent) of an adnominal intensifier is human while its output is not human but merely animate, *zìjĭ* instead of *běnrén* must be used.

8.2.4. Further contrasts between *X-zìjĭ* and *X-běnrén* in adnominal position

Though both the adnominal use of *zìjĭ* and of *běnrén* are interpreted as identity functions, these two forms as well as their compound forms are still different in more than one aspect. And the differentiation between the input and output of *zìjĭ* and *běnrén* also affect the semantics of *X-zìjĭ* and *X-běnrén. X-běnrén* contains a semantic implication of 'someone in flesh and blood'. Analogous to Hole (2008)'s discussion about the ordinary meaning and focus meaning of an adnominal intensifier, one particular form in *X-běnrén, i.e. nĭ-běnrén* (the second pronominal singular + intensifier) is

found to be invariably containing a focus meaning that refers to one's flesh and blood as contrasting to its alternatives, including other properties such as the spirit, character or soul of that person. This difference can clearly be seen in a well-known phrase in Mandarin Chinese:

(16)	a.	*rèn-shi*	nǐ-zìjǐ.
		know	?[24]
		'know yourself.'	
		认识你自己	

(16)	b.*	*rèn-shi*	nǐ-běnrén.
		know	REFL
		'?'	
		认识你本人	

As is shown in the two examples in (16), the phrase always contains the reflexive pronoun *nǐ-zìjǐ* instead of *nǐ-běnrén* to imply that one should know for sure one's own character, personality, merits, spirit etc., instead of only recognizing one's flesh and blood.

With this clarification, it is therefore understandable why it is better to use *X-běnrén* than *X-zìjǐ* as in the following case:

(17)	a.	*Shōu-dào*	*nǐ*	*de*	*xìn,*	*jiù*	*hǎo-xiàng*	*jiàn-dào*	nǐ-běnrén.
		receive	2PS	POSS	letter	ADV	like	meet	REFL
		'To hear from you is just like seeing you in person.'							
		收到你的信，就好像见到你本人。							

(17)	b.*	*Shōu-dào*	*nǐ*	*de*	*xìn,*	*jiù*	*hǎo-xiàng*	*jiàn-dào*	nǐ-zìjǐ.
		receive	2PS	POSS	letter	ADV	like	meet	REFL
		'To hear from you is just like seeing you (alone??).'							
		收到你的信，就好像见到你自己。							

(17)	c.	*jiàn*	*zì*	*rú*	*miàn*
		see	letter	like	face
		'As the letter reaches you, it is the same as seeing me in person.'			
		见字如面			

To make our observation more convincing, (17 c) is compared with the four examples in (16) and (17). The meaning of the sentence in (17 c) is more related to (17 a) than to (17 b) with the body-part *miàn* (face) as an indication that *běnrén* is closer to the flesh and blood of a person and does not refer to someone's character or spirit.

8.2.5. The adnominal intensifier *běnshēn* v.s. *self*-forms

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24 It is still not clear of what the best analysis is.

As the above examples revealed, *běnshēn* can also be used as an adnominal intensifier with the same meaning as that of *zìjǐ* and *běnrén*. The selectional restrictions of *běnshēn* are less severe than those of *běnrén* and *zìjǐ*. *Běnshēn* carries no specific restrictions, except that the NP to which it adjoins must be referential' (Hole, 2008: 13). That is to say, its referent can be any entity, any gender, person or number.

A comparison of the constraint on inputs and outputs in the interpretation of the three adnominal intensifiers *zìjǐ*, *běnrén*, and *běnshēn* with *self*-forms in English can be summarized as shown in the following table:

constraint on NP adjunction site	*běnrén* < HUMAN	*zìjǐ* < ANIMATE	*běnshēn* REFERENTIAL	*self*-forms HUMAN &ANIMATE &REFERENTIAL

Table 12:   contrast of constraints on the interpretation of inputs and outputs of adnominal intensifiers *zìjǐ*, *běnrén*, and *běnshēn* in Mandarin Chinese and *self*-forms in English

Běnshēn does not inflect for person, number or gender, which is similar to relevant features of *zìjǐ* and *běnrén*. With such a property, *běnshēn* can also be an adnominal intensifier for more than one NP and modify them simultaneously, as in:

(18)	*Chú*	*le*	*rén-lì*	*wài,*	*fēng,*	*shuǐ,*	*hé*	*zhǒng-zi*	*běnshēn.*
	apart	PAST	human.force	outside	wind	water	and	seed	INT
	'[…] apart from human force, wind, water as well as seed themselves [...]' 除了人力外，风，水，和种子本身								

In this case what *běnshēn* modifies can be paraphrased as 'the wind itself, the water itself and the seed itself'. Its English counterpart, on the other hand, may require the plurality of *self*-form when the NP before the reflexive pronoun is more than one, the simplex form of *běnshēn* is still used in Mandarin Chinese, only this time in its plural sense.

8.2.6.   The adnominal intensfier *X-běnshēn* and *self*-forms

Observations based on a corpus search shows that *wǒ-běnshēn* is mainly used as an adnominal intensifier or as an attributive one. And its plural form *wǒmen-běnshēn* has no adnominal use.

The constraints on the use of *X-běnshēn* are identical to the restrictions on *běnshēn*, i.e. both of them require their inputs and outputs to be merely referential. Therefore, despite its morphological make-up, in which *X* stands for pronoun and can only refer to animates, *X-běnshēn* is found with an inanimate and referential co-constituent, which happens to be the only entry in the corpus with *nǐ-běnshēn* used as an adnominal intensifier:

(19) [...]	*shāng-yè*	*yín-háng*	nǐ-běnshēn
	commercial	bank	INT
	'the commercial bank itself' 商业银行你本身		

The corpus search also revealed that *X-běnshēn* [*X*=singular pronominal$_{animate}$] is only occasionally used as an adnominal intensifier; and the rest of the entries show that such intensifiers are very limited in number and are mostly used either as attributive intensifiers or as headless intensifiers. As for, i.e. *nǐmen-běnshēn* (the plural form of *nǐ-běnshēn*), there are only three entries containing such a form and all of them share the same feature: the second pronominal plural form is invariably the NP with which *běnshēn* combines as an adnominal intensifier. That is to say, the use of *nǐmen-běnshēn* as complex intensifiers in either the adnominal, adverbial or attributive use is not attested.

Generalisation:

forms	syntactic position	function
self-forms	[NP + adnominal intensifier] + VP	adnominal use
zìjǐ	[NP + intensifier] + predicate predicate + [NP + intensifier]	
self-forms	normally at the end of the sentence	adverbial exclusive use
	[NP] + [predicate + *self*-forms + predicate]	adverbial inclusive use
zìjǐ	NP + [*zìjǐ* + VP]	adverbial use
X-zìjǐ *běnrén* X-*běnrén* *běnshēn* *X-běnshēn* *zìshēn* *X-zìshēn*	[NP + intensifier] + predicate predicate + [NP + intensifier]	adnominal use, only

Table 13:   contrast between syntactic positions and uses of adnominal and adverbial intensifiers in English and in Mandarin Chinese

8.3.   Contrasts in the meanings of adnominal intensifiers in Standard English and in Mandarin Chinese

Based on semantic properties, a definition for adnominal intensifiers that would be applicable cross-linguistically roughly takes the following shape:

Adnominal intensifiers are expressions that are used to relate the referent x of a given (co-)constituent to a set of alternative referents Y = {y1, y2 ... yn}, such that each element yi ϵ y (each element yi from the set y) Y can be identified relative to x.

Let us recall at this point the characteristic features of adnominal intensifiers:

- Syntactically, an adnominal intensifier is normally immediately preceded by an NP;
- Alternatives: The intensifier interacts semantically with the preceding noun phrase, by evoking alternatives to its denotation, which are defined in terms of the value given. The alternative values are typically given in the context: they can be found in the **verbal context**, or in the **speech situations**. These alternatives can manifest a variety of differences depending on the choice of the adnominal intensifiers in the two languages.
- Effect of the use of adnominal intensifiers: establishing contrasts. The evoking of contrast between the value given by a noun phrase and contextually defined alternatives is at the very heart of an intensifier.

Adnominal intensifiers express an identity function, which in itself is semantically trivial. It is, however, a focusing that is invariably associated with them that provide the adnominal intensifiers with a relevant meaning. Such focusing and stressing are generally associated with the semantic effect of establishing a contrast, i.e. of bringing alternatives to a given value into the discussion (König & Siemund, 2000, Eckhardt, 2001), in this case an alternative to the identity function.

According to the above generalization of adnoiminal intensifiers, expressions in a language that fit them distributionally and semantically can be assigned to this group.

As mentioned in Hole (2008), intuitions on adnominal *zìjǐ* and similar words (*běnrén* and *běnshēn*) are summarized in (20):

(20)   a.   *zìjǐ* etc. only relate to alternatives that 'have something to do' with the referent of the *zìjǐ*-NP/the *běnshēn*-NP, etc.

(20)   b.   *zìjǐ* is stressed / in focus.

8.4.   Contrasts in the syntactic positions of adverbial intensifiers

In both languages, we find that the adverbial uses of intensifiers have different syntactic positions than the adnominal ones.

8.4.1.   Syntactic positions of adverbial exclusive intensifiers in English

In English, the two adverbial uses are frequently distinguished by their syntactic positions. The

adverbial exclusive use of intensifiers tends to follow the VP, as in *I will do that myself;* whereas in the additive use, the intensifier may be precede the VP, as in *I am myself a drinker* (cf. Siemund 2000:2). The intensifiers in their adverbial exclusive use are normally maximally or almost maximally distant, i.e. occur in non-adjacent position to the noun they relate to, as part of a VP or at the end of a sentence, as in (8 a), (8 b) and (9 a). But these *self*-forms do not have to be at the very end of a sentence when the sentence itself is a complex one (cf. (5 a) and (5 b)).

8.4.2. Syntactic positions of adverbial intensifiers in Mandarin Chinese

Intensifiers in their adverbial uses in Mandarin Chinese do not have the same syntactic position as *self*-forms. Comparing examples (5 a & b) and (5 c), we can see that adverbial intensifiers in English cannot occur in adnominal positions but are in the non-adjacent place to the subject. Adverbial intensifier *zìjǐ*, however, also finds its place adjacent to a noun phrase, but it modifies the predicate following rather than an NP. One of the decisive factor for distinguishing an adnominal intensifier and an adverbial one in Mandarin Chinese is their syntactic structures:

[NP + intensifier] + predicate = adnominal position, adnominal use

predicate + [NP + intensifier] = adnominal position, adnominal use

NP + [intensifier + predicate] = adverbial position, adverbial use

Or to put it differently,

	adnominal *zìjǐ*	adverbial *zìjǐ*
similarities	share the same syntactic position: [NP + intensifier *zìjǐ*] + predicate	
differences	modifies NP [NP + intensifier] (+ VP)	modifies VP NP + intensifier + VP

Table 14: similarities and differences of adnominal *zìjǐ* and adverbial *zìjǐ*

Zìjǐ and *qīnzì* are the only two intensifiers that have an adverbial use in Mandarin Chinese. They may share the same syntactic position of [NP + intensifier + predicate], as in:

(21)	a.	*Jiāngjun*	zìjǐ	*zài*	*xǐ*	*chē*
		general	INT	at	wash	car

'The general himself is washing the car.'   (*zìjǐ* in adnominal use)
'The general is washing the car in person.'[?]   (*zìjǐ* is in adverbial use)
'The general is washing the car alone.'   (*zìjǐ* is in adverbial exclusive use)
将军自己在洗车.

(21)	b.	*Jiāngjun*	qīnzì	*fā-biǎo*	*le*	*jiǎng-huà.*
		general	INT	present	PAST	speech

		'The general gave the speech in person.' 将军亲自发表了讲话.			

(21)	c.	*Jiāngjun*	zìjǐ	*fā-biǎo*	*le*	*jiǎng-huà.*
		general	INT	present	PAST	speech
		'The general gave the speech in person.' 将军自己发表了讲话.				

Both *zìjǐ* and *qīnzì* manifest features of adverbial intensifiers, and both of them modify action verbs.

Also, we find that *qīnzì* can only be used as an adverbial intensifier modifying a non-stative predicate, which means it can never occur in the position following an object; whereas adnominal *zìjǐ* can also be found in this position (normally at the end of a sentence) with a stative predicate, as in (21 d & e). But the interpretation of this difference depends on the stative verb rather than the syntactic positions of these intensifiers.

(21)	d.	*Xǐ*	*chē*	*de*	*shì*	*jiāngjun*	zìjǐ.
		wash	car	POSS	be	general	INT
		'The person who is washing the car is the general himself.' 洗车的是将军自己.					

(21)	e.	**Xǐ*	*chē*	*de*	*shì*	*jiāngjun*	qīnzì.
		wash	car	POSS	be	general	INT
		'The person who is washing the car is the general himself.' 洗车的是将军亲自.					

Thus, we can summarize the similarities and differences between *zìjǐ* and *qīnzì* in the following table (table 15). The surface position of *zìjǐ* and *qīnzì* are the same but they relate to different constituents, which can be indicated by different bracketing.

	zìjǐ	*qīnzì*
function	adnominal intensifier	no adnominal use
syntactic position	adnominal position, i.e. [NP + *zìjǐ*] (+ VP)	--
relevant verbs	stative verbs	--

	zìjǐ	*qīnzì*
function	adverbial intensifier	as adverbial intensifier
syntactic position	NP + [*zìjǐ* + VP]	NP + [*qīnzì* + VP]
relevant verbs	action verbs	action verbs

Table 15: contrast between syntactic positions of the intensifier *zìjǐ* and *qīnzì*

When the predicate is stative rather than an action, *qīnzì* would be unacceptable whereas *zìjǐ*

would manifest an adnominal use (cf. Table 16).

	zìjǐ	*qīnzì*
adnominal use	yes	no
adverbial use	yes	yes
syntactic positions	the same, i.e. NP + intensifier *zìjǐ* / *qīnzì* + VP	

Table 16: differences and similarities of intensifier *zìjǐ* and *qīnzì*

One of the debates on the differences between *zìjǐ* and its compound forms is whether *X-zìjǐ* found in adnominal position can be used as an adverbial intensifier or not. A syntactic interpretation of this question is that which of the two structures (cf. Table 17) does *X-zìjǐ* actually belong to if it can be used as an adverbial intensifier, or whether it is grammatically acceptable:

	zìjǐ	*X- zìjǐ*
adnominal use	[NP + intensifier] + VP	
adverbial use	NP + [*zìjǐ*+ VP]	NP + [*X-zìjǐ*+ VP]?

Table 17: syntactic positions of *X-zìjǐ* as an adverbial intensifier

This problem can be made clear by changing an affirmative sentence structure into a negative one in order to see whether the connection between an NP and the intensifier *X-zìjǐ* can be loosened. If another element can be inserted between an NP and the intensifier *X-zìjǐ* without making the sentence grammatically odd, it is an adverbial intensifier, otherwise not. The decisive factors are syntactic as well as semantic ones, as in the following examples:

(22)	a.	*Jiāngjun*	tā-zìjǐ	*zài*	*xǐ*	*chē.*		
		general	INT	at	wash	car		
		'The generalhimself is washing the car.' 将军他自己在洗车.						

(22)	b.	*Jiāngjun*	tā-zìjǐ	*méi-yǒu*	*zài*	*xǐ*	*chē.*	
		general	INT	no.have	at	wash	car	
		'The generalhimself is washing the car.' 将军他自己没有在洗车.						

(22)	c.	**Jiāngjun*	*méi-yǒu*	*bú-shì*	tā-zìjǐ	*méi-yǒu*	*zài*	*xǐ*	*chē.*
		general	no.have	not	INT	no.have	at	wash	car
		? 将军没有/不是他自己在洗车.							

(22)	d.	*Jiāngjun*	*méi-yǒu*	*bú-shì*	zìjǐ	*méi-yǒu*	*zài*	*xǐ*	*chē.*
		general	no.have	not	INT	no.have	at	wash	car

	'The general is not washing the car himself.' 将军没有/不是自己在洗车.

It turns out that the sentences are grammatically unacceptable once an element is put between the subject and the intensifier *X-zìjĭ*, which implies that *X-zìjĭ* then modifies the VP instead of the NP. *Zìjĭ* by contrast can be separated from a preceding NP. This finally leads to the conclusion that *X-zìjĭ* has no adverbial use.

Generalization: *X-zìjĭ* only has an adnominal use and an attributive use (when the possessive marker *-de* is added).

Therefore we could compare the syntactic positions of intensifiers in English and in Mandarin Chinese at this stage, cf. Table 18:

	syntactic position	
	adnominal intensifier	adverbial (exclusive) intensifier
self-forms	NP + *self*-forms] + VP; VP + [NP+ *self-forms*]	NP + [*self*-forms + VP]
zìjĭ	[NP + *zìjĭ*] + VP; VP + [NP+ *zìjĭ*]	NP + [*zìjĭ*+ VP]
X-zìjĭ	[NP + *X-zìjĭ*] + VP; VP + [NP+ *X-zìjĭ*]	no

Table 18: contrasts in the syntactic positions of intensifiers in English and in Mandarin Chinese in their adnominal and adverbial (exclusive) uses

Even though the adnominal intensifiers and adverbial intensifiers in Mandarin Chinese share exactly the same linearization properties, one way to differentiate this at a syntactic level between them is to insert topic particles (behind adnominal intensifiers and before adverbial intensifiers) or of VP level adverbs such as 'deliberately' (before adverbial uses of intensifiers) will allow one to disambiguate the uses of intensifiers with respect to their syntactic position in each and every case.

8.5. Contrasts in the meanings of adverbial intensifiers

8.5.1. The meanings of adverbial intensifiers in English

As mentioned before, the adverbial uses of intensifiers in English are divided into two sub-groups, each with its own interpretation. *Self*-forms in adverbial exclusive use (also called the 'agentive' use by Kemmer 1995) the intensifier roughly paraphrased by *alone*, *without help* or *on one's own*. Detailed discussions are given in the *introduction*.

8.5.2. The meanings of adverbial intensifiers in Mandarin Chinese

The adverbial use of *zìjǐ* has two interpretations: *in person* and / or *alone*. A sentence like (21 a) can have either of the two meanings depending on the context: (i) the general is washing the car in person; (ii) the general is washing the car alone / without help. Only the meaning (ii) is the one that is associate with the adverbial exclusive use.

That is to say, *zìjǐ* does carry adverbial meanings, one is '*alone'*, the other is '*in person'*. The adverbial meaning *in person* of *zìjǐ* is somehow weak and is used with contextual constraints: with the contrastive context of someone in distinguished social status doing something that should not have been done by that person. Only under this circumstance can *zìjǐ* carry the adverbial meaning *in person.*

The reason why *zìjǐ* is unacceptable in this contrastive environment is because the adnominal meaning of *zìjǐ* requires a stative predicate, whereas the adverbial meaning of *zìjǐ* requires verbs of action. The sentence contains a verb of action, which makes the adnominal *zìjǐ* is unacceptable. If *zìjǐ* is understood with an adverbial interpretation, it means *alone*, instead of *in person.* The example (21 c) does not contain the contrastive context that the general should not have given the speech in person. Therefore *zìjǐ* is semantically unacceptable.

Moreover, when the subject denotes a socially distinguished person in the real world, in a contrastive context, *běnrén* is chosen as the adnominal intensifier to modify that subject instead of *zìjǐ*. *Qīnzì* can also be used with the same meaning. Therefore it is found that Mandarin Chinese has two options for using use different intensifiers to achieve the semantic equivalence, i.e. an adnominal intensifier and an adverbial intensifier in Mandarin Chinese can achieve the same semantic effect, and both carry the meaning 'in person'.

	syntactic positions	functions	semantic effect
self-forms	at the end of the sentence	adverbial exclusive intensifier	*alone, without assistance*
zìjǐ	[NP + intensifier] + predicate	adverbial exclusive intensifier	*alone*
		adverbial intensifier	*in person*
X-zìjǐ	[NP + intensifier] + predicate	adnominal intensifier	the same as the meaning of adnominal *self*-forms

Table 19: contrasts between semantics of adverbial exclusive *self*-forms, adverbial (exclusive) *zìjǐ* and adnominal use of *X-zìjǐ*

When we compare *self*-forms with *běnrén*, *X-běnrén* and *qīnzì* in this respect, we can observe that syntactically *self*-forms also occurs as adnominal intensifiers (*the general himself gave a speech*) and as adverbial exclusive intensifier (*the general gave a speech himself*). On the one hand, the adnominal *self*-forms and the adverbial *self*-forms are semantically different. On the other hand, the adnominal *self*-forms are still different from adverbial *qīnzì* (cf. p.19).

The use of *běnrén* is generally contrastive if it does not denote the external speaker in the outside world. It has the semantic effect of contrasting the elements that *běnrén* is modifying with their alternatives, which is very similar to the adnominal use of *self*-forms. Both of them have the sense of 'opposing a center to a periphery'. In these cases (cf. 15 a & 12 c), both *self*-forms and *běnrén* (together with the compound form of *běnrén*) have the meaning of referring to the general himself instead of his secretary, or of his body guard, etc. What is contrasted is the general as the center of a set with alternative persons surrounding him.

On the other hand, *qīnzì* puts emphasis on the predicate to indicate that something is being done by the Agent *in person*, in modifying the action verb. This is an alternative way of establish a contrastive context than we find in the use of *běnrén*. Both of them achieve the same semantic effect, which presented in this case is 'the general does something in person'/'the general instead of anyone else does this'.

Generalization: we find that intensifiers with different syntactic positions and in different uses manage to achieve the same effect, though the two intensifiers themselves do not carry the same meaning (cf. Table 20):

	syntactic position	function	semantics
běnrén	[NP+ *běnrén*] (+ VP)	adnominal intensifier	can achieve the same semantic effect
X-běnrén	[NP+ X-*běnrén*] (+ VP)	adnominal intensifier	
qīnzì	[NP + [*qīnzì*+ VP]	adverbial intensifier	
self-forms	[NP+ *self*-forms] (+ VP)	adnominal intensifier	
	at the end of the sentence	adverbial intensifier	*alone, without assistance*

Table 20:   contrast between *běnrén*, *X-běnrén*, *qīnzì* and *self*-forms

In English it is also possible that an adnominal use and an adverbial use are not very different as in (i) '*The President went to the meeting* himself.' almost takes the same meaning as (ii) '*The President* himself *went to the meeting*'.

Běnrén (together with its compound form) and *qīnzì* use different strategies to create the same semantic effect, i.e. to give emphasis on the element they are modifying. *Běnrén* modifies an NP,

qīnzì modifies a VP. Adnominal *běnrén* shares most of the feature with adnominal *self*-forms. And the adnominal *běnrén* and *X-běnrén* share the same semantics with adnominal use of *self*-forms. *Self*-forms, on the other hand, do not have similar adverbial uses to that of *qīnzì*.

The adverbial use of *zìjǐ*, on the other hand, may share the same meanings with the adverbial use of *qīnzì*, i.e. 'in person'. But adverbial *zìjǐ* may also have the exclusive use, which is semantically the same as the adverbial exclusive *self*-forms.

Another tiny difference between the adverbial uses of *self*-forms and adverbial *zìjǐ* lies in their semantics. The adverbial exclusive intensifier *self*-forms expresses the meaning of 'alone; without help', which in adverbial *zìjǐ* is sub-divided into two situations. One with the interpretation of 'alone' (cf. (23 a.)), while the other, 'without help' (cf. (23 b)). There are also occasions where these two meanings are fused, such as in the case of (21 c.), in which the general is washing the car alone could also mean that he is washing the car without help. We also find that in the separate interpretations of the adverbial uses of *zìjǐ*, the meaning of 'in person' cannot be accepted, whereas in the fused interpretation, the adverbial *zìjǐ* has two meanings, one is 'in person', the other is 'alone, or without help'.

(23)	a.	*Jiāngjun*	zìjǐ	*zài*	*chī*	*fàn.*
		general	INT	at	eat	meal
		'The general is having his meal alone.'					
		* 'The general is having his meal in person.'					
		'The general is having his meal without help.'					
		将军在吃饭。					

(23)	b.	*Xiǎo-hái*	zìjǐ	*zài*	*chī*	*fàn.*
		little child	INT	at	eat	meal
		'The kid is having his meal without help / by himself.'					
		* 'the kid is having his meal in person.'					
		小孩自己在吃饭。					

If the above examples are not totally convincing, the following two sentences can prove that *zìjǐ* has the meaning of 'alone; without outside force' and is in an adverbial use. As the case (24 a) suggests, the syntactic position of such an adverbial use of *zìjǐ* can be either an adnominal position, or a non-adjacent position to the NP it relates to.

Apart from the uses discussed before, *zìjǐ* also possesses a meaning of 'without outside force'[25], as

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25This use of *zìjǐ* is also observed and mentioned in Hole (2008) as 'additional uses' alongside its adnominal, adverbial as well as attributive use. In his discussion, Hole mentioned that *zìjǐ* may be used in an adverbial position and stresses the fact that the eventuality of 'the changes-of-state happened without an external cause, or

in the following example:

(24) a. [… foreigners do not speak Chinese (nor do they learn it deliberately) and he uses that language when he was young…],

Tā	*jiù*	zìjĭ	*jiù*	*zì-rán-ěr-rán*	*de*	*jiù*	*huì*	*le.*
3PS	ADV	INT	ADV	naturally	POSS	ADV	learned	PAST
'He has been able to speak the language naturally.' 他就自己就自然而然的就会了。								

(24) b.	*Fù-mŭ*	*cái*	*fàng*	*xīn*	*ràng*	*tā-men*	zìjĭ	*qù*	*chuǎng-dàng.*
	parents	ADV	put	heart	let	3PS PL	INT	go	make.living.away.from.home
	'[only when the children have grown up] do the parents think it is safe for them to make a living away from home.' 父母才放心让他们自己去闯荡。								

This adverbial reading of *zìjĭ* can be different from the exclusive interpretation of 'alone' in the sense of 'unaccompanied'. Instead, with the interpretation of 'without outside force', (24 a) can mean as "the agent learns to use a foreign language without deliberately learning the skill". This is very different from the meaning of *alone* in the sense of 'without other people; unaccompanied; without assistance' or 'do something on one's own'. (24 b), on the other hand, is interpreted as "children make a living on the basis of their own abilities instead of getting help from their parents", in which the meaning of *zìjĭ* is interpreted as *alone* in the sense of 'unaccompanied'. That is to say, *zìjĭ* in (24 b) is used as an adverbial intensifier rather than as 'without outside force'[26], as (24 a).

Self-forms in English share the adverbial exclusive use in which the intensifiers have the meaning of *alone* in the sense of '*without other people*', '*unaccompanied*' or '*without assistance*'. On the other hand, the adverbial exclusive use of *self*-forms does not have the meaning 'without outside force' as *zìjĭ* does. To be exact, the meaning 'without outside force' in English requires another phrase, i.e. *by itself*. As claimed by Levin & Rappoport-Hovav (1995), "English *by itself* is ambiguous between two readings: one is the meaning *alone*, the other is meaning '*without outside help*'". The former reading is restricted when *by itself* has an animate antecedent, as in '*John broke the case by himself*'; whereas the interpretation of 'without outside force' is accepted when *by itself* is anteceded by a non-human entity. To give an example from Schäfer (2007), '*300 million years ago the climate became already warmer* by itself *and without human intervention. Why should this time humans be the cause.*'.

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that the speaker is not aware of such an external cause' (Hole, 2008: 21).

26 This is similar to 'von selbst' in German.

The phrase *by itself* has been found to express that "its antecedent has not been caused by any force (be it a human agent or an inanimate causer) participating in the event described by the modified predicate". In other words, it "denies that there exists a cause for the change-of-state event it modifies" (Schäfer 2007), as in:

(25)	a.	*This did not just happen* by itself. *[BNC,*ABF*253]*
		[by itself=without any outside force]

(25)	b.	*After writing down the initial equation, we need to rearrange things to get R* by itself *and defined in terms of what we know --; D and T. [BNC,*EFH*878]*
		[by itself=alone in the sense of unaccompanied]

It is also found that in the stative contexts with a human subject, the phrase *all on his own* instead of *by itself* is expected, as in:

(25)   c.   *He knew the answer* all on his own.

(25)   d.   *He knew the answer* by himself.

The contrast between the forms of *zìjǐ*, *self*-forms as well as *by itself* are summarized in the following table:

zìjǐ	*by itself*	*self*-forms
'alone' in the sense of 'unaccompnied'		
adverbial exclusive use	------------------------	adverbial exclusive use
'without any outside force'	------------------------	

Table 21:   contrast between the forms of *zìjǐ*, *self*-forms and *by itself*

We are now in a position to summarize the contrasts between the intensifier *zìjǐ* and the intensifier *self*-forms in English more comprehensively:

	zìjǐ	*self*-forms
syntactic positions	[NP + intensifier] + predicate = adnominal position	
	predicate + [NP + intensifier] = adnominal position	
functions	adnominal use	
semantics	The referent of the NP is contrasted with its alternatives	

	zìjǐ	*self*-forms
syntactic positions	NP + [intensifier + predicate]	at the end of the sentence
functions	adverbial &adverbial exclusive	adverbial exclusive
meanings	*1. alone* *2. without help* *3. alone &without help* *4. in person*	*1. alone* *2. without assistance* *3. without help*

Table 22:   contrasts between the intensifier *zìjǐ* and *self*-forms

8.5.3.   **The typical adverbial intensifier *qīnzì***

Of the three possible uses of intensifiers in Mandarin Chinese, *qīnzì* only has the adverbial use, but it is not the same as the adverbial exclusive use of *self*-forms. *Qīnzì* implies that things are done personally rather than through someone else. Its implicatures are closely related to "components of utterance meanings ascribing a high social status to the agent of sentences with *qīnzì*" (Hole 2008: 18):

(26) a.	*[...]*	*Wǒ*	qīnzì	*zhǎo*	*tā*	*hǎo*	*jǐ*	*cì*
		1PS	INT	look.for	3PS	quite	several	CLASSIFIER
'I visited him several times personally.'								
… … 我亲自找他好几次。								

As has been mentioned before, *qīnzì* occurs in the same syntactic position as the adnominal and adverbial uses of *zìjǐ*. But the meaning of *qīnzì* is related to the VP, which "must denote a delegatable action for the VP to be combinable with *qīnzì*" (Hole 2008: 18). The selectional restrictions of *qīnzì* allow only combinations with human referents. It is the only intensifier in Mandarin Chinese which has exclusively such an adverbial use. If we look for equivalents in English, we find that *qīnzì is* semantically similar to the adverb *personally* or the adverbial phrase *in person*, as in:

(26) b.	*I think if you want your tonsils out you should go private to have it done* personally*, cos you don't need it do ya?* [BNC, KD6*3505*]

(26) c.	*Too young to rule effectively* in person*, he was too old to make a minority an attractive prospect.* [BNC, EEE*991*]

We can make a comparison between *zìjǐ* and *qīnzì* at this stage and find that these two intensifiers share only one feature, i.e. both of them have the same syntactic distribution. In other words, they are used as adverbial intensifiers (not in the sense of exclusive use) with the meaning 'in person'.

		zìjǐ	*qīnzì*
functions	adnominal use		no
	adverbial use		
	adverbial exclusive use		no
	attributive use		no
syntactic positions	[NP + *zìjǐ*] + predicate = adnominal position		no
	predicate + [NP + *zìjǐ*] = adnominal position		no
	NP + [intensifier + predicate] = adverbial position		
semantics	'in person', adverbial use		
	'alone', adverbial exclusive use		no
	'should not have done something but did it'		no

Table 23: contrasts between the intensifiers *zìjǐ* and *qīnzì*

8.5.4. Generalization: intensifier *qīnzì* vs. *self*-forms

Another conclusion drawn at this stage is that what *qīnzì* and *self*-forms share as intensifiers is that both of them have adverbial uses, though with different meanings. The semantic effect the adverbial *qīnzì* achieves is that it gives emphasis to the referent of an NP in contrast to its alternatives by modifying the predicate of the sentence. This is very near to the semantic effect of adnominal *self*-forms, only that adnominal *self*-forms modify the NP instead of the predicate. Our argument here is that these two intensifiers are very close in their semantic effect, though not entirely identical, because *qīnzì* implies the meaning of 'in one's physical presence' but does not have the implication that 'someone is doing something without the intervention of others'.

There are two equivalents of *qīnzì* found in English, which are functionally similar expressions to intensifier *self*-forms: *personally* and *in person*. The former discussions on the major intensifiers in Mandarin Chinese have given us the impression that they (*zìjǐ*, *běnrén* and their compound forms) find semantic equivalents in English not only in the *self*-forms. Sometimes they can also be translated as *in person* or as *personally*. Therefore we are now going to discuss these two adverbial expressions and their counterparts in Mandarin Chinese.

8.5.5. Contrasts between functionally similar expressions: *in person, personally*, v.s. intensifiers in Mandarin Chinese and *self*-forms

Based on an online survey of *personally* and *in person*, their meanings and the counterparts in Mandarin Chinese can be the following:

personally	counterparts in Mandarin Chinese
1. without the intervention of another (= in person)	*běnrén*, **zìjǐ*, *qīnzì*,
e.g. *I thanked them personally.*	
2. as far as oneself is concerned	*běnrén*, *zìjǐ*, **qīnzì*
e.g. *Personally, I don't mind.*	
3. as a person	*běnrén*, **zìjǐ*, **qīnzì*
e.g. *I admire his skill but dislike him personally.*	
4. in a personal manner	?
e.g. *Don't take the disparaging remarks personally.*	

in person	counterparts in Mandarin Chinese
1. in one's physical presence; personally (= personally)	*běnrén*, **zìjǐ* , [ok]*qīnzì*
e.g. *applied for the job in person*	

Table 24:   meanings of *personally* and *in person* and possible counterparts in Mandarin Chinese

Table 24 is based on the following observations:

First of all, functionally similar expressions to intensifiers in English can also have their counterparts in Mandarin Chinese, though not in every case. Secondly, *personally* and *in person* are semantically very similar and when their meanings are identical, (both of the two meanings) their counterparts in Mandarin Chinese are also found to be the same. Thirdly, *běnrén* is the common counterpart of all of the interpretations of the two English phrases. On the other hand, *zìjǐ* and *qīnzì* are found to be complimentary, i.e. when *zìjǐ* is acceptable, *qīnzì* is unacceptable, and vice versa.

The reason for this lies in their uses and meanings. As was mentioned before, *běnrén* and *qīnzì* achieve very similar semantic effects by modifying different elements. *Běnrén* in its adnominal use and *qīnzì* in it adverbial use can characterize the referent of the nominal modified as the 'central' character, which is opposed to the rest of the 'peripheral' characters under consideration. Semantically this is also true of *personally* and *in person* when they have similar meanings.

On the other hand, cases in which only *běnrén* can be the accepted as translation (as in meaning 3, *personally*) suggest that this expression contains the features of being a nominal more than the other two intensifiers: *zìjǐ* is ambiguous between an adjectival and adverbial use, whereas *qīnzì* is totally adverbial.

For this reason, the translation *běnrén* in the second meaning of *personally* is more acceptable than the use of *zìjǐ*. *Zìjǐ* can also be grammatically acceptable when it is understood as a logophor (cf. the discussion on logophoricity below). Its compound forms are much more suitable for these occasions.

We can now distinguish three features of *běnrén*: First of all, it is generally contrastive in its adnominal use. The adnominal use of *běnrén* expresses contrast by emphasizing the element preceding it. Secondly, its nominal feature allows *běnrén* to be used as a headless intensifier or to denote the matrix speaker in its reflexive use. Thirdly, the interpretation of *benrén* requires more pragmatic and world knowledge than linguistic knowledge. *Běnrén* is also used as a headless intensifier because it shares the features of referring to the person both the speaker and the listeners know about.

The differences between intensifier *zìjǐ* and *běnrén* are summarized in the following table:

	zìjǐ	*běnrén*
syntactic positions	[NP + intensifier] + predicate = adnominal position, adnominal use	
	predicate + [NP + intensifier] = adnominal position, adnominal use	
semantics	adnominal *zìjǐ* and adnomal *běnrén* share the same semantics as adnominal *self*-forms	

	adverbial exclusive: *alone* adverbial: *without help* adverbial: *in person*	no adverbial use
uses	adnominal use adverbial use adverbial exclusive use	adnominal use
constraints	inanimate & animate	only human
special features	1. 'someone should no have done something but somehow did it'	1. no relevant use
	2. no relevant use	2. 'used to refer to a socially distinguished person'
	3. can only be the translation of *in person* and *personally* when it is in logophoric use (referring to the matrix speaker) or used like *X-zìjǐ*	3. can be the translation of *in person* and *personally* in most of the cases
	4. can be used as a headless intensifier	

Table 25: contrasts between *zìjǐ* and *běnrén* used as intensifiers

Meaning 4 of *personally* does not have a counterpart in Mandarin Chinese, but there are other options for expressing similar meanings, i.e. [[attributive use of *zìjǐ*] + body part]. That is to say, when neither adnominal nor adverbial intensifiers can be the right choice, attributive uses become the substitutes. Normally there are two constructions, i.e. *zìjǐ-de-tóu-shang* (one's own head), *zìjǐ-de-shēn-shang* (one's own body), as in:

(27) a.	*tā*	*xǐ-huan*	*bǎ*	*zhè-xiē*	*wèn-tí*	*suàn*	*zài*	zìjǐ(de)	*tóu*
	3SG	like	BA-structure	these	problem	consider	at	ATTRI.INT	head
	shang.								
	on								
	'He likes to take these problems personally.' 他喜欢把这些问题算在自己(的)头上。									

(27) b.	*Tā*	*xǐ-huan*	*bǎ*	*zhè-xiē*	*wèn-tí*	*suàn*	*zài*
	3SG	like	BA-structure	these	problem	consider	at
	zìjǐ(de)	*shēn*	shang.				
	ATTRI.INT	body	on				
	'He likes to take these problems personally.' 他喜欢把这些问题算在自己(的)身上。							

We also find that *běnshēn* and *zìshēn* share some features as well:

(27) c.	*Tā*	*huì*	*rèn-wéi*	*zhè- xiē*	*hé*	*tā*	běnshēn	*yǒu*	*guān.*
	3SG	will	consider	these	and	3SG	INT	have	close
	'He would take it personally.' 他会认为这些他本身有关。								

zìshēn =	*zìjǐ* + *běnshēn* / *shēn-tǐ*
自身	自己 + 本身 / 身体

běnshēn =	*běnrén* + *běnshēn* / *shēn-tǐ*
本身	本人 + 本身 / 身体

Table 26:   morphological make-ups of *zìshēn* and *běnshēn*

Zìshēn and *běnshēn* are actually abbreviations of the two intensifiers (and could also be body parts, i.e. *head, body*). A more detailed discussion can be found in the section on *reinforcement of the two intensifiers without combination in Mandarin Chinese* below.

8.6.   Contrasts in attributive intensifiers

While English uses the expression *own,* which is unrelated to identity expression, as attributive intensifier, Mandarin Chinese uses the form of [intensifier + possessive marker *de*] for this purpose, where *de* can be omitted.

There are no particular constraints on the syntactic positions of an attributive intensifier in either of the two languages. The attributive intensifiers in Mandarin Chinese does not have any specific restrictions either, except that the NP to which they adjoin must be referential. The difference between the two languages, on the other hand, lies in the fact that attributive intensifiers in Mandarin Chinese can also be used as a headless intensifier, as in:

(28)	a.	*Mǐ/gāo/méi*	*gōng-sī*	*yóu-yú*	zìshēn	*yuán-yīn*	*pò-chǎn.*
		MGM	firm	because	INT	reason	bankruptcy
		The Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer Inc. (MGM) goes bankruptcy because of its own / internal reason.					
		米高梅公司由于自身原因破产。					

Without a pronominal head, *zìshēn* in this example still manages to find its antecedent in the subject 'Mǐ/gāo/méi' (MGM); on the other hand, the use of *zìshēn* as an attributive intensifier before the preposition '*yuán-yīn*' can be found without the possessive marker *-de*.

In contrast to the above example, *zìshēn* as a headless intensifier does not exhibit an attributive use, as in:

(28)	b.	*Wá-wá-yú*	*yóu-yú*	zìshēn	*méi*	*yǒu*	*tiáo-jié*
		giant salamander	because	INT	no	have	adjust
		ti-wēn	*de*	*néng-lì , [...]*			
		body-temperature	POSS	ability			
		'Because Giant salamanders lack of the ability to adjust their own body temperatures...'						
		娃娃鱼由于自身没有调节体温的能力，… …						

The attributive use of *zìshēn* has the property of not requiring the possessive marker (possessive

modifier). Other intensifiers such as *zìjǐ*, *běnrén*, and *běnshēn* all have similar properties :

(28)	c.	zìshēn	*(de)*	*miǎn-yì-lì*
		INT		immunity
		'one's own immunity' 自身（的）免疫力		

Zìshēn can also be used as part of an attributive phrase modifying a noun, to which it relates as an adnominal intensifier:

(28)	d.	Zìshēn	*bù*	*fā-guāng*	*de*	*xíng-xīng.*
		INT	no	luminate	POSS	planet
		'the non-luminous planets' 自身不发光的星星				

9. Further Properties of Intensifiers in Mandarin Chinese

9.1. Instrumental intensifiers in Mandarin Chinese

Apart from the lists of intensifiers mentioned above, there is a large paradigm of instrumental intensifiers in Mandarin Chinese. As observed by Hole (2002a), these instrumental intensifiers denote 'a specific way in which agents interact with their environment' (Hole, 2002a: 18). These attributive intensifiers are constructed in two ways. Either they are formed according to the pattern [*qīn*+body part NP] or to the pattern [*qīn*+non-body part NP / VP]. The whole list of such expressions can be seen in the following table:

[*qīn*+body part NP]	[*qīn*+non-body part NP / VP]
qīn–ěr	*qīn–bǐ* *[NP]*
'with one's own ears'	'in one's own handwriting'
qīn–kǒu	*qīn–jiàn* *[VP]*
'with one's own mouth'	'visit sb. in person'
qīn–yǎn	*qīn–wǎng* *[VP]*
'with one's own eyes'	'go somewhere in person'
qīn–shēn[27]	*qīn–qǐ* *[VP]*
'wth one's own body'	'open (the letter) in person'
*qīn–bí	*qīn–rèn* *[VP]*
'with one's own nose'	'be in charge in person'
*qīn–jiǎo	*qīn–zhī* *[VP]*
'with one's own feet'	'get the information in person'
*qīn–liǎn	*qīn–lì* *[VP]*

---

27 'Body' in Mandarin Chinese is formed with two characters and each of them can be constructed with *qīn* to express different meanings. While *qīnshēn* means 'with one's own experience', or 'come in person'; *qīn-tǐ* [亲体] means 'male or female parent that produce the next generation'. The former can be used as an adverbial intensifier but the latter is an NP.

	'with one's own face'		'experience in person'
*qīn–tuǐ		qīn–lín [VP]	
	'withone's own legs'		'be present in person'

Table 27:   [qīn+body part NP] v.s. [qīn+non-body part NP / VP]

From table 27, we observer that only some instantiations of the construction [qīn + body part NP] are acceptable in Mandarin Chinese and the acceptable ones are invariably used as attributive intensifier. The construction of [qīn + non-body part NP/VP], on the other hand, does not function as an attributive intensifier. Rather their meanings can be divided into two sub-groups, with the construction [qīn + body part NP] expressing the meaning of 'one's own', and the construction [qīn + body part VP] invariably carrying the meaning 'in person'.

9.1 is merely a complete list of instrumental intensifiers in Mandarin Chinese, which express attributive intensification ('own body part'). Further analysis on the syntactic behavior of these forms are not carried out in the present study but it is assumed that they are lexically attributed structures used as adverbials. It would be equally interesting to carry out a contrastive analysis of the instrumental intensifiers in Mandarin Chinese with the translational equivalents in English as an extended investigation in the relevant domain. Since this would go far beyond a study of the *self*-forms, the present study left that part untouched.'

9.2   Combinations of two intensifiers with/without reinforcement in Mandarin Chinese

Combinations of intensifiers also show distributional differences in the two languages. As mentioned before, while *self*-forms can be diachronically seen as combinations of personal or possessive pronouns and *self*, the use of two combined intensifiers in which one modifies the other, is only found in Mandarin Chinese. Findings from CCL reveals that five of the intensifiers in Mandarin Chinese, i.e. *zìjǐ*, *běnrén*, *qīnzì*, *zìshēn* and *běnshēn* (sometimes with their complex forms, as mentioned in table 28) are combined in seven different types, covering all the three uses of intensifiers.

Mandarin Chinese is a language in which several intensifiers can be combined in various ways. Such combinations are not random, as in the case of *běnshēn* and *qīnzì*, where even though *běnrén* can be used to reinforce *qīnzì*, the opposite sequence is not acceptable. My lists of attested combinations can be seen in table below:

Forms	entries
zìjǐ + běnrén	29-10=19[28]

wǒ-zìjǐ + běnrén	*0*
nǐ-zìjǐ + běnrén	*0*
tā-zìjǐ[M] + běnrén	*6*
tā-zìjǐ[F] + běnrén	*2*
* tā-zìjǐ[N] + běnrén	*0*
wǒmen-zìjǐ + běnrén	*0*
nǐmen-zìjǐ + běnrén	*0*
tāmen-zìjǐ[M] + běnrén	*2*
tāmen-zìjǐ[F] + běnrén	*0*
* tāmenzìjǐ[N] + běnrén	*0*
* zìjǐ + X-běnrén[X=singl. &pl.]	*0*
zìjǐ + zìshēn	*6-0=6²⁹*
* X-zìjǐ[X=singular] + zìshēn	*6*
* X-zìjǐ[X=pl.] + zìshēn	*0*
* zìjǐ + X-zìshēn	*0*
zìjǐ+běnshēn	*273-108=165³⁰*
wǒ-zìjǐ + běnshēn	*5*
nǐ-zìjǐ + běnshēn	*4*
tā-zìjǐ[M] + běnshēn	*38*
tā-zìjǐ[F] + běnshēn	*5*
tā-zìjǐ[N] + běnshēn	*44*
wǒmen-zìjǐ + běnshēn	*4*
nǐmen-zìjǐ+ běnshēn	*1*
tāmen-zìjǐ[M] + běnshēn	*7*
tāmen-zìjǐ[F] + běnshēn	*0*
tāmen-zìjǐ[N] + běnshēn	*0*
* zìjǐ + X-běnshēn[X=singl. &pl.]	*0*
zìjǐ + qīnzì	*81*
wǒ-zìjǐ + qīnzì	*1*
nǐ-zìjǐ + qīnzì	*1*
tā-zìjǐ [M] + qīnzì	*8*
tā-zìjǐ[F] + qīnzì	*4*
tā-zìjǐ[N] + qīnzì	*0*
wǒmen-zìjǐ+ qīnzì	*1*
nǐmen-zìjǐ+ qīnzì	*0*
tāmen-zìjǐ[M] + qīnzì	*0*
tāmen-zìjǐ[F] + qīnzì	*0*
tāmen-zìjǐ[N] + qīnzì	*0*
* zìjǐ+ * X-qīnzì[[X=singl. &pl.]]	*0*
běnrén+ zìjǐ	*30-26=4³¹*

---

28 The final number 19 is a result of calculation because the search of *zìjǐběnrén* in the corpora includes the cases when *zìjǐ* is in its simplex form together with the cases when *zìjǐ* is part of the complex form [*X-zìjǐ*]. Altogether there are 29 entries found, but the latter cases should be excluded

29 The manner of calculation is the same as that of *zìjǐ + běnrén*.

30 The manner of calculation is also the same as that of *zìjǐ + běnrén*.

31   Similarly to the counting of the entries of *běnrén* (cf. footnote 18 in this paper), the final number of the entries

wǒ-běnrén + zìjǐ	0
nǐ-běnrén + zìjǐ	0
Tā-běnrén [M] + zìjǐ	1
Tā-běnrén [F] + zìjǐ	0
* *tā-běnrén [N] + zìjǐ*	0
* *X-běnrén [X=pl.] + zìjǐ*	0
* *běnrén + X-zìjǐ [X=singl. &pl.]*	0
běnrén + zìshēn	2[32]
* *X-běnrén + zìshēn [X=singl. &pl.]*	0
běnrén + běnshēn	0
* *běnrén + X-zìshēn [X=singl. &pl.]*	0
běnrén + qīnzì	31
wǒ-běnrén + qīnzì	0
nǐ-běnrén + qīnzì	0
Tā-běnrén [M] + qīnzì	7
Tā-běnrén [F] + qīnzì	0
* *tā-běnrén [N] + qīnzì*	0
* *X-běnrén [X=pl.] + qīnzì*	0
* *běnrén + *X-qīnzì [X=singl. &pl.]*	0

Table 28:   reinforcement in Mandarin Chinese

Cases of such combinations contain at most two identity expressions at a time; and not every combination is acceptable. Morphologically, only the second parts of such combinations can occur as independent forms. Complex forms such as *X-zìjǐ* are admissible as a second part. To generalize, possible combinations take the following structure: [*reflexive pronoun + intensifier*] and [*intensifier + intensifier*].

Moreover, such combinations of intensifiers in Mandarin Chinese can be further sub-classified into the following groups. There are cases which show that two intensifiers can merely be syntactically adjacent to each other while at the same time modifying their own NP or VP, which belong to different grammatical categories. These cases can be characterized as the pseudo-combinations of intensifiers without reinforcement.

9.2.1.   [zìjǐ + běnrén]:

(i).   [zìjǐ: headless intensifier] + [běnrén: adnominal intensifier]

(29)	a.	*Tāmen*	*zhōng*	*de*	*dà*	*duō*	*shù*	zìjǐ	běnrén	*jiù*	*shì*
		3PS PL	middle	POSS	big	many	number	INT	INT	ADV	be
		yì-shù-jiā.									

of *běnrénzìjǐ* should exclude any entry containing *rìběnrén,* i.e.，30 [*běnrénzìjǐ* ／ 本人自己] - 26 [*rìběnrénzìjǐ* / 日本人自己] = 4

32   Cf. footnote 18 in this paper. 3 [*běnrénzìshēn* / 本人自身] – 1 [*rìběnrénzìshēn* / 日本人自身] = 2

		artist	
		'Most of them are artists themselves.' 他们中的大多数自己本人就是艺术家。	

Neither *zìjǐ* nor *běnrén* in this case needs emphasis; and the sentence meaning is not going to be changed once one of them is left out. Therefore it is a case without reinforcement in which the two intensifiers happen to be combined together.

(ii).   [zìjǐ: attributive intensifier] + [běnrén: adnominal intensifier]

(29)	b.	*Lǐ Jiàn-huá*	*bàn*	*le*	zìjǐ	běnrén	*de*	*shēn-fèn-zhèng*	*hòu,*	*[...]*
		NAME	do	PAST	INT	INT	POSS	ID card	after	
		'After Lǐ Jiàn-huá got his own ID card, [...]' 李建华办了自己本人的身份证后，… …								

Zìjǐ in this case is used as an attributive intensifier which modifies the NP it attaches to. *Běnrén* functions as an adnominal intensifier to modify *zìjǐ* instead of vice versa. This combination has no effect on the meaning of the resultant sentence. But it is not possible to leave *zìjǐ* out because the referent of *běnrén* is then the speaker found in the speech situation. On the other hand, the sentence meaning is also ambiguous without the presence of *běnrén*, because *zìjǐ* may therefore have the chance to find its referent also as the speaker in the speech situation.

(iii).   [zìjǐ: locally-free reflexive pronoun] + [běnrén: adnominal intensifier]

(given context: … gave it an impression that all each individual in the community did was that he)

(29)	c.	[...]	*zhǐ*	*bú*	*guò*	*shì*	*zài*	*fú-cóng*	zìjǐ	běnrén.
			only	no	pass	be	at	obey	REFL	ADN.INT
		'… was just obeying himself.' … … 只不过是在服从自己本人。								

Zìjǐ and *běnrén* have to be combined to make the sentence meaningful, i.e. they have the antecedents 'each individual in that community'. If *běnrén* is left out, *zìjǐ* would therefore have two possibilities of either expressing the coreference as '*zìjǐběnrén*' does; or it may have a chance to refer to the speaker in the speech situation. If *zìjǐ* is left out, on the other hand, *běnrén* then finds its referent in the speaker.

(iv).   [zìjǐběnrén = tā-zìjǐ]

[zìjǐ: headless intensifier] + [běnrén: adnominal intensifier]

(29)	d.	*Tā*	*de*	*qiè-shēn*	*gǎn-shòu*	*zhǐ*	*yǒu*	zìjǐ	běnrén	*zhī-dào.*
		3PS	POSS	very.body	feeling	only	have	REFL	ADN.INT	know

	'Only he himself knows his own feeling.' 他的切身感受只有自己本人知道。

This case is very similar to (29 b). *Zìjǐ* in this case cannot be left out because otherwise *běnrén* finds its referent in the speaker of speech situation; *běnrén* is used as an adnominal intensifier to modify *zìjǐ* and forms a single element. *Běnrén* cannot be left out either for the same reason as in example (29 b), namely that *zìjǐ* could have the chance to finds its referent in the speaker. These expressions clearly select the pronoun *tā* as antecedent. In this way the combination manages to confine the antecedent of *zìjǐ* to the matrix subject instead of including the external speaker, which means that the referent of *zìjǐ* is restricted within the verbal context because of the combined use with *běnrén*. Otherwise there is also the possibility for *zìjǐ* to denote the external speaker.

Even though it is theoretically possible to have the compound forms of *zìjǐ* as the first part of a combination, a corpus search reveals that the first and second pronominal both in their singular as well as plural forms are not used. The combination [X$_{third person}$-*zìjǐ* + *běnrén*] is found with one feature: *X-zìjǐ* is invariably used as a combination in which the *X* part is the subject while *zìjǐ* functions as an adnominal intensifier; and *běnrén* is used to further modify the NP. This type of combination can be either the Agent or the Patient of a sentence, as in the following examples:

(v).   [X-zìjǐ + běnrén]=[X-zìjǐ=X[subject] + zìjǐ [adnominal]]+ běnrén

[zìjǐ: adnominal intensifier] + [běnrén: adnominal intensifier]

(29)	e.	*Tā*	zìjǐ	běnrén	*shì*	*wú*	*zú*	*qīng*	*zhòng*	*de.*
		3PS	INT	INT	be	no	foot	light	heavy	POSS
		“He himself does not take it seriously.” 他自己本人是无阻轻重的。								

The two intensifiers are simply combined and either of them could be omitted without affecting the grammatically acceptability of the sentence.

[X-zìjǐ: locally-bound reflexive pronoun] + [běnrén: adnominal intensifier]

(29)	f.	*Tā*	*bù*	*néng*	*huái-yí*	tā-zìjǐ	běnrén.
		3PS	no	can	doubt	REFL	INT
		'He can not doubt himself.' 他不能怀疑他自己本人。					

To summarize the above observations, it was found that the combinations can be sub-classified into two types according to the use of the first part of the complex expression. Either the first part of the combination is used as an intensifier, in the adnominal or attributive use (as in group A & B), or

that first part is used as a reflexive pronoun. The shared feature is that the second part of the combination invariably works as an adnominal intensifier to further modify the first part. Therefore the NPs in the first group are modified twice by both of the intensifiers while the NPs in the second group are identical to a reflexive pronoun, which is only modified once by the intensifier.

9.2.2. [zìjǐ+zìshēn]:

(i). [zìjǐ: attributive intensifier] + [zìshēn: attributive intensifier]

(30)	a.	*fā-huī*	zìjǐ	zìshēn	*de*	*qiǎn-lì*
		exert	INT	INT	POSS	potential
		'bring out one's own potential' 发挥自己自身的潜力				

Both *zìjǐ* and *zìshēn* occur in their attributive use and omitting either of them can still make the sentence grammatically and semantically acceptable.

(ii). [zìjǐ: locally-free reflexive pronoun] + [zìshēn: adnominal intensifier]

(30)	b.	*Ér*	*shì*	*rén*	*de*	zìjǐ	zìshēn
		but	be	person	POSS	REFL	INT
		'[…] instead it depends on the person himself.' 而是人的自己自身					

The construction of [X-*zìjǐ*+*zìshēn*] was found in the corpus therefore it is concluded that the instantiations of such a construction can be further divided into two types: either both expressions have their intensive uses, or the first part manifests the reflexive use while the second part is still used as an intensifier. *Zìshēn* in this case cannot be omitted but the sentence can still be acceptable without *zìjǐ*.

9.2.3. [zìjǐ+běnshēn]:

(i). [zìjǐ: adnominal intensifier] + [běnshēn: adnominal intensifier]

(31)	a.	*Guān-yuán*	zìjǐ	běnshēn	*shì-fǒu*	*yǒu*	*shēng-chǎn-lì.*
		official	INT	INT	whether	have	productivity
		'[…] whether the officials themselves have productivity.' 官员自己本身是否有生产力。					

Běnshēn in this case is used as an adnominal intensifier to emphasize the antecedents that *zìjǐ* has and to limit the scope to the intrinsic value of the combination [*guān-yuán zìjǐ*] instead of its peripheries. The sequences of these two intensifiers are usually not changed. Therefore this case is a reinforcement of intensifiers.

(ii). [zìjǐ: headless intensifier] + [běnshēn: adnominal intensifier]

(31)	b.	Zìjǐ	běnshēn	*yǒu*	*lòu-dòng.*
		INT	INT	have	flaw
'[…] itself has flaws. '					
自己本身有漏洞					

The combination of *zìjǐ* and *běnshēn* in this case can also be reversed into *zìshēn,* which is then used as a headless intensifier, but it then requires a pronominal head to be coreferent with its antecedent. *Běnshēn* can also be omitted without changing the sentence meaning. On the other hand, *zìjǐ* cannot be omitted because *běnshēn*, like *zìshēn*, has to have a pronominal head to be coreferent with its antecedent. Therefore this case is a reinforcement of intensifiers.

(iii). [zìjǐ: attributive intensifier] + [běnshēn: adnominal intensifier]

(31)	c.	*Zhè*	*dāng-rán*	*shi*	*shǔ-yú*	zìjǐ	běnshēn	*de*	*shì.*
		This	of.course	be	belong	INT	INT	POSS	matter
'This is something apparently belonging to oneself.'								
这当然是属于自己本身的事。								

Zìjǐ is used in this case as an attributive intensifier and can also be alone to modify the NP. On the other hand, even though *běnshēn* in this case is also used as an attributive intensifier, it cannot be used alone, i.e. the omission of *zìjǐ* in this case would have caused the sentence to be grammatically unacceptable. This case is also a generic one.

(iv). Pseudo-combination of intensifiers without reinforcement

[zìjǐ: adnominal intensifier to modify NP₁] + [běnshēn: attributive intensifier to modify NP₂]

(31)	d.	*Zhèng yǒng*	*hé*	zìjǐ	běnshēn	*wén-huà*	*bù*	*gāo.*
		NAME	and	INT	INT	education	no	high
'*Zhèng yǒng-hé* himself does not have a high education.'								
郑勇和自己本身文化不高。								

The construction of [*zìjǐ+běnshēn*] is defined as a pseudo-combination of intensifiers without reinforcement because the two intensifiers here do not modify one and the same NP as the above cases do, i.e. *zìjǐ* finds its referent in the speaker of a speech situation, whereas *běnshēn* happens to follow the two noun phrases (*Zhèng yǒng* & the speaker). In other words, the two identity expressions occur syntactically adjacent to each other but are actually relating to different elements. This group of combinations is classified as a pseudo-combination of intensifiers without reinforcement.

Other relevant cases can be seen below, in which the reflexive pronoun *zìjǐ* happens to be both Agent and Patient and the Patient is modified by another intensifier *běnshēn*:

(31)	e.	Zìjǐ	*yǔ*	zìjǐ	běnshēn	*xiāng*	*guān-lián*[33]
		INT	and	LOCALLY-FREE REFL	INT	?	relevant
		'[…] something is relevant to itself' 自己与自己本身相关联。					

9.2.3. [zìjǐ+qīnzì]

(i). [zìjǐ: adnominal / adverbial intensifier] + [qīnzì: adverbial intensifier]

(32)	a.	*Shǐ-lǐng-guǎn*	*gōng-zuò*	*rén-yuán*	zìjǐ	qīnzì	*zhǎo*	*lǚ-guǎn.*
		Embassy	work	staff	INT	INT	look.for	hotel
		'The embassy staff looked for hotels by themselves.' 使领馆工作人员自己亲自找旅馆。						

As mentioned before, adnominal *zìjǐ* does not differ from adverbial *zìjǐ* in its syntactic position. To distinguish the two uses, the VP is the decisive factor. In the case above, *zìjǐ* occurs in its adverbial use because the VP is actional rather than static. However, it is not clear whether *zìjǐ* is in the adverbial exclusive use and can be translated by 'alone', or whether it is used as an adverbial intensifier but with the meaning of 'in person'. Therefore, *qīnzì* is used to disambiguate and the meaning of *zìjǐ* is restricted to the only one that is identical to the meaning of *qīnzì*.

On the other hand, the example (32 a) can also be seen in an alternative viewpoint based on the prerequisite that *qīnzì* is the main adverbial of the sentence. If so, *zìjǐ* is an adnominal intensifier to distinguish 'the embassy staff' as the central and other people who are helping in looking for hotels as the periphery.

(ii). Pseudo-combination of intensifiers without reinforcement

[zìjǐ: headless intensifier] + [qīnzì: adverbial intensifier]

(32)	b.	*Zhè*	*cì*	*shǒu-shù*	*yóu*	zìjǐ	qīnzì	*zhǔ*	*dāo.*
		This	CLASSIFIER	operation	from	INT	INT	in.charge	knife
		'I am in charge of this operation myself.' 这次手术由自己亲自主刀。							

Zìjǐ can also function as a headless intensifier and happens to find its referent in the speech situation, i.e. in the speaker. *Qīnzì* is used as an adverbial intensifier to modify the VP. Therefore, the construction of [*zìjǐ*+*qīnzì*] in this case is also classified as a case of pseudo-combination of intensifiers without reinforcement.

9.2.4. [běnrén+zìjǐ][34]:

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33 A clause like this can be understood by native Chinese speakers though the referent of the reflexive pronouns is not clearly defined in the verbal context.

34 The construction [*běnrén*+*zìjǐ*] is found only in four entries in the corpus.

(i). [běnrén: headless intensifier] + [zìjǐ: adnominal / adverbial intensifier]

(33)	a.	[...]	*xū-yào*	běnrén	zìjǐ	*néng*	*xuǎn-zé*	*zhí-yè.*
			require	H.INT	ADV.INT	can	choose	profession
		'[…] requires the person's independent will of choosing his own profession.' … … 需要本人自己能选择职业。							

Běnrén in this case[35] is used as a headless intensifier and finds its referent in relevant context either mentioned before in the verbal context or in the speech situation. *Zìjǐ* is used as an adverbial intensifier which modifies the VP with the meaning of 'by himself'.

(ii). [běnrén: adnominal intensifier] + [zìjǐ: adnominal intensifier]

(33)	b.	*Gǔ-lóng*	běnrén	zìjǐ	*yě*	*rèn-shi*	*dào*	*le*	*zhè*	*yì*	*diǎn.*
		NAME	INT	INT	also	recognize	to	PAST	this	CLASSIFIER	point
		'Gǔ-lóng himself has also realized this.' 古龙本人自己也认识到了这一点。									

This case is similar to (29 e), only that the sequences of the two intensifiers are reversed.

(iii). [běnrén: attributive intensifier with features of headless intensifier] + [zìjǐ: attributive intensifier]

(33)	c.	*Hūn-yīn*	*dà*	*shì*	*yě*	*kě-yǐ*	*tīng-píng*	běnrén	zìjǐ	*de*	*yìsi.*
		marriage	big	matter	also	can	follow	INT	INT	POSS	idea
		'One's own marriage could also follow one's own opinion.' 婚姻大事是也可以听凭本人自己的意思。									

(iv). [X-běnrén: adnominal intensifier] + [zìjǐ: adnominal intensifier]

(33)	d.	*[...]*	*jiù*	*shi*	*tā*	běnrén	zìjǐ.
			ADV	be	3.SG	REFL	INT
		'[…] is the man himself.' … 就是他本人自己。					

The only entry containing [*X-běnrén + zìjǐ*] shows that *běnrén* is use as a reflexive pronoun in this case in which *běnrén* functions to restrict the referent of the third person pronominal to make it identical to the agent in the verbal context. The use of *zìjǐ* functions as the adnominal intensifier to give the reflexive pronoun emphasis. The omission of either *zìjǐ* or *běnrén* does not affect the grammaticality of the sentence but somehow does not have the alternatives evoked by an adnominal intensifier.

9.2.5. [běnrén+zìshēn]

(i). [běnrén: headless intensifier] + [zìshēn: adnominal intensifier]

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35 *Běnrén* in this case does not have the speaker as its referent.

(34)	a.	*Zhè*	*zhŏng*	*dào*	*shì*	*yǐ*		běnrén	zìshēn	*wéi*	*chǐ-dù.*
		this	CLASSIFIER	principle	be	according.to		REFL	INT	as	criterion
		'The principle sets the human being himself as its criterion.' 这种道是以本人自身为尺度。									

(ii). [běnrén: attributive intensifier with features of headless intensifier] + [zìshēn: adnominal intensifier]

(34)	b.	*Dāng-rán*	*yí*	*bàn*	*hái*	*píng*		běnrén	zìshēn	*fēn-xì*	*lì*
		of.course	one	half	still	depend		INT	INT	analyze	ability
		de	*mǐn-ruì*	*[...]*							
		POSS	nimble								
		'Of course half of the (success) also depended on the fact that he's got an excellent analyzing ability.' 当然一半还凭本人自身分析力的敏锐... ...									

Běnrén in this case is used as an attributive intensifier with the possessive marker possibly omitted. The referent of *běnrén* is in the previous verbal context or speech situation, therefore such an attributive use of *běnrén* also shares the property of a headless intensifier. *Běnrén* can also be used alone here as the only intensifier to modify the NP. Therefore the use of *zìshēn* is meant to further modify what *běnrén* modifies and gives the [*běnrén*+NP] contrastive emphasis. On the other hand, *zìshēn* may also be used alone without *běnrén* and its referent depends on the previous verbal context or the speech situation. Thus *zìshēn* also has the feature of being a headless intensifier.

9.2.6. [běnrén+qīnzì]

(i). Pseudo-combination of intensifiers without reinforcement:

[běnrén: headless intensifier] + [qīnzì: adverbial intensifier][36]

(35)	a.	*Tā*	*yào-me*	*kàn*	*gāi*	*qiú-yuán*	*lù-xiàng,*	*yào-me*	běnrén	qīnzì
		3PS	either	observe	this	player	video	or	INT	INT
		qù	*kăo-chá.*							
		go	investigate							
		'He either observes the performance of the players by watching their video, or he goes to investigate them in person.' 他要么看该球员录像，要么本人亲自去考察。								

Běnrén in this case is used as a headless intensifier and shares the same referent as the personal pronoun *tā*. *Qīnzì* is used as an adverbial intensifier to modify the VP. Either of them can be left out without changing the sentence meaning.

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36 Cases of *X-běnrén* being in the same situation as an adnominal intensifier were not found in the corpus.

(ii). [běnrén: adnominal intensifier] + [qīnzì: adverbial intensifier]

(35)	b.	*[...]*	*yāo-qiú*	*téng-sēn*	běnrén	qīnzì	*chū*	*tíng.*
			require	name	INT	INT	out	court
		'[…] require Téng-sēnto be in court in person.'						
		……要求藤森本人亲自出庭。						

Běnrén in this case is used as an adnominal intensifier, whereas *qīnzì* is used as an adverbial intensifier to modify the VP. Neither of them is in an argument position and therefore can be left out. These two intensifiers are not a combinations because they modify different elements.

10.   Relationship between Intensifiers and Reflexive Pronouns

Intensifiers play an important role in the genesis, reinforcement and renovation of reflexive anaphors (cf. König & Siemund 2000b; Gelderen 2001; Keenan 2002; König 2003; Gast & Siemund appeared in König & Gast 2008).

Relevant cross-linguistic data has shown that reflexive pronouns and intensifiers are not only formally related. There are three options for the possible formal relationship between the two identity expressions (i) intensifiers and reflexives are identical in their formal (phonological and morphological) properties and only differ in their distributions (reflexive anaphors are found in argument positions, whereas intensifiers are adjuncts); (ii) intensifiers and reflexives are formally differentiated, differing in both their form and their distribution; and (iii) intensifiers and reflexives are formally differentiated but share morphological material, or are at least similar in their formal properties, though not in terms of their distributions (König & Gast 2006).

Both English *self*-forms and identity expressions in Mandarin Chinese belong to the first group; neither language distinguishes intensifiers and reflexives formally. In other words, English *self*-forms are used both as of intensifiers and as reflexives and so do the identity expressions in Mandarin Chinese.

Another generalization about the relationship between intensifiers and reflexives made cross-linguistically is that if a language uses the same expression both as an intensifier and as a reflexive anaphor, this expression is not used as a marker of derived intransitivity (middle marker) (König & Gast 2006). This is true of both English *self*-forms and identity expressions in Mandarin Chinese. Moreover, languages with such features often have their intensifiers and reflexive pronouns derived from the notion of body parts such as 'body', 'head', 'bone', 'soul' and 'life' (cf. König 2001: 752). This is true of the identity expressions in Mandarin Chinese, some of which still contain the element

shēn (with the meaning 'body') such as *běnshēn* and *zìshēn*. The observation also holds true of those expressions containing the element *rén* (with the meaning 'person') such as *běnrén*.

Apart from the properties mentioned above, former investigations have also revealed that reflexive pronouns and intensifiers exhibit 'a close semantic relatedness'[37] (König & Gast, 2002a):

> *The (original) intensifier* self *is used in de-verbal compounds denoting the nominal counterpart of a reflexive verb (*self-contemplation*, self-disgust, self-help*, self-control*, etc.). As a result of the well-known process called backformation we may also find compound verbs of this type (This rocket self-distrusts).*

> *Reflexive anaphors often develop from intensifiers. In English the dative forms of the personal pronouns and the possessive pronouns were combined with the originally simple intensifier* self *(*him + self > himself*) to renew a category which had disappeared before the time of our earliest written records (cf. Gelderen, 2000; König & Siemund 2000b; Keenan, 2001).*

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37 With regard to relatedness between reflexive pronouns and intensifiers, English is not a perfect language for explaining this. Instead, in languages like German, where reflexives and intensifiers differ in form, these two categories may be combined to emphasize the agentive character of the relevant reflexive reading, i.e., intensifiers can be used to intensify reflexive pronoun, as the following example shows:

Karl   hat sich selbst   *angezeigt.*
Karl   has   REFL   REFL   report
'Karl reported himself to the police.'

A Combination of reflexive pronouns and intensifiers like the above instance is not possible in English. Instead, the alternative in English in order to express precisely the meaning of emphasizing the agentive character of the relevant reflexive reading is to give the single *self*-form a strong stress.

D. Contrasts in the Meaning and Use of Reflexives Pronouns

11.   Reflexive pronouns in English and Mandarin Chinese

Having established the relationship between intensifiers and reflexive pronouns in the narrow sense of words, the following chapter is devoted to the contrastive study of reflexives pronouns in the two languages.

In Mandarin Chinese, not every identity expression that is used as an intensifier can also be used as a reflexive pronoun, and vice versa. Such questions do not arise in English, since combinations of *self + pronoun* are the only possible forms of identity expressions (both for intensifiers and for reflexive pronouns).

My corpus research (cf. example (36) below) reveals that there is a limited number of identity expressions in Mandarin Chinese that can be used BOTH as an intensifier and as a reflexive pronoun. The relevant forms are: *zìjǐ*, *běnrén*, *zìshēn*, together with their compound forms. There are also other identity expressions, as mentioned earlier: *qīnzì* is a typical adverbial intensifier and can never be used as a reflexive pronoun. English, too, has functionally similar expressions that are only used as intensifiers, such as *in person, personally, by itself.* These forms are not covered in the present contrastive analyses, either. Another identity expression in Mandarin Chinese, *qīnshēn,* is a typical attributive intensifier and is mainly used without the possessive marker *-de*. Again, it does not have reflexive uses.

Reflexive pronouns in the narrow sense of the word are typically used in situations where subject and object of a transitive predicate pick out one and the same referent both as target and source of that predicate. Generally speaking, analyses of reflexives (reflexive anaphors) have to look at three criteria, i.e. syntactic, semantic and pragmatic ones. As far as the syntax of anaphors is concerned, three factors are involved: the nature of the nominal expression, the structural relation between this expression and its antecedent (if it has one), and the nature of the antecedent itself (J. Huang, *et. al,* 2009: 329). In this way we divide the uses of reflexive pronouns of the two languages into two groups: *basic uses* vs. *non-basic uses*. The former form refers to reflexive pronouns in the narrow sense of the word as have stated above, i.e. to locally-bound reflexive pronouns. The latter relates to cases in which a reflexive pronoun and its antecedent are in different clauses of the same sentence, a configuration for which the term "long-distance binding", or locally-free reflexive pronouns is generally used. This second use can probably be considered as an extension of the basic

use.

Referential dependence in general and reflexive anaphors, in particular, have been discussed prominently in the theory of Generative Grammar; and Chomsky's Binding Principles are an important point of orientation for any discussion of reflexive pronouns. However, the Binding Conditions were formulated in connection with English. When Mandarin Chinese is taken into consideration, the general impression is that the Binding Conditions are not equally relevant for this language. The extreme flexibility of Mandarin Chinese both in its grammar, semantics and pragmatics, in general, excludes the possibility of describing the distribution of reflexive pronouns in purely syntactic terms. Semantic as well as pragmatic explanations are constantly needed for interpreting sentence meaning in Mandarin Chinese. Therefore, the Binding Conditions, which heavily rely on syntactic criteria, cannot be sufficient for the discussion of reflexivity in Mandarin Chinese. The generative theory is not a proper framework for the present contrastive study.

11.1. Inventories and selected areas

We will, however, follow generative proposals in dividing the following comparison into two parts: (a) basic uses of reflexive pronouns and (b) non-basic uses of reflexive pronouns. In (a), we contrast different forms of reflexive pronouns in the two languages when they are locally bound; and in (b), we contrast these forms when they are locally free. The comparison will focus on the possible distributions of reflexive pronouns in the two languages, their differences as well as similarities in use, and at the same time employ the labels that have already been observed in the literature such as *headless intensifiers, logophoricity, generic uses, long-distance reflexives, blocking effect,* etc.

Part One: A Contrastive Study of the Basic Uses of Reflexive Pronouns in English and Mandarin Chinese

Locally-bound reflexive pronouns are the standard case in both languages. They are found in the simple situation in which a reflexive pronoun and its antecedent are co-arguments of a predicate in the same clause of a sentence. The locally-bound reflexive pronouns that are going to be contrasted take the forms mentioned in the introduction. The structural relation between a reflexive pronoun and its antecedent in this domain is rather fixed, i.e. they are locally-bound. The following authentic examples manifest the basic syntactic construction of reflexive pronouns in simple sentences:

(36)	a.	*By an effort of courage against all instinct, Hazel$_i$ forced* himself$_i$ *forward into the gap, with Fiver following. [BNC, [EWC2923](EWC2923)]*

(36)	b.	*Xiǎo-wǔ$_i$*	*zài*	*yě*	*kòng-zhì*	*bú*	*zhù*	zìjǐ$_{i /*j}$	le.[38]
		NAME	any.more	also	control	no	stop	REFL	PAST
		'Xiǎo-wǔcan not control himself any more.' 小五也控制不住自己了。							

(36)	c.	[...]	*Wǒ$_i$*	*huì*	*tuī-jǔ*	wǒ-zìjǐ$_{i/*j}$.
			1PS	will	elect	REFL
		'I am going to vote for myself.' 我会推举我自己。				

(36)	d.	*xù-shù-zhě$_i$*	*bǐ*	*fēng*	*yì*	*zhuǎn,*	*dà*	*tán*	*qi*
		narrator	pencil	peak	one	turn	big	talk.about	up

		tā-běnrén$_{i/*j}$	*lái.*
		REFL	come

		'The narrator turned the topic and talked much about herself.' 叙述者笔锋一转，大谈起他自己来。

(36)	e.	*[tiān-má*	*de*	*zǔ-zhī*	*xì-bāo]$_i$*	*huì*	*fēn-mì*	*róng-jūn-méi,*
		elevated gastrodia	POSS	tissue	cell	can	secrete	lysozyme

		kào	*xiāo-huà*	*mǐ-huàn-jūn*	*de*	*jūn-sī*	*lái*	*yǐng-yǎng*
		depend	digest	mi mellea	POSS	mycelium	come	nutrition

		zìshēn$_{i/*j}$.
		REFL
		'The tissue cells of elevated gastrodia can secrete lysozyme and offer itself nutrition by digesting mycelium from mi mellea.' 天麻的组织细胞会分泌溶菌酶，靠消化米患菌的菌丝来营养自身。

The above sentences are authentic examples found in the corpora that contain all the identity expressions we are going to contrast with *self*-forms in English. In this group of examples, *zìjǐ*, *X-zìjǐ*, *X-běnrén*, *zìshēn* all have their antecedents in the subject position of the sentence and all of

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38 Flexibility of syntactic positions in Mandarin Chinese allows the antecedent also to be found on the right side of the reflexive pronoun, as in the following case when the prepositional phrase is preceding the main clause:

Wèi	*le*	zìjǐ,	*tāi*	*nǔ-lì*	*gōngzuò.*
for	PAST	REFL	3PS	hard	work

'He works hard for himself.'
为了自己，他努力工作。

these reflexive pronouns are locally-bound. Taking this fixed structural relation as a prerequisite, we will make observations on different reflexive pronouns together with their antecedents and on possible referents to make a contrast clearer.

12. Group one: *zìjǐ*, *X-zìjǐ* and *self*-forms

(37)	a.	*John*	*dǎ*	*le*	zìjǐ.[39]
		NAME	hit	PAST	REFL
		'John hit himself.' John打了自己。			

(37)	b.	*John*	*dǎ*	*le*	zìjǐ.
		NAME	hit	PAST	REFL
		'John hit **me**.'(referent to the matrix speaker) John打了自己。			

(37)   c.   *John*$_i$ *hit* himself$_i$ / **myself*.

The reflexive pronoun *zìjǐ* and *self*-forms in this group of examples may have different referents. Without a specific context, the sentence '*John dǎ le zìjǐ*' (John 打 了 自 己) has two possible interpretations and can be understood from two perspectives. Either the external speaker has nothing to do with the reference of *John* or *zìjǐ*, as in the case (37 a), in which *zìjǐ* and *John* are coreferent and the reflexive pronoun finds its antecedent within the scope of the verbal context. *Zìjǐ* in this sense is locally-bound. Or the external speaker is the referent of *zìjǐ*, i.e. under such circumstances *zìjǐ* no longer has *John* as its antecedent. *Zìjǐ* relates to the target of the VP *dǎ* (打) but is not the source of the action. The reflexive pronoun *zìjǐ* does not have an antecedent within the scope of the verbal context. Instead, the referent is found in the speech situations, cf. (37 b). *Zìjǐ* in this sense is not bound by an antecedent and it directly denotes the speaker in the outside world. As Yu (1992, 1996) has pointed out, *zìjǐ* may be syntactically completely unbound; when there is no binding, *zìjǐ* must refer to the external speaker (cf. J. Huang 2001: 18).

Self-forms in (37 c) by contrast, have only one possible antecedent, which is found in the verbal context and governed by Binding Conditions A. The possibility for *self*-forms to directly refer to an entity in the external world without the help of an antecedent does not exist. Among the entities contrasted in this group, *X-zìjǐ* is used only as a locally-bound reflexive pronoun and it is in this sense the closest counterpart with *self*-forms in English, (cf. (37 d)).

(37)	d.	*John*	*dǎ*	*le*	tā-zìjǐ.
		NAME	hit	PAST	REFL

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39 In this case, *j* = the speaker

	John hit himself. John打了他自己。

To summarize: reflexive pronouns in this group have two properties. On the one hand, reflexive pronouns in Mandarin Chinese differ from *self*-forms in that the former may have two possibilities of denoting an entity in the external world, either with the help of an antecedent, such as *zìjǐ* in (37 a) and (37 d), which are therefore locally-bound reflexive pronouns. *Zìjǐ* may directly refer to the speaker in the external world. *Self*-forms in English (cf. (37 c)) have similar uses as (37 a) and (37 d). In other words, *self*-forms always require an antecedent in order to have a reference. On the other hand, the compound form of *zìjǐ* behaves more like *self*-forms. Both of them are anaphoric and require an antecedent, whereas *zìjǐ* may be either anaphoric or directly denote to the speaker, requiring no antecedent in the verbal context (In this sense, *zìjǐ* is more like similar to *běnrén*, cf (38 a)).

13. Group two: *běnrén*, *X-běnrén* and *self*-forms

Contrary to what we usually expect, no example are found in the corpus where *běnrén* is used as a locally-bound reflexive pronoun in object position.

(38)	a.	*Wǒ$_i$*	*dǎ*	*le*	běnrén$_{i/*j}$.
		1PS	hit	PAST	REFL
		'I hit myself.' 我打了本人。(我=本人)			

(38)	b.	*Wǒ$_i$*	*dǎ*	*le*	běnrén$_{*i/j}$.
		1PS	hit	PAST	REFL
		'I hit that person.' 我打了本人。(我≠本人)			

(38)   c.   *I$_i$ hit* myself$_i$.

(38)	d.	*Tā$_i$*	*dǎ*	*le*	běnrén$_{i/*j}$.
		1PS	hit	PAST	REFL
		'He hit me.' 他打了本人。(他≠本人)			

(38)	e.	*Tā$_i$*	*dǎ*	*le*	běnrén$_{*i/j}$.
		1PS	hit	PAST	REFL
		'He hit that person.' 他打了本人。(他≠本人)			

(38)   f.   *He$_i$ hit* himself$_i$.

Because the identity expression *X-běnrén* has a reflexive use, we have taken for granted that

the bare expression *běnrén* also has similar uses. In (38 a & d), *běnrén* can be but does not have to be coreferent with any antecedent in the verbal context. The first person pronoun *wǒ* and *běnrén* have the same referent, which is both the source and target of the predicate *dǎ*. However, such coreference of *běnrén* and its antecedent, i.e. the first person pronoun is a coincidence rather than an instance of the Binding Conditions because *běnrén* has the deictic use of directly denoting a specific entity (the speaker) in the external world and does not require an antecedent to establish that denotation. The referent of *běnrén* in (38 b & e), on the other hand, is picked out in the speech situation. Within the pragmatic domain, it is related to a person in the external world which is known both to the speaker and to the addresses. In other words, the source and the target of *dǎ* are not identical; and the pronoun in the subject position and *běnrén* refer to different entities in the outside world. *Běnrén* does not require an antecedent in the verbal context to establish that denotation. Therefore, *běnrén* in this sense has a deictic use.

In contrast with its counterpart in English, we find that in (38 c), *myself* has the subject as its antecedent and the *self*-forms in this case are reflexive pronouns rather than a deictic. *Self*-forms cannot directly denote an entity in the external world and require an antecedent. Similarly, *self*-form in (38 f) is also an instance of the reflexive use.

To summarize: even though *běnrén* and a subject (when the subject is the first person pronoun) may be coreferent, the subject is not necessarily an antecedent of *běnrén*. Nor is *běnrén* in such cases (cf. (38 a & d)) a reflexive pronoun. Rather, it has deictic use and does not require an antecedent to denote an entity in the outside world. *Self*-forms, one the other hand, have a reflexive use in analogous sentences (cf. (38 c & f)).

Comparing the use of *běnrén* and *zìjǐ* in the above two groups of examples in more detail, we find that they function differently in the same syntactic contexts. *Zìjǐ* has the possibilities of being used either as a reflexive pronoun or as a non-reflexive one in the same syntactic position. Either *zìjǐ* finds its antecedent within the scope of the verbal context but does not require that antecedent is the first person pronoun; or it does not have a reflexive use because of a change of perspective of the sentence. In this situation, the referent of *zìjǐ* invariably switches to that of the first person pronoun (used by the speaker to refer to himself). *Běnrén*, on the other hand, is in the same context not a reflexive pronoun, but has a deictic use.

14.   Group three: *zìshēn*, *X-zìshēn* and *self*-forms

Comparing (36 e) and (38 f), we find that the reflexive pronoun *zìshēn* behaves like *self*-forms. Both of them have their antecedents in the verbal contexts and also require antecedents to denote an entity in the external world. If we change *zìshēn* into its compound form, the same situation occurs.

It is also necessary to mention at this point that the reflexive use of *zìjǐ* is very flexible. The following authentic example shows that the reflexive use of *zìjǐ* in complex sentences can also be locally-bound, much as is required by the Binding Condition A (Chomsky 1981): anaphors (reflexive pronouns) find their antecedents in a local domain, typically in the minimal clause (cf. (39)):

-39	*Xiǎo-wǔ$_i$*	*lì*	*pái*	*zhòng*	*yì,*	*gǔ-dòng*	*dà-jiā$_j$*			
	NAME	force	clear	public	difference	encourage	everyone			

	bú	*yào*	*wèi*	*zhè*	*diǎn*	*yíng*	*tóu*	*xiǎo*	*lì*	*ér*
	no	want	for	this	little	fly	head	small	benefit	instead

	chū-mài	zìjǐ$_{*i/j}$.
	sell	REFL

	'Xiǎo-wǔ strongly opposed other opinions, encouraging his fellows not to sell themselves at such tiny little profits.' 小五力排众议，鼓动大家不要为这点蝇头小利而出卖<u>自己</u>。

Zìjǐ in this case is is used as a reflexive pronoun; the antecedent of *zìjǐ* is the subject of the clause *dà-jiā* instead of *xiǎo-wǔ*; and the reflexive pronoun *zìjǐ* and the clause subject *dà-jiā* are both the target and source of the VP *chū-mài*. This is similar to the reflexive use of *self*-forms in English.

Apart from the basic use mentioned above, reflexive pronouns are found in other environments and constructions, in which reflexive pronouns behave in more complicated ways than merely indicating the circumstance in which subject and object of the transitive predicate pick out one and the same referent in the same clause of the same sentence. The following part is about the contrasts in the non-basic uses of reflexive pronouns between the two languages.

Part Two: Contrastive Study of the Non-Basic Uses of Reflexive Pronouns in English and Mandarin Chinese

Non-basic uses of reflexive pronouns are the cases that are complementary to the locally-bound ones, i.e. even though a reflexive pronoun still requires a linguistic antecedent, its antecedent is found outside the same clause of a sentence, or a reflexive pronoun has no antecedent at all within the verbal context but finds its referent in the speech situation.

We are going to examine contrasts between the non-basic uses of reflexive pronouns in the two languages in the following part. The criteria of our contrast are based on the syntactic distribution of a reflexive pronoun. These uses of reflexive pronouns are discussed in the literature under the labels such as *headless intensifiers*, *generic uses of reflexive pronouns*, *long-distance reflexive pronouns*, *logophoricity*, *blocking effect*, etc. Apart from the ones mentioned here, there are also cases in English that have no relevant uses but occur in Mandarin Chinese, e.g. *the generic uses of reflexive pronouns*. Moreover, we find that *inherently reflexive pronouns* are not found in Mandarin Chinese but do occur in English. Still, reflexive pronouns in both of the two languages cannot be found in combination with *grooming verbs*.

15. Group one: reflexive pronouns in sentence subject position

(40)	a.	Zìjǐ$_i$	*yīng-gāi*	*duì*	zìjǐ$_i$	*yǒu*	*xìn-xīn.*
		REFL	should	to	REFL	have	confidence
		'One should have confidence in oneself.' 自己应该对自己有信心。					

(40)   b.   One$_i$ *should be proud of* oneself$_i$.

(40)   c.   ?Himself *is not in the office*. (O.K. in Irish English)

Reflexive pronouns in the above groups of examples (cf. (40 a) and (40 c)) exhibit different uses though they have the same syntactic position. (40 a) is an instance of a generic use of reflexive pronouns found in Mandarin Chinese. *Zìjǐ* in this sense does not refer to any concrete object but carries a generic reading independently of the context and refers to classes of individual elements. In fact, *zìjǐ* is the only expression that is admissible in such uses, in violation not only to a general restriction on reflexive pronouns in a wide variety of languages, but also in contrast to other reflexive pronouns in Mandarin Chinese. *Zìjǐ* directly denotes an entity in a quantificational sense in the external world instead of requiring the help from an antecedent in the sentence. Occurring in both subject position as well as in object position, the two *zìjǐ* in (40 a) are co-arguments but are not bound by any overt quantifier. This configuration is clearly not compatible with the Binding Condition A: we could expect that there is a non-overt (generic) quantifier binding these two instances of the same variable. Alternatively we could regard *zìjǐ* here as a free variables which have a generic interpretation in the absence of a referential expression or quantifier binding term. *Self*-forms in subject positions cannot occur alone without a pronominal head in English. But a case like (40 a) is widely accepted in Mandarin Chinese. When we compare this with a counterpart in Irish English (cf. (40 c)), we can find that *self*-forms in subject positions are not acceptable in Standard

English but are acceptable in Irish English. Moreover, English uses the quantifier *one* instead of reflexive pronouns to indicate generic use, cf. (40 b).

The generic use of *zìjǐ* also has its variants. It is normally found in a construction of [*zìjǐ* + *duì* [PREPOSITION] + *zìjǐ*] but is used in more than one ways in Mandarin Chinese. First of all, the first *zìjǐ* in this construction can occur in a subject position; the second *zìjǐ* is a prepositional object and needs to have the first *zìjǐ* as its antecedent to have a generic interpretation. The examples (41 a, b, & c) have generic interpretations. Secondly, the syntactic position of the construction ([*zìjǐ* + *duì* [PREPOSITION] + *zìjǐ*]) is also flexible. It can be in a subject position (cf. (41 a)), a clausal subject (cf. (41 b)) or it can also be partly (cf. 41 c) or completely (cf. 41 d) changed into an attributive intensifier to modifier the NP next to it. The generic use of *zìjǐ* in (41 d) is changed into a non-generic one, i.e. *zìjǐ* has the matrix subject as its antecedent and its referent therefore is also determined by the antecedent. In other words, *zìjǐ* under the condition of coreference refers to the matrix speaker in the outside world.

(41)	a.	[zìjǐ duì zìjǐ]	*dú-lì*	*de*	*zuò*	*chū*	*pàn-duàn*
		REFL PREP REFL	independent	POSS	do	out	judgement

		'One should make the judgement about oneself independently.' 自己对自己独立地做出判断。

(41)	b.	*Xī-fāng*	*gǔ-lì*	[zìjǐ duì zìjǐ]	*fù-zé.*
		western	encourage	REFL PREP REFL	be responsible
		'The western world encourages people to be self-responsible.' 西方鼓励自己对自己负责。			

(41)	c.	[zìjǐ duì zìjǐ]	*de*	*xué-xí*	*yǒu*	*xìn-xīn.*
		REFL PREP REFL	POSS	study	have	confidence

		'One has confidence on one's own study.' 自己对自己的学习有信心。

(41)	d.	*Wǒ*	*láo*	*jì*	*le*	[zìjǐ duì zìjǐ]	*de*	*qī-wàng*
		1PS	fest	remember	PAST	REFL PREP REFL	POSS	expectation

		yǔ	*chéng-nuò.*	
		and	commitment	
		'I remember the expectation as well as commitment I put on myself very well.' 我牢记了自己对自己的期望与承诺。		

Other than that, *zìjǐ* in its attributive use is also found to take a generic interpretation, as in:

(41)	e.	Zìjǐ	de	*hái -zi*	zìjǐ	*ài.*
		REFL	POSS	child	REFL	love

	'One loves one's own child.' 自己的孩子自己爱。

To summarize: the reflexive pronoun *zìjǐ* in Mandarin Chinese has three related properties that are not manifested by *self*-forms in English. Firstly, syntactically *zìjǐ* alone can occur in subject position (both sentence subject as well as clausal subject); *self*-forms have to have a pronominal head to occur in these two positions; only Irish English does allow *self*-forms alone to occur in a subject position. Secondly, *zìjǐ* in subject position (the sentence subject in particular) has a generic use, which again is not manifested by *self*-forms. English does not use reflexive pronouns to express a generic meaning. Thirdly, the generic use of *zìjǐ* is found to have more than one variants. It can be in a fixed construction and occur in more than one syntactic positions; *zìjǐ* used as an intensifier can also take a generic interpretation[40]. All these uses are not exhibited by *self*-forms in English.

As already mentioned, *zìjǐ* is the only reflexive pronoun that may have a generic interpretation. The two sentences in (42) are not used generically, though (42) and (41 a) are syntactically identical. Similarly, when we use *běnrén* as substitute of *zìjǐ* in (42 f), we find that the sentence (cf. (42 b)) is grammatically not acceptable.

(42)	a.	Běnrén	*yīng-gāi*	*duì*	zìjǐ	*yǒu*	*xìn-xīn.*
		REFL	should	to	REFL	have	confidence
		'I should have confidence in myself.' 本人应该对自己有信心。					

(42)	b.	*Běnrén*	de	*hái - zi*	*běnrén*	*ài.*
		REFL	POSS	child	REFL	love
		'?'(I love my own child.) *本人的孩子本人爱。					

Generalization: *Běnrén* in the matrix subject position does not have a generic reading.

16. Group Two: Reflexive Pronouns in Clausal Subject Positions (Headless Intensifiers)

Zìjǐ in clausal subject positions without preceding pronouns does not always carry a generic reading. It may also be analyzed as a headless intensifier. Headless intensifiers are generally used for creating a contrastive context in which the subject is in contrast with alternative values related to

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[40] the examples provided here (41 a-e) give the readers an impression that the generic use of *zìjǐ* MUST be of the pairwise distribution of *zìjǐ* as the bound variable, i.e. in the form of [*zìjǐ* + *zìjǐ*]. However, the following example proves that *zìjǐ* used alone also contains a generic use, which shows that the generic use does not require the pairwise use of *zìjǐ*:

rén	*yí-dìng*	*yào*	*kào*	zìjǐ.
People	must	must	depend.on	REFL

'People have to be independent.'

it. Such instances of *zìjǐ* do not find the antecedent in the local domain, instead the antecedent is usually the subject found in higher clauses. Such a use shares features of both reflexive pronouns and of intensifiers. My corpus research suggests that *zìjǐ* is widely used as a headless intensifier in Mandarin Chinese and is found in examples like the following:

(43) a.	*tā*	*jiàn*	*nà*	*nǔ-hái*	*shēng*	*de*	*qīng-chún*	*kě-ài,*	*[...]*
	3PS	see	that	girl	grow	POSS	pure	lovely	[...]

	yú-shì	*shàng*	*qián*	*gēn*	*rén-jiā*	*dā*	*huà,*	*shuō*
	therefore	up	ahead	with	3PS.PRONOUN	start	talk	said

	Zìjǐ	*shì*	*yì*	*jiā*	*yǐng-shì*	*gōng-sī*	*de*	*lǎo-zǒng.*
	REFL	be	one	CLASSIFIER	film	firm	POSS	boss

	'As he felt the girl was pure and lovely, he reached to start a conversation and introduced himself asthe boss of a film company.' 他见那女孩生得清纯可爱，[... ...]于是上前跟人家答话，说自己是一家影视公司的老总。

Similarly, *běnrén*, *běnshēn*, *zìshēn* also have such uses as is shown by the following authentic examples in which their antecedents are in another clause of the same sentence, as in (43 b), (43 c), (43 d) and (43 e),:

(43) b.	*Rǔ-guǒ*	*qióng-rén*	*qiàn*	*zhài*	*huán*	*bù*	*qǐ,*	*[...]*	běnrén
	if	the.poor	owe	debt	pay.back	not	up	[...]	H.INT

	jí	*qīzǐ*	*érnǔ*	*jiāng*	*chéng-wéi*	*zhài-zhǔ*	*de*	*nú-li.*
	and	wife	children	will	become	creditor	POSS	slave

	'If the poor cannot afford to pay back the debt, he himself as well as his wife and children will become the slaves of his creditor.' 如果穷人欠债还不起… , <u>本人</u>及其妻子儿女将成为债主的奴隶。

(43) c.	*Méi*	*zài*	*huà-xué*	*fǎn-yìng*	*zhōng,*	*zhǐ*	*qǐ*	*dào*
	enzyme	at	chemical	reaction	middle	only	up	to

	cù-jìn-zhě	*de*	*zuò-yòng,*	běnshēn	*bìng*	*bú*	*bèi*	*xiāo-hào.*
	catalyst	POSS	function	H.INT	ADV	no	PASSIVE	consume

	'Enzyme only makes a chemical reaction happens more quickly without being changed itself.' 酶在化学反应中，只起到促进者的作用，<u>本身</u>并不被消耗。

(43) d.	*Táng*	*jiāo-chū*	*néng-liàng*	*hòu,*	zìshēn	*wù-zhi.*
	sugar	give-out	energy	after	H.INT	substance

	biàn-chéng	*rǔ-suān,*	*èr-yǎng-huà-tàn*	*děng*
	become	Lactic acid	Carbon dioxide	etc.

		Sugar is changed into substances such as Lactic acid,Carbon dioxide etc. after it gives the energy out. 糖交出能量后，<u>自身</u>变成乳酸、二氧化碳等物质。						

(43)	e.	*Dōng-fāng*	*wén-huà*	*de*	*èr-liú*	*diàn-yǐng*	*bǎ*	*hào-chēng*
		eastern	culture	POSS	second-class	film	BA-STRUCTURE	so-called

	jiàn-duō-shí-guǎng	*de*	*měi-guó-rén*	*hǔ*	*de*	*yǐ-lèng-yǐ-lèng*
	well-informed	POSS	American	boast	ADV	one-astonish-one-astonish

de,	běnshēn	*jiù*	*shì*	*guài*	*yǒu-qù*	*de*	*shì-qing.*
POSS	H.INT	adv	be	very	interesting	POSS	thing

		Covered with eastern culture, these second-class films make the so-called the well informed Americans astonish, which is in itself a very interesting thing. 东方文化外衣的二流电影把号称见多识广的美国人唬得一愣一愣的，<u>本身</u>就是件怪有趣的事情。

Generalization: *Self*-forms cannot be used as headless intensifiers whereas all the identity expressions in Mandarin Chinese have this use.

Summary of contrast:

Zìjǐ can have a generic interpretation. All the identity expressions in Mandarin Chinese can be used as headless intensifiers.

Self-forms in Standard English cannot occur in subject positions without a pronominal head and do not have a use as headless intensifiers by themselves in that position. But this is possible for *self*-forms in non-subject positions.

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17. Group Three: Reflexive Pronouns in Object Positions

17.1. Locally-free Reflexive Pronouns

Based on the observations in English as well as in some other European languages, locally-free reflexive pronouns have been widely discussed in the literature from both semantic as well as grammatical points of view. On the other hand, cases of long-distance binding, logophoricity and blocking effect in the two languages are widely discussed in Mandarin Chinese with the complicated cases of *zìjǐ* as the most prominent examples.

The following comparison will be divided into two parts based on the syntactic positions of locally-free reflexive pronouns in the two languages: (a) locally-free reflexive pronouns in argument positions but not as the sentence object (cf. examples in (46), (47) and (65)); (b) locally-free reflexive pronouns in object positions (cf. examples in (51) and (52)).

(a) ***locally-free reflexive pronouns in argument positions***

Based on observations in English, a wide variety of labels have been used to capture some essential properties of the meanings or uses of 'locally-free reflexives': *untriggered self-forms / untriggered reflexives, creeping reflexives, non-standard self-forms, override reflexives, logophoric reflexives, non-anaphoric reflexives* and *unpredictable self-forms.* Based on a corpus research in British English, Baker (1995) used the term *locally-free reflexives* (*long-distance reflexives*) and argued that they are intensive pronouns and should be subject to the same conditions as other intensifiers (Haihua, Pan, 1997: 103). Baker (1995)'s description is, of course, based on identity expressions in English rather than Mandarin Chinese. For the sake of contrast, we keep both of these terms in our analysis because there is still much disagreement in the literature. *Locally-free reflexive pronouns* are mainly used for cases in which reflexive pronouns occur in argument positions but not as a sentence object; the term *long-distance reflexive pronouns* is based on observations in Mandarin Chinese made within the framework of the Binding Conditions and their violation. On the other hand, we follow the view that *untriggered reflexive pronouns* and *locally-free reflexive pronouns* are basically the same thing (cf. König & Siemund 2001).

(46)	a.	*Always a bit of a loner, Basil here found an environment of people committed like* himself. *[LLC]*

(46)	b.	*He [Zapp] sat down at the desk and opened the drawers. In the top right-hand one was an envelope addressed to* himself. *[CP, p. 62]*

(46)   c.   *There are groups for people like* yourself. *[Parker et al., 1990: 50]*

The three examples in (46) share the feature that the *self*-forms occur not as arguments of a verb but of the preposition. The difference lies in the distribution of their antecedents. The antecedents of locally-free reflexive pronouns typically occur in three places: either in the higher clause of the same sentence (46 a), or in another sentence (46 b), or not at all in the verbal context but in the speech situation (46 c). Roughly speaking, such features generally match the relevant cases in Mandarin Chinese.

Also, (46 a) is not only an example of a locally-free reflexive pronoun, but also a logophoric one. The *self*-form *himself* marks its antecedent, i.e. the third person pronoun, as the center of perspective and the text as free indirect style. In other words, the *self*-form requires an antecedent to denote an entity in the world of the novel, and this antecedent can be seen as an overt logophoric trigger. Our further comparisons will show that English and Mandarin Chinese share many features in indicating logophoricity. It is also possible that the overt logophoric trigger is not given in the

verbal context (cf 46 c) but in the speech situation. In this way, the locally-free *self*-forms can only refer to an external speaker, which is true for both English and Mandarin Chinese.

The close relationship between locally-free reflexive pronouns and logophoricity can also be observed in the above group of examples. Locally-free reflexive pronouns may be logophors (as in (46 a)) but do not have to (as in (46 c)). *Self*-forms in both of these two types of uses find themselves in argument positions. The key for distinguishing whether a *self*-form is a logophor or not depends on the antecedent of the *self*-form instead of a given context. If a *self*-form marks its antecedent as the center of perspective, that means that the sentence expresses logophoricity. As far as English is concerned, logophoricity requires locally-free *self*-forms instead of any other kind of *self*-forms in order to find an overt logophoric trigger. As will be seen later, Mandarin Chinese can have attributive intensifiers as logophors, as in (46 d):

(46) d.	*John*	*shuō*	*yǒu*	*rén*	*tōu*	*le*	zìjǐ-de	*qián-bāo*
	NAME	say	have	person	steal	PAST	ATTRI.INT	wallet

	'John said that someone stole his wallet.' 'John said that his wallet was stolen.' John说有人偷了自己的钱包。

It is also necessary to mention the distribution and meaning of 'locally-free reflexives' ('untriggered reflexives', 'viewpoint reflexives', 'perspective logophors') in English. The meanings and uses of locally free reflexives have been discussed in great detail in König & Siemund (2001), which is by far the most adequate view:

• *not all locally-free self-forms are logophors (Zribi-Hertz 1989); there are a wide variety of non-logophoric locally-free self-forms (Baker 1995: 66ff.); some (but not all) of the locally-free self-forms should be called logophors (Baker 1995);*

• *'locally-free self-forms are intensifiers without pronominal heads (Baker 1995)';*

• *locally-free self-forms are intensifiers with incorporated pronominal heads as is shown by the asymmetry in the occurrence of intensifiers without nominal heads (Baker's "intensified NPs") in subject and non-subject positions (Baker 1995: 74ff) (König & Siemund 2000);*

• *locally-free self-forms share features with intensifiers: untriggered reflexives are in fact fused combinations of personal pronouns and intensifiers, i.e. The personal pronoun has been incorporated into (or omitted before) the intensifier as it were, since the latter contains a pronoun as part of its morphological make-up anyway (him+self) (Baker 1995; König & Siemund 2001).*

• *locally-free self-forms share features with reflexive pronouns: both of them occur in argument positions and are therefore not omissible, but an important distinction between these two is that the*

syntactic positions of untriggered self-forms are typically not direct or indirect object positions but the complement positions of prepositions, the positions of conjuncts in coordinations and lists (König & Gast 2007).

- *the descriptive generalization that many and perhaps even the majority of locally free self-forms indicate that a situation is presented from the perspective of its referent seems to be essentially correct (König & Siemund 2000).*

- *locally-free self-forms can be replaced by personal pronouns without a **major** change of meaning (König & Gast 2002: 5); however, there is also a clear difference in perspectives: the self-forms indicate that the situation is told from the perspective of the subject-referent, whereas the simple pronoun gives us the perspective of the narrator (König & Gast 2007);*

- *locally-free self-forms do not find their antecedent in the same clause, but in a higher clause, or outside the verbal context altogether in the speech situation (König & Gast 2002: 5).*

(47)	a.	*So what can a fine Tory gentleman like* yourself *have to do with a manufacturing Whig like Braithwaite? (lolac 1985.205: 2382)*

(47)	b.	*The bottom stacks were compressed but the upper layers were soft and would provide comfort for everybody soon, including* myself. *(lolac 1985.200: 2080)*

(47)	c.	*Zhè*	*běn*	*shū*	*chú-le*	wǒ-zìjǐ	*méi*	*rén*	*kàn.*
		this	CLASSIFIER	book	except	1SG	no	person	read
		'No one reads this book except me.'							
		这本书除了我自己,没人看.							

(47)	d.	*The adults in the picture are facing away from us, with the children placed behind themselves.*

The special feature found in this group of examples (47 a, b, and c) is that the reflexive pronouns do not find their antecedents within the verbal context but in the speech situation. Based on the properties of reflexive pronouns mentioned above, we can say that none of the example in this group is logophoric. They are merely locally-free reflexive pronouns. And when the first person reflexive pronoun is completely unbound syntactically, there is only the possibility to refer to the matrix speaker. There are no contrasts between the two languages at this point (cf (47 b) and (47 c)).

As far as English is concerned, *self*-forms used as locally-free reflexive pronouns are typically found in two types of contexts: logophoric contexts and contrastive contexts (cf. (47 a) and (47 b). But context does not play an important role in logophoricity as is shown by (47 d). What is decisive in logophoricity is that reflexive pronouns mark their antecedents as the center of perspective.

Reflexive pronouns in a locally-free use are also found with *běnrén, běnshēn* and *zìshēn*. In the following examples of Mandarin Chinese, it can roughly be said that even though the Binding Condition A (Chomsky 1981) holds for the reflexive pronoun *zìjǐ* in some cases, previous studies have widely argued that the Binding Conditions cannot adequately explain all uses of reflexive pronouns in Mandarin Chinese, especially in the case of the locally-free reflexives, i.e. long-distance binding configuration. This has constituted one type of challenge for the classical Binding Conditions (cf. Chomsky 1981) and their more recent reformulations. Generally speaking, there are contexts existing in both languages in which reflexive pronouns do not find their antecedents in the same clause.

(48)	a.	*Tā*	*jiàn-yì*	*yù*	*fāng*	*néng*	*jiāng*	*fàn-rén*	*de*	*jiàn-kāng*
		3PS	suggest	prison	side	can	will	prisoner	POSS	health

		dàng-àn	*duì*	běnrén	*gōng-kāi.*	
		document	to	REFL	public	
		'He suggested that the administration of prison should reveal the health documents of the prisoners to themselves.'				
		他建议狱方能将犯人的健康档案对<u>本人</u>公开。				

(48)	b.	*yóu-qí*	*shì*	*xīn*	*mǎi-jiā,*	*xū*	*xiǎo-xin*	*píng-gū*	*mǎi-jiā*
		especially	be	new	buyer	must	careful	evaluate	buyer

		de	*fù-kuǎn*	*néng-lì,*	*bìng*	*cǎi-qǔ*	*cuò-shī*	*jiǎn-dī*
		POSS	payment	capability	and	take	measure	reduce

		běnshēn	*fēng-xiǎn.*	
		REFL	risk	
		'...(it is) especially true when it comes to the new buyers that their abilities to pay must be carefully evaluated and measures should be taken to reduce that risk. '		
		尤其是新买家,须小心评估买家的付款能力,并采取措施减低<u>本身</u>风险。		

(48)	c.	*[...]*	*jiù*	*Hǎi-nán*	*rén*	*rú-hé*	*miàn-duì*	*tiǎo-zhàn,*
		[...]	ADV	Hai.nan.	people	how	face	challenge

		tuán-jié	*hé-zuò,*	*gǎi-shàn*	zìshēn,	*gòng-tóng*	*fā-zhǎn*
		unite	co-operation	improve	REFL	together	development

		děng	*wèn-tí*	*zhǎn-kāi*	*tǎo-lùn.*
		etc.	problem	carry.out	discussion

		'[…] a discussion based on how the people of Hainan face challenges, cooperate with each other and their mutual development.'
		……,就海南人如何面对挑战、团结合作、改善<u>自身</u>、共同发展等问题展开研讨。

It is necessary to point out here that analyses of reflexive pronouns in Mandarin Chinese in literature adopt different approaches, such as the GB framework, logophrocitiy, emphasis[41] as well as persepectivity[42].

(b) Locally-free Reflexive Pronouns in Object Positions

17.2 Long distance binding

Within the framework of generative studies, the phenomenon of long-distance binding refers to those reflexive pronouns that 'have their antecedents outside their governing categories' (Huang 2001). Reflexive pronouns in English do not allow long-distance binding, the *self*-form in sentence (49 b) suggests that it can only be bound with its antecedent in the local domain instead of the matrix subject. This is in line with the standard theory of the classical Binding Theory in Chomsky (1981).

Reflexive pronouns in Mandarin Chinese, however, allow long-distance binding, such as in (50 a), in which the reflexive pronoun *zìjǐ* may find its antecedent in the local domain, or in the higher clause, i.e. the matrix subject. This makes the sentence ambiguous because it is not clear by which one this reflexive pronoun is actually bound. Such a phenomenon is a challenge to the classical Binding Theory in Chomsky (1981) and "the subsequent revisions of it within the Principles-and-Parameters framework" (Huang 2001). A compound form of the reflexive pronoun (i.e. *X-zìjǐ*), on the other hand, behaves quite similar to its English counterparts (compare (49 b) and (50 b)).

(49)	a.	*John$_i$ knows that Tom$_j$ hates* him$_{i/*j}$.
(49)	b.	*John$_i$ knows that Tom$_j$ hates* himself$_{*i/j}$.

(50)	a.	*John$_i$*	*zhī-dào*	*Tom$_j$*	*tǎo-yàn*	zìjǐ$_{i/j}$.
		NAME	know	NAME	hate	REFL
		'John knows that Tom hates him/himself.'				
		John知道Tom 讨厌自己。				

(50)	b.	*John$_i$*	*zhī-dào*	*Tom$_j$*	*tǎo-yàn*	tā-zìjǐ$_{*i/j}$.
		NAME	know	NAME	hate	REFL
		'John knows that Tom hates himself.'				

---

41 As mentioned in Pan (1997: 98), "emphasis is sometimes used to account for the long-distance binding of reflexives. The emphasis account could avoid the problem noted for the logophoricity account... however, like the logophoricity account, the emphasis account will have similar problems in explaining why *zìjǐ* exhibits subject orientation and observes the blocking effect."

42 As mentioned in Pan (1997: 99), "Perspectivity is employed in Kuno (1987), Sells (1987), and Iida (1992, 1994) to account for the long-distance binding property of reflexives. Iida claims that an object can be an antecedent for Japanese *zibun* if it is the speaker's perspecitve."

	John知道Tom 讨厌他自己。

Sentence (50 a) violates the Binding Condition A, since the reflexive pronoun *zìjǐ* has the two possibilities of being coreferent with the matrix subject or with the clausal subject. *Tā-zìjǐ* in (50 b) by contrast meets the Binding Conditions.

Unlike local binding, which is possible in most cases , cases of long-distance binding are rather limited in Mandarin Chinese. However, it constitutes an interesting phenomenon for the study of reflexivity.

Previous research has generally adopted one of the possible views: abandonment or revision of the Binding Conditions, or re-defining long-distance reflexive pronouns in Mandarin Chinese as logophors as anaphors in the sense of Binding Condition A. The main approaches in the literature concerning long-distance *zìjǐ* are the following: the formal syntactic approach that classifies *zìjǐ* as an anaphor, and a discourse-functional approach which treats *zìjǐ* as a logophor. Huang (2009: 338-344) has compared these two views, arguing that the former leaves too many problems unresolved, which become clear from the perspective of the later approach. Following Kuno (1972), he essentially argues that "the long-distance reflexive pronouns in Mandarin Chinese are not true anaphors in the sense of the Binding Conditions, but a special kind of anaphoric expression referring to the matrix subject as the 'speaker' of the embedded clause" (Huang *et al.* 2009: 341). Hence, once we re-classify locally-bound *zìjǐ* as anaphors and the long-distance *zìjǐ* as logophors, we find that the discourse-functional approach offers a natural explanation for the Blocking Effect (Huang *et al.* 2009: 342; also cf. Huang *et al.* 1984).

17.3. Cases of Subject-orientation

Another difference between the long-distance reflexive pronouns in the two languages, exhibited by sentence (50 c) and sentence (50 d) is what has traditionally been called 'subject-orientation', which is only found in Mandarin Chinese but not in English.

(50)	c.	*John*$_i$	*gěi*	*Tom*$_j$	(tā)zìjǐ$_{i/*j}$-de	*zhào-piān.*
		NAME	give	NAME	own	photo
		'John gave Tom his own photo.'				
		John 给Tom 自己的照片。				

(50) d. *John*$_i$ *told Tom*$_j$ *about* himself$_{i/j}$.

The antecedent of the reflexive pronoun *zìjǐ* in (50 c) can only be subject but not object or indirect object, however, *self*-forms in (50 d) by contrast, do allow the reflexive pronoun to have either subject or object as their antecedents.

17.4. Cases of Sub-commanding

(50)	e.	*[...]*	*John*	*de*	*jiāo'ào*	*hài*	*le*	(tā)zìjǐ.
			NAME	give	pride	own	PAST	REFL
		[…] 'John's arrogance harmed him.'						
		……John的骄傲害了自己。						

(50) f * John's arrogance harmed himself.

Yet another property that is not shared by reflexive pronouns in Mandarin Chinese and those in English is the case of 'sub-command', which refers to the feature in long-distance reflexive pronouns in Mandarin Chinese that "a reflexive may be bound by an antecedent that does not quite c-command, but only 'sub-command' it" (Huang *et al.* 2009: 337). Tang (1989) used this notion based on a case like sentence (50 e), in which the reflexive pronoun *zìjǐ* is bound by a constituent of a larger NP (*John's jiāo' ào* instead of the subject *John*). When we compare this with an non-authentic example invented for the purpose of contrast (as in (50 f)), it is found that *self*-forms in English do not possess the feature of 'sub-commanding'.

Even though reflexive pronouns in the two languages reveal differences in the above two cases, such properties are not purely specific to long-distance *zìjǐ*, nor to bare *zìjǐ*. Instead, these properties also apply to compound form of *zìjǐ* (cf. (50 c) & (50 e)).

Based on the observations of *zìjǐ* as well as *X-zìjǐ,* basic properties of long-distance reflexive pronouns in Mandarin Chinese can be generally described by the following four features (Huang 2001):

[1] Mono-morphoemicity: only the bare zìjǐ can be long-distance bound; X-zìjǐ cannot be long-distance bound;(cf. example (50 a) and (50 b))

[2]   Subject-orientation: only subjects may qualify as antecedents;(cf. example (50 c)) which is not manifested by self-forms in English;

[3]   Sub-Commanding Antecedent: long-distance binding may be blocked by certain local potential antecedents with φ-features distinct from those of the remote antecedent. (cf. example (50 e)), which is again not a feature of self-forms in English;

[4] blocking effect (cf. example (51 a))

Generalization: in these four properties, *zìjǐ* is different from the use of *self*-forms, and the behavior of *self*-forms is more like that of compound forms of *zìjǐ*. The second and the third property are only manifested by reflexive pronouns in Mandarin Chinese (*zìjǐ* and its compound form) but not by *self*-forms in English. Also, the Blocking Effect is a special property of the

relevant expressions in Mandarin Chinese.

It is also necessary to discuss the other reflexive pronouns, i.e. *běnrén & X-běnrén, běnshēn & X-běnshēn,* as well as *zìshēn & X-zìshēn* in contexts of possible long-distance binding.

(51) a.	*John*$_i$	*zhī-dào*	*Tom*	*tǎo-yàn*	běnrén$_{*i/j}$.
	NAME	know	NAME	hate	REFL
	'John knows that Tom hates me.'				
	John知道Tom讨厌本人。				

(51) b.	*John*$_i$	*zhī-dào*	*Tom*$_j$	*tǎo-yàn*	tā-běnrén$_{*i/j}$.
	NAME	know	NAME	hate	REFL
	'John knows that Tom hates me.'				
	John知道Tom讨厌他本人。				

Běnrén in (51 a) is not a long-distance case because it does not rely on an antecedent in the verbal context to denote an entity in the external world and its referent is the current speaker, i.e. the external speaker. The use of *X-běnrén* in (51 b) is similar to the situation of *X-zìjǐ* in (50 b). In other words, *běnrén* in (51 a) has a deictic use and its compound form in (51 b) is only a locally-bound reflexive pronoun. These two examples are further analyzed in the following two charts:
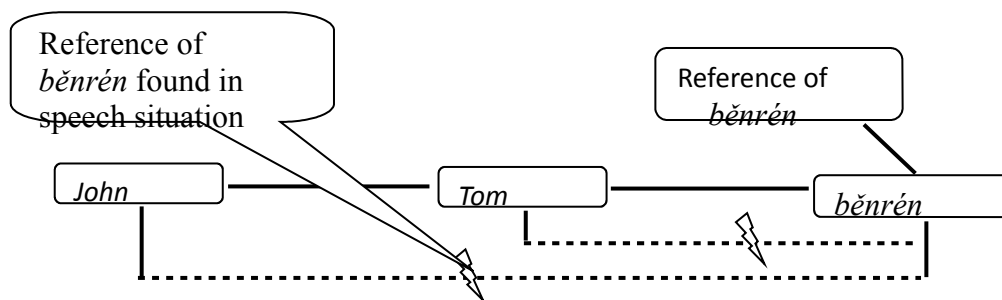
Chart 2: *John   zhī-dào   Tom   tǎo-yàn*   běnrén. (51 a).
John知道Tom讨厌本人。
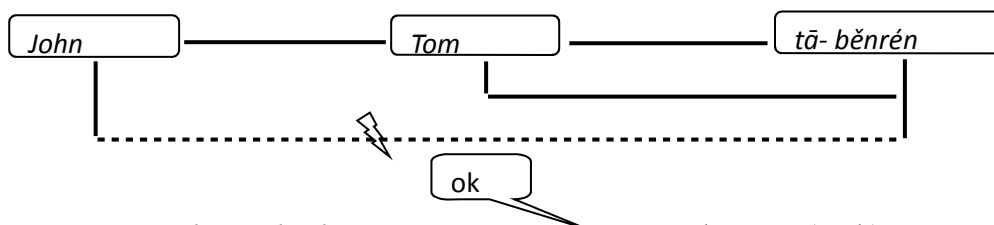
Chart 3: *John   zhī-dào   Tom   tǎo-yàn*   tā-běnrén. (51 b).
John知道Tom讨厌他本人。

(c) *Locally-free Reflexive Pronouns in Argument Positions / Clausal Subject*

Self-forms alone cannot occur in the subject position, no matter whether it is the sentence

subject or an embedded clausal subject. Reflexive pronouns in Mandarin Chinese, on the other hand, can manifest this property:

(52)	a.	*John knows that* he / *himself *hates Tom.*			

(52)	b.	*John*	*zhī-dào*	zìjǐ	*tǎo-yàn*	*Tom.*
		NAME	know	REFL	hate	NAME
						[two possibilities]
		(i) 'John knows that **he himself** hates Tom.' John知道自己讨厌Tom。（自己＝John）					
		(ii) 'John knows that **I** hate Tom.' John知道自己讨厌Tom。（自己＝我, the speaker）					

There are two interpretations for (52) b. Possibility one: the reflexive pronoun picks out the higher subject as its antecedent and finds its referent within the verbal context. In this case, *zìjǐ* manifests the typical logophoric use. In other words, *John* is chosen as the center of the perspective, as is further illustrated in the following charts:
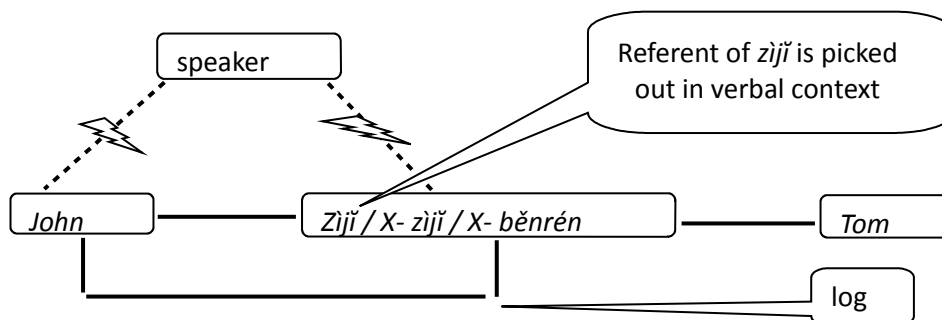
Chart 4: *John   zhī-dào   zìjǐ   tǎo-yàn   Tom.*
John知道自己讨厌Tom。

Alternatively, *zìjǐ* may not be coreferent with the sentence subject but refer to the external speaker. That is to say, the sentence is switched from *John's* point of view to the perspective of the external speaker with the reflexive pronoun *zìjǐ* referring to the speaker himself:

Possibility two: in interpreting the example (52 b):
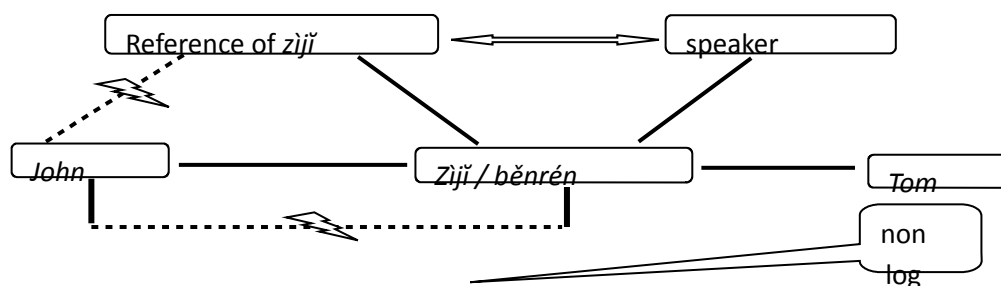
Chart 5: *John   zhī-dào   zìjǐ   tǎo-yàn   Tom.*

John知道自己讨厌Tom。

(52)	c1.	*John*	*zhī-dào*	tā-zìjǐ /	tā-běnrén	*tǎo-yàn*	*Tom.*
		NAME	know	REFL	REFL	hate	NAME
		'John knows that he himself hates Tom.'					
		John知道他自己/他本人讨厌Tom。					

Unlike the ambiguity caused by the reflexive pronouns *zìjǐ*, *X-zìjǐ* & *X-běnrén* in (52 c) limit the sentence meaning to only one possibility. *X-zìjǐ* / *X-běnrén* have its antecedent restricted within the verbal context, and only have the matrix subject as their antecedent. Comparing the three sentences in (52), we find that *self*-forms cannot be in the clausal subject position unlike their counterparts in Mandarin Chinese. This suggests that reflexive pronouns in Mandarin Chinese may occur in at least one more syntactic position than that of *self*-forms in English. Again, the use of *zìjǐ* in this position allows two interpretations, either *zìjǐ* is bound by the matrix subject, or *zìjǐ* is free, and denotes directly the external speaker. Its compound form, on the other hand, is strictly bound by the matrix subject. All these properties are not manifested by *self*-forms in English.

As for the question of whether *X-zìjǐ* /*X-běnrén* should be analyzed here as a combination of [the third person pronoun+intensifier], or should be counted as a complex form of reflexive pronouns, we need further comparisons with another related cases in which the third person pronoun alone is used in the position of a clausal subject, as in (52 c2). In this example, the pronoun *tā* denotes the external speaker instead of the matrix subject:

[*tā-zìjǐ* = John] [complex reflexive pronoun used as subject instead of [3PS + intensifier]]

(52)	c2.	John	*zhī-dào*	tā	*tǎo-yàn*	*Tom.*
		NAME	know	3PS	hate	NAME
					[tā ≠ John]	
		'John knows that he hates Tom.'				
		John知道他讨厌Tom。				

further illustrated as: (note that co-reference of *John* and *tā* are excluded.)
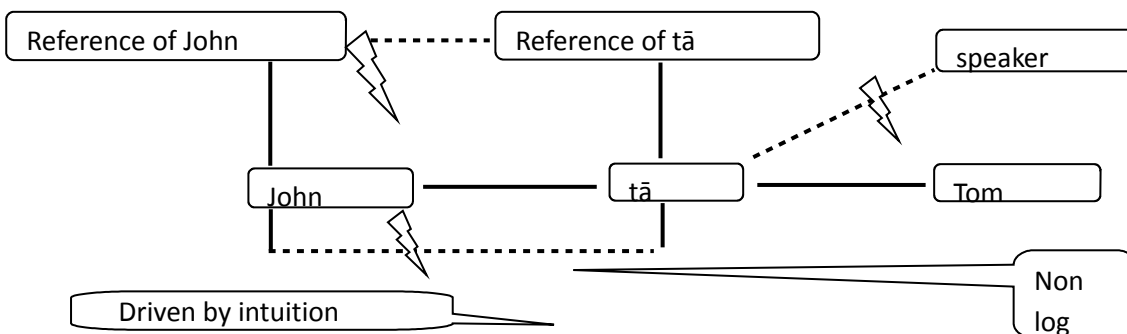
Chart 6: *John zhī-dào tā tǎo-yàn Tom.*

John 知道他讨厌Tom.

The choice of the third person pronoun in the above example is intuitively interpreted as having disjoint reference with the subject *John.* However, it is also possible to change the third person pronoun into either *X-zìjǐ or X-běnrén* to make them coreferent with the subject. On the other hand, there is again no reflexivity in the sentence when the clausal subject is changed into *běnrén*:

(52) d.	*John*	*zhī-dào*	běnrén	*tǎo-yàn*	*Tom.*
	NAME	know	REFL	hate	NAME
				[first person pronoun]	
	'John knows that I hate Tom.'				
	John知道本人讨厌Tom。				

Also, there are examples revealing that *X-zìjǐ* shares a property with both a reflexive reading and an intensive reading, which never happens in the case of *self*-forms. When *X-běnrén* occurs in the same syntactic position, on the other hand, it is always a reflexive pronoun a combination of a pronoun plus an intensifier:

(52) e.	*John*	*shuō*	tā-zìjǐ	*zài*	*kàn*	*shū.*
	NAME	say	REFL	PROG	read	book
	(1) 'John said that he is reading.'					
	[reflexive pronoun instead of adnominal intensifier]					
	(2) 'John said that he is reading alone.'			[adverbial intensifier]		
	(3) 'John said that he is reading by himself.'			[adverbial intensifier]		
	john说他自己在看书。					

Sentence (52 e) is ambiguous, and it allows the expression *X-zìjǐ* to have three different readings, with one interpretation as reflexive pronoun and two intensifier ones. When *X-zìjǐ* is taken as a reflexive pronoun, it is equivalent to *X-běnrén*, with the sentence subject as its antecedent.

In conclusion, the series of reflexive pronouns in Mandarin Chinese in the position of the clausal subject are classified in the following ways as far as the above examples are concerned: the use of *zìjǐ* causes ambiguity, which may and may not take a logophoric interpretation. In the logophoric use, the use of *zìjǐ* can be replaced by *X-zìjǐ* / *X-běnrén,* whereas in a non-logophoric use, *běnrén* is a possible replacement.

17.5. Logophoricity

The cases mentioned above, in which the reflexive pronoun may directly denote the external speaker instead of requiring an antecedent in the verbal context to find a referent, lead to the

phenomenon of logophoricity. This too, has been widely discussed in the literature.

Logophoricity, 'marking the center of perspective', was originally used as a term for pronouns in West African and Central African languages (e.g. Ewe, Igbo, Yoruba), which refer to an entity 'whose speech, thoughts, feeling, or generally state of consciousness are reported' (Hagège 1974; Clements 1975: 141). The term logophor is used to refer to the entity in discourse that is the center of perspective and from whose point of view a situation is presented. Such logophoric pronouns are typically found in subject positions of clauses embedded under verbs of communication, cognition, psychological states or perception (cf. Clements 1975; M. von Roncador 1988; Stirling, 1993):

EWE (Clements 1975: 142)			
(53) (i)	Kòfí	bé	yè – dzó.
	NAME	say	LOG- leave
	'Kòfísaid that he (=Kòfí) left.'		

(53) (ii)	Kòfí	bé	é - dzó.
	NAME	say	3.SG - leave
	'Kòfísaid that he/she (not=Kòfí) left.'		

The constraints for logophoricity come into play only under the condition that the report is subjective with respect to the SC, and it can only appear with verbs of communication and mental experiences. Other than with those special verbs, logophoricity will not come into play (Haihua, Pan 1997: 94).

According to Huang *et al*. (2009: 340), Kuno (1972) suggested a possible explication for logophoricity as early as in 1972 based on observations on *self*-forms in English. According to Kuno (1972), there is a possible underlying structure for cases such as *John said that he saw Tom*, in which the third person pronoun and the matrix subject are coreferent. The structure is the following: this sentence can be transferred into "a direct report of the matrix's inner feelings" (Huang *et al.* 2009: 341). This matrix subject may be the actual speaker of the direct discourse, or a "virtual speaker" (e.g. thinker, feeler, fearer, knower, experiencer, etc.). Such a system has now become to be known as logophoricity (Huang et al. 2009: 342).

There are cases in logophoricity in both of the two languages we are contrasting.

(54) a	*John*	*shuō*	*Tom*	*dǎ*	*le*	zìjǐ.
	NAME	say	NAME	hit	PAST	REFL
	'John said that Tom hit him.'					
	John说Tom打了自己。					

(54)	b	*John*	*shuō*:	*"Tom*	*dǎ*	*le*	*wǒ."*
		NAME	say	NAME	hit	PAST	1SG
		John said, 'Tom hit me.'					
		John说: "Tom打了我。"					

(54)	c.	*John$_i$ said that Tom$_j$ hit him$_{i/*j}$.*	=>^{ok} *John said, 'Tom hit me.'*
(54)	d.	*John$_i$ said that Tom$_j$ hit himself$_{*i/j}$.*	=>* *John said, 'Tom hit me.'*
			=>^{ok} *John said, 'Tom hit himself.'*

As we see in this group of sentences, only the reflexive pronoun in (54 a) is a logophor; the *self*-form in (54 d), on the other hand, is a locally-bound one, with the clausal subject as its antecedent. According to Huang *et al.* (2009) (also cf. Kuno (1972)), "the logophoric reflexive is not the result of reflexivizing *John* on identity with its own matrix subject, but the result of converting from the speaker-referring *wǒ* 'me' in the underlying direct discourse" (ibid, 342). Therefore *zìjǐ* in sentence (54 a) is a logophor because it can be transferred into the version (54 b), whereas in English, it is the personal pronoun *him* (cf. (54 c)) instead of *self*-forms as in (54 d) that can be a counterpart of it. Therefore it might be safe to say that reflexive pronouns are not the only identity expressions that can fill in the space of logophoricity. As the following example illustrates, personal pronouns in English can also be an option.

(55)	a.	*Tom$_i$ was afraid that* he$_i$ *might lose her.*
(55)	b.	*Tom feared in his mind: "I might lose her."*

Comparing the two sentences in (55), it is clear that the matrix subject is the center of perspective and it is from the matrix subject's point of view that the sentence is produced. This can be transferred into a direct report which represents the matrix subject's inner feelings. Therefore, the personal pronoun *he* in (55 a) is a logophor.

A logophor thus refers to "a person whose (a) speech or thought, (b) attitude or state of consciousness, and / or (c) point of view (perspective) is being reported" (Huang *et al.* 2009: 346). Sell (1987) provided a taxonomy of logophoric phenomena in terms of three roles of the antecedent of a logophor (cf. (56) below), and this works for both reflexive pronouns in Mandarin Chinese and English when they function as logophors.

(56)	a.	Source:	the one who is the intentional agent of the communication
(56)	b.	Self:	the one whose mental state or attitude the proposition describes
(56)	c.	Pivot:	the one with respect to whose (time-space) location the content of the proposition is evaluated

Even though it is argued that locally-bound *zìjǐ* is an anaphor and long-distance *zìjǐ* is a logophor, logophoricity is found in both locally-bound *zìjǐ* and long-distance *zìjǐ*. And Mandarin Chinese is generally speaking a logophoric language. Huang *et al.*(2009)'s (cf. Kuno (1972)) account of logophoricity seems to be a natural explanation for this because sentences such as (52 b), (50 c) as well as (52 b) all share the property that they can be transferred into a direct report of the matrix subjects' inner feelings. There are circumstances such as in (52 b) in which a "virtual speaker" (e.g. thinker, feeler, fearer, knower, experiencer, etc.). does not have to be brought into the verbal context, and the matrix subject therefore becomes the one that is not coreferential with the reflexive pronoun. In fact, these reflexive pronouns denote the matrix speaker in the speech situation. Therefore, even though there is no antecedent found in the verbal context, these reflexive pronouns make the sentences logophoric as long as they can be transferred into a direct report of the matrix's inner feelings. More generally, *wǒ xiǎng / wǒ rèn-wéi / wǒ jué-de* (*I think / I feel*) can always be added as a higher clause to the sentence structure such as in (52 b). The reflexive pronoun then has the possibility to have the matrix subject, i.e. the first person pronoun, as its antecedent. This coreference therefore makes the reflexive pronoun a logophor. (52 b) alone, on the other hand, is ambiguous in meaning because the dual referent of the reflexive pronoun, and the sentence itself can be understood from two rather than only one perspective. Therefore within the syntactic structure, it is argued that the reflexive pronoun is locally-bound and an anaphor. On the whole, with or without the added part to indicate the matrix subject, the possibility for reflexive pronoun *zìjǐ* to be a logophor exists, as is shown by (52 a).

When we contrast (54 a) and (55 a), we find that both the reflexive pronoun in the Mandarin Chinese example and the personal pronoun in the English example are logophors. There are differences in the syntactic distribution of these two, but it also shows that what constitutes logophoricity may require a reflexive pronoun but not necessary, because personal pronouns, too, can manage to fill in the position. What is important for logophoricity is the underlying structure, i.e. if the reflexive pronoun / personal pronoun has its matrix subject as its antecedent in a context of communication, there is then a possibility for this structure to express logophoricity. But it should be kept in mind that *self*-forms in English are not logophors. What is more, this structure can also be converted into a direct report, which means it is produced from the perspective of the matrix subject to mark it as the center of perspective, and this sentence itself represents the inner feelings of the matrix subject. This underlying structure works for both English and Mandarin Chinese.

Logophoricity also occurs in English in which a reflexive pronoun instead of a personal pronoun is the logophor. The following two examples are from (Kuno 1987: 118ff):

(57)	a.	*According to John, the article was written by Mary and* himself.

(57)	b.	*John said to Mary that physicists like* himself *were a godsend.*

These two sentences are produced in harmony with the perspective expressed by the *self*-forms. *Self*-forms have the matrix subject of the sentence as their antecedents, and the coreference makes the *self*-forms logophors. These two sentences can be converted into direct reports in (58):

(58)	a.	*John said: 'The article was written by Mary and me.'*
(58)	b.	*John said: 'Physicists like me are a godsend.'*

The relationship between locally-free *self*-forms and logophors has been debated in previous discussions and a rough picture given here is that not all locally-free *self*-forms are logophors (Zribi-Hertz 1989). Logophors can be regarded as such when the clauses containing *self*-forms represent the point of view of their referents, while non-logophors are used when the clauses containing *self*-forms DO NOT represent the point of view of their referents but an objective information provided by the narrator / external speaker. What is more, logophoricity is neither necessary nor a sufficient condition for the use of locally-free *self*-forms (König & Siemund 2000). Therefore, cases of logophoricity are treated as a special feature of locally-free reflexives in my dissertation.

(59)	a.	*John$_i$ hates* himself$_i$.
(59)	b.	*John$_i$ hates* me$_j$.

(59)	c.	*John*	*tǎo – yàn*	zìjǐ.
		NAME	hate	REFL
		'John hates **himself**.'		
		John讨厌自己。（John=自己）		
		(It occured to me that) 'John hates **me**.'		
		John讨厌自己。（自己=我）		

In the two English examples, there is no ambiguity in the use of the reflexive pronoun and the pronominal. The center of the perspective in (59 a) is someone other than the narrator/the external speaker, whereas the perspective of (59 b) is that of the narrator. In other words, either a reflexive pronoun or a personal pronoun fits into the co-argument position with the subject when the reports are presented from different perspectives. On the other hand, one and the same reflexive pronoun *zìjǐ* in Mandarin Chinese can express both of these perspectives, therefore the same sentence can be read from two diverse perspectives.

There are two possibilities in analyzing (59 c): either the sentence is understood as being presented from the perspective of an objective narrator of the story and the narrator has nothing to do with the reference of *zìjǐ,* therefore Agent and Patient have identical reference, i.e. *zìjǐ* is bound

by the subject. On the other hand, it is also possible that the sentence is produced from the perspective of a character involved in the story; the narrator is then the referent of the reflexive pronoun *zìjǐ*. Therefore, the Patient (reflexive pronoun) becomes the center of orientation of the sentence and the reflexive pronoun *zìjǐ* has its referent picked out in speech situations. The subject *John* and the reflexive pronoun are therefore disjoint in reference. This situation occurs mainly when the context is introduced by verbs of communication and thought, such as indicated in (59 d), in which the reflexive pronoun *zìjǐ* finds its referent in the speech situation instead of the verbal context. The sentence is reported from the perspective of the narrator instead of the subject and is therefore logophoric: (59 d1), on the other hand, has two readings. Either *John* and *zìjǐ* are coreferent and the sentence contains a locally-bound reflexive pronoun, or it is similar with (59 d), in which *zìjǐ* is logophoric and is not coreferent with the subject *John*. (59 d2) is still different from (59 d) and (59 d1) in that the referent of *běnrén* is strictly coreferent with the first person singular; therefore *John* and *běnrén* are not coreferent. But this does not mean that (59 d2) should be logophoric since the referent of *běnrén* in most of the cases is strictly linked with the first person singular; and such a feature is not affected either by the involvement of any sort of verbs or given contexts. Therefore it is more of a property of *běnrén* rather than that of logophoricitiy.

Other locally-bound reflexive pronouns found in this group of examples are (59 d3), (59 d4) and (59 d5). Both (59 d3) and (59 d5) are locally-bound reflexive pronouns; (59 d4), on the other hand, has two possibilities of interpretation. Either *tā-běnrén* and *John* are coreferent, which means *tā-běnrén* is also locally-bound. Or *tā-běnrén* and *John* are not coreferent. The referent of *tā-běnrén* is a pragmatic matter, i.e. someone both the speaker and the listener are talking about.

(59)	d.	*[It suddenly occurred to me that ...]*		
		John$_i$	*tǎo-yàn*	zìjǐ*$_{i/j}$ (j = the speaker).
		NAME	hate	REFL
		'John hates me.'		
		John讨厌自己。（自己=我）		

(59)	d1.	*John*	*dǎ*	*le*	zìjǐ.
		NAME	hit	PAST	REFL
		(i) 'John hits **himself**.'			
		John打了自己。（John=自己）			
		(ii)'John hits **me**.'			
		John 打了自己。（John=我）			

(59)	d2.	*John*$_i$	*dǎ*	*le*	*běnrén* *$_{i/j}$ (j = the speaker).
		NAME	hit	PAST	REFL
		'John hits **me**.'			
		John打了本人。（本人=我）			

(59) d3.	*John*ᵢ	*dǎ*	*le*	tā-zìjǐᵢ.
	NAME	hit	PAST	REFL
	'John hits **himself**.'			
	John打了他自己。			

(59) d4.	*John*ᵢ	*dǎ*	*le*	tā-běnrénᵢ.
	NAME	hit	PAST	REFL
	(i) 'John hits **himself**.'			
	John打了他自己。			
	(ii) 'John hits the person (we are talking about).'			
	John打了他本人。（John≠他本人）			

(59) d5.	*John*ᵢ	*zì*ᵢ	*yán*	zì*ᵢ	*yǔ*.
	NAME	REFL	talk	REFL	talk
	'John talks to **himself**.'				
	John自言自语。				

As Baker (1995) shows, another strong characteristic property of locally-free *self*-forms is that it can often be paraphrased by the possessive intensifier *own*, as illustrated below (König & Siemund 2000: 20):

(60)　*of course most of us, including my* own *person, will accept the democratic decisions.*

To summarize, part of the common ground between reflexive pronouns in Mandarin Chinese and *self*-forms in English with regard to logophoricity is the fact that this is a phenomenon, which only describes one out of several uses of reflexive pronouns, i.e. some of the locally-free *self*-forms in English and the long-distance use of *zìjǐ* in Mandarin Chinese. In other words, not all locally-free *self*-forms are logophoric reflexive pronouns whereas both locally-bound *zìjǐ* and long-distance *zìjǐ* in Mandarin Chinese can be labeled as logophors[43], of course not all of them are logophors[44] if they do not satisfy the underlying structure mentioned above. Both languages require a context of communications as a necessary condition for logophoricity, but both reflexive pronouns and personal pronouns in the two languages can also be used as logophors.

In discussing logophoricity Pan (1997) draws the following conclusion, "the logophoricity account cannot explain why *zìjǐ* exhibits subject orientation, nor can it account for the Blocking

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43 Locally-bound reflexive pronouns in Mandarin Chinese are treated as reflexive anaphors (cf. Pan (1997) and Huang (2002)).

44 Strictly speaking, as mentioned in König & Siemund (2000), locally-free reflexive pronouns and the term 'untriggered reflexives (Parker et al. 1990)' are not the same. The later term is only appropriate for the first and second person forms.

Effect, for it could predict that any NP which can function as the SC[45] will be the antecedent of *zìjǐ*. Since logophority is not a necessary condition for Chinese reflexives to have long-distance binding (see similar argument in Baker (1995)) (cf. Pan (1997: 103)[46]), an account employing logophoricity is not adequate to account for the distribution of Mandarin Chinese reflexives" (Pan 1997: 98).

So far, the above discussions has been dealing with reflexive pronouns in the roles of sentence object as well as clausal subject. An analysis for one language does not automatically apply to the other. Nor is the analysis for English guaranteed to be the best one.

Secondly, contexts for logophoricity in the two languages seem to be identical. One of the properties of long-distance *X-zìjǐ* is usually a contrastive quality, "at least it always appears in contrastive environment if an animate subject is skipped" (Pan 1997: 18). Similarly, a relevant environment for *self*-forms as logophors is the fact that it "establishes an opposition or contrast between different members of a given set. The list of these environments includes coordinations, lists, comparatives, markers of exception and inclusion, focus particles and a few others" (König & Siemund 2000: 10).

Thirdly, one distinctive feature of logophority in Mandarin Chinese is that the reflexive pronoun *běnrén* does not give rise to a logophoric use in the cases where *zìjǐ* and *X-zìjǐ* are observed to be logophorics, both locally-bound as well as long-distance cases. When *zìjǐ* and *X-zìjǐ* are substituted by *běnrén*, not only reflexivity is no long there, but the logophoricity disappears, too. The reasons for this is the referential potential of *běnrén*, which will be discussed in detail below.

17.6   The Blocking Effect

When long-distance binding cases are not possible, they are subject to the so-called Blocking Effect. The Blocking Effect is another property that is found in long-distance reflexive pronoun in Mandarin Chinese but not in English, as in (61 a).

(61) a.	*John*$_i$	*rèn-wéi*	*wǒ/ nǐ*$_j$	*hěn*	zìjǐ$_{*i/j}$.
	NAME	think	1SG/2SG	hate	REFL
	'John thinks I hate myself.'			*'John thinks I hate him.'	

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45 SC is what Pan (1997) calls to refer to subject of consciousness, following Zribi-Hertz (1989).

46 Moreover, as has been widely tested with relevant data in Mandarin Chinese in Haihua Pan's (1997) corpora research, there are also enough evidence which suggests that Binding Conditions together with its related principles / rules such as Prominent GB analysis, logophoricity, perspectivitiy, emphasis on explaining long-distance reflexives / locally free reflexives can only solve the problem in Mandarin Chinese to a very limited extent. Detailed discussions is found in Pan (1997).

		'John thinks you hate yourself.'			* 'John thinks you hate him.'
		John觉得我恨自己。			
		John觉得你恨自己。			

(61)	b.	*John*ᵢ	*rèn-wéi*	*tā*ⱼ	*hěn*	zìjĭᵢ/ⱼ.
		NAME	think	3SG	hate	REFL
		'John thinks he (someone John knows but not John) hates himself.'				
		*'John thinks you hate yourself.'				
		John觉得他恨自己。				

The Blocking Effect refers to the constraint that long-distance *zìjĭ* is possible only if all the subjects of the clauses intervening between the potential antecedent and *zìjĭ* agree in person features; otherwise, long-distance binding is blocked (Y.-H-Huang 1984; Tang 1985, 1989; Pan 1997: 21).

Comparing (61 a) and (61 b), we find that only the first and second person pronouns can induce a Blocking Effect. The third person pronoun would characterize the reflexive pronoun *zìjĭ* as a long-distance reflexive, as in (61 b).

As for *tā-zìjĭ*, it only intervenes with first and second person subjects and blocks the long-distance binding of these two personal pronouns, but not of the third person pronoun, as is shown by (61 c) and (61 d).

(61)	c.	*John*ᵢ	*rèn-wéi*	*wǒ/ nĭ*ⱼ	*hèn*	wǒ/nĭ-zìjĭ*ᵢ/ⱼ.
		NAME	think	1SG/2SG	hate	REFL
		'John thinks I hate myself.'				
		'John thinks you hate yourself.'				
		John认为我恨我自己。				
		John 认为你恨你自己。				

(61)	d.	*John*ᵢ	*rèn-wéi*	*tā*ⱼ	*hèn*	wǒ /nĭ-zìjĭ*ᵢ/ⱼ.
		NAME	think	3SG	hate	REFL
		'John thinks that he hates himself.'				
		John认为他恨他自己。				

The Blocking Effect also has the property of *number asymmetry*. A plural local subject does not block a remote singular antecedent though a singular local subject does block a remote plural antecedent, as noted in Tang (1989) and Huang & Tang (1991) (cf. Huang 2001), as in (61 e) and (61 f).

(61)	e.	*John*ᵢ	*rèn-wéi*	*tāmen*ⱼ	*hèn*	zìjĭᵢ/ⱼ.
		NAME	think	1PL	hate	REFL
		'John thinks that they hate him.'				
		'John thinks that they hate themselves.'				

		John认为他们恨自己。			

(61)	f.	*Tāmen*ᵢ	*rèn-wéi*	*John*ⱼ	*hèn*	zìjǐ*ᵢ/ⱼ.
		3PL	think	NAME	hate	REFL
		'They think John hates himself.'				
		*'They think John hates themselves.'				
		他们认为John恨自己。				

There is also a *person* asymmetry that exists between first, second and third person NP with the regard to the Blocking Effect, as noted in (Xu 1993; Pan 1997; also Huang 2001). A local first person and second person NP may block a remote third-person NP from being a long-distance antecedent, but not a third person NP, as in (61 g) and (61 h).

(61)	g.	*John*ᵢ	*rèn-wéi*	*wǒ/nǐ*ⱼ	*hèn*	zìjǐ*ᵢ/ⱼ.
		NAME	think	1SG	hate	REFL
		'John thinks that I hate myself.'				
		'John thinks that you hate yourself.'				
		John认为我/你恨自己。				

(61)	h.	*Wo*ᵢ	*rèn-wéi*	*John*ⱼ	*hèn*	zìjǐ?ᵢ/ⱼ.
		1SG	think	NAME	hate	REFL
		'I think that John hates himself.'				
		'I think that John hate me.'				
		我认为John恨自己。				

However, not every example presented in Pan (1997) has been accepted unanimously by native speakers. Intuitions as to antecedent preferences still vary from one person to person, as in the following example:

-62	*John*	*shuō*	*Bill*	*de*	*shū*	*hài*	*le*	zìjǐ.
	NAME	say	NAME	POSS	book	harm	PAST	REFL
	'John said that Bill's book hurt him.'							
	John说Bill的书害了自己。							

Pan (1997: 26)'s explanation of this example was 'inanimate noun phrases with first and second but not third person possessives do block the long-distance binding'; and he accepted that *zìjǐ* can have both the sentence subject as well as the clausal subject as its antecedent. But on the other hand, the native speakers I have discussed the related examples with prefer the following reading:
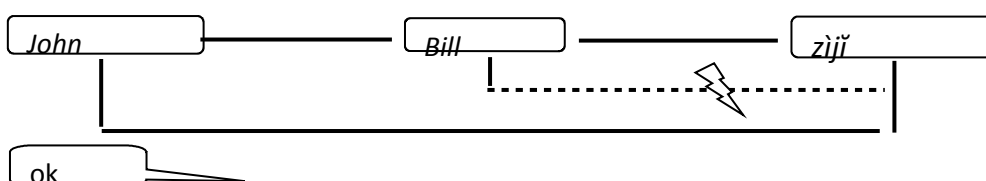

Chart 7: 'John said that Bill's book hurt him.'

John说Bill的书害了自己。

17.7. Differences relating to distributivity and reflexivity

Reflexive pronouns in English and Mandarin Chinese take different readings, when the plural forms are involved in the reflexive pronouns (cf. Huang 2002).

(63) a.	*John*	*he*	*Tom*	*shuō*	zìjǐ	*huì*	*zhòng*	100	Euro.
	NAME	and	NAME	say	H.INT	will	win	100	euro
	'John and Tom said that they would each win 100Euro.'								
	John和Tom说自己会中100欧元。 (distributive reading)								

(63) b.	*John and Tom said that* they *would win 100 Euro.*
	(collective &distributive reading)

The differences in the two sentences in (63) is not only that the identity expression in Mandarin Chinese is used as a headless intensifier, which is not possible for its English counterpart. Instead, English uses personal pronoun as a substitute. Moreover, (63 a) takes a distributive reading, whereas (63 b) takes both a collective reading and a distributive one, i.e. 'we together will win 100 Euro', and also 'we will each win 100 Euro'.

We can distinguish between the collective and distributive readings of the *self*-forms (the complex ones) in English in the following examples by "pointing to the multiplication, or lack thereof, of the distributive share" (Huang 2002: 6)[47]. In his further analysis, the explanation given by Huang (2002) for this situation is that "the distributive share may be said to be one '*self*', even though the object is actually expressed by a plural form, *themselves*. In this way we could say that the distributive reading does involve a multiple of *selves*. Such an event of self-praise by the members of a group, when viewed extremely, is an event of self-praise by the group as a whole" (Huang 2002: 7):

(64) a.	*They praised themselves.*
(64) b.	*John and Mary praised themselves.*

By contrast, reflexive pronouns *zìjǐ* and *X-zìjǐ* only have distributive reading in counterpart examples:

(65) a.	*Zhāngsān*	*hé*	*Lǐsì*	*zài*	*kuā-jiǎng*	zìjǐ.
	NAME	and	NAME	at	praise	REFL

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47 Note that distributive reading and collective reading can be traced from the relatedness between the plural subject and the definite expression in the predicate. However, the English examples found here have exceptions: the plural subject is more related to the reflexive pronoun but not the indefinite expression in the predicate (cf. Huang 2002: 6).

		Zhāngsān and *Lǐsì* are praising themselves.					
		张三和李四在夸奖自己。					

(65)	b.	*Tāmen*	*yòu*	*zài*	*kuā-jiǎng*	zìjǐ	*le.*
		3PL	and	PROG	praise	REFL	PAST
		They are praising themselves again.					
		他们又在夸奖自己了。					

Relevant analyses in the literature such as Pan (1997) and Huang (2002) treat locally bound *zìjǐ* as a syntactic anaphor while the long distance *zìjǐ* is treated a logophor; and Huang (2002) also gave a detailed explanation on the differences of distributivity in the two languages concerning the plural forms of reflexive pronouns.

18. Inherently reflexive verbs in English

In most European languages reflexive pronouns may also be obligatory and thus completely meaningless. The traditional terms used for this use of the relevant verbs are 'inherently reflexive verbs' or 'reflexiva tantum'. This use can also be found in English, even though it is completely marginal. The reason for this can be seen in the more complex and thus more emphatic forms (i.e. the *self*-forms) that are used, these are less grammaticalized and de-semanticalized than their counterparts in Romance or other Germanic languages.

In Mandarin Chinese no such obligatory and meaningless us of *zìjǐ* is found. The explanation for this distributional restriction of *zìjǐ* could again be seen in the great semantic substance of the Mandarin Chinese expression compared to the languages mentioned.

English only has a very limited numbers of such inherently reflexive verbs such as *to pride oneself on something, to avail oneself of something, to perjure oneself, to absent oneself from, etc.* cf. (66) and (67).

(66)	a.	*John prides* himself *on his knowledge of Chinese.*
(66)	b.	*John absents* himself *from his business.*

18.1 Optional reflexive pronouns in English

There are also circumstances when reflexive pronouns in English are optional.

(67)	a.	*John saw a snake near* him / himself.
(67)	b.	*John pulled the blanket over him / himself.*

Mandarin Chinese, too, has a great flexibility in such contexts as is shown by the following examples.

(67)	c.	*John*	*fā-xiàn*	*yǒu*	*yì-*	*tiáo*	*shé*	*zài*	zìjǐ / tā-zìjǐ /
		NAME	find	have	one	CLASSIFIER	snake	at	REFL REFL

		*běnrén / tā-běnrén	*tā*	*shēn -*	*biān.*
		REFL REFL	3PS	body	beside

'John saw a snake near him / himself.'
John发现有一条蛇在自己/他自己/*本人/他本人/他身边。

(67)	d.	*John*	*fā-xiàn*	*yǒu*	*yì-*	*tiáo*	*shé*	*zài*	*shēn -*	*biān.*
		NAME	find	have	one	CLASSIFIER	snake	at	body	side

'John saw a snake near him / himself.'
John发现有一条蛇在身边.

(67)	e.	*John*	*fā-xiàn*	zìjǐ/ tā-zìjǐ/ * běnrén / tā- běnrén / tā	*shēn -*	*biān*
		NAME	find	REFL REFL REFL REFL 3PS	body	side

yǒu	*yì-*	*tiáo*	*shé.*
have	one	CLASSIFIER	snake

'John saw a snake near him / himself.'
John发现自己/他自己/本人/他本人/他身边有一条蛇。

(67)	f.	*John*	*fā-xiàn*	*shēn - biān*	*yǒu*	*yì-*	*tiáo*	*shé.*
		NAME	find	body side	have	one	CLASSIFIER	snake

'John saw a snake near him / himself.'
John发现身边有一条蛇。

One of the similarities between the use of reflexive pronouns in the two languages in such contexts is that they are optional. In the English examples the reflexive pronouns can be changed into corresponding pronominals while the major way to express co-reference in the Mandarin Chinese cases is to use the combination of [body part + preposition].

According to the explanations of the above English examples found in the literature, one of the primary features of such examples is that it is the entire prepositional phrase instead of a single pronoun or reflexive pronoun that should be taken as the third argument of the verb i.e. as co-argument of the subject (cf. Reinhart & Reuland 1993; König & Siemund 2000). König & Siemund (2000) also pointed out that there is a conflict between two rules or principles as far as the 'snake' sentences are concerned: 'the principle that co-reference within the same clause is expressed by *self*-forms and the principle that only co-referent/co-arguments are marked as reflexive anaphors' (König & Siemund 2000).

In the Mandarin Chinese counterparts, the prepositional phrase can be put into two different positions, either between the subject and the object, as in the 'there is...' structure found in English,

or in a position analogous to that of English. In both cases, as far as the body part is used without any pronominal, it indicates that this body part and the subject have the same reference.

19. Grooming verb / alternation with Zero in English

(68)	a.	*John* washed, showered and shaved.

(68)	b.	*John*	xǐ	liǎn,	xǐ	zǎo[48],	*guā*	hú-zi.
		NAME	wash	face	wash	bath	shave	mustache
		'John washed, showered and shaved.' John洗脸，洗澡，刮胡子。						

Verbs of grooming are special in their reflexive use. Based on observations on English, it is generally pointed out that grooming verbs in English are used in intransitive constructions, even though the source and the goal of the action have the same referent (cf. König & Vezzosi 2002). Grooming verbs in English adopt a zero strategy in which the reflexive action is simply expressed by the intransitive use of the relevant verbs, as in (68 a). In Mandarin Chinese, by contrast, it is the transitive use of the relevant verbs plus the body parts that are found. The body parts are representations for the source and the goal of an action by the same referent, since the relevant background assumption is that the grooming activity is exercised on one's own body.

(68)	c.	*Mary always washed her children before she washed* herself.

(68)	d.	*Mary*	*zǒng -*	*shì*	*xiān*	*gěi*	*hái-zi*	xǐ	liǎn	*zài*
		NAME	always	be	initial	to	child	wash	face	then

	gěi	tā-zìjǐ/ zìjǐ/ *běnrén / tā-běnrén	xǐ	(liǎn).
	to	REFL REFL REFL REFL	wash	(face)
	'Mary always washed her children before she washed herself.'			
	Mary 总是先给孩子洗脸, 再给她自己/自己/*本人/她本人洗(脸)。			

(68 c) and (68 d) are cases in which verbs of grooming are used twice, contrastively, a situation of disjoint reference is followed by a situation of co-reference. In this way, we find that *self*-forms are used in a contrastive way to show that there is a difference between the targets of the same action. In other words, the reflexive pronoun are used in a contrastive context and it is necessary to use this identity expression as corresponding to the other target of the same action, i.e. *her children*, to establish that contrast. There is a slight difference between the English example and its counterpart in Mandarin Chinese. In the same contrastive context, Mandarin Chinese uses body parts as the representative of the target of the action instead of the person himself / herself. In this way, it

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48 *Zǎo* (bath, shower) is etymologically a verb indicating the general action of washing one's body with clean water. Therefore it can be seen as a grooming verb but it is also used as a noun.

manages to show that the Agent and the Patient are not coreferential.

The underlying principle of grooming verbs is that 'situations of grooming are prototypical cases of *self*-directed situations. The fact that Agent and Patient are the same person in such situations is stereotypically assumed, so that overt encoding of that fact is not necessary. This explanation is in perfect harmony with the fact that situations of grooming typically have a parsimonious marking in their reflexive interpretation in many languages (cf. Kemmer 1993; Haiman 1995; König & Vezzosi 2002; König & Siemund 2001: 230).

E. Analysis on *Běn*-expressions and Possible Referents of *Běnrén*

As can be seen in the above contrasts, *běnrén* behaves differently from its compound form *X-běnrén* as well as from other reflexive pronouns. Therefore it is necessary to analyze the underlying reasons of the functions of *běnrén*. The initial observation should be based on *běn* expressions, which are highly relevant to the meanings and uses of *běnrén*. After that, we will discuss further contrasts between the use of *běnrén* and *self*-forms in English.

20. Observations on *Běn* Expressions

The relevant literature on reflexive pronouns in Mandarin Chinese usually takes *zìjǐ* as well as its complex form as default cases of their study. Very little discussion was focused on the formal and semantic properties of *běnrén* and *X-běnrén*. Searches in the CCL suggest that *běnrén* together with *X-běnrén* are also largely used, therefore it is necessary to carry out a detailed analysis of them as well.

20.1 First Observation: [běnrén] = [běn] + [rén]

Romanization	běn-rén
Chinese Characters	本 人
literal translation	this person
counterpart in English	'X-self '

Table 29: the form *běnrén*

Běnrén has a considerable frequency as well as flexibility in its use. Consisting of two **independent** characters, the word-by-word translation into English of this is 'this person'. *Běn* literally contains a deictic meaning and refers to something in the proximity of the speaker, indicating a sense of possessing, belonging or ownership. More often than not, it is used by the speaker to imply a relationship between him / her and the object under discussion, such as *běn-yuàn* ('our institute'), *běn-diàn* ('our shop'), *běn-xiào* ('our college'). Note furthermore the examples presented given (69) to (73). In this sense, it is inappropriate to simply transfer the word-by-word translation from 'this person' into the interpretations of *běn-diàn, běn-xiào, běn-yuàn* because the basic meaning of *běn* ('this') in *běnrén* has already been extended when it is used in related combinations. In other words, *běn-diàn* ('our shop')*, běn-xiào* ('our college')*, běn-yuàn* ('our institute') contain a more elaborate meaning than 'this shop', 'this college', or 'this institute'. 'Proximity' in these cases ((69)-(73)) is more than 'being close' in a local sense.

From the above observation, we can derive two meanings of *běn*: First, it contains **a deictic element indicating the local proximity of an entity to the speaker**, which can be both animate or

inanimate (e.g. animate as in *běnrén;* inanimate as in *běn-shū*). Second, *běn* has a sense of indicating a **more specific relationship** between the speaker and the object he is speaking of. This can also be explained as **a sense of belonging, possessing and/or ownership**. Thus we can infer a relevant relationship between possessor and possesum in a conversation whenever *běn* combines with a possesum, as in the following examples from (69) to (73):

(69)	a.	*běn*	*diàn*[49]	(69)	b.	*zhè*	*jiā*	*diàn*
		---	shop			this	CLASSIFIER	shop
		'our shop'我店				'this shop'这家店		

(70)	a.	*běn*	*xiào*[50]	(70)	b.	*zhè*	*jiā*	*xué-xiào*
		---	college			this	CLASSIFIER	college
		'our college'本校				'this college'这家学校		

(71)	a.	*běn*	*yuàn*	(71)	b.	*zhè*	*suǒ*	*xué-yuàn*
		---	institute			this	CLASSIFIER	institute
		'our institute'本院				'this institute'这所学校		

(72)	a.	*běn*	*shū*	(72)	b.	*zhè*	*běn*	*shū*
		---	book			this	CLASSIFIER	book
		'our/my book'本书				'this book'这本书		

(73)	a.	*běn*	*zhāng*	(73)	b.	*zhè*	*yi*	*zhāng*
		---	chapter			this	CLASSIFIER	chapter
		'the chapter I am				'this chapter'		

---

49 Another equivalent of *běn-diàn* is found in daily use by native Chinese speakers:

    běn   diàn = wǒ   diàn
    ---   shop   1PS   shop
    'my / our shop' 本店，我店

This indicates that *běn* does have a meaning indicating a clearly defined relationship. As in this case, the relationship of belonging or ownership can be paraphased by the possessive marker, i.e., the personal pronoun in its agentive use. Therefore we can deduce that *běn* and *wǒ* can be substitutes of one another when they are in the function of indicating an obligatory relationship. Such substitution is not possible when *běn* has a deictic use. Since possible relatedness between personal pronoun and *běnrén* is not the concern of the present study, we will not pursue this any further.

50 *běn-xiào* and the following example *běn-yuàn* can find their equivalents as:
(i) *běn xiào = wǒ xiào*   (ii) *běn yuàn = wǒ yuàn*
college my college   ---   institute   my   institute
  'my / our college' 本校，我校   'my / our institute' 本院，我院

But not in the following:

(iii) *běn shū ≠ *wǒ   shū*   (iv) *běn zhāng ≠ *wǒ   zhāng*
  ---   book   my   book   ---   chapter   my   chapter
  'my / our book' 本书，我书   'the chapter I am talking about' 本章，我章

	talking about'本章		这一章

There is a clear difference between *běn* and *zhè* in the above examples: group (b) is a list of exampels that have a simple deictic use, the expression *zhè* directly refers to an entity in the outside world that is close to the speaker; meanwhile, there is no trace that suggests a possible relationship between a possessor and a possessum. *Běn* in group (a) expresses a specific relationship between a possessor and a possessum, which indicates that the person who is using *běn-diàn* ('our shop') could either be the owner of the shop or at least the representative of the shop (advertising for that shop); while the chance for a customer to use *běn-diàn* ('our shop') instead of *zhè-jiā-diàn* ('this shop') is considerably low (almost unlikely) due to the non-possessing relationship between a customer and the shop. This suggests that the expression been in the (a) list has a sense of possessing, belonging, and / or ownership instead of a mere deictic use.

20.2 *Běn* Expressions

Běn in Mandarin Chinese is an independent word with several meanings. But it is also used as part of compounds with considerably high frequency. A discussion entirely focusing on the uses of *běn* expressions within a wide variety of compounds is definitely irrelevant to the present contrastive study. The current analysis focuses on the modifying function of *běn*; it is in this function that we see that the syntactic and semantic properties of *běn* expressions are highly relevant to the understanding of the use of *běnrén*.

20.3. An Analysis of *běn* Based on Dictionaries

Most of the Chinese dictionaries and the English-Chinese dictionaries including online versions distinguish the following uses to the character *běn* (本):

BĚN USED AS A NOUN:					
A	*stem or root of plants, e.g.:*				
	shuǐ	*yǒu*	*yuán,*	*shù*	*yǒu*	běn.
	water	have	source	tree	have	ROOT
	'A stream has a source; a tree has roots.' 树有源，草有本。					

B	*foundation; origin; basis, (metaphorical extension of 1.) e.g.:*					
B1	*wàng*	běn	B2	*shě*	*běn*	*zhú*	*mò*
	forget	ORIGIN		neglect	FOUNDATION	chase	end
	'forget one's ancestry or tradition' 忘本			'attend to the superficial and neglect the essentials.' 舍本逐末			

C	*capital; principal (also metaphorical), e.g.:*					
C1	*kuī*	běn–*er*	C2	*huán*	běn	*fù*	*xī*
	lose	CAPITAL		return	CAPITAL	pay	interest
	'lose money'			'pay back the capital plus interest'			
	亏本儿			还本付息			

D	*book, e.g.:*	
	hù – kǒu	běn–*er*
	residence	BOOK
	'residence booklet'	
	户口本儿	

E	*edition; version, e.g:*				
E1	*yuán – kè*	běn	E2	*píng-zhuāng*	běn
	original	EDITION		paperboud	EDITION
	'original edition'			'paperbound edition'	
	原刻本			平装本	

F	*[in play]copy, e.g.:*				
F1	*jù*	běn	F2	*chāo*	běn
	play	COPY		copy	COPY
	'script'			'manual-script copy'	
	剧本			抄本	

BĚN **USED AS A CLASSIFIER**								
A	*book; volume, e.g.:*							
A1	*yì*	běn	*cān-kǎo*	*shū*	A2	*liǎng*	běn-*er*	*zhàng*
	one	CLASSIFIER	reference	book		two	CLASSIFIER	account
	'a reference book'					'two account books'		
	一本参考书					两本儿书		

B	*[in film] volume; reel, e.g.:*							
	yí	*gè*	*yǒu*	*shísì*	běn	*cháng*	*de*	*yǐng-piān*
	one	CLASSIFIER	have	fourteen	CLASSIFIER	long	POSS	film
	'a fourteen-reel film'							
	一个有十四本长的影片							

C	*[in drama] volume, e.g.:*				
	tóu	*běn*	*Hóng*	*Lóu*	*Mèng*
	head	CLASSIFIER	RED	CHAMBER	DREAM
	'the first *red chamber dream*'				
	头本《红楼梦》				

BĚN USED AS AN ADJECTIVE		
A	*original, e.g.:*	
	běn	*jí*
	ORIGINAL	district
	'one's ancestral district'	
	本籍	

B	*one's own; native, e.g.:*					
B1	běn	*xiào*	B2	běn	*chǎng*	*chǎnpǐn*
	ONE'S.OWN	school		ONE'S.OWN	factory	product
	'our school' 本校			'the product of our factory' 本产品		

C	*principal, central, e.g.:*	
	běn	*bù*
	CENTRAL	department
	'central department'; 'headquarters' 本部	

D	*this, present, current, e.g.:*				
D1	běn	*nián*	D2	*běn*	*jì-huà*
	THIS	year		THIS	plan
	'this year' 本年			'current plan' 本计划	

***BĚN* USED AS AN ADJECTIVAL ADVERB**						
A.	*originally, e.g.:*					
A1	běn	*shǔ-yú*	A2	běn	*gāi*	*rú*	*cǐ*
	ORIGINALLY	belong		ORIGINALLY	should	like	this
	'originally belong to' 本属于			'should have been so anyway' 本该如此			

***BĚN* USED AS A VERB**					
A	*follow; base on; according to, e.g.:*				
A1	běn	*zhe*	*zhè*	*yì*	*yuán-zé*
	FOLLOW	PROGRESSIVE	this	CLASSIFIER	principle
	'based on the principle' 本着这一原则				

A2	*Měi*	*jù*	*huà*	*dōu*	*yǒu*	*suǒ*	běn.
	every	CLASSIFIER	remark	all	have	its	BASE.ON
	'Every statement is well-formed.' 每句话都有所本。						

As can be seen, not all of these uses are relevant to the possible relationship between *běn* and *běnrén*. The scope of our discussion is therefore defined by this observation. And uses such as *běn functioning as a verb; běn functioning as a classifier; and běn functioning as a noun* can be excluded[51].

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51 Observations on classifications from dictionaries have shown that entries of *běn* as well as related expressions are based on their grammatical functions instead of their meanings. The analysis on semantics of *běn* thus requires reclassification.

20.4 Classification to the meanings of *běn* expressions

The above observations exhibit an extension of the basic meaning 'root of a tree' to metaphorical ones such as 'origin' and 'center', etc., and our proposal is to re-classify *běn* according to its meaning, and then re-classify its functions based on these meaning-based categories.

Group One:	*Běn* carrying the meaning 'root'; the root is something essential				

[sub-division A]:	related to economy: 'capital, principal', e.g.:				
A1	běn	*jīn / qián*	A2	*gǔ*	běn
	ROOT	money		stock	ROOT
	'capital, principal'			'equity'	
	本金/钱			股本	

[sub-division B]:	a more abstract meaning relating to 'root': 'basis, origin, foundation; original', e.g.:					
B1	*shě*	běn	*zhú*	*mò*	B2	běn	*yuán*
	abandon	ROOT	chase	end		ROOT	source
	'barter the trunk for branches'					'origin, source'	
	舍本逐末					本源	

[sub-division C]:	a more abstract meaning relating to 'root': 'principal, central', e.g.:
	běn	*bù*
	CENTRAL	department
	'central department'
	本部

[sub-division D]:	*Běn* takes the derived meaning of 'native, local'[52], e.g.:				
D1	běn	*jiā*	D2	běn	*dì*
	SAME	family		LOCAL	district
	'a member of the same clan';			'locality'	
	'a distant relative with the same family name'			本地	
	本家				

Group Two:	*Běn* means 'one's own'= attributive intensifier			

A	běn	zhí	B	běn	*fèn*
	ONE'S.OWN	job		ONE'S.OWN	part
	'one's job'; 'one's duty'			'one's role'; 'obligation'	
	本职			本分	

---

52 An assumption of this was that people in agricultural society did not have an option to change their residence constantly. Most of the people lived in their birthplaces generation after generation.

Group Three:	*Běn* means 'my', 'our'

A	běn	*xiào*	B	běn	*yuàn*
	OUR	school		OUR	institute
'our school' 本校			'our institute' 本院		

Group Four:	*Běn* means 'true'

A	běn	*sè*	B	běn	*xìng*
	TRUE	color		TRUE	character
'true color' 本色			'nature' 本性		

Group Five:	*Běn* means 'this, current'

A	běn	*cì*	B	běn	*háng-cì*	C	běn	*wén*
	THIS	time		THIS	voyage		THIS	text
'this time' 本次			'current voyage, this voyage, this flight' 本行次			'this text' 本文		

Group Six:	**[*běn* + PRONOMINAL] means *I*.** The following examples are different ways used by a speaker to refer to himself, which find their equivalent in English in the first person pronominal and are mostly translated as *I* or *me*

A	běn	*xiàng*	B	běn	*dà*	*xiǎo-jiě*
	REFL	prime.minister		REFL	big	lady
'the Prime Minister'(the Prime Minister is also the speaker) 本相			'lady'(the lady is also the speaker) 本大小姐			

C	běn	*gōng*	D	běn	*zuò*
	REFL	queen		REFL	general
'Queen' (the queen is also the speaker) 本宫			'General' (the general is also the speaker) 本座		

E	běn	*shuài*	F	běn	*jiāng-jun*
	REFL	General		REFL	General
'the General' (=the speaker) 本帅			'the General' (= the speaker) 本将军		

Table 30: pseudo-reflexive use of *běn* expressions, which is used by the speaker to refer to the speaker himself / herself

The examples in table 30 impose a strong restriction on the given context, i.e. they only relate to social status, and particularly refer to socially distinguished persons. *Běnrén* is an exception to this group and does not necessarily contain the implication of a high social status of that person. It is merely an expression used by the speaker to refer to himself. The semantics of *běnrén* is more related to the meaning of *běn* in group two, three and five than that of in group one, four and six.

20.5 Functions of *běn* in *běn* expressions

Based on the above classification, my argument is that *běn* has the following functions:

1. ***Běn* has an adjectival use,** i.e. it can be used as an adjective expressing a fundamental property, and functions as modifier that describes the quality of an entity, as in *běn-yì ('original meaning'), běn-sè ('nature');*

2. ***Běn* has a possessive use**, in which *běn* occurs with the emphatic meaning of 'one's own' (possession) (*'my', 'our'*). The defining feature for this use is that *běn* necessarily indicates a **relationship** between the speaker and the object he is speaking of. This relationship can be described as a sense of belonging, possessing or ownership as in: *běn-fèn ('one's own duty') [indefinite]; běn-xiào ('our school') [definite]*

3. ***Běn* has a deictic use**, in which *běn* refers to different entities such as time, location, object, preposition, and person relative to a center of orientation, as in: *běn-cì[time], běn-dì[location] běn-wén[object], běn-lái[preposition], and běn-xiǎo-jiě[person].*

4. ***Běn* has an extended deictic use,** in which it takes the form [*běn*+PROPER NAME.SG] = [1PS PRONOUN]. In combination with role-denoting nouns *běn* is used as a kind of honorific first person pronoun. This use is highly limited, i.e. it can only be found in the context of speakers with high social status in reference to themselves.

We can gain further insights into the uses of *běn* expressions by comparing the expressions with three other pronominal expressions that are semantically close in Mandarin Chinese: *cǐ/zhè* are expressions of proximity and have deictic uses. *Běn* as mentioned earlier is more subjective and indicates more than proximity; *wǒ* is simply a personal pronoun.

20.6 *Běn*-Expressions in their Adjectival Use [*Běn≠wo, Běn≠ci/zhè*]

The function of *běn* in the adjectival use characterizes the quality of the noun within the *běn* expressions, but it is neither possessive nor deictic. *Běn* in this sense cannot appear as an independent word but only as part of a compound.

běn *qián* ORIGIN money 'capital' 本钱	**wǒ* *qián* 1PS money '?' *我钱	*zhè* *qián* this money 'this money' 这钱	*cǐ* *qián* this money 'this money' 此钱
běn *néng* BORN.TO.BE ability 'instinct' 本能	**wǒ* *néng* 1PS ability '?' *我能	**zhè* *néng* this ability '?' *这能	** cǐ* *néng* this ability '?' *此能
běn *sè* TRUE color 'true color' 本色	**wǒ* *sè* 1PS color '?' *我能	**zhè* *sè* this color '?' *这色	**cǐ* *sè* this color '?' *此色

Table 31: *běn* expressions in the adjectival use

20.7 *Běn* in its Possessive Use [*Běn=1ps, Běn-fèn*; *Běn-xiào*]

When *běn* occurs in its possessive use, two sub-cases can be distinguished:

A: *Běn* carries the generic meaning of 'one's own', or 'one's', i.e. it is an indefinite expressions, as in:

A1	*běn*	*fèn*	A2	**wǒ*	*fèn*	A3	**zhè*	*fèn*	A4	**cǐ*	*fèn*
	ONE'S OWN	part		1PS	part		this	part		this	part
	'one's own duty' 本分			* '?' *我分			* '?' *我分			*'?' *此分	

When the indefinite meaning is changed into a definite one, a possessive pronoun [NOUN+de] has to be added in the front of the *běn* compounds, as in the following example:

74	[...]	*tā*	*yì-zhí*	*jiān-chí*	*lǎo-shī*	*de*	*běn-fèn.*
		3PS	always	stick.to	teacher	POSS	INT.duty
	'He has always stuck to his duty as a teacher.' … … 他一直坚持老师的本分。						

B: *Běn* carries the meaning of 'my, our', and is a definite expression. *Běn* in this sense already relates to a specific possessor (= the speaker, or a set of persons including the speaker), and thus does not have to be combined with other possessive phrases to make the sentence grammatically acceptable:

B1	*běn*	*xiào*	B2	*wǒ*	*xiào*	B3	**zhè*	*xiào*	B4	*cǐ*	*xiào*
	MY	school		1PS	school		this	school		this	school

'our school' 本校	'our school' 我校	'?' *这校	'this school'; *'our school' * 此校

Table 32: *běn* expressions with *běn* with the meaning of 'my, our'

(75)	a.	*Zhè*	*jiù*	*shì*	běn	*xiào.*
		this	ADV	be	OUR	school
		'This is our school.'这就是本校。				

(75)	b.	[...]	*Běn*	*xiào*	*jīn*	*nián*	*de*	*zhāo-shēng*	*shì*	*500*	*míng.*
			OUR	institute	current	year	POSS	enrolment	be	500	CLASSIFIER
		'There are 500 enrolments this year in our institute. ' … … 本校今年的招生是五百名。									

The two sentences in the example (75) would be ungrammatical if *běn* compounds were preceded by a possessive expression.

20.8 *Běn* Expression in their Deictic Use

In this function, *běn* relates to the temporal or local coordinates of the speech situation with the meaning of 'this, the current'.

TIME	*běn cì* THIS time 'this time' 本次	**wǒ cì* 1PS time '?' * 我次	*zhè cì* this time 'this time' 这次	*cǐ cì* this time 'this time' 此次
LOCATION	*běn dì* LOCAL earth 'this place' 本地	**wǒ dì* 1PS earth '?' * 我地	*zhè dì* this earth 'this place' 这地	*cǐ dì* this earth 'this place' 此地
OBJECT	*běn wén* THIS text 'this text' 本文	**wǒ wén* 1PS text '?' *我文	**zhè wén* this text 'this text' *这文	*cǐ wén* this text 'this text' 此文
DIRECTION	*běn lái* ? come 'originally' 本来	**wǒ lái* 1PS come '?' *我来	**zhè lái* this come '?' *这来	**cǐ lái* this come '?' *此来
PERSON	*běn xiǎo-jiě* REFL lady 'the lady referring to herself' 本小姐	**wǒ xiǎo-jiě* 1PS lady '?' * 我小姐	*zhè xiǎo-jiě* this lady 'this lady' 这小姐	*cǐ xiǎo-jiě* this lady 'this lady' 此小姐

Table 33: deictic use of *běn* expressions

The functions of *běn* in the deictic use and the possessive use sometimes overlap. A clear manifestation of the function of indicating an obligatory relationship is that *běnrén* possesses the

ability to combine its two functions into one complex meaning, as in the case of:

běn   *jiā*
---   family
'a member of the same clan'; 'a distant relative with the same family name.'
本家

The expression *běnjiā* cannot be analyzed as exhibiting a deictic function because the compositional meaning of *běnjiā* would then be expected to be 'this family' instead of 'a member of the same clan', or 'a distant relative with the same family name'. A more appropriate explanation is that *běn* shares a sense of belonging to the same blood, the same ancestor as well as the same birthplace with their ancestors, and/or sharing an identical family name and the same root. Therefore we have reason to believe that the two characters in *běnjiā* semantically refer to two inter-related entities in which the deictic function of *běn* and its function as an indicator of an obligatory relationship happen to be identical.

20.9   The use of *běn* as a honorific pronoun[53] in Mandarin Chinese: [*Běn*+ *P*roper Name.sg] = [1ps. pronoun]

Běnrén can be used to replace the first person pronoun in its singular form, they have the same meaning. *Běnrén* in this sense is not a reflexive pronoun, as will be seen in the relevant discussions on contrasts between reflexive pronouns in my study (cf. examples (36)). *Běnrén* does not need an antecedent within the scope of the verbal context to denote an entity in the external world but directly establishes that denotation. It shares some feature of locally-free *self*-forms and unbound *zìjĭ,* all of which can find antecedents in speech situations.

This function of *běnrén* can be traced back to Chinese honorifics. As example (76) suggests, the matrix subject *běn-shuài* has no antecedent in the sentence but directly refers to the external speaker as its referent. This expression can be replaced by the first person pronoun. In other words, *běn-shuài* is an expression that can only be used by a general to refer to 'the general himself', and is therefore highly limited in use.

-76	*[since you liked it so much],*						
	nà	běn	*shuài*	*jiù*	*sòng*	*gěi*	*nĭ*	*le.*
	then	----	general	ADV	give	to	2PS	PAST
	'I will give it to you as a present (since you liked it so much).' 那本帅就送给你了。						

---

53 Mandarin Chinese is a language containing honorifics. Cf. Appendix III at the end of this paper: chinese honorifics. Additional information related to Chinese honorifics can be found at *http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Chinese_honorifics*

More instances are seen in table 34:

běn zuò --- seat *'the highest military leader referring to himself'* 本座	**wǒ zuò*[54] 1PS seat *'?'* **我座*	*zhè zuò (lóu)* this CLASSIFIER(block) *'this block'* 这座	**cǐ zuò* this seat *'?'* * 这座
běn xiǎo-jiě --- lady *'the lady referringto herself'* 本小姐	**wǒ xiǎo-jiě* 1PS lady *'?'* **我小姐*	*zhè xiǎo-jiě* this lady *'this lady'* 这小姐	*cǐ xiǎo-jiě* this lady *'this lady'* 此小姐
běn gōng --- queen *'the queen referringto herself'* 本宫	**wǒ gōng* 1PS queen *'?'* * 我宫	**zhè gōng* 1PS queen *'?'* * 这宫	**cǐ gōng* 1PS queen *'?'* * 此宫
běn xiàng -- Prime-Minister-in-feudal-China *'the prime minister referringto himself'* 本相	**wǒ xiàng* 1PS Prime-Minister-in-feudal-China *'?'* **我相*	**zhè xiàng* this Prime-Minister-in-feudal-China *'?'* **这相*	**cǐ xiàng* this Prime-Minister-in-feudal-China *'?'* **此相*
běn shuài --- commander-in-Chief *'The commander in Chief refers to himself'* 本帅	*wǒ shuài* 1PScommander-in-Chief *'our commander in Chief'* 我帅	**zhè shuài* this commander-in-Chief *'?'* *这帅	**cǐ shuài* this commander-in-Chief *'?'* *此帅
běn jiāng-jun --- general *'the general refers to himself'* 本将军	**wǒ jiāng-jun* 1PS general *'?'* * 我将军	*zhè jiāng-jun* this general *'this general'* 这将军	*cǐ jiāng-jun* this general *'this general'* 此将军

Table 34: [*běn*+PROPER NAME.SG] ≈ [1PS PRONOMINAL]

The expressions with the form of [*běn* + PROPER NAME.SG] invariably refer to the same referent regardless of its syntactic positions in a sentence. And this referent is always the external speaker in the speech situation:

-77	*Zhāngsān*	*zhī-dào*	*běn*	*xiǎo-jiě*	*bù*	*xǐ-huan*	*Lǐsì.*
	NAME	know	---	lady	no	like	NAME
	'Zhāngsānknows that I do not like Lǐsì.'						

54 The expression *wǒ-shuài* can be accepted when it is a term used by others with lower social rank or staying in lower hierarchy to refer to their own leader. And *wǒ* functions as a normal pronominal in its attributive use.

张三知道本小姐不喜欢李四。

Summary of contrasts:
Běn expression: hornorific use
Self-forms---- do not have honorific use
All other reflexive pronouns in Mandarin Chinese do not have such a use.

I hope that this list of the uses that *běn* expressions may instigate interest among other researchers to discover more about this phenomenon.

21. *Běnrén*[55]

Based on the above observation, I argue that **the meaning and function of *běnrén*** shares two functions of *běn* expressions. Function A is more basic than Function B.

Function A: **the anaphoric function**, *běnrén* cannot direclty denote an entity in the outside world but has to rely on its antecedent in the verbal context to establish that reference. The referent of *běnrén* and the referent of the speaker are not identical, as in (78 a) and also (41 b):

(78) a.	*Yì-wu*	*bīng*	*fú-yì*	*qī*	*mǎn,*	*gēn-jù*	*jūn-duì*
	obligation	soldier	service	period	full	according.to	army

	de	*xū-yào*	*hé*	běnrén	*zì-yuàn,*	*[...]*
	POSS	need	and	REFL	self-willingness	
	'After a complete service period for compulsories, ... according to the need of the army as well as the willingness of the soldier himself, …' 义务兵服役期满，根据军队的需要和本人自愿，……					

In the use of *běnrén* [Function A], *běnrén* could be analyzed as a headless intensifier. It finds its antecedent (head noun) either in the higher clause within the same sentence, or its referents is re-constructable from the speech situation.

Function B: the deictic function, the referent of *běnrén* is the external speaker, as in (78 b) *běnrén* does not require an antecedent to denote an entity in the outside world. Therefore, it has a purely deictic use.

(78) b.	Běnrén	*yí-dìng*	*lái*	*pěng-chǎng.*
	REFL	sure	come	celebrate
	'I will join in the celebration.' 本人应该来捧场。			

---

55 Other forms such as *zàixià [在下], bìrén [鄙人]* are also used by a speaker to refer to himself. They are derived from traditional Chinese, and are still understood by many comtemporary Chinese speakers. Comparatively speaking, *běnrén* is rather new.

It is also possible that the two functions of *běnrén* show up in the same sentence. And this is also a reason why ambiguity occurs: different functions of *běnrén* lead to different referents either found as an antecedent of *běnrén* within the verbal context, or picked up in the speech situation.

(79)	a.	Běnrén	*méi*	*zài*	*jiā.*	[headless intensifier]
		REFL	not	at	home	
		The person the speaker is referring to in a particular context was not at home. [Function A]				
		'I was not at home.' [Function B] 本人没在家。				

In contrast to:

(79)	b.	*Zhè*	*ge*	*rén*	*bú*	*zài*	*jiā.*	[deictic use]
		This	CLASSIFIER	person	not	at	home	
		'This person is not at home.' 这个人不在家。						

Context is therefore a decisive factor in determining the reference of *běnrén.* The general context where *běnrén* appears always provides the prerequisites for its interpretation. Even though an antecedent may not be found in the sentence, it is likely to occur in the speech situation. Briefly speaking, *běnrén* is used with the meaning of "that person you know and I know is right now the topic of our conversation." This also includes the case in which the speaker himself is the referent.

Summary of contrasts:

Běnrén in Mandarin Chinese can occur in subject position and be used as a personal pronoun with the meaning equivalent to the first personal pronoun. *Self*-forms in English, by contrast, do not have the relevant use. In Standard English reflexive pronouns can never be used alone in subject position.

Běnrén can also occur in argument positions with a referent depending on the speech situations. In this way, it is used as a headless intensifier. In English *self*-forms can also be used in similar way and these uses are typically logophoric ones, but not in subject position, except in Irish English.

As noted above, the use of *běnrén* is quite unique among the list of identity expressions in Mandarin Chinese. Therefore it was necessary to talk about this identity expression, together with its possible antecedents, and its potential referents in the speech situation.

Generally speaking, *běnrén* is most frequent in its deictic use. It does not require the help from an antecedent in the verbal context to denote an entity in the outside world. Instead, it denotes the referent in the speech situation directly. This is mostly found when *běnrén* is in the position of the matrix subject. And the entity in the outside world it denotes is invariably the external speaker. Within the domain of the verbal context, therefore, *běnrén* is a substitute for the first person pronoun, as in (36 a).

Of course, the possible syntactic positions of *běnrén* include more than the matrix subject position. When it occurs in non-subject argument positions, as in (80 a1), it is found that the referent of *běnrén* is different from the cases we mentioned above. In (80 a1), *běnrén* again finds no antecedent in the verbal context; and it denotes an entity directly in the outside world. But this entity is not the external speaker, nor does *běnrén* in this sense substitute for the first person pronoun within the domain of the syntax. The entity *běnrén* actually denotes requires extra pragmatic considerations, and this entity is known by both the matrix speaker and the listeners / readers. More often than not, the group of entities that *běnrén* refers to are the addressees. It is this property of *běnrén* that gives rise to the question of whether this element should be analyzed as a reflexive pronoun or as an intensifier?

(80) a1.	*Zhōu-mò*	*de*	*jù-huì*	*qǐng*	běnrén	*xié*	*péi'ǒu*	*cān-jiā.*
	weekend	POSS	party	please	REFL	bring	spouse	attend
	'Ladies and gentlemen, you and your spouse are invited/much welcomed to attend the party this weekend.'							
	周末的聚会请携配偶参加。							
	(Here we have reference to addressees and a contrast you yourselves and your spouse)							

The reference of *běnrén* in this example is clearly given in the speech situation, because syntactically there is nothing available as an antecedent within the sentence. This sentence may well occur on a poster in the daily use of Mandarin Chinese, in which the targets who read the poster are clearly distinguished from the ones who are invited to the weekend party and those who are not. Therefore the reference of *běnrén* itself relies on the readers. When the readers find out there is going to be a weekend party but do not actually belong to the group being invited, the referents of *běnrén* cannot be those readers. Instead, *běnrén* has its reference in a plurality which denotes specifically those who are invited to the party regardless of whether they read the poster or not. Therefore *běnrén* in this sense equals the second person pronoun And *běnrén* in this case is an untriggered reflexives.

On the other hand, we find that *self*-forms in English in similar situations in which the

antecedent cannot be picked out from the verbal context but is given in the speech situation, are analyzed as headless intensifiers, as in (80 a2) and (80 a3) below. They express a contrast or opposition with the contrast set explicitly given. The *self*-form in (80 a2) is not in an argument position, and it directly denotes the speaker in the outside world. (80 a3) is slightly different in that the referent of the *self*-form is the second person pronoun instead of the speaker, but the number feature of this *self*-form is also singular.

(80)	a2.	*On behalf of* myself *and US Air, we would like to thank you...*
(80)	a3.	*Anyone but* yourself *would have noticed the change.*

There are still other cases in which *běnrén* can be equivalent to the third person pronoun, as in (80 b & c):

(80)	b.	*Rǔ-guǒ*	*yǒu*	*rén*	*jiàn – dào*	*qián - bāo,*	*qǐng*	*jiāo*	*huán*
		if	have	person	pick-up	purse	please	hand-in	return
		běnrén.							
		REFL							
		(i) 'Please give the purse to **the owner** if you happened to see it.'--->to the salient person --->intensification							
		如果有人捡到钱包，请交换本人。（本人=钱包的主人）							
		(ii) 'Please give the purse to **me** if you happened to see it.'--->deictic							
		如果有人捡到钱包，请交换本人。（本人=我）							

(80 b) is different from (80 a1). On the one hand, (80 b) is ambiguous because *běnrén* has two possible referents in the speech situation, which means it can denote two instead of one entity in the outside world outside a given context. Either *běnrén* denotes the owner of the purse, and it is the owner of the purse who produces the sentence. The center of perspective is *běnrén,* and *běnrén* is logophoric. The speaker produces the sentence as a representative of the owner of the purse. In this way, *běnrén* is interpreted as the first person pronoun. And the sentence can be transferred into a direct report 'If you happened to see the purse, please give it back to me.' This is further illustrated in chart 8.
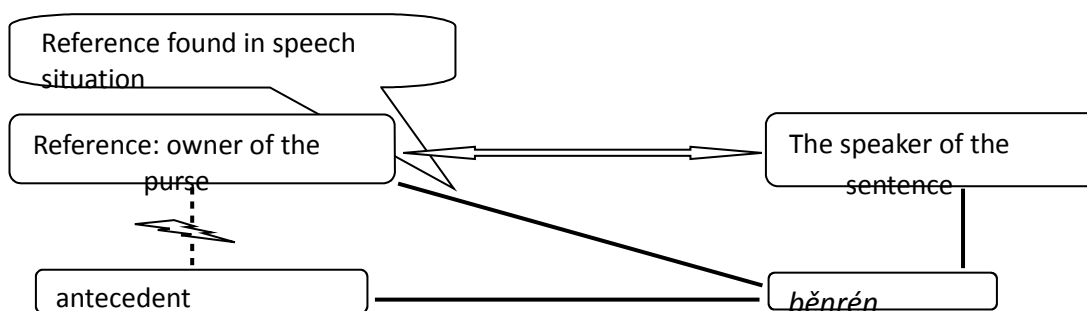

Chart 8: *rǔ-guǒ yǒu rén jiàn–dào qián-bāo, qǐng jiāo huán běnrén.*

如果有人捡到钱包，请交还本人。

The second possibility is that the referent of *běnrén* cannot be the referent of the first person pronoun but merely the owner of the purse. In other words, the purse belongs to the entity that is denoted by *běnrén* but the sentence is produced from the perspective of someone other than the referent of *běnrén*. *Běnrén* in this sense, is non-logophoric because the sentence is produced on behalf of the entity that *běnrén* denotes and the sentence cannot be transferred into a direct report like *'If you happened to see the purse, please give it back to me'*. A substitute for *běnrén* is the third person pronoun, cf. Chart 9.
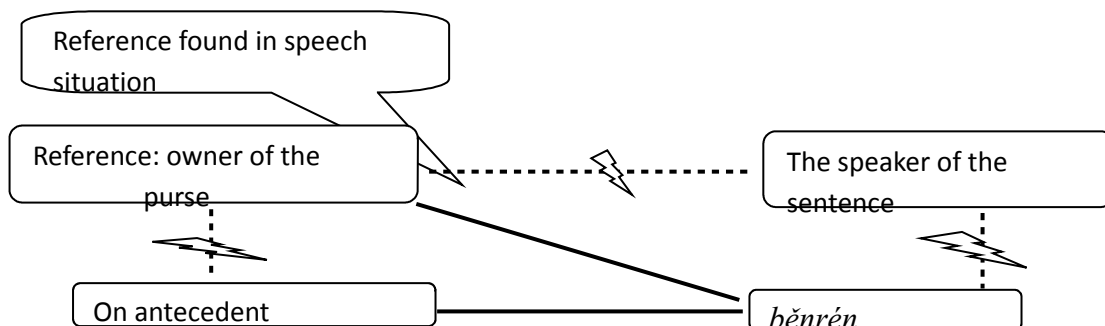

Chart 9: *rǔ-guǒ yǒu rén jiàn–dào qián-bāo, qǐng jiāo huán běnrén.*
如果有人捡到钱包，请交还本人。

Generalization: comparing the reflexive use of *běnrén* and *self*-forms in English, we find that they exhibit similarities as well as differences. On the one hand, both *běnrén* and *self*-forms can be used as locally-free reflexive pronouns, which find their referents in the speech situation and have no antecedents in the verbal context. On the other hand, their referents can be very different. The entity that *běnrén* denotes can also be referred to by the first, second and even the third person pronouns, but *self*-forms require *myself*, *yourself*, and *himself* / *herself* for each single case. Also, different interpretations of the referents of *běnrén* would induce logophoricity or non-logophoricity, but *self*-forms cannot do this.

The behavior of *X-běnrén* is again different.

In the following example (80 c), we find all the identity expressions there are instances of a locally-bound reflexive pronoun in the narrow sense. Each reflexive pronoun has the subject as its antecedent and they express co-reference, as illustrated in chart 10 below.

(80) c.	*Wǒ*	*dǎ*	*le*	běnrén / zìjǐ / wǒ-zìjǐ / wǒ-běnrén .
	1PS	hit	PAST	REFL REFL REFL REFL
	'I hit myself.'			
	我打了本人/ 自己/ 我自己/我本人。			

Co-reference

wǒ

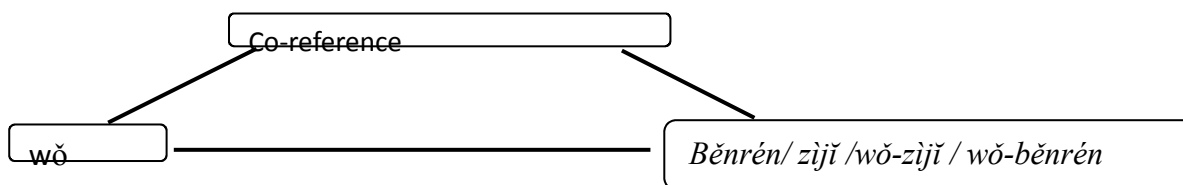Běnrén/ zìjǐ /wǒ-zìjǐ / wǒ-běnrén

Chart 10: *Wǒ dǎ le běnrén / zìjǐ / wǒ-zìjǐ / wǒ-běnrén .*
我打了本人/ 自己/ 我自己/我本人。

Even though all of these four reflexive pronouns seem to be synonymous, there are more possibilities for the referents of *běnrén* and its compound form. Without a given context, *běnrén* may have the subject as its antecedent and express co-reference; but actually as we have already mentioned before, this is just a coincidence, for *běnrén* directly denotes the external speaker, which means *běnrén* does not require the help from an antecedent to establish that reference. In this sense, *běnrén* occurs in deictic use. There is another possibility, however, in which *běnrén* and the subject are not coreferential. *Běnrén* in this sense is not bound at all. Rather, it is a headless intensifier that finds its reference in the speech situation with pragmatic knowledge. *X-běnrén* shares the same property of *běnrén* as long as the subject is not the first person pronoun, as in (80 d). As it is well-known, a headless intensifier is inherently contrastive.

[Someone was throwing eggs on our car and we were all very angry. John went to search the guy and a moment later we knew that ...]

(80)	d.	*John*	*dǎ*	*le*	tā-běnrén.
		John	hit	PAST	REFL
		'John hits the person (we are talking about).'			
		John打了他本人。			

Reference of *tā-běnrén* picked out in speech situation

Reference of *John*

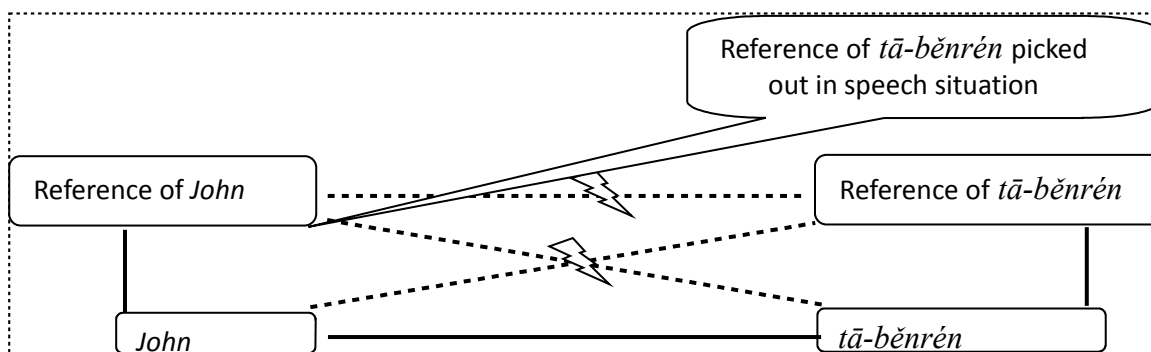Reference of *tā-běnrén*

John

tā-běnrén

Chart 11: *John dǎ le tā-běnrén. (the referent of [tā-běnrén] is picked out in the speech situation.)*
John打了他本人。

From all the above analyses as well as contrasts with other reflexive pronouns either in Mandarin Chinese or *self*-forms in English, we find that *běnrén* and its compound form are sensitive

to the speech situation in which their referents are found. As has already been pointed out by Pan (1997:185), *běnrén* and its compound form are inherently contrastive.

F.   Summary

Identity expressions in the two languages that are used both as intensifiers and as reflexive pronouns must have very similar meanings. But these very similar phenomena are not entirely the same, as have been discussed in my study. There is a remarkable degree of similarity but there are also striking differences. The similarities as well as the differences between the identity expressions in the two languages cannot simply be stated as: "identity expressions in English ≠ identity expressions in Mandarin Chinese; intensifiers / reflexive pronouns in English ≠ intensifiers / reflexive pronouns in Mandarin Chinese". One basic result of my study is that identity expressions in English are a special category; identity expressions in Mandarin Chinese are an instance of a related but different language-specific category. These two categories are not the identical. Only based on such a view can a contrastive study be carried out. My study reveals that identity expressions in the two languages differ in terms of their category and at the same time share similarities and differences on linguistic levels such as morphological make-up, syntactic distribution and meaning.

The identity expressions that are observed and compared in the two languages I have chosen in my dissertation are:

	English	Mandarin Chinese	
major identity expressions used as intensifiers	*self*-forms	*zìjǐ, běnrén, X-zìjǐ, X-běnrén, běnshēn,*	*qīnzì*
major identity expressions used as reflexive pronouns	*self*-forms		*zìshēn*

Table 35:   major identity expressions under comparison in this dissertation

Major similarities and differences of the identity expressions in these two languages are summarized below:

First of all, there are similarities between the forms, syntactic distributions, semantics as well as uses of these identity expressions (cf. Table 35). English uses *self*-forms as intensifiers and as reflexive pronouns; Mandarin Chinese uses *zìjǐ, běnrén, běnshēn, zìshēn* together with their compound forms both as intensifiers and as reflexive pronouns. It is this feature that makes these two languages very similar typologically. None of these expressions can be used as middle marker, which is in harmony with another cross-linguistic observation. The intensifiers in the two languages occur in non-argument positions, whereas the reflexive pronouns are only found in argument positions. Semantically, adnominal intensifiers of the two languages share almost the same meaning and both of them have adverbial as well as attributive uses alongside the adnominal one. When they are used as reflexive pronouns, both the forms in English and those in Mandarin Chinese have

locally-bound and locally-free uses. Also, they both exhibit the phenomenon of logophoricity. The major property of reflexive pronouns is that they require an antecedent to denote an entity in the outside world. The different uses of reflexive pronouns depend on where and how they find their antecedents, within the minimal clause, in a higher clause of the same sentence, in another sentence, or in the speech situation with the help of a given context, as in table 36 :

	English	Mandarin Chinese
similarity 1	the same forms are used as intensifiers and as reflexive pronouns	the same forms are used as intensifiers and as reflexive pronouns
instances	*self*-forms	*zìjǐ, běnrén, x-zìjǐ, x-běnrén, běnshēn*
similaritiy 2	used as an adnominal intensifier	used as an adnominal intensifier
instances	*self*-forms	*zìjǐ, běnrén, x-zìjǐ, x-běnrén, běnshēn, zìshēn, x-běnshēn, x-zìshēn*
similarity 3	used as adverbial intensifiers	used as adverbial intensifiers
instances	*self*-forms	*zìjǐ, qīnzì*
similarity 4	used as an attributive intensifier	used as an attributive intensifier
instances	*own*	*zìjǐ, běnrén, x-zìjǐ, x-běnrén, běnshēn, zìshēn, x-běnshēn, x-zìshēn*
similarity 5	cannot be used as a middle marker	cannot be used as a middle marker
similarity 6	intensifiers are in non-argument positions	intensifiers are in non-argument positions
instances	*(4) b. the gates* themselves *are wide open. [bnc, hra4702]*	*(4) c. [...], hái yǒu chén wén-tíng tā-zìjǐ.* *'... and chen wen-ting herself.'*
similarity 7	reflexive pronouns are in argument positions	reflexive pronouns are in argument positions
instances	*(37) c. john$_i$ hit* himself$_i$.	*(37) d. john$_i$ dǎ le tā-zìjǐ$_i$.* john打了他自己.
similarity 8	occurrence of locally-bound reflexive pronouns	occurrence of locally-bound reflexive pronouns
instances	cf. (37 c)	cf. (37 d)
similarity 9	occurrence of locally-free reflexive pronouns	occurrence of locally-free reflexive pronouns
instances	(46) a. *always a bit of a loner, basil here found an environment of people committed like* himself. [llc]	cf. (46) d. ('john said that someone stole his wallet.') (john说有人偷了自己的钱包.)
similarity 10	the form 'one' is taken for the generic use	identity expressions (*zìjǐ*) have a generic use if they occur both in subject and in object position
instances	(40)b. one$_i$ *should be proud of* oneself$_i$.	(40) a. zìjǐ$_i$ *yīng-gāi duì zìjǐ$_i$ yǒu xìn-xīn.* 'one should have confidence in oneself.' 自己应该对自己有信心。
similarity 11	logophoricity	logophoricity
instances	(57) a. *according to john, the article was written by mary and* himself.	(54) a. (john说tom打了自己.)

| similarity 11 | generally speaking, a reflexive pronouns requires an antecedent to denote an entity in the outside world, i.e. to establish reference | generally speaking, a reflexive pronouns requires an antecedent to denote an entity in the outside world, i.e. to establish reference |

Table 36: major similarities of the identity expressions in English and Mandarin Chinese

In addition to these similarities, we also find a wide variety of differences in the use of identity expressions in these two languages. While the use of an intensifier in English is clearly identified by its syntactic position, the uses of intensifiers in Mandarin Chinese are not. Also, adnominal intensifiers in Mandarin Chinese can be adjacent to a prominal object, but *self*-forms cannot (**I wanted to talk to him himself*). The intensifier *zìjǐ* following a noun phrase may also be used as an adverbial intensifier, and thus be ambiguous in its meaning. Semantically, an adverbial intensifier *zìjǐ* may have three different meanings in different contexts, and may either be used exclusively or not. On the other hand, *self*-forms used as an adverbial intensifier have exclusive and inclusive uses, the latter use is not found in Mandarin Chinese. Still, attributive intensifiers in both languages have identical syntactic positions and a basic possessive meaning. Attributive intensifiers in Mandarin Chinese also have the feature of a headless intensifier; attributive intensifiers in English take a different form other than *self*-forms and there is not relevant feature. *Self*-forms in general cannot be used without a pronominal head, which is acceptable in the identity expressions in Mandarin Chinese. Also, long-distance and Blocking Effect are the two major properties of reflexive pronouns in Mandarin Chinese, which are lacking in English. Logophoricity is largely found in the reflexive pronouns in Mandarin Chinese but less so in English. Again, a detailed list of contrasts is given in the following table:

	English	Mandarin Chinese
difference 1	*self*-forms can be used as intensifiers, and also as reflexive pronoun	*qīnzì* can only be used as an intensifier but not as reflexive pronoun;
difference 2	*self*-forms used as an intensifier have four uses: adnominal, adverbial exclusive, adverbial inclusive, attributive	intensifiers in mandarin chinese have three uses, i.e. intensifiers in mandarin chinese do not have the adverbial inclusive use adnominal, adverbial, attributive
difference 3	the meaning of *self*-forms in their adverbial exclusive use is 'alone'	the meaning of adverbial intensifiers have the is either 'in person', 'alone', or 'without outside force'
instances	(5) a. *dressed in flowing trousers and a tunic of billowing rose --; they let her have clothes, now, providing she chose them*	(21) a. (将军自己在洗车。) (24) a. (他就自己就自然而然的就会了。)

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	herself*by drawing what it was she wanted --;... [bnc, fp0265]*	
difference 4	*self*-forms used as adnominal intensifier cannot follow a pronominal object (**him himself*), but they can certainly combine with a noun phrase in object position.	adnominal intensifiers in mandarin chinese can occur both in the positions adjacent to the subject and to the object
instances	*i want to talk to the man himself.*	cf. (4) c. and (4) d.
difference 5	*self*-forms following a noun phrase are used as an adnominal intensifier	the intensifier *zìjǐ* following a noun phrase can either be used as an adnominal intensifier, or as an adverbial intensifier
instances	cf. (4) b.	cf. (21) a.
difference 6	*self*-forms used as attributive intensifier do not have the feature of being used as headless intensifier	attributive intensifiers in mandarin chinese have the feature of being used as headless intensifier
instances	no	cf. (28) a.
difference 7	*self*-forms in english have be bound when they are used as reflexive pronouns	identity expressions in mandarin chinese in argument position can be free instead of locally-bound
instances	no	(37) b. *john$_i$ dǎ le zìjǐ $_{*i/j}$* john打了自己。 'john hit **me**.'(referent to the matrix speaker)
difference 8	*self*-forms are classified as anaphors but not as logophors	locally-bound *zìjǐ* is an anaphor; locally-free *zìjǐ* is a logophor

Table 37:   major differences of the identity expressions in English and Mandarin Chinese

Thirdly, there are other findings emerging as by-products of the contrastive work, which are hardly visible without a detailed contrastive study. One is the reinforcement of intensifiers in Mandarin Chinese, and the other is the use of *běn* expressions and possible references of *běnrén*. These properties as well as others such as the Blocking Effect of reflexive pronouns in Mandarin Chinese, inherently reflexive verbs in English, etc. are only features of only one language.

Moreover, it is also necessary to point out the similarities and differences in syntactic distribution, and in the meaning of major identity expressions in the two languages, as in the following tables:

self-forms	*zìjǐ*	*běnrén*
used both as intensifiers and as reflexive pronouns		

occur in non-argument position when used as intensifiers		
an adnominal use		
have adverbial use		do not have an adverbial use
have an adverbial exclusive use		no relevant use
no relevant use	have an adverbial use, but not the exclusive one	no relevant use
have an attributive use		
the form of the attributive use is different from the form of adnominal and adverbial intensifiers	the form of the attributive use is similar to the form of adnominal and adverbial intensifiers	
The attributive use of identity expressions in English does not have the feature of headless intensifier	The attributive use of *zìjǐ* has the feature of a headless intensifier	no relevant feature
adverbial exclusive *self*-forms have one syntactic position and one meaning	adverbial *zìjǐ* has one syntactic position but can have at least three meanings	no elevant use
self-forms as intensifiers are distinguished by syntactic positions	*zìjǐ* as intensifier has more than one syntactic positions; each of them have related uses as well as meanings	*běnrén* used as intensifier only has adnominal and attributive use
self-forms cannot be combined with another intensifier	*zìjǐ* can be combined with another intensifier	*běnrén* can be combined with another intensifier

Table 38: similarities and differences of major intensifiers of English (*self*-forms) and Mandarin

Chinese (*zìjǐ* & *běnrén*)

self-forms	*zìjǐ*	*běnrén*
can be locally-bound		
occur in argument position when used as a reflexive pronoun		
self-forms always requires an antecedent to refer to an entity in the outside world	sometimes requires an antecedent to refer to an entity in the outside world	does not require an antecedent to refer to an entity in the outside world. The referent of *běnrén* is either the external speaker or is known both by the speaker and the listener
locally-free *self*-forms either find its antecedent in a higher clause, another sentence, or the reference is picked out in the speech situation	locally-free *zìjǐ* is mostly known as long-distance *zìjǐ*. The antecedent of such use of *zìjǐ* is similar to that of locally-free *self*-forms	
the generic use takes the form 'one'	the generic use also takes the form of *zìjǐ*	
logophoric use	logophoric use in general	

cannot be used as headless intensifier	can be used as headless intensifier	
no relevant use	manifests Blocking Effect	no relevant use
there are inherently reflexive verbs in English	no relevant cases	

Table 39: similarities and differences of major reflexive pronouns of English (*self*-forms) and Mandarin Chinese (*zìjǐ* & *běnrén*)

Appendix I: contrasts of counterparts of reflexive pronouns in Mandarin Chinese and English

Parallel counterparts of reflexive pronouns in Mandarin Chinese and English:

personal pronoun + *zìjǐ/ běnrén*	personal pronoun + *self*
tā zìjǐ / běnrén	*himself*
tā zìjǐ / běnrén	*herself*
tā zìjǐ / běnrén	*itself*
tāmen zìjǐ / běnrén	*themselves*

Table 40: comparison of the forms of reflexive pronouns in Mandarin Chinese and English I

similar counterparts of reflexive pronouns in Mandarin Chinese and English:

personal pronoun+*zìjǐ / běnrén*	possessive pronoun+*self*
wǒzìjǐ / běnrén	*myself*
nǐzìjǐ / běnrén	*yourself*
wǒmen zìjǐ / běnrén	*ourselves*
nǐmen zìjǐ / běnrén	*yourselves*

Table 41: comparison of the forms of reflexive pronouns in Mandarin Chinese and English II

Appendix II: contrast on the combinations of [pronominal + identity expressions] in the two languages

(i)	a.	*wǒ	wǒ-zìjǐ / wǒ-běnrén		b.	* nǐ	nǐ-zìjǐ / nǐ-běnrén
		1PS	REFL REFL			2PS	REFL REFL
		'?' * 我我自己/我本人				'?' * 你你自己/你本人	
	c.	* tā	tā-zìjǐ/tā-běnrén				
		3PS	REFL REFL				
		'?' * 他自己/他本人					
	d.	* wǒ-men	wǒ-men-zìjǐ / wǒ-men-běnrén				
		1PS PL	1PS PL REFL 1PS PL REFL				
		'?' * 我们我们自己/我们本人					
	e.	* nǐ – men	nǐ – men – zìjǐ / nǐ – men – běnrén				
		2PS PL	2PS PL REFL 2PS PL REFL				
		'?' * 你们你们自己/你们本人					
	f.	* tā – men	tā – men – zìjǐ / tā – men – běnrén				
		3PS PL	3PS PL REFL 3PS PL REFL				
		'?' * 他们他们自己/他们本人					

(ii)   singular forms: *I myself / you yourself / he himself / she herself / it itself*

plural forms: *we ourselves / you yourselves / they themselves*

Appendix III: A related comparison between personal pronouns and possessive pronouns in Mandarin Chinese and English:

| | Mandarin Chinese | | English | |
	object forms of personal pronoun	possessive / genitive forms of personal pronoun	object forms of personal pronoun	possessive / genitive forms of personal pronoun
singular forms	wǒ	wǒ de	I / me	my
	nǐ	nǐde	you	your
	tā	tāde	he / him	his
	tā	tāde	she / her	her
	tā	tāde	it / it	its
plural forms	wǒmen	wǒmen de	we / us	our
	nǐmen	nǐmen de	you/ you	your
	tāmen	tāmen de	they / them	their

Table 42:   A comparison between personal pronouns and adjective pronouns in Mandarin Chinese and English

Appendix IV: Chinese honorifics, referring to oneself[56]

For self-deprecating humbleness, commoners or people with lower status

- 愚 (yú): I, the unintelligent
- 鄙 (bǐ): I, the lowly/less educated
- 敝 (bì): I, the unrefined
- 卑 (bēi): I, from a lower class
- 竊·窃 (qiè): I, who did not give you proper notice
- 僕·仆 (pú): I, your servant (male)
- 婢 (bì): I, your servant (female)
- 妾 (qiè): I, your concubine
- 在下 (zàixià): I, who am humbler and lower than you
- 小人 (xiǎorén): I, the insignificant (usually male)
- 小女 (xiǎonǚ): I, the insignificant and female
- 草民 (cǎomín): I, the worthless commoner
- 奴才 (núcai): I, your slave/servant (male)
- 奴婢 (núbì): I, your slave/servant (female)
- 奴家 (nújiā): I, your wife

Elders

- 老~ (lǎo), old
    - 老朽 (lǎoxiǔ): I, who am old and unable
    - 老夫 (lǎofū): I, who am old and respected
    - 老漢·老汉 (lǎohàn): I, who am an old man
    - 老拙 (lǎozhuó): I, who am old and clumsy
    - 老衲 (lǎonà): I, the old monk
    - 老身 (lǎoshēn): I, this old body (for a lady referring to herself)

The royal family

- 孤 (gū): I, the ruler of a kingdom (lit. "alone" - refers to the fact that being the emperor is a lonely existence. From 孤家寡人 lit. solitary family, widowed/few person)
- 寡 (guǎ): I, the ruler of a kingdom (same as above)
- 寡人 (guǎrén): I, the ruler of a kingdom (same as above)
- 不穀·不谷 (bù gǔ): I, the ruler of a dissolute kingdom (literally "produces no grain")
- 朕 (zhèn): I, the Emperor (originally a generic first person pronoun, later exclusively used by emperors from the Qin Dynasty onward.)
- 本宮 (běngōng): I, the empress/concubine
- 哀家 (āijiā): I, the emperor's mother (literally "the sad house", indicating grief for the deceased former Emperor)
- 臣妾 (chénqiè): I, your concubine
- 兒臣·儿臣 (érchén): I, your son official/subject

Government officials

- 臣 (chén): I, your subject (officials addressing themselves in front of the Emperor, in

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56   cf. *http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Chinese_honorifics*

official writing, the character "臣" should be written half the size of normal font in front of the name.)
- 下官 (xiàguān): I, the low official (officials addressing themselves in front of a superior official)
- 末官 (mòguān): I, the lesser official
- 小吏 (xiǎolì): I, the small scribe / official
- 卑職·卑职 (bēizhí): I, the humble position (officials addressing their patrons or someone of equal rank)
- 末將·末将 (mòjiàng): I, the lowest general (generals addressing themselves in front of superiors)
- 本官 (běnguān): I, your superior (Used when the official must assert his ranking in front of lower officials)

Scholarly or religious professions
- 小生 (xiǎoshēng): I, who am born / grown "smaller" (i.e. later)
- 晚生 (wǎnshēng): I, who was born later
- 晚學·晚学 (wǎnxué): I, who started studying later
- 不才 (bùcái): I, who am without talent
- 不佞 (búnìng): I, who am without talent
- 不肖 (búxiào): I, who did not respect you
- 晚輩·晚辈 (wǎnbèi): I, who belong to a younger generation (therefore lower/humbler)
- 貧僧·贫僧 (pínsēng): I, the poor monk (Buddhist)
- 貧尼·贫尼 (pínní): I, the poor nun (Buddhist)
- 貧道·贫道 (píndào): I, the poor priest/priestess (Daoist)

The speaker's own family
- 家~ (jiā): prefix for elder family members (living)
- 先~ (xiān): prefix for elder family members (deceased)
- 舍~ (shè): prefix for younger family members
- 小~ (xiáo): small
  - 小兒·小儿 (xiǎoér): My son, who is small
  - 小女 (xiǎonǚ): My daughter, who is small
- 内~ (nèi): prefix for referring to one's wife - 内人，内子
- 愚~ (yú): prefix for referring to one's self and one's family member; 愚夫婦, 愚父子、愚兄弟, etc
- 犬子 (quǎnzǐ): My son, who is comparable to a puppy
- 拙夫·拙夫 (zhuōfū): My husband, who is inferior
- 拙荆·拙荆 (zhuōjīng): My wife, who is inferior
- 賤内·贱内 (jiànnèi): The one within (i.e. my wife), who is worthless
- 寒舍 (hánshè): my home - literally my poor residence

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