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Intensifiers and reflexives in SAE, Insular Celtic and English

Abstract: Intensifiers and reflexives have been studied as features both in areal linguistics and in the context of substratum hypotheses. While typical SAE languages differentiate between intensifiers and reflexives, English, Welsh and Irish use complex intensifiers for both functions. This article discusses the two strategies with regard to their diachronic developments, starting with PIE. Complex intensifiers are first recorded in Old British and emerge only later in English and Irish. These complex intensifiers are then increasingly used as reflexives, constituting an instance of areal divergence from SAE between the late Middle Ages and the early modern period. Breton, on the other hand, maintains its intensifier – reflexive differentiation due to areal convergence.

Keywords: intensifier, reflexive, diachronic developments, origins, linguistic convergence, areal linguistics; Insular Celtic, English, SAE

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1 Introduction

European linguistics, and in particular its areal linguistics studies, have dedicated much attention to intensifiers and reflexives. The presence of such a distinction was indicated as a membership criterion for the SAE-*Sprachbund* (Haspelmath 2001), and its absence was attributed to Brythonic influence for English[1] and to a prehistoric Afro-Asiatic substratum for the North-Western languages (Vennemann 2013). All these hypotheses are based on the claim that the similarities between certain languages or language groups are due to linguistic contact.

"Complex intensifiers", their origin and their functions, are crucial to all these hypotheses. They consist of a pronoun plus a second element. The pronoun agrees with its antecedent with regard to person, number and gender, and, within

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1 See e. g. Tristram 1999: 24; Vezzosi 2005: 228ff.; Vennemann 2013: 122. Poppe (2009: 253ff.), who also takes Irish into account, concludes that the hypothesis of British influence on Old English remains unproven, albeit attractive. On the other hand, Lange (2005: 269f.; 2007: 186) criticizes Vezzosi's theory.

the older languages, it also inflects for case. The second element is either a simple intensifier, a reflexive adjective, or a noun, which may or may not occur alone.

The present paper discusses the expression of reflexivity typical for SAE languages from a diachronic perspective, starting with Proto-Indo-European. Concentrating on French and German as representative of SAE, we will consider the main developments which lead to the systems found in the modern languages. Features which did not survive until the modern period will also be treated.

The paper then examines the rise of complex intensifiers in Brittonic, Irish and English and their subsequent employment as reflexives. All developments will be dated as precisely as possible to establish a time-frame against which the propositions of the different hypotheses can be checked.

1.1 Welsh, Irish and English vs. SAE

Typical SAE-languages differentiate between reflexives and intensifiers. Their distribution is shown on the following map from Haspelmath 2001: 1501.
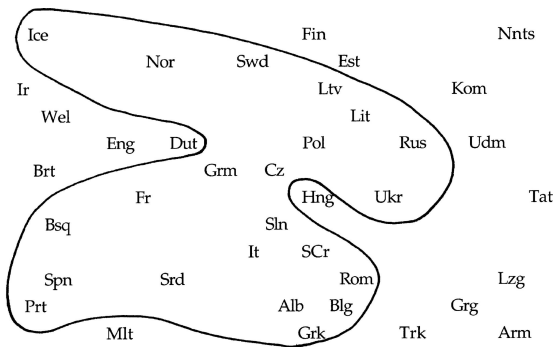

Fig. 1. Languages with intensifier-reflexive differentiation

The differences between the two types are illustrated with examples from German and English. German expresses reflexivity with the pronouns *mich*, *dich*, *sich*, etc. (ex. 1a, 1b), while uninflected *selbst* 'self' is used as an intensifier (ex. 1c adnominal, 1d adverbial), English uses *my-*, *your-*, *himself*, etc. in both cases.[2]

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[2] See König 2001: 747ff.; König & Siemund 2000: 40ff.; Haspelmath 2001: 1501.

(1) a. *Ich sehe mich im Spiegel.* German
    I see myself in the mirror. English

   b. *Er spricht ständig mit sich.* German
    He keeps talking to himself. English

   c. *Der Präsident selbst wird mit uns sprechen.* German
    The president himself will talk to us. English

   d. *Der Präsident wird sich um die Sache selbst kümmern.* German
    The president will himself deal with the matter. English

Reflexives and intensifiers in Modern Welsh and Modern Irish are similar to the English ones. Welsh *hun* or *hunan* is preceded by a possessive pronoun, Ir. *féin* by an independent or object personal pronoun. The pronouns are inflected for person, number and gender[3] (cf. Table 1).

Table 1. Paradigms of reflexives/intensifiers in Modern Welsh and Irish

		Modern Welsh		Modern Irish
		North	**South**	
sg	1	fy hun	fy hunan	mé féin
	2	dy hun	dy hunan	tú féin
	3m	ei hun	ei hunan	é féin
	3f	ei hun	ei hunan	í féin
pl	1	ein hun	ein hunain	muid/sinn féin
	2	eich hun	eich hunain	sibh féin
	3	eu hun	eu hunain	iad féin

The following examples from Modern Welsh (ex. 2a–2d) and Modern Irish (ex. 3a–3d) illustrate the uses of these forms as reflexives (ex. 2a, 2b, 3a, 3b) and as adnominal (ex. 2c, 3c) and adverbial intensifiers (ex. 2d, 3d).[4]

(2) a. *Gwelaf   fy   hun yn y   drych.*
       see.PRS.1SG POSS.1SG INT   in the mirror
       'I see myself in the mirror.' (reflexive)

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3 Welsh uses identical intensifiers for the 3rd person singular, i. e. there is no gender distinction (King 2003: 96).

4 Examples (2a–3d) from Poppe 2009: 254, who also discusses alternative expressions. See Thomas 1996: 268; King 2003: 96f.; Borsley, Tallerman & Willis 2007: 220f. for Welsh, and NIG: 86; GG: 122ff., 131f.; Nolan 2012: 70ff. for Irish. See Ó Curnáin 2007: 2, 1305ff. for examples from Iorras Aithneach (Connemara Irish).

b. *Mae e'n siarad â'i hun.*
is he-PT talking.VN with-POSS.3SG INT
'He keeps talking to himself.' (reflexive)

c. *Bydd yr arlywydd ei hun yn siarad â ni.*
be.FUT.3SG the president POSS.3SG INT PT talking.VN with us
'The president himself will talk to us.' (adnominal)

d. *Bydd yr arlywydd yn delio â'r mater hwn ei hun.*
be.FUT.3SG the president PT dealing.VN with-the matter this POSS.3SG INT
'The president will himself deal with this matter.' (adverbial)

(3) a. *Feicim mé fhéin sa scathán.*
see.PRS.1SG PRON.1SG INT in-the mirror
'I see myself in the mirror.' (reflexive)

b. *Tá sé ag caint leis féin.*
be.PRS PRON.3SG.M at talking.VN with.3SG.M INT
'He is talking to himself.' (reflexive)

c. *Labhróidh an t-uachtarán é féin linn.*
talk.FUT the president PRON.3SG.M INT with.3PL
'The president himself will talk to us.' (adnominal)

d. *Pléifidh an t-uachtarán é féin leis an gceist.*
deal.FUT the president PRON.3SG.M INT with the matter
'The president will himself deal with the matter.' (adverbial)

When following a possessive adjective and a noun, Welsh *ei hun* means 'own' (ex. 4a). Irish *féin* is used similarly, but without the personal pronoun (ex. 4b).

(4) a. *Eich car eich hun 'dy hwn, 'te?*
POSS.2PL car POSS.2PL INT is this.SG.M then
'Is this your own car, then?' (King 2003: 98)

b. *Chóirigh Mairéad a gruaige féin.*
brush.PRT Mairéad POSS.3SG.F hair INT
'Mairéad brushed her own hair.' (Nolan 2012: 85)

An important difference between English, Welsh and Irish is the separability of the constituents. In English, the pronouns and -*self* are fused into one word. In Welsh, although both elements are represented as individual words, *hun* never occurs without a possessive adjective.

In Irish, the presence or absence of the pronoun distinguishes in some cases the reflexive use of *féin* (ex. 5a) from the intensifier (ex. 5b). However, reflexive *féin* occurs without a pronoun after a conjugated preposition (ex. 5c and 3b above) or a

possessive adjective + verbal noun (ex. 5d, 5e). In the latter example, *á* originates from the fusion of *do* 'to' and the 3rd pers. sing. masc. possessive adjective.

(5) a. *Mholfainn   mé   féin*
            praise.COND.1SG PRON.1SG INT
            'I would praise myself'   (Nolan 2012: 76)

      b. *Mholfainn   féin é.*
            praise.COND.1SG INT   PRON.3SG.M
            'I myself would praise him'   (Nolan 2012: 77)

      c. *Chuir mé   ceisteanna orm féin.*
            put.PRT PRON.1SG questions   on.1SG INT
            'I put questions to myself' (lit. 'I put questions on myself.')
                                                                    (Nolan 2012: 81)

      d. *Tá   mé   do mo   thuirsiu féin.*
            be.PRS PRON.1SG to POSS.1SG tiring.VN INT.
            'I am tiring myself'   (Ó Dónaill 1977: 533, s. v. *féin*)

      e. *Bhí sé   á   bhearradh féin.*
            be.PRT PRON.3SG.M to-POSS.3SG.M shaving.VN INT
            'He was shaving himself.'   (NIG: 86)

The intensifier *féin* normally occurs without a pronoun whenever the person is already indicated otherwise. This is the case after a non-emphatic personal pronoun (ex. 5f) or a possessive adjective + noun (ex. 4b above). Simple *féin* is further used as a coreference marker after a conjugated preposition (ex. 5g and 3b above) or as an intensifier after a conjugated verb form (ex. 5h).

(5) f. *Cé agaibh is sine   tú   féin nó Síle?*
            who of.2PL [COP older]COMP PRON.2SG INT or Síle
            'Who (of you) is older, you (yourself) or Síle?'   (GG: 123)

      g. *Tá   go leor aici   féin.*
            be.PRS a   lot at.3SG.F INT
            'She has a lot herself.'   (GG: 124)

      h. *Déan   féin é.*
            do.IMP.2SG INT it
            'Do it yourself.'   (GG: 122)

Féin can also be used as a focus particle with the meaning 'even, only' (ex. 5i, 5k).[5] Adding the pronoun avoids ambiguity as it makes clear that *féin* is to be understood as an intensifier (ex. 5j, 5l).

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5 See König 2001: 747 on focus particles.

(5)   i.   *an t-easpag féin*
          the bishop   even
          'even the bishop'   (NIG: 87)

    j.   *an t-easpag é*   *féin*
          the bishop   PRON.3SG.M INT
          'the bishop himself'   (NIG: 87)

    k.   *dá bhfeicfinn féin iad*
          if   see.COND.1SG INT   them
          'even if I saw (had seen) them'   (NIG: 87)

    l.   *dá bhfeicfinn mé féin iad*
          if   see.COND.1SG PRON.1SG INT   them
          'if I saw them myself'   (NIG: 87)

The intensifier *féin* with a disambiguating pronoun is regularly used after a noun (ex. 3c, 3d above, but note the order of constituents in cleft sentences, ex. 5m) or after an emphatic personal pronoun (ex. 5n).[6] Such cases show the doubling of the person, which can also be found in English and Welsh.

(5)   m.   *Ba é*   *an t-easpag féin a*   *bheannaigh an scoil.*
          was PRON.3SG.M the bishop   INT REL.PT blessed   the school
          'It was the bishop himself who blessed the school.'   (NIG: 86)

    n.   *Chonaic mise*   *mé*   *féin é.*
          saw   PRON.1SG.EMPH PRON.1SG INT   it
          'I myself saw it.'   (GG: 124)

1.2 Substratum influence in Brittonic?

In his most recent article, Vennemann (2013: 134) explains the lack of the intensifier-reflexive differentiation in Insular Celtic and English as the result of substratal influence. He claims that the feature passed from Afro-Asiatic into Celtic and from there into English. He also claims that the same development has taken place with regard to the North Sea Germanic (Ingvaeonic) languages spoken on the continent, as Afro-Asiatic originally spread along the coasts and influenced the Continental Celtic languages which supplanted it.

    He contrasts the long-term developments of reflexive expression in Insular Celtic and English with those of Romance and German, and classifies the individ-

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6 See Ó Siadhail 1989: 228.

ual developments in these languages, including PIE, according to the reflexivity typology elaborated by Heine (2005) for Creole languages (Vennemann 2013: 136ff.). He concludes that while Insular Celtic and English have undergone several changes due to the alleged direct and indirect substratum influence, Romance and German continued the PIE type without any modification.

However, Vennemann (2013: 137) is quite mistaken with regard to the situation in PIE, which he assigns to Heine's (2005: 207) type B. Languages of this type use personal pronouns to express reflexivity in the 1st and 2nd persons, but have a special reflexive pronoun in the 3rd person as e. g. French or German.

The situation in PIE was more complex than a simple dichotomy between reflexive pronouns and other pronominal intensifiers, as PIE possessed also the inflectionally marked category of middle voice.

Reflexivity is one of the semantic categories found within the functional field of "reflexivity/middle" which includes also anticausative, impersonal and passive.[7] In Modern German and modern Romance languages, most verbs belonging to these situation types are accompanied by the same marker, i. e. the reflexive pronoun. This was however not the case in Late PIE, where verbs of body care and body motion as well as anticausatives, just to name a few, used the middle voice.[8] The reflexive pronoun was used only as a "full reflexive", i. e. to mark situations in which the agent is at the same time the initiator and the endpoint of a prototypically other-directed transitive event like *He kills himself* (Kemmer 1993: 52). The inflectionally marked category of middle voice as inherited from PIE developed in Latin, Celtic and Gothic into the passive voice. On the other hand, in Romance and Germanic, the original domain of the middle voice was taken over by the reflexive pronouns. However, the scope and degree of their grammaticalization as middle markers shows some variation within the individual languages.[9]

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7 See Kemmer 1993; Haspelmath 2003: 233ff.; Cotticelli Kurras & Rizza 2013: 8ff.

8 See Tichy 2004: 85; Clackson 2007: 142f.; Meiser 2009: 318ff.; Haspelmath 2003: 235; Cotticelli Kurras & Rizza 2013: 9f.

9 For the developments from Latin to Romance see Hofmann & Szantyr 1965: 174f., 293ff.; Flobert 1975: 382ff., 386ff.; Miller 1993: 228ff.; Kemmer 1993: 151ff.; Haspelmath 2003: 234f. For Germanic see Kemmer 1993: 182ff. Harbert 2007: 317ff., 322ff.;

2 Reflexives from PIE to SAE

2.1 Reflexives and intensifiers in Proto-Indo-European

As the individual IE languages do not provide constistent evidence with regard to a pronominal reflexive marker, different hypotheses have been proposed with regard to the reconstruction of the situation in PIE.

According to the traditional approach, the evidence points to the reconstruction of two stems for the reflexive pronoun, i. e. *s(e)u̯e- and *se-. The latter can be found, beside *su̯e-, in reflexive pronouns in Italic, Germanic, Baltic and Slavic, and also in nominal formations, namely in Greek ἕταρος 'companion', based on the stem *se-to-, and perhaps in the Welsh intensifier *hun* 'self' < *s(u̯)oi̯-no- (Schrijver 1997: 83).

Many scholars assume that these stems originally had different functions.[10] Beekes (1983: 215ff.; 2011: 236) claims that *se- was the anaphoric-reflexive pronoun, while the 3rd person of the possessive pronoun is based on the adjective *su̯o- 'own'. Then, according to Beekes, *su̯o- was an intensifier, which over time became one with the pronoun.

Hackstein (2003: 73) assumes instead that the two functions were expressed by means of different case forms of the pronominal stem *su̯e-: the nominative was used as an intensifier while the other cases were reflexives. However, as the reflexive refers to the subject, most scholars deny the existence of this nominative for logical reasons (e. g. Dunkel 2014: 761). Hackstein argues that the main function of the reflexive pronoun, i. e. the expression of coreference with the subject, does not exclude the existence of the nominative at all. The nominative refers to the subject as an apposition, which is normally also the case for intensifiers. In ModHG *er hat es selbst getan*, 'he did it himself', *selbst* (albeit uninflected) is analyzed as a nominative. Even though this nominative, which is reconstructed as *su̯ei̯, did not survive in any language, several languages used it to build intensifiers, e. g. Ved. *svay-ám* '-self' < *su̯ei̯ óm, Alb. *vetë* 'person, self' < *su̯ei̯-tah₂ or OIr. *féin* '-self' < *su̯ei̯ sine.[11]

The validity of these reconstructions is still under debate, but the alleged existence of the nominative *su̯ei̯ is not crucial to the argument. Even if one denies it, the intensifiers can alternatively be reconstructed as being based on other cases of the reflexive pronoun. Thus the accusative could be the base for the OIr. *féin* <

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10 See the survey and discussion in Puddu 2005: 65.
11 Reconstructions by Klingenschmitt 1994: 241f.

sųe-sin (Schrijver 1997: 83ff.), and the dative for the Vedic *svay-ám* '-self' < **sųoi̯ óm* 'for himself', while Albanian *vetë* 'person, self' < **sųe-to-* (Dunkel 2014: 759) is a nominal derivation from the stem.

Most literature on the subject agrees that the reflexives of the older IE languages do not indicate person, number or gender (which is still the case e. g. in Indo-Iranian, Baltic, and Slavic languages as well as in Ancient Greek, at least partially). To avoid ambiguity, it was possible to use the 1st and 2nd person pronouns instead of PIE **s(ų)e-*.[12] As a result of this strategy, which was common in many languages, the invariable reflexive pronoun became restricted to the 3rd persons, as e. g. in German and French, where even today the pronoun is identical for singular and plural (Hackstein 2003: 63).

However, many of these claims were challenged by recent studies. According to Puddu (2005: 88), PIE **se-* marked coreference, while **s(e)ųe-* marked possession and was also used as an intensifier. The former developed into a reflexive because of its function as a marker of topic continuity. The latter, which worked as the basis for the development of the possessive pronouns, entered the pronominal declension through the creation of a genitive of possession. It evolved from a possession marker to a marker of coreference with the subject.

Cotticelli Kurras & Rizza (2013: 10f.) claim that in Late PIE the verbal strategy of middle voice covered the entire "reflexivity/middle" spectrum, and that only some reflexive functions received extra pronominal marking. Over time, this latter strategy became more and more prominent until it eventually replaced the middle voice. According to them, the pronominal markers found in the oldest attested IE languages are innovations originating from several different sources.

Puddu (2005: 118ff.) argues that pronominal reflexives based on the coreference marker **se-* are restricted to the languages located in a contiguous area in central Europe, i. e. Germanic, Italic, Baltic and Slavic. This marker was originally restricted to the 3rd persons as in Latin, Germanic and Lithuanian.

The pronominal markers based on **sųe-*, which are found e. g. in Vedic and Avestan, are to be interpreted as possessive markers or intensifiers. Only in Sanscrit, *svá-* has become a true reflexive pronoun just like in later stages of Avestan. This secondary strategy developed in addition the primary strategy, i. e. the use of reflexive markers with nominal heads. The function of **sųe-* as an intensifier is also clearly shown by the Vedic form *svay-ám* '-self' and by compounds like Vedic *svarā́j-* 'self-ruling' and Young Avestan *xᵛaθβarəšta* 'self-created' (Puddu 2005: 69f., 116).

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12 See Brugmann 1911: 397ff.; Hackstein 2003: 69; Petit 2001: 28.

On the other hand, Celtic, where *sue- is attested as an intensifier, did not possess a pronominal reflexive marker. As outlined above, the use of *se- as a reflexive is a rather recent development shared by Germanic, Italic, Baltic and Slavic. Celtic, situated at the Western periphery of this linguistic area, did not take part in the innovation. Interestingly, Ingvaeonic lost the Proto-Germanic reflexive marker *sik as a result of its contact with Celtic (Puddu 2005: 186).

Puddu's argument is based on her analysis of Insular Celtic, which is attested only from the middle of the first millenium AD. The lack of evidence for reflexive markers in Continental Celtic seems to be due to the fragmentary attestation of the individual languages. It remains thus possible that Celtic, which is after all adjacent to or even partly overlapping with the *se-area, acquired the reflexive in a first stage but lost it again like Ingvaeonic.[13]

Later on, Insular Celtic and English create reflexives from intensifiers and thus undergo the same development as the other IE languages. The creation of reflexives from intensifiers is widespread cross-linguistically (König & Gast 2009: 154f.). Crucially, the morphology of the intensifiers in Irish and Welsh does not show any non-IE influence. In both languages they contain exclusively well known IE elements, but they do not share a common origin.

As mentioned above, Schrijver (1997: 83) claimed that Welsh *hun* 'self' and its Breton and Cornish cognates (see below, 3.3.1) derived from *$s(u)oi$-no-, with initial *su- or *s-. The semantics of this form can be compared to Old Church Slavonic *svojь* 'own', and Ved. *svayám* '-self'. The suffix *-no-, however, is paralleled by Gothic *seins*, OHG *sīn* 'his' < *sei-no-.[14] Schrijver assumes that, due to its formal similarity, *hun* was subsequently attracted to the numeral *un*, *unan* 'one', which generated the variant *hunan*. A competing etymology explains *hun* as an instance of the numeral *un*, *unan* 'one' < *oino-. The *h-* in *hun* is either assumed to be unetymological (Fleuriot 1964b: 259; Fleuriot 1964a: 216) or to result from a compound with the reflexive pronoun, i. e. *sue-oino- (Morris Jones 1913: 307). However, neither explanation is fully convincing. Thus, it remains unclear why *un* 'one' would appear both with and without *h-*. In addition, there is no known example across languages of a compound consisting of a reflexive and the word for 'one' (Parina 2007: 395). The same may be true for a compound consisting of an intensifier *sue- and the numeral 'one'.

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13 Note that the map in Puddu 2005: 225 is rather imprecise with regard to the presumable diffusion of Celtic in prehistoric times.

14 Cf. also Old Icelandic *sveinn*, ME *swein* etc. 'boy, lad' < *$suoi$-no-, Lith. *sváinis* 'brother-in-law, wife's sister's husband' < *$suoi$-nio-, originally perhaps 'member of the household/belonging to the household' (Vries 1962: 567).

2.2 Reflexive pronouns in German, Latin and French

Reflexivity is expressed by ordinary pronouns in the 1st and 2nd person and by a special reflexive pronoun in the 3rd person, which is identical for singular and plural.

Table 2. Reflexive pronouns in Modern High German and Modern French

	ModHG	ModFr	
1sg.	Ich wasche mich.	Je me lave.	'I wash myself.'
3sg. masc.	Er wäscht sich.	Il se lave.	'He washes himself.'
3sg. fem.	Sie wäscht sich.	Elle se lave.	'She washes herself.'
3pl.	Sie waschen sich.	Ils se lavent.	'They wash themselves'.

The same situation can already be found in Latin. In the 2nd century AD, however, the 3rd person reflexive pronoun is also used for the other persons in formulaic expressions in legal texts (ex. 6) (Pieroni 2010: 436):[15]

(6) *ego L. Marius   Ampliatus   sibi   et suis   libertis*
   I,   L. Marius.NOM Ampliatus.NOM REFL.DAT and POSS.DAT.PL freedman.DAT.PL

   libertabus=que   posterisque
   freedwoman.DAT.PL=and descendants.DAT.PL

   'I, L. Marius Ampliatus, to me, to my freedman and freedwoman and descendants.'   (ILCV: 600; 2nd cent. AD)

In German as well there are numerous examples of *sich* used for the 1st and 2nd persons, dating from late MHG until the modern period[16] (ex. 7). The phenomenon is frequent in dialects of south-eastern (ex. 8) and central Germany. The origin of this use is controversial. Hackstein (2003: 69) seems to assume that it was inherited from PIE, while Paul (1919: 130f.) and Behagel (1923: 305) explain it as a later transfer of the 3rd person reflexive pronoun, like it happened in Latin.[17]

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15 See Hofmann & Szantyr 1965: 176; Cennamo 1991: 3ff. Examples of the expansion of *se* to the 1st and 2nd persons can also be found in Romance dialects (Puddu 2005: 143).

16 See Paul 1919: 130 also with later examples. Contrary to Paul, there is no evidence for the combination of the 1st person subject *ich* and the 3rd person reflexive *sich* in Goethe's *Italienische Reise*, chapter 3. The correct reading of the passage in question is: *Der Postillon eilte mehr, als ich wünschte:* **er** *hatte noch keine Messe gehört und wollte sie in Innsbruck, es war eben Marientag, um desto andächtiger zu* **sich** *nehmen.*

17 See Puddu 2005: 142 on Yiddish *zik*, which is used for all persons. This development has been explained as an influence from Slavic languages.

(7) … *gehe   ich   in   IFG.   Zimmer, sich   mit*
     go.prs.1sg pron.1sg into his princely grace's room   refl.3sg/pl with

     IFG.   zu unterreden
     his princely grace to speak

     '… I go into his princely grace's room to speak with his princely grace'

     (Schwein. 1, 268; 1577)

(8) Modern Bavarian

     Mir sehe   sich.
     we   see.prs.1pl refl./recip.3sg/pl

     'We see ourselves/each other.'

     (reflexive or reciprocal; Hackstein 2003: 69)

2.3 Replacement of the 3rd person reflexive pronoun by personal pronouns

Both French and German have, in some cases, replaced the 3rd person reflexive pronoun with personal pronouns.

2.3.1 French

In Modern French, *soi*, the stressed form of the reflexive pronoun *se*, can refer only to indefinite subjects, while for definite subjects the non-reflexive personal pronouns are used. In Old French, *sei*, *soi* can refer to all subjects (ex. 9, 10), but instances of the modern usage can already be found (ex. 11):[18]

(9) *tut sun   aver qu' od sei   en ad portet*
     all poss.3sg wealth rel with refl.sg/pl there bring.prs.3sg

     'all his wealth which he has brought with him'

     (Alexius p. 59, v. 19, l. 91; c. 1050)

(10) *or l' at   od sei*
     now her have.prs.3sg with refl.sg/pl

     'Now he has her with him'   (Alexius p. 67, v. 122, l. 609; c. 1050)

(11) *Mes son   lyeon avoec lui   ot*
     but poss.3sg.m lion   with refl.3sg.m have.prt.3sg

     'But he had his lion with him'   (Yvain 6518, c. 1177–1179; ms. c. 1235)

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18 See Rheinfelder 1976: 103f.; Picoche & Marchello-Nizia 1998: 233f.

2.3.2 German

In Old and Middle High German, the reflexive *sih* is inflected for number and case, as well as for gender in the singular form. Its use is restricted to genitive sg. masc./neut. and accusative sg./pl. In all other instances personal pronouns are used instead, cf. ex. (12) from OHG, ex. (13–15) from MHG.[19]

Table 3. Paradigms of reflexive pronouns in Old and Middle High German. Personal pronouns used as reflexives are given in italics.

		OHG			MHG		
		masculine	neuter	feminine	masculine	neuter	feminine
sg.	N	–	–	–	–	–	–
	G	sīn	sīn	*ira*	sîn	sîn	*ir*
	D	*imu*	*imu*	*iru*	*im(e)*	*im(e)*	*ir(e)*
	A	sih	sih	sih	sich	sich	sich
pl.	N		–			–	
	G		*iro*			*ir(e)*	
	D		*im*			*in*	
	A		sih			sich	

(12) *Oh fimf dumbo   intfanganēn liohtfazzon ni nāmun   oli mit*
      but five foolish.NOM.PL received.DAT.PL lamps.DAT.PL NEG take.PRT.3PL oil with
      in
      REFL.DAT.PL
      'The five foolish ones but did not take any oil with them for the lamps they had received'   (Tatian 148, 2; c. 830)

(13) *er nam   im   manige schouwe an mislîchen buochen*
      he take.PRT.3SG REFL.DAT.3SG.M many   look   on various   books
      'he took many a look at various books (himself)'   (Heinrich v. 6; c. 1190)

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19 See Braune & Reiffenstein 2004: 241 for OHG, Paul 2007: 215 and Besch 1967: 295f. for MHG and Early ModHG. Ex. (14, 15) are from the Codex St. Georgen LXIV, which was probably written in Freiburg i. Br. (Karlsruhe, Bad. Landesbibliothek). For a description see Besch 1967: 33ff.

(14) *brot ... das   allen wolgeluste und sůssekait in im   beschlossen*
      bread   which all   pleasures   and sweetness in REFL.3SG.N include.INF

      het
      have.PRT.3SG

      'bread ... which included in itself all pleasures and sweetness'

                                                (Hs. 33, 2,9; Besch 1967: 295; 1383)

(15) *dar an im   gott selber wolgevallen het*
      as by REFL.3SG.M god INT   pleasure   have.PRT.3SG

      'as god himself was pleased by himself'

                                                (Hs. 33, 3,4; Besch 1967: 295; 1383)

Only from later Middle High German onwards (15th c.), the dative pronouns are replaced by the accusative reflexive *sich*. This usage becomes generalized in the 16th century, and is adopted into the written standard. The older usage survives in regional varieties, especially in the south-west.[20]

2.3.3 Reflexives and intensifiers based on nouns

Vennemann (2013: 125ff.) compares the Welsh and English complex intensifiers and reflexives to those of various Afro-Asiatic languages. These include reflexives and intensifiers which originated from common nouns meaning 'self', 'body', 'person' etc. Claiming that "English and Insular Celtic stand alone within the Indo-European language family regarding this section of grammar" (ibid.: 124), Vennemann takes Afro-Asiatic as the only possible model on which Welsh *hun* and successively English *self* were calqued. He claims that both words were originally nouns and that an even closer parallel, which employs the noun *pen* 'head', is found in the Welsh idiom *ar ei* (*dy* etc.) *ben ei* (*dy* etc.) *hun(an)* 'on his (your) own, by himself (by yourself etc.)' (King 2003: 97). Literally, this phrase means 'on his own head'.

According to GPC (2729, col. 2), however, this idiom, which can be found in Modern Welsh, is only attested from 1588 onwards.

It is highly questionable that English *self* and Welsh *hun* originate from nouns. Lange (2007: 61) argues that there are no occurences of **min self* (i. e. possessive + the noun *self*) and that plural marking on *self* is nonexistent before the mid-16th century. These features support the assumption that *self* was an

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20 See Paul 2007: 215; Besch 1967: 295f. for MHG; Ebert et al. 1993: 215, § M 64 for Early ModHG; Frings 1957: 141 for regional varieties.

adjective.[21] This is also the most probable origin of Welsh *hun*. The reconstructed form **s(u̯)oi̯-no-* contains PIE **-no-*, a suffix typically used to create adjectives (see above 2.1 and fn. 14).

Irrespective of this, the grammaticalisation of intensifiers and reflexives from nouns denoting the body or body parts is crosslinguistically widespread.[22] Puddu (2005: 90ff., 225) identifies reflexive markers with a nominal head as the primary strategy of the neighbouring Eastern Indo-European languages Indian, Iranian and Tocharian. The nouns in question are Vedic *ātmán-* 'breath, soul, self', Vedic *tanū́-*, Avestan *tanū-* 'body', Tocharian B *kektseñ* obl. 'body' (Hackstein 2003: 73f.), Tocharian B *ṣañ āñm*, A *ṣñi āñcäm* 'one's own self' (Pinault 2013). These nouns may or may not be combined with a possessive pronoun. Further, this type of reflexive marking can co-occur as a secondary strategy in addition to other marking types[23] or be restricted to certain persons.[24]

The most recent and geographically closest parallels are found in European languages, e. g. in Old and Middle High German, Old French, Middle English and Basque.

2.3.3.1 Old and Middle High German

In ex. (16), from Old High German, it remains open to debate whether the phrase *líp mīnaz* 'my body' replaces a reflexive pronoun or if it should rather be understood literally as 'my person' or 'my body'.[25] In Middle High German, the noun *līp* 'body', in combination with the possessive pronoun or a name in the genitive, could be used as a personal pronoun or a reflexive, cf. ex. (17).[26] According to Jakob Grimm & W. Grimm (DWB: 12, 582, s. v. Leib), the function of this phrase is, at least in some contexts, equivalent to the combination of a reflexive pronoun and the intensifier *selbst*.

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21 The etymology of OE *self*, OHG *selb* < Germanic **selba-* is controversial. Perhaps it originates from PCl. **sel-u̯o/ā-* '(what is) owned (?)' from the root **selh₁-* 'to take' (LIV²: 529), cp. OIr. *selb* f. ā, Welsh *(h)elw* m. 'property, possession' (Kluge & Seebold 2011: s. v. selber, citing also an alternative etymology). The PIE suffix **-u̯o/ā-* forms mainly adjectives. The use of an adjective meaning 'possessing' as an intensifier is paralleled by German *eigen* and English *own*.

22 See Heine & Kuteva 2002: 57ff. s. v. BODY, 168 s. v. HEAD.

23 See Cotticelli Kurras & Rizza 2013: 9; Puddu 2005: 113 with examples from Hittite. See Puddu 2005: 133 with an example from Homeric Greek.

24 See Puddu 2005: 103f. with examples from Armenian and Albanian.

25 The passage is based on Luke 23,42: [*memento mei domine*] *cum veneris in regnum tuum*.

26 Jacob Grimm (1866: 265f.) claims that Old French *ses cors* is a calque on the German phrase.

(16) *joh laz   thas líp minaz   in sconi ríchi thinaz*
     I   surrender.PRS.1SG the   body POSS.GEN.1SG in beautiful realm POSS.GEN.2SG

    'I surrender myself / my person / my body to your beautiful realm'

                      (Otfrid IV 31,20; 868 AD)

(17) *eჳ bekumberte mīnen   līp*
     it   afflict.PRT.3SG POSS.ACC.1SG body.ACC

    'it afflicted myself'   (Iwein 345; c. 1200)

2.3.3.2 Old French

In Old French, the noun *cors* 'body' preceded by a possessive pronoun, can be used instead of a personal pronoun, a reflexive pronoun (ex. 18, 19) or an intensifier (ex. 20). The expression refers to the person indicated by the possessive pronoun. It is a stylistic device to convey polite or occasionally derisive distance.

This use disappears in Middle French, and its relics can be found today in Modern French in the fixed expression *à son corps défendant* 'reluctantly, unwillingly'. The nouns *char* 'flesh' and *persone* 'person' are employed in the same contexts, albeit less frequently.[27]

(18) *Autretant l' aim   come mon   cors*
     so much   him love.PRS.1SG like   POSS.ACC.1SG body

    'I love him like myself'   (Yvain 3792; 1177-1179)

(19) *cunduit   sun   cors en la presse des   Francs*
     take.PRS.3SG POSS.ACC.3SG body in   the crowd   of-the Francs

    'he takes himself into the crowd of the Francs'   (Rol. 3370; 1075- 1110)

(20) *joster i   vait   ses   cors mèìsmes*
     fight.INF here go.PRS.3SG POSS.NOM.3SG body INT

    'he goes himself to fight'   (Isembart [Voretzsch 15, 144]); end of 11th c.)

2.3.3.3 Middle English

The Old French locutions with *cors* discussed in the previous section were imitated in Late Middle English. Combinations of possessive pronoun + *body*, *person* and *self* are attested from the late 13th to the late 15th century. Expressions like *his own body* or *his own self* are emphatic equivalents of *himself* (ex. 21). Occasion-

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27 See Stéfanini 1962: 331ff.; Rheinfelder 1976: 162; De Lage 1990: 90; Picoche & Marchello-Nizia 1998: 234.

ally, *his own body* represents *he himself*, as do the expressions by Chaucer (ex. 22) and Shakespeare (ex. 23; Mustanoja 1960148f.):

(21) *where he his   oghne body lay*
     where he POSS.3SG.M own   body lay
     'where he himself lay'   (Gower, CA ii 3468; 1386–1392)

(22) *my   joly   body schal a tale telle*
     POSS.1SG beautiful body will   a tale tell
     'I myself will tell a tale'   (Chaucer, CT, ML 1185; early 1390ies)

(23) *as thy   sweet selfe grow'st*
     as POSS.2SG sweet self   grow.PRS.2SG
     'as your sweet self you grow'   (Shakespeare, Sonnet cxxvi 4; 1609)

2.3.3.4 Basque

With its lack of true reflexive pronouns, Basque constitutes an interesting case. Here reflexive noun phrases are formed by combining the possessive, i. e. the genitive of an intensive personal pronoun, with *buru* 'head' and the so-called "definite article" *-a* (Table 4 and ex. 24, 25) (Trask 2003: 159; Rijk 2008: 113f., 364ff.).

Table 4. Basque reflexives

1S	neure burua	'myself'
2S intimate	heure burua	'yourself'
2S unmarked	zeure burua	'yourself'
3S	bere burua	'himself, herself'
1P	geure burua	'ourselves'
2P	zeren burua	'yourselves'
3P	zere(n) burua	'themselves'

(24) *neure   burua*
     MY.INT.GEN head.DEF
     'myself' (lit. 'the head of mine')

(25) *Ispiluan ikusi dugu geure   burua*
     mirror.LOC see   AUX our.INT.GEN head.DEF
     'We saw ourselves in the mirror'

The intensive personal pronouns themselves are constructed from the ordinary personal pronouns (absolute or genitive) plus demonstratives. Like demonstra-

tives, intensive personal pronouns are divided into proximal, *(h)au(r)* 'this', medial *(h)ori* 'that' (just there) and distal *(h)ura* 'that, yonder' (Trask 2003: 123). The intensifiers for the 1ˢᵗ and 2ⁿᵈ persons thus have a threefold differentiation. However, those for the 3ʳᵈ persons do not, and vary from region to region, the most widely used being *bera,* composed of *ber-* plus the article (Trask 2003: 152).

Table 5. Basque intensifiers

	proximal	medial	distal	
1S	neu	nerau	nihaur	'I myself'
2S intimate	heu	herori	hihaur	'you yourself'
2S unmarked	zeu	zerori	zuhaur	'you yourself'
3S	bera			'he himself, she herself'
1P	geu	gerok	guhaur	'we ourselves'
2P	zeuek	zerok	zuihauk	'you yourselves'
3P	bera/berak			'they themselves'

(26) *Neuk   asmatu dut hori*
ɪɴᴛ.1ꜱɢ.ᴇʀɢᴘʀᴏx think   ᴀᴜx that
'I thought that myself'

(27) *Igone bera*
'Igone herself'

On the one hand, Basque parallels Old French, Middle High German and Middle English in using a noun denoting a body-part preceded by a pronoun within the reflexive noun phrase. On the other hand, it is also similar to Irish, as its intensive personal pronouns are formed with the help of demonstratives. Irish *féin < *su̯e-sin* contains the anaphoric particle *sin* (see below 3.2.2). The latter occurs also as a constituent of demonstrative constructions (GOI: 301ff.).

2.3.3.5 Brabants Dutch

Brabants Dutch has a reflexive which originated from a complex intensifier (ex. 28). This intensifier is a combination of a possessive pronoun and the attributive possessive intensifier *eigen* 'own' (König 2001: 755). As Parina (2007: 395) points out, in this respect Brabants Dutch is typologically close to Welsh.

(28) *Ik wash m'n eigen.*
I wash my own
'I wash myself.'   (König 2001: 755)

3 Intensifiers and reflexives in North Sea Germanic and Insular Celtic

Several West-Germanic languages have lost the 3rd person reflexive pronoun and replaced it with the ordinary personal pronoun. These languages (Old English, Old Frisian, Old Saxon and Old Low Franconian) are also known as North Sea Germanic or Ingvaeonic.

3.1 English

In the following examples from Old English (König & Siemund 2000: 45), whether the 3rd person pronoun has a reflexive meaning or not (ex. 29, 30) can only be deduced from the context. To indicate coreference unambiguously, the pronouns can be combined with the intensifier *self*/*seolf*/*sylf* (ex. 31).

(29) *hine*　　　　*he*　　　　　*bewerađ*　　*mid wæpnum*
　　　PRON.ACC.3SG.M PRON.NOM.3SG.M defend.PRT.3SG with weapons
　　　'he defended himself with weapons'

　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　(Ælfric, Gr. 96.11–2; late 10th–early 11th c.)

(30) *đa behydde　Adam hine*　　　　*&　his*　　　*wif eac swa dyde*
　　　and hide.PRT.3SG Adam　PRON.ACC.3SG.M and POSS.3SG.M wife also so　do.PRT.3SG
　　　'and Adam hid himself and his wife did the same'

　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　(Ælfric, Gen. 3.9; late 10th–early 11th c.)

(31) *Hannibal ... hine*　　　　*selfne*　　　*mid atre　acwealde.*
　　　Hannibal　　PRON.ACC.3SG.M self.ACC.SG.M with poison kill.PRT.3SG
　　　'Hannibal killed himself with poison.'　　　　　(Orosius IV.11; late 9th c.)

Constituted by a pronoun + *self*/*selves*, the Modern English complex intensifiers display a mixed paradigm. In fact, the pronoun component in the 1st and 2nd persons is identical with the possessive pronouns (*myself*, *yourself*, *ourselves*, *yourselves*), while the 3rd persons are built using the dative forms of the personal pronoun (*himself*, *herself*, *itself*, *themselves*). In Old and Middle English, alternative forms can be found, including e. g. nominative *he self*, accusative *hine selfne* or genitive *his selfes*. Dative pronouns + *self* are the most frequent type in Middle English about 1250 (Lange 2007: 61). The dative 1st and 2nd person pronouns are usually superseded by the respective possessives by the end of the 13th century,

although the type *me self* can still be found as late as in the 15th and 16th centuries (Mustanoja 1960: 146).[28]

König & Siemund (2000: 72) describe the following development for Old English, referring to dating taken from Keenan 1996. Sequences of dative pronoun + nominative *self* came to be interpreted as semantic units around 1000 AD. Later on, they become a phonological word and, eventually, a syntactic unit. The process was complete around 1275. These combinations of pronoun + intensifier adopted the distribution and the meaning of both their components, i. e. they came to be used as intensifiers as well as reflexives.

According to van Gelderen (2000: 52ff., 249) complex intensifiers are used as reflexives for 3rd persons earlier than for 1st and 2nd persons. Further, the increase of complex intensifiers used as reflexives depends on the dialect. They are more frequently found in southern texts (which are also later).

Lange (2007: 152) states that complex intensifiers first appear in Early Middle English (1150) in two environments: either as adjuncts, forming a constituent with a subject, or as arguments in subject position. In the latter case, they occur mostly in a formulaic phrase, e. g. 'as (he) himself said', restricted to a specific text type. Lange (2007: 162f.) disagrees with Keenan's (1996: 17) claim that the simple intensifier *self* disappeared during the 1200s. She states that, although Keenan's claim that the attestations of unbound *self* decrease drastically is correct, examples can still be found in mid-14th century texts.

The expression of reflexivity is not affected by the development of complex intensifiers (Lange 2007: 152). The compound reflexive x-*self* is attested from 1150 onwards, but it still takes a long time until its grammaticalization is complete and it becomes the only reflexive marker in use. Although the instances of compound reflexives outnumber the simple ones already by the end of the 15th century, they completely replace the plain pronouns as reflexive markers only in the 17th century (Lange 2007: 173f.; Peitsara 1997: 288).

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28 The dative forms of the pronouns of the 1st and 2nd pers. sg. *me* and *þe* developed into *mi* and *þi* within a phonological process that also affected other words (e. g. *be* to *bi* in *biforen*, *bitwene*). As the dependent possessives *min* and *þin* lost their *-n* in the course of Middle English, the new dative forms *mi* and *þi* were reanalysed as possessives (Mustanoja 1960: 146, 164).
On the syntactic aspects of the replacement see Lange 2007: 77ff. On the inflection of *self* see Lutz 2002.

3.2 Other West Germanic languages

Unlike English, the other Germanic languages of the group in question have reconstituted the intensifier-reflexive differentiation. Dutch borrowed new third person reflexives (*zich*, *zichzelf*) in the 15th century from Middle Low German, which in turn got it from High German (Postma 2012: 140f; Harbert 2007: 179).

Frisian and Afrikaans differentiate with the help of complex markers. Frisian uses the simple personal pronoun as a reflexive marker (ex. 32), but can also combine it with the intensifier *sels* 'self' (ex. 33). The compounds are emphatic and contrastive, but they are always reflexive and cannot be used as ordinary intensifiers (ex. 34) (Harbert 2007: 180).

(32) *se wasket har* 'she washes herself (or her).'

(33) *se wasket harsels* 'she washes herself'

(34) *ik seach de minister sels* 'I saw the minister himself'

In Afrikaans, the complex marker expresses reflexivity (ex. 35), while *self* alone is an intensifier (ex. 36) (König & Siemund 2000: 67).

(35) *Elke ma moet haarself die volgende afvraa.* 'Every mother should ask herself the following.'

(36) *Sy het die rokkie self gemaak.* 'She made the dress herself.'

3.3 Old Irish

3.3.1 Reflexives

Because it is better documented, it will be helpful to consider Old Irish first. As in Old English, reflexivity is expressed through the ordinary personal pronouns.

In Old Irish, when a personal pronoun is used with a verb it is always unstressed (except as predicative nominative). These unstressed pronouns are generally either reduced to single phonemes, which are attached to a pretonic preverb, or infixed between preverb and verb.[29] Reflexivity can be expressed unambiguously for the 1st and 2nd persons, cf. ex. (37, 38), but not for the 3rd persons. Whether a 3rd person infixed pronoun is reflexive (ex. 39) or not (ex. 40) can only be deduced from the context.

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29 See GOI: 255, further 256 on the position of infixed pronouns, and 257 on the forms of infixed pronouns, which are subdivided into three classes.

(37) *no-m·ísligur*
PT-PRON.CLASS.A.1SG·abase.PRS.1SG

'I abase myself' (Wb. 17d22; 8th c.)

(38) *fo-t·chridigther=su*
PREV-PRON.CLASS.A.2SG·gird.PRS.2SG=2SG

'you gird yourself' (Ml. 101c3; c. 800–850 AD)

(39) *ar-nda·cumcabat*
for-PRON.CLASS.C.3PL·raise.SUBJ.3PL

'in order that they may raise themselves' (Ml. 46a12; c. 800–850 AD)

(40) *co-ndid·moladar*
so that-PRON.CLASS.C.3SG.M·praise.PRS.3SG

'so that he praises him' (Wb. 16d1, 8th c.)

3.3.2 Intensifiers

OId Irish has several intensifiers, which are inflected for gender and number but not for case, i. e. *féin*, *fadéin*, *céin*, *cadéin* (GOI: 306f.). The forms with initial *f-* contain PIE **sue-* as their first element.[30]

Table 6. Etymologies of Old Irish intensifiers

1/2S	féin	<	*sue sin	fadéin	<	*sue de sin
3Sm	fesin	<	*sue es sin	fadesin	<	*sue de es sin
3Sn	féin	<	*sue e(d) sin			
3Sf	físin	<	*sue sī(s) sin		<	*sue de sī(s) sin
1P	fesin	<	*suens sin	fanisin	<	*sue nis sin
2P	fesin	<	*suens sin and/or *sue uis sin?	fadisin	<	*sue de uis sin
3P	fesin	<	*suens sin and/or *sue ens sin	fadesin	<	*sue de ens sin

As shown by Schrijver's (1997: 74ff.) reconstructions (Table 6), all forms use the anaphoric particle *sin* 'the aforementioned' as their closing element. With the exception of the 1st and 2nd sg., they also include infixed personal pronouns. Stems starting with *fad-* additionally contain the particle *de*. Schrijver (1997: 146) points out that this particle "seems to convey the approximate meaning 'reference to an

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30 See Schrijver 1997: 78 on *ca-*, which probably originates from **ke* 'even he/she' and may be related to OIr. *cía*, *ci-* 'though' etc.

item in the preceding context but not to the immediately preceding item; yonder.'" The forms with *-de-* seem to have a special contrastive connotation in Wb. and Ml. However, as *fadesin* is gradually ousted by *fesin* in Sg., no clear-cut semantic distinction can be found in OId Irish (Schrijver 1997: 79, 81).

There are numerous examples attesting the use of these intensifiers. In the Milan glosses, *fadéin* translates Latin *ipse* (ex. 41). Ex. (42, 43) illustrate *féin* etc. used in apposition to the subject expressed in the verbal ending:

(41) *fadéin* gl. *ipse*   (Ml. 23c1; c. 800-850 AD)

(42) *in tain ro·n·icub   féin*
      when   PREV-NAS.REL-come.FUT.1SG INT
      'when I myself shall come'   (Wb. 18b14; 8th c.)

(43) *tuicci   feissin*
      understand.PRS.3SG INT.3SG.M
      'he himself understands'   (Wb. 12c16; 8th c.)

Further, *féin* etc. can optionally be added to disambiguate the reflexive meaning of phrases with infixed personal pronouns, as shown in ex. (44, 45). However, in OId Irish, these intensifiers are not used as reflexive markers for the 1st or 2nd persons yet. This usage only appears in Middle Irish (Dottin 1987: 223), although not yet consistently. In ex. (46), *fén* (orthographic variant of *féin*) is an intensifier of the 2nd person reflexive pronoun *tú*. In contrast to this, in ex. (47), from the same text, the reflexive meaning of *fair* 'on himself' has to be deduced from the context. In this example, *fé(i)n* is used instead of *fesin* for the 3sg.m. During the Middle Irish period, *féin* is used increasingly for all persons, genders and numbers, and eventually survives alone in the modern language (see eDIL: s. v. fadéin).

(44) *no·d·moladar   fesin*
      PT-PRON.CLASS.C.3SG.M·praise.PRS.3SG INT.3SG.M
      'who praises himself'   (Wb. 17b21; 8th c.)

(45) *ní·s·tuarascbat   feisin cen   gutai*
      NEG-PRON.CLASS.A.3PL·express.PRS.3PL INT.3PL without vowels
      'they do not express themselves without vowels'   (Sg. 7a11; 9th c.)

(46) *in tan tucais   fén   tú isin croich*
      when   give.PRS.2SG INT.2SG you in-the cross
      'when you gave yourself in the cross'   (PH 172; Middle Irish)

(47) *ruc   fen breith   fair*
      give.PRT.3SG INT judgement on-3SG.M
      'he himself has passed judgment on himself'   (PH 603; Middle Irish)

The examples above clearly show that the Modern Irish combination of pronoun + *féin* is still rare in Old and Middle Irish, as object pronouns are infixed and subject pronouns are not obligatory. Only in ex. (48) the subject pronoun is mandatory, because there is no inflected verb. By the 17th century at the latest, Irish reflexives and intensifiers have converged into one, (ex. 49, 50), with the intensifiers *é féin* and *mé féin* used as reflexives.

(48) *mo   šīur &   me   féin do breith   i   mbrait*
      poss.1sg sister and pron.1sg int to carry off.vn into captivity

   'my sister and myself to carry off into captivity'

                                     (Togail Troí, LL 32085; late 10th c.)[31]

(49) *agus go   bhfothruigeadh é   féin as an anbhruith.*
      and   that bathe.subj.3sg   pron.3sg.m int in the broth

   'and that he would bathe himself in the broth'

                                     (Foras Feasa I, 22.8; c. 1618–1634)

(50) *agus do fholuigh mé   mé   féin*
      and   pt hide.prt pron.1sg.sj pron.1sg int

   'and I hid myself'   (Genesis 3.10; Bedell 1685)

Due to the lack of research, it is impossible to give a more detailed account of this development and to indicate e. g. at what period complex reflexives begin to outnumber infixed reflexives.

3.4 Brittonic

3.4.1 Intensifiers

The Modern Welsh inventory of identical reflexives and intensifiers as presented above (section 1) is only attested from Middle Welsh onwards, i. e. from the late 12th century AD. Back then, however, their distribution was not yet the same as in the Modern period. As Vezzosi (2005: 236f., 238) and Parina (2007: 391ff.) point out, *e hun* occurs in Middle Welsh predominantly as an intensifier and only occasionally as a marker of coreference.[32] In the text *Pedeir Keinc y Mabinogi* 'The four branches of the Mabinogi', Parina found 41 instances of possessive + *hun* al-

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31 See Breatnach 1994: 268.
32 See also the examples in D. S. Evans 1964: 89f.

together, but only 11 of these occur in reflexive contexts.[33] Parina thus concludes, that the original function of possessive + *hun* is intensification.

This finding is corroborated by the corresponding combinations in the other Brittonic languages, i. e. Middle Cornish possessive + *honan* (ex. 51) (see Lewis & Zimmer 1990: 37) and Middle Breton possessive + *(h)unan* (ex. 52) (see HMSB: 86f.):

(51) *ow colon ow honan*
POSS.1SG heart POSS.1SG INT

'my own heart' (RD 2042; 1350–1400)

(52) *ma hunan ez stoeyf*
POSS.1SG INT PT bow.FUT.1SG

'I myself will bow' (Gwenolé: 829; 1580)

In the earlier period, which was not considered by Parina, possessive + *hun* is attested three times, in Old Welsh (ex. 53, 54) as well as in Old South-West-British (ex. 55). In the first two examples, the Latin equivalents confirm that they are used as intensifiers (A. Falileyev 2000: 88):

Old Welsh

(53) *dit-ti-hun* gl. *tibi soli*
to-2SG-POSS.2SG-INT

'to you alone' (MC: 9 a.a. A. Falileyev 2000: 88; 9th c.)

(54) *mi mi-hun* gl. *ipsa*
PRON.1SG POSS.1SG-INT

'I myself/ich selbst' (MC: 51 b.a. A. Falileyev 2000: 88; 9th c.)

Old South-West-British

(55) *dedi hi hun*
to-3SG.F POSS.3SG.F INT

'to her herself' (Angers 477, fo. 74b, Patrol. XC col. 488; end of 9th c.)[34]

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33 Note that adnominal intensifiers in phrases like *the president himself will speak to us* (above, section 1.1, ex. 1c) are also called "emphatic reflexives" (see e. g. Haspelmath 2003: 235). The 11 examples in PKM mentioned by Parina all belong to this type. There are, however, no instances of "full reflexives", i. e. possessive + *hun* does not mark coreference in two-participant events like *He kills himself* (see above, 1.2 and see Kemmer 1993: 243).

34 See Schrijver 2011: 51; Fleuriot 1964b: 259; Fleuriot 1964a: 72f. See Fleuriot 1964a: 8–11, 27–31 for the description of the ms.

Examples (53–55) further show that the possessive pronouns and *hun* 'self' are tightly bound already in the oldest period, which makes them complex intensifiers. Unlike in Irish, the pronoun of the intensifier is not dropped when another subject pronoun (ex. 53, 54) or conjugated preposition precedes it (ex. 55). This pleonastic expression remains unchanged also in later periods, cf. ex. (56) from Middle Welsh:

(56) *ny adwn   ni   drwc arnam ny   hunein*
     NEG let.PRS.1PL PRON.1PL evil   on-1PL PRON.1PL INT.PL

     'we don't let evil on us ourselves'   (PKM 21.04–6; 1375–1425)

In Middle Welsh, the combination of possessive + *hun* is occasionally used as a coreference marker with other-directed predicates, cf. ex. (57, 58) (Vezzosi 2005: 238; see also Parina 2007: 390f.; D. S. Evans 1964: 89):

(57) *ony ledy   du   hun*
     unless kill.PRS.2SG POSS.2SG INT

     'unless thou dost kill yourself'   (Gwyrthyeu, BBCS x 24.35; 1250–1300)

(58) *na chapla   dy   hun*
     NEG reprove.IMP.2SG POSS.2SG INT

     'do not reprove yourself'   (Cyngorau, BBCS ii 23.28; 1375–1425)

When these predicates are formed with the preverb MW *ym-*, MCo. *ym-*, *em-*, *om-*, MBr., ModBr. *em*, which expresses reflexivity or reciprocity (see below, 3.4.2), the combination of possessive + *hun/honan/(h)unan* is added as a reinforcement or for disambiguation.

Middle Welsh (see D. S. Evans 1964: 89)

(59) *nac ym-hoffa   vyth dy   hvn*
     NEG REFL-praise.IMP.2SG ever POSS.2SG INT

     'do not ever praise thyself'   (Catwn, BBCS ii 29.37; 1275–1325)

Middle Cornish (see Lewis & Zimmer 1990: 37)

(60) *y   honan ny yl   ym-sawye*
     POSS.3SG.M INT   NEG can.PRS.3SG REFL-save.VN

     'he himself cannot save himself'   (PD 2877–8; 1350–1400)

(61) *rak hacre mernans certan eys em-lathe y   honan ny gaffe*
     for cruel death   certainly than REFL-kill.VN POSS.3SG.M INT   NEG find.IMP.3SG
     den my a grys
     man I PT think.PRS.IMPERS

     'For a more cruel death, certainly, than to kill himself no man may find, I think'   (RD 2073; 1350–1400)

Modern Breton (see HMSB: 272)

(62) *o veza ... m' en em brisent re ho-unan*
PT be.INF as PRON.3SG.M REFL evaluate.PRS.3PL too much INT.3PL

'as they have too high an opinion of themselves' (JKS: 336; c. 1862)

Vezzosi (2005: 239), who argues for Brittonic influence on English, claims that a parallel between them regards the creation of the word *oneself*. The term emerged late in Middle English through the analogical extension of the *self*- paradigm. An equivalent word, *an-unan* 'oneself' is present in the Middle period of the Brittonic languages. Like *oneself*, it expresses coreference to an indefinite subject, cf. ex. (63) from Modern Breton:

(63) *lod a zifenne en   em lakâd an unan da varner*
some PT forbid.PRT.IMPERS PRON.3SG.M REFL put.INF oneself as judge.NOUN

'some (of those laws) forbade (one) to make oneself a judge'

(IAI: 122; 1893)

While Vezzosi's analysis of the function of *an-unan* is correct, her attribution of the word to "Insular Celtic" and her dating of the example are not. *An-unan*, the combination of the definite article *an* and *unan*, is attested from Modern Breton onwards. The language of the example taken from Hemon (HMSB: 87, note 2) is not Middle Breton as claimed by Vezzosi, but Modern Breton dating from 1893.[35] The creation of Breton *an-unan* might have been influenced by the French intensifier *soi-même*, which is used for indefinite subjects.

 In Middle Welsh, *yr un*, the combination of the article and the numeral 'one', denotes 'someone, anyone' (ex. 64), but not 'oneself' (D. S. Evans 1964: 87).[36]

(64) *A chyt dywettit uot porthawr ar lys Arthur, nyt oed*
and though say.IMPF.IPS be.VN porter at court of Arthur.GEN NEG be.PRT.3SG

yr vn.
DEFART one

'And though it was said that there was a porter at Arthur's court, there was none' (Geraint, WM 223.17–8; c. 1350)

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35 See Favereau 1997: 114f. on *an-unan* in Breton dialects.

36 Note that Vezzosi (2005: 238) adheres to the hypothesis that Welsh *hun* etc. is identical with the numeral *un* 'one'. According to the alternative etymology proposed by Schrijver (see above, 2.2.3), *hun* does not originate from the numeral and Welsh *yr un* is irrelevant to the present context. Contrary to GPC (s. v. *hwn*), *hun* is etymologically distinct from the demonstrative pronoun *hwn(n)*, which can be used with the article: *yr hwn* 'the one' (see Schrijver 1997: 29).

3.4.2 Reflexivity

In all Brittonic languages, reflexivity can be expressed by compounding a verb with the preverb OW *im-*, MW, ModW *ym-*, *am-*, OSWBr. *im-*, *em-*, MCo. *ym-*, *em-*, *om-* and MBr., ModBr. *em*. Together with OIr. *imb-*, *imm-*, this preverb originates from Proto-Celtic **ambi-* 'around, about'.

The etymology shows that the expression of reflexivity is not the basic function of this preverb, but it results rather from a couple of semantic developments. Vendryes (1927) described these developments with regard to Middle Welsh, but they are also valid for Middle Breton and Cornish.

Two semantic groups stand out in Middle and Modern Welsh, namely *ym-* formations expressing reciprocity (ex. 65–66) and reflexivity (ex. 67–68).

(65) a. *cyrchu* 'to attack, go to, fetch'

  b. *ymgyrchu* 'to attack, fight (one another), gather together'

(66) a. *cael* 'to get, obtain'

  b. *ymgael* 'to come together, assemble, meet; to have sexual intercourse'

(67) a. *golchi* 'to wash'

  b. *ymolchi* 'to wash oneself' ∼ *golchi hunan*

(68) a. *cuddio* 'to hide'

  b. *ymguddio* 'to hide oneself' ∼ *cuddio hunan*

As Vendryes (1927: 57) points out, the reflexive meaning developed from the reciprocal one. The latter, which implies the participation of two antagonists, was reinterpreted as the performance by the subject of a reciprocal, and successively a reflexive, activity.

3.4.2.1 Old South-West British

Ex. (58–61) in the previous section illustrate the strategy to turn a non-reflexive verb into a reflexive one by combining it with the preverb MW *ym-*, *am-*, MCo. *ym-*, *em-*, *om-*, MBr. *em*. Three examples of this type are attested in Old South-West British, where the preverb is *im*(-), *em*, all of which gloss Latin verbs with the reflexive pronoun *se* (ex. 69–71) (Fleuriot 1964b: 331f.).

(69) *im-guparton*   gl. *se abdicant*
   REFL-move away.PRS.3PL

   'they move (themselves) away'   (Orléans 221; mid of 9th c.)

(70) *heuan em doguor*   gl. *inopportunius se ingerit*
bravely REFL move forward.PRS.3SG.CONJ

'bravely he moves (himself) forward'   (BN lat. 12021; 9th or 10th c.)

(71) *di im dam-guas*   gl. *se iuramento constrixerit*
to REFL PREV-submit.PRS.3SG.CONJ

'he submits himself to (?)'[37]   (Orléans 221, fo. 114, gl. 181; mid of 9th c.)

3.4.2.2 Breton

Middle Breton displays a way to express reflexivity that is similar to what was seen above, but involves some modifications. *Em* is no longer a preverb, but the obligatory "reflexive particle". Although *em* alone indicates reflexivity, especially when used with the participle (ex. 72), it is usually preceded by a dependent or object personal pronoun, agreeing in person, number and gender with the subject (ex. 73) (Le Roux 1957: 254f.).

(72) *da servicha Doe ... ez-of   em laquet*
to serve.INF God   PT-be.PRS.1SG REFL put.PP

'I started to serve God' (lit. 'I am put myself to serve God')

(N 243; end of 15th c.)

(73) *ouzouch ... me m-em   clem*
to-2PL   I   PRON.1SG-REFL complain.PRS.IMPERS

'to you ... I complain'   (N 344; end of 15th c.)

In Modern Breton the inflected personal pronoun falls in disuse. Reflexivity is either indicated by *em* alone or by *en em*, i. e. *em* preceded by the generalized 3rd person sg. masc. dependent pronoun *en*.[38] As the complex intensifiers are still in use, Breton still has the differentiation between reflexives (ex. 74, 75) and intensifiers (ex. 76) which is typical for SAE-languages.[39]

(74) *'n   em zifennit!*
PRON.3SG.M REFL LEN.defend.IMP.2PL

'Defend yourselves!'

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37 The translation remains uncertain, as the semantic modification by the preverb *dam-* is not clear (Fleuriot 1964a: 141).

38 See Le Roux 1957: 252–7 and 256 for dialectal variants.

39 Haspelmath's (2001: 1501) exclusion of Breton from SAE is thus incorrect.

(75) *Ni en   em   wel.*
      we PRON.3SG.M REFL/RECIP LEN.see.PRS.IMPERS

      'We see ourselves.' (reflexive or reciprocal)

(76) *Va-unan   am eus   graet.*
      myself.INTENS have.PRS.1SG do.PP

      'I have done (it) myself.'

3.4.2.3 Cornish

Middle Cornish predominantly uses verbs compounded with the preverb *ym-*, *em-*, *om-*, which indicate coreference. As they do not contain any indication of what person they refer to, the coreferenced constituent has to be inferred from the context. There are no obligatory pronouns or intensifiers (ex. 77, 78), in fact, the addition of intensifiers (above, 3.4.1, ex. 60, 61) can be considered as rather exceptional, since no more than a handful of examples are attested altogether (see also ex. 79 below).

(77) *Guetyogh   om-previ   manly*
      take care.IMP.2PL REFL-prove.VN manly

      'Take care to prove yourselves manly'   (BM 1194; 1504)

(78) *Tav,   gays   thym the om-brene.*
      be silent.IMP.2SG leave.IMP.2SG to-1SG to REFL-redeem.VN

      'Be silent, leave me to redeem myself'   (BM 1252; 1504)

Prefixed reflexive verbs cease to be productive in Late Cornish. The prefix *om-* still appears as a petrified morpheme in certain verbs like *ombla* 'fighting' and *umthan* 'conceiving' (Wmffre 1998: 33f.). The drama *The Creacion of the World*, written in 1611, contains the older construction with prefixed reflexive verbs (ex. 79), but also an alternative, newer one (ex. 80), where coreference is indicated by the possessive adjective. In ex. (81), reflexivity is expressed by the complex intensifier like in Welsh:

(79) *rag om-sawya ow   honyn keffrys ow   gwreak ha-w flehys*
      to REFL-save.VN POSS.1SG INT   also   POSS.1SG wife   and-my children

      'to save myself as well as my wife and children'   (CW: 2374–5; 1611)

(80) *Gwarnys of   gans Dew an Tase tha wythell an lesster ma rag*
      warn.IPF.IPS be.PRS.1SG by   god the father to   build.VN the vessel DEM in order to

      ow   sawya ha-w flehys
      POSS.1SG save.VN and-my children

      'I have been warned by God the Father to build this vessel to save myself and my children'   (CW: 2309–11; 1611)

(81) *mothosta maab Deew   towle   tha   honnen doare*
      if-you-are son   [of god]GEN cast.IMP.2SG POSS.2SG INT   down
      'if thou be the Son of God, cast thyself down'
                                    (Matthew 4.6; William Rowe, c. 1670–1700)

Thus the same development occurred in both Welsh and Cornish, but in the latter language the process took place considerably later. Here, intensifiers and reflexives only came to be identical by the 17th century.

3.4.2.4 Welsh

In Middle Welsh, verbs composed with *ym-* are also attested (ex. 82), but *ym-* is not obligatory to express reflexivity, cf ex. (83) with an uncompounded verb (D. S. Evans 1964: 89).

(82) *nac ym-hoffa   vyth dy   hvn*
      NEG REFL-praise.IMP.2SG ever POSS.2SG INT
      'do not ever praise thyself'   (Catwn, BBCS ii 29.37; 1275–1325)

(83) *ony ledy   du   hun*
      unless kill.PRS.2SG POSS.2SG INT
      'unless thou dost kill yourself'   (Gwyrthyeu, BBCS x 24.35; 1250–1300)

While in ex. (82) *dy hun* is used to add emphasis to a prefixed reflexive verb, in ex. (83) it functions as a reflexive. The relative frequency and distribution of the two strategies in Middle and Modern Welsh is yet unknown. The same is true for the ratio of *ym-* reflexives occurring with and without intensifiers. Until a quantitative examination of reflexive expression in Welsh is carried out, the description of the development in Welsh can only be confined to the following remarks.

GPC (s. v. *hun* (b)) cites a selection of examples dating from the 13th to the 18th century. Reflexive *ym-* verbs continue to be in use until Modern Welsh. Nevertheless, they appear to be replaced by constructions consisting of possessive adjective + verbal noun indicating reflexivity from the middle of the 16th century onwards (ex. 84, 85). Thus *ein canmol ein hunein* in ex. (85) replaces what was expressed by *ymganmol* in the 1567 and 1588 editions of the Bible (ex. 86). Like in Late Cornish, *ym-* is replaced by a possessive adjective (at least before a verbal noun).

It is difficult to determine the function of *ein hunein* in ex. (84) and (85). It could be labelled as an intensifier, while the possessive adejctives preceding the verbal nouns could indicate reflexivity. However, as there is no intensifier in ex. (86), *ein hunain* could alternatively be a redundant reflexive marker.

(84) *ydd ym   ni   yn en   twyllau   en-hunein*
PT be.PRS.1PL PRON.1PL PT POSS.1PL deceive.VN POSS.1PL-INT.PL

'we are deceiving ourselves'   (KL: vi a, l. 15; 1551)

(85) *Canys nid ydym   yn ein   canmol   ein   hunein drachefn*
for   NEG be.PRS.1PL PT POSS.1PL commend.VN POSS.1PL INT.PL again

wrth-ych
unto-2PL

'for we commend not ourselves again unto you'   (2. Cor. 5.12; 1620)

(86) *Canys nid ydym   yn ym-ganmol   trachefn wrth-ych*
for   NEG be.PRS.1PL PT REFL-commend.VN again   unto-2PL

'for we commend not ourselves again unto you'

(2. Cor. 5.12; William Morgan 1588)

The possessive adjective preceding the verbal noun has disappeared in Modern Welsh. See ex. (87) vs. ex. (88) containing identical constructions.

(87) *ym-ogelwch   ... rag eich   condemnio eich   hunein*
REFL-beware.IMP.2PL   from POSS.2PL condemn.VN POSS.2PL INT.PL

'beware ... of condemning yourselves'   (Taith C 38; 1726)

(88) *Dw   i   am rwystro chi   rhag niweidio 'ch   hunan*
be.PRS.1SG PRON.1SG about prevent.VN PRON.2PL from hurting.VN POSS.2PL INT

'I want to try to prevent you (from) hurting yourself'   (King 2003: 293)

While the previous examples illustrate the development from Middle to Modern Welsh, the question of how reflexivity was expressed in Old Welsh and Old British remains unanswered. With regard to ex. (83) above, D. S. Evans (1964: 89) states the following:

> The original construction would have been *ony'th ledy du hun*, with *du hun* supplementing the infixed pronoun *'th*, which would be the object of the verb.

Evans thus claims that in Welsh, and thus also Brittonic, reflexivity was expressed exactly like in Old Irish, i. e. by means of infixed personal pronouns. As in Old Irish, then, the 3rd person pronouns are ambiguous, so that the addition of an intensifier became necessary. After the infixed pronouns were lost, which happened in Brittonic earlier than in Irish, the intensifiers adopted the additional function of reflexive markers.

While this course of development seems plausible, two questions have to be asked: Is there any evidence for this assumption? And what is the role of the prefix *ym-* with regard to the expression of reflexivity? At least in Middle Welsh, it does not seem to be an unambiguous indicator of reflexivity.

There are two possible examples attested in Old Welsh. Ex. (89) contains *immi-*, the OW form of *ym-* followed by an infixed 3rd personal pronoun and the verb. Schrijver (2011: 49, 61) translates the phrase variably as 'he besmeared himself' and as 'he besmeared him/her'. The lack of context makes it impossible to determine which of the two was the intended meaning of the sentence. The Latin verb underlying the OW gloss is not reflexive and does not occur with an object pronoun either.

(89)　*immi-s-line*　　　　　　　　　gl. *allinebat*
　　　PREV/REFL?-PRON.3SG/PL-besmear.IMPF.3SG
　　　'he besmeared himself/he besmeared him/her'

　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　(MC, cf. A. Falileyev 2000: 91; 9th c.)

Also the phrase *immi-t-cel* contained in ex. (90) has been interpreted in different ways.

(90)　*ni-choilam*　　　*immi-t-cel*　　　　　　　　*ir nimer bichan gutan*
　　　NEG-believe.PRS.1SG PREV/REFL?-PRON.3SG.M-hide.PRS.3SG the number small　　under
　　　ir　maur nimer
　　　the big　number
　　　'I do not believe (that) the small number hides it(self)
　　　under the big number'　　　　　　　　　　　　　　(MP; 817 AD)

Schrijver (2011: 76; 1997: 155) analyses *immi-t-cel* as a compound verb *immi-cel-*. He reconstructs this verb phrase as *immi-t-en-cel < *ambi-(e)t-en keletī*.[40] This phrase thus originally contained a particle *-t-* followed by an infixed 3rd sg. masc. pronoun *-en-*. The pronoun has disappeared, but due to its original presence the particle *-t-* was preserved. Otherwise *-t-* would have been lost before a verb beginning with a consonant.

Schrijver (2011: 49) gives an alternative analysis of *-t-* as an infixed 3rd sg. masc. pronoun *-t* /d/. This pronoun did not survive into Middle Welsh, which only uses *-s-* as the 3rd person pronoun. Gender and number of this infixed pronoun remain ambiguous.

Both suggestions are plausible in some ways and not in others, which cannot be discussed here. Both of them assume the presence of an infixed pronoun,

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40 The particle *-t* /d/ < Proto-Br. *t could originate from the PIE connector *eti and, according to Wackernagel's Law, was placed in the second position of the sentence. See also Schrijver 1997: 155, 173; Schumacher 2004: 96, 111. According to McCone (2006: 239), however, there is no need to reconstruct an otherwise unsupported preform *ambi-(e)t(i)-en-. *æmbii̯-e(n)- with the infixed 3rd sg. masc. pronoun *e(n) would have developed to æmbið-e(n)- > *ɯmmɯð. In the latter form, /ð/ was replaced by *-t /d/, which occurs after various preverbal particles. This trivial replacement was possible because infixing a pronoun after a preverb was an obsolescent pattern in OW.

which can have non-reflexive or reflexive meaning, i. e. *immi-t-cel* 'hides it(self)'. However, the context seems to support the reflexive interpretation.

De Mensuris et Ponderibus is a Latin treatise on weights and measures which contains Latin and OW glosses. The Welsh sentence appears in a Latin gloss in which the author argues that a certain amount of smaller measuring units fails to tally with the bigger unit, i. e. the sum of the smaller units does not correspond precisely to the bigger one. Thus, Welsh 'hides itself' would be used metaphorically to express the concept of 'being contained'. According to Schrijver's analysis, the OW expression of reflexivity would then be the same as the Old Irish one, while the preverb *immi-* would be irrelevant with regard to this feature.

In contrast to this, the traditionally accepted interpretation does not assume the presence of an infixed (but vanished) pronoun. Lambert (2003b: 132) segments the verbal complex into *imm-it-cel*, with the preverb *imm-* expressing reflexivity followed by the subordinating particle *it, yt*, i. e. 'that ... hides itself ...'.[41] However, Schumacher's (Schumacher forthc. § 7.1) detailed study[42] of this particle, which has another etymology than *-t-* in Schrijver's analysis, does not corroborate the assumption that it can stand between a verb and its preverb.

Schrijver's analysis contains another weak point: if it is true that reflexivity was already expressed by the preverb *immi-*, then using the infixed pronoun would not be necessary or even possible. Therefore, it will be useful, to have a closer look at the semantics of OW *immi-*, which became MW, ModW *ym-*, *am-*.

In Welsh, *ym-*, *am-* became a prefix to form compounds from nouns, adjectives and verbs.[43] The original meaning 'around, about' can be found in *ymdaith(io)* 'to march' (< *'to travel around' ∼ *teithio* 'to travel, journey'). In some cases, the difference between the prefixed forms and their bases is less obvious, e. g. *amgyffret* 'to comprehend' (∼ *cyffret* 'to comprehend, understand, comprise; embrace'), *ceisio* 'to seek, ask, try' ∼ *ymgeisio* 'to try, apply, see'. Vendryes (1927: 55) claims that the *ym*-formations may express greater intensity or insistence.

Further, as already mentioned, there are *ym*-formations that express reciprocity and reflexivity. Vendryes (1927: 57) points to MW *ymgelu* 'to hide oneself' ∼ *celu* 'to hide' as an example of reflexive semantics.

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41 Already Williams (1931: 240) had claimed that OW *immi-t-cel* represents *ym-yd-gel* and thus corresponds to MW *yd ym-gel* 'hides himself'. See also A. I. Falileyev 2008: 84.

42 I thank Prof Stefan Schumacher (Vienna) for kindly providing me with the prepublication draft of his forthcoming article.

43 See Vendryes 1927: 49ff. for MW; Thomas 1996: 640; Pilch 1996: 34ff.; Zimmer 2000: 228, 231 for ModW. According to Thomas (*loc. cit.*), reflexive *ym-* is productive, while reciprocal *ym-* has become unproductive.

But is the reflexive meaning 'to hide onself', as in ex. (91), the only possible meaning of *ymgelu*? Vendryes (1927: 57) seems to believe so, for Middle Welsh, and the *Geiriadur Mawr* s. v. lists the verb for the modern language and gives *cud-dio hunan* as a synonym. Despite this, the GPC does not list any attestation of *celaf*, *celu* after the 18th century.[44] Further, non-reflexive *ymgelu* 'to hide' is well documented in Middle Welsh, cf. exx. (92–96).[45]

(91) *Chwi   a'm   keissyassawch i   val   na allaf*
PRON.2PL PT PRON.1SG seek.PLUPF.2PL   PRON.1SG so.that NEG can.PRS.1SG

ym-gelu   mwy   ragoch
REFL-hide.VN any more before-2PL

'You have sought me so that I cannot hide myself longer from you.'

(YSG: 5483–4, ms. 1375–1425)

(92) *nyt ym-gelaf   heb ef,   mi   yw'r   iarll*
NEG hide.PRS.1SG said PRON.1SG.M PRON.1SG am the lord

'I do not hide it', said he, 'I am the Lord'

(Peredur, Peniarth 4, 35r, c. 137, l. 24; 1350)

(93) *Nyt ym-gelaf   ragot   arglwyd athro Bown o Hamtwm wyf*
NEG hide.PRS.1SG before-2PL lord   teacher Bown o Hamtwn be.PRS.1SG

i.
PRON.1SG

'I do not hide it before you lord teacher (that) I am Bown o Hamtwm'

(YBH, Peniarth 5, p. 220v, c. 887, l. 26; before 1300)

(94) *Ac nyt oes   dim a allo   ym-gelu racdunt.*
and NEG be.PRS.3SG thing REL can.SUBJ.3SG hide.VN before-3PL

'And there is not anything, he could hide before them.'

(YL, Peniarth 190, p. 152, l.17; 1346)

(95) *Ef   ni allwys   ym-gelu oe   uot yn y   charu*
PRON.3SG.M NEG can.PRT.3SG hide.VN be.PRT.3SG be.VN in POSS.3SG.F love.VN

hi
PRON.3SG.F

'He could not conceal being in love with her'

(*Math uab Mathonwy*, WM 51.24–5, Peniarth 4, 26r, col. 102 l. 24–5; 1350)

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44 GPC s. v. *ymgelaf*, *ymgelu* refers to *ym-* and *celaf*, *celu*. No attestations are available for the compound verb.

45 Examples (91–96) from Rhyddiaith.

(96) *Darparu a oruc   dwyn kyrch nos am ben Arthur a'e   lu. Ac*
      prepare.vn pt do.prt.3sg take.vn attack night upon   Arthur   and his host and

      eissoes nyt ym-gelawd hyny rac   arthur.
      however neg hide.prt.3sg this   before Arthur

      'He did prepare to take a night attack upon Arthur and his host. However
      (he) did not hide this before Arthur.'

       (*Brut y Brenhinoedd*, NLW Ms. 3035 [Mostyn 116], p. 104v, l.1; 1350–1400)

According to Poppe & Reck (2008: 44), the phrase *ni chelaf / nyd ymgelaf raggot*
'I will not hide (it) from you' in ex. (92) and (93) is a quasi-formulaic expression,
which signals a speaker's polite willingness to provide information. It is employed
for three semantically matching Anglo-Norman expressions, and, as it does not
occur in the same formulaic way in native texts, it is clearly a loan locution. On the
other hand, ex. (94–96) express hiding something before someone in the literal
sense, and exemplify a non-reflexive use of *ymgelu*.

Determining the function of the preverb *ym-* in Old and Middle Welsh is
overall problematic. Reflexivity is but one of its possible functions, thus all oc-
currences should be checked individually against their specific context. Conse-
quently, considering *immi-* in OW *immi-t-cel* as non-reflexive is a viable option[46]
and reflexivity is expressed by the infixed pronoun as in OId Irish.

3.4.2.5 Summary

The expression of reflexivity in the Brittonic languages underwent several changes
over the centuries. Although it seems probable that Old British once used ordi-
nary infixed pronouns like Old Irish, there is no conclusive evidence to confirm
this assumption. There are a handful of Old British attestations which employ
verbs prefixed by *imm-*. In two cases from Old Welsh, it is unclear whether these
verbs also contain an infixed pronoun, and determining whether reflexivity is
expressed by these pronouns or rather by the preverb remains difficult.

Concerning the following development, South-West-British and Old Welsh
diverge. In Middle Cornish and Middle Breton, the preverb strategy was grammat-
icalised and became the only means to express reflexivity. The complex intensi-
fiers consisting of possessive + *honan/(h)unan* occur occasionally with reflexive
verbs, but their function remains unchanged. In Breton, the prefix is grammatical-
ized as a reflexive particle, which, in Middle Breton, is preceded by a possessive
adjective.

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46 It is of course possible that *ymgelu* meant 'hide oneself' in OW, and was subsequently used
also with non-reflexive meaning.

In Middle Welsh, the two strategies co-occur. From the middle of the 16th century onwards, verbal nouns of *ym-* verbs appear to be increasingly replaced by constructions including a preverbal possessive adjective, the verbal noun without *ym-* and a complex intensifier. In present day Welsh the latter has eventually become the principal reflexive marker.

Although Cornish is closer to Breton during the middle period, the developments in Late Cornish are similar to those occurring in Welsh. In some cases, the reflexive preverb *ym-* is replaced by a possessive pronoun, while in others complex intensifiers are used as reflexive markers.

4 Summary and conclusions

4.1 Loss and replacement of reflexives based on PIE *s(u̯)e-

Contrasting hypotheses claim that PIE *s(u̯)e- was either lost in Insular Celtic or it was never present. The same can be said of PIE *s(u̯)e- as a reflexive marker for all persons and numbers. According to the traditional hypothesis, this function was lost for the 1st and 2nd persons in Latin and Germanic, while Puddu (2005) argues that *se- was used only as a 3rd person reflexive marker from the very beginning.

The loss of *s(u̯)e- as a 3rd person marker has been generally acknowledged for the North Sea Germanic languages, a partial loss can be observed also in French and German. Consequently, in this respect, there is no sharp divide between languages which have preserved *s(u̯)e- and others which have not (Table 6). Further, the related developments are difficult to reconstruct, as they may apply only to certain varieties or registers of a language or as they may have been reversed by reconstitutions.

Table 7. Replacement and spread or reconstitution of reflexives based on PIE *s(u̯)e-

	Latin	OFr	OHG	MHG	NHG	OE	IC
reflexivity expressed by personal pronouns							
1stand 2nd persons ?	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
3rd pers. partly		+	+	+			
3rd pers. completely						+	+
spread or reconstitution of *s(u̯)e-							
1st and 2nd persons	(+)						
3rd person					+		

In Latin, *se* is used as a reflexive marker for the 1st and 2nd persons in 2nd century legal expressions. This development can also be found in some regional varieties of Romance languages.

In Old French, the stressed 3rd person reflexive pronoun *sei*, *soi* is partly replaced by the ordinary personal pronoun, so that, in Modern French, *soi* is restricted to the role of reflexive marker for indefinite subjects. This leads to a partial identity of reflexive and intensifier, as both contain the pronoun, e. g. *avec lui* ~ *lui-même*. German shows some variation between the written standard and regional varieties. In the 1st and 2nd persons, reflexivity is expressed by personal pronouns in Old High German, while regionally, *sich* can be found today. In the 3rd person, the dative of the reflexive pronoun is lost in Old High German, but replaced by the accusative in Early Modern High German, although there are regional exceptions. These developments disprove Vennemann's claim that the expression of reflexivity remained unchanged for 5000 years in German and Romance.

Both North Sea Germanic and Insular Celtic lack PIE *s(u̯)e-* altogether, and both language branches initially used personal pronouns to fill the gap. The individual languages then developed different strategies to resolve the resulting cases of ambiguity.

4.2 The rise of complex intensifiers

Table 8 summarizes the rise of complex intensifiers in Welsh, English and Irish. Complex intensifiers are present in the earliest Old British attestations, while in English and Irish they develop only during the middle periods. Based on this chronology, one could speculate that the feature spread from Old British or Welsh into English, although it remains difficult to propose a convincing time-frame and socio-historic context for this development.

Complex intensifiers are attested in Old British from the early 9th century onwards. Their appearance could be dated around a century earlier, due to the fact that identical intensifiers are found in Old South-West-British. There is however no way to know if complex intensifiers are even older and if they emerged in Old English due to language contact between Britons and Anglo-Saxons during the 5th and 6th centuries. Tristram (1999: 16, 29) claims that Old English acquired most of its "Celtic" features during this period, when the indigenous population rapidly shifted from Brittonic to English. However, the feature could have also spread at a later time, as language contact between Welsh and English continued. Vezzosi (2005: 236) points out that the genitive pattern of complex intensifiers is concentrated in Middle English texts from the West-Midlands (See also Lange 2007: 61).

Table 8. The rise of complex intensifiers in Brittonic, English and Irish (± indicates the co-occurrence of alternative strategies)

	Old Brit. 800–1150	MW 1150–1400	Early ModW 1400–	OE 650–900	OE–ME 1000–1500	Early ModE 1500–	OIr 750–900	MIr 900–1200	Early ModIr 1600–
simple intensifier				+			+		
poss. pron. + intensifier	+	+	+						
pers. pron. + intensifier								±	+
pers./poss. pr. + intens.					±	+			

During the same period, complex intensifiers emerge also in Irish. This has however barely been taken into consideration by the scholars who discussed their emergence through language contact.

Complex intensifiers can of course also be found in the neighbouring languages and are thus not as exceptional as it has sometimes been claimed with regard to Insular Celtic and English. In Vulgar Latin, intensifiers are composed of personal pronouns suffixed with *-met*, to which *ipse* 'self' is added, resulting in *egometipse* '(I) myself', *tumetipse* '(you) yourself', *illemetipse* '(he) himself', *semetipse* etc.[47] The "superlative" **metipsimus* developed into Old French *mêìsme*, *mesme*, Modern French *même*. This intensifier is also combined with personal pronouns, cf. Old French *moy mesme*, *lui medisme*, Modern French *moi-même* 'myself', *lui-même* 'himself' etc. (Rheinfelder 1976: 177).

4.3 Complex intensifiers become reflexive markers

More remarkable than the rise of complex intensifiers is their use as reflexive markers. This change occurs in English, Welsh and Irish roughly contemporaneously. Although examples of complex intensifiers used as reflexives can be found already in the middle periods, the grammaticalisation of this use happens decidedly later than the emergence of the complex intensifiers themselves (Table 7). Lange (2007: 176) stated this for English, where the development can be dated precisely. In Welsh and Irish, more research is needed. An extensive corpus showing the distribution of the different constructions has not yet been compiled. Until this much needed evidence is collected and evaluated some of the above conclusions can only be taken as provisional.

In Irish, the development takes place after the middle period and is probably accomplished before the early modern stage. As in English, complex intensifiers are used as reflexives for 3rd persons earlier than for 1st and 2nd persons.

In Welsh, the situation is more complicated. Complex intensifiers are used as reflexives already in Middle Welsh, but they compete with reflexive *ym*-verbs. It seems that *ei hun*-reflexives started to replace *ym*-verbs only around 1550. Whether they were frequent enough to exert any influence on English at an earlier time remains open to debate. At present, it seems safer to assume mutual convergence. Moreover, the possibility of parallel developments cannot be excluded, and several scholars explain the emergence of the English reflexives on

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47 See Hofmann & Szantyr 1965: 174; Väänänen 1981: 123, § 279; Pieroni 2010: 461.

Table 9. The use of complex intensifiers as reflexive pronouns (± indicates the co-occurrence of alternative strategies)

Language stage		
Old British	800–1150	–
MW	1150–1400	±
Late ModW	1550–	±
Late Corn.	1600–1750	+
OE	650–900	–
OE-ME	1000–1500	±
Early ModE	1500–	+
OIr	750–900	–
MIr	900–1200	±
Early ModIr	1600–	+

the basis of language internal developments.[48] This of course applies to Welsh and Irish as well.

Nevertheless, attention should be drawn to a piece of evidence which has not been considered before, namely the respective developments in Cornish and Breton. Both languages have the same intensifiers as Welsh from the beginning of their attestation, which they do not, however, use as reflexives. Only Late Cornish, by 1600, abandons its inherited reflexivisation strategy in favour of possessive pronouns or complex intensifiers like Welsh and English. Cornish thus adopts the strategy used by its neighbouring languages. This may be connected to the fact that by that time Cornish had already become an endangered language (which died before the end of the 18th century).

Breton, on the contrary, maintains *em* as a reflexive marker until present. As this marker is no longer a preverb but a "particle", it has become more similar to the French reflexive pronouns. As its intensifiers have not changed, Breton possesses the intensifier-reflexive differentiation just as much as its neighbours.

The same is true for the West Germanic languages Dutch, Afrikaans and Frisian, which have lost the reflexive **s(u̯)e-*. Dutch has reacquired a reflexive by borrowing. Afrikaans created a new complex reflexive. Only Frisian uses simple personal pronouns as reflexives, but it has complex reflexives for emphatic use.

The diachronic developments have thus led to the emergence of two distinct convergence areas, which both contain Insular Celtic and West Germanic languages. All languages on the Isles use complex intensifiers as reflexives, while the languages on the Continent possess the intensifier-reflexive differentiation.

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48 See e. g. König & Siemund 2000; Bergeton & Pancheva 2012.

4.4 Semitic influence on Old British intensifiers?

It has been shown that the rise of complex intensifiers and their use as reflexives are two independent developments, the latter of which occurs only after the turn of the first millennium. It has also been shown that this development takes place roughly contemporaneously in Irish, Welsh and English, disproving the assumption that Insular Celtic languages used this reflexivisation strategy (much) earlier than English.

Substratal influence could be involved at most in the rise of complex intensifiers, since they are attested in Old British before they appear in Irish or Welsh. Several scholars portray the Welsh complex intensifiers as exceptional in the context of European languages. However, the reflexive in Basque is a phrase consisting of possessive + 'head', and in Brabants Dutch it is possessive + 'own'. It has also been shown that combinations of possessive + 'body' are attested in Old and Middle High German, Old French and Middle English. This list is not exhaustive, and an analysis that covers more languages could likely reveal more constructions of this type, as they are cross-linguistically widespread and seem to rise independently or by borrowing. Consequently, ascribing the derivation of the Old British complex intensifiers to Phoenician influence is not a claim to be accepted without adequate evidence.

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ILCV	Ernestvs Diehl (1961–1967). *Inscriptiones Latinae Christianae Veteres*. 2nd ed. 3 vols. Berlin: Weidmann.
Isembart	Karl Voretzsch (1966). "Isembart and Gormont". In: *Altfranzösisches Lesebuch*. 3rd ed. Tübingen: Niemeyer.
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