

Reflexive Pronouns in Late Old English

— Especially with Reference to *Ælfric's Lives of Saints*

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0 Introduction

The reflexive compound with *-self* appended was not the norm in late Old English, especially, in *Ælfric's Lives of Saints*.¹ Personal pronouns, rather, functioned as reflexive pronouns as seen in Modern German, where, however, the third person pronoun and the second person pronoun *sich* are reflexive pronouns *per se*. *Sin*, the possessive of the third person, which was the only trace of the original reflexive pronoun, was found mainly in OE poetry as Mustanoja stated.² In Old Norse we find in the third person (sg. and pl.) the accusative reflexive *sik*, genitive *sín* and dative *sér*.³ In Old English the word *self* is often observed. However, it does not take on the compound form like *oneself*, but the independent form juxtaposed with another noun or pronoun; thus, we have, for example, *self cyning* or *hi sylf*. Also, this kind of combination was not reflexive, but mostly 'emphatic' in sense.⁴

Reflexive pronouns are fairly frequently observed in OE literature because simple personal pronouns, which were short in form such as *me*, *þe*, *hi*, etc., served as reflexive pronouns and therefore they were handy to use.

Firstly, our objective is to know the real facts regarding various reflexive usages in late OE *Ælfric's Lives of Saints* and, then, to determine if the combined reflexive form, the pronoun plus *self*, was only emphatic in usage or if it comprised some beginning stage of reflexivity, because this combination of *self* with other pronouns in question was in much more frequent use than in early OE *Beowulf*.

1 The Cases of Reflexive Pronouns

When reflexivity is dealt with, the cases of reflexive pronouns are recognized in the oblique-case forms: accusative, dative and genitive. The number of occurrences is the greatest in accusative, then dative and lastly genitive. The genitive case is observed only twice.

accusative	dative	genitive	total
107x (63.3%)	60x (35.5%)	2x (1.2%)	169x (100%)

Table 1

2 Verbs + Reflexive Pronouns

Several scholars, some of whom were only limitedly concerned with OE, discussed the reflexive pronouns. Poutsma tried to clarify the difference between the intransitive and transitive reflexive verbs, but since he focused on Modern English, which has lost all declensional marks, he fell short of precise discrimination regarding the accusative and the dative.⁵

Wülfing classified reflexive *Zeitwörter* 'verbs' into those with the reflexive accusative, dative and genitive;⁶ Voges, meanwhile, divided the verbs taking the dative into four parts: the verbs of rest, of bodily movement, of emotion and other verbs;⁷ Farr made the verbs into three: of construction or possession, of bodily or mental function and bodily motion and

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quiescence.⁸ Here he used the term ‘medial voice’ for the combination of the verb and reflexive dative pronoun such as *can him gescead* and *him hamweard for*.

Hermodsson also used the same term for such combinations of the reflexive accusative and the verb as *hine ahebban* and *hine behealdan*.⁹ Mitchell objected to this for the reason that the examples differ from the authentic phrases such as *hine acwellan* and *hine begyrdan*.¹⁰ Mitchell faulted both Hermodsson and Visser because they ‘fail to make the distinction between transitive verbs used absolutely and intransitive verbs used with a reflexive accusative.’¹¹

However, Mitchell either is confusing or misleading in his definition of the intransitive verb: ‘the accusative of the personal pronoun is used reflexively ...with verbs which can be transitive or intransitive, with otherwise intransitive verbs...’ (§ 266) and the examples of intransitive verbs *bestellan*, *belgan* and *restan* (§ 1058). His assertion is that these three verbs which are intransitive have accusative pronouns as objects. His example follows: *Or 218. 29 Se consul for on Numentine...7 hiene sibban aweg bestel*. However, the fact is that the transitive verb is to the direct object (or accusative (pro)noun) what the intransitive verb is to the indirect verb (dative). Thus, these verbs should be considered as transitive, not intransitive which he believes them to be. His ambiguous definition is only based on the authoritative description of *intr.* by *OED* (v. *Besteal*).

There is no denying that the verb which governs a direct object is a transitive. He says in another place that there sometimes exist side by side an intransitive verb and ‘an etymologically related transitive homonym’, e.g. *byrnan* ‘to burn’ and further expresses his difficulty: some verbs regarded as transitive today take a dative in OE, e.g. *derian* ‘to harm’ and *helpian* ‘to help’. Also he accepts Quirk and Wrenn’s (§ 107) definition of the latter: “the dative is the sole object of many intransitive verbs” and still complains “How then are we to classify verbs like *abelgan* ‘to anger’, which are found to be with both acusative and dative” (§ 602).

Again, when it takes an accusative, it is a transitive while if it takes a dative, it is an intransitive as the modern translation shows: *Ne sceal ic ðe abelgan* ‘I would not anger thee’(transitive) and *Gif he hwam bulge* ‘if he gets angry with someone) (intransitive). Now he refers to *begiddan* ‘pray’ which takes both accusative and dative pronouns and offers this example as a dative pronoun (§ 1055): *þæt hi him to gode bebædon...*, which I suppose he proposes to modernize in this manner: ‘that they prayed to God...’, but I modernize as follows: ‘that they asked of their God...’ In conclusion, *gebiddan* combines with a accusative reflexive pronoun when it means ‘someone prays’ and when it combines with a dative pronoun, it means ‘someone asks’, constituting the sentence pattern SVOO. Ogura also follows Mitchell by taking the following examples to indicate that there is no difference between both *Beo 142: heold hyne* and *Beo 2377: he him heold*. However, the former means ‘he defended himself’ and the latter ‘he defended him (another person)’. Here Ogura took *him* from a wrong emendation, not the authoritative one where the editor Thorpe uses *hine*.¹²

Here our interest lies in fully detailing the syntax exemplified by accusative and dative reflexive pronouns respectively combining with verbs. As for accusative reflexive pronouns there are two types of reflexive construction: 1) the intransitive reflexive construction where the intransitive reflexive pronoun combined with a verb possesses the sense suggesting an ordinary intransitive, or a word-group consisting of *to be* or *to get* (etc) + nominal or nominal equivalent, which has approximately the same meaning and 2) the transitive reflexive pronoun¹³ which can be replaced by any other noun or pronoun since it is free-form, not bound-form. In other words, the reflexive pronoun here happens to be used as the object

which refers to the subject.

2-1-1 Intransitive Reflexive Pronouns

Accusative pronouns, when combined with verbs, comprise three groups of intransitive verbal phrases: concerned with BODY, MIND and METAPHOR.

1) BODY

- 1 (hide oneself): and wolde *hine* behydan (Chapter 3, line-472; henceforth, 3-472) 'and (he) desired to hide himself and (2-228) 2 (refresh oneself): (10-102) (10-89)(18-181)
 3 (bow oneself): (10-128) 4 (strip oneself): (2-243)(2-211) 5 (show oneself): *hine sylfne* (4-11), *hine sylfne* (16-45) 6 (bathe oneself): (2-157)(20-48)
 7 (clothe oneself): (12-36) 8 (turn): *hi wendon ham*(21-321) 'returned home'(12-209)(13-169)(18-179) 9 (misconduct oneself): (12-182)
 10 (prostrate oneself): (3-67)(6-181)(7-154)(9-21) 11 (hang/kill oneself): (11-288)(12-286)(19-211,-226,-228)
 12 (give oneself up): (19-44)

2) MIND

- 1 (pray): *swa ræðe swa þa halgan hi to gode gebædon* (2-375) 'as soon as the saints said their prayers to God'
 2 (bless oneself): (2-171)(5-238)(14-169)(17-98,-144)(21-409) 3 (prepare oneself): *þe sylfe*(4-63), *hi sylfe*(6-345)(10-44)
 4 (bethink oneself): (8-95)(8-93)(19-161) 5 (get angry): (3-222)(8-122)(19-208)
 6 (occupy oneself): *hi sylfe*(5-149) 7 (humble oneself): (7-106)(16-114) 8 (be ashamed): (8-125)
 9 (be afflicted): *hi sylfe*(13-99), *hi sylfe* (18-121) 10 (be aware): (15-120) 11 (be subjected): *eow sylfe* (11-24)
 12 (deliver oneself=utter an opinion etc.) (17-75)

3) METAPHOR

- 1 (take food/refresh oneself): *gereorda ðe mid rædfæstummode* (18-185) 'refresh thyself with confident mind'
 2 (clear oneself) (2-205)(2-226)

2-1-2 Transitive Reflexive Pronouns

Here, some accusative reflexive pronouns, when they co-occur with verbs, do not create an intransitive sense unlike 2-1-1, 1), 8: *hi wendon ham* (21-321) 'returned home' but remain as accusative, that is, direct object. The object of a verb in the sentence happens to be reflexive as in *hi astyred* "stirred herself"(1) and *divide oneself*(2) in each of which other nouns or pronouns could replace them. In 2-1-3 the object of 1, 2 and 3 in each sentence happens to be reflexive and the object of 4, 5 and 6 should be reflexive only for the reason that it serves as a notional subject of the part of the sentence following, constituting modern sentence pattern no.5, SVOC.

1) BODY

- 1 (stir oneself): *seo culfra hi astyred æt basilies messan mid þam husle* (III-130) 'the dove stirred herself at Basil's mass at the houselling.'
 2 (divide oneself): (7-221) 3 (begin oneself): (5-247) 4 (tear oneself): (6-196) 5 (knock oneself): (11-101) 6 (separate oneself): (11-167) 7 (turn oneself): (11-222) 8 (defend oneself): (12-53)(11-45) 9 (bestrew oneself) (1-35)

2) MIND

- 1 (deceive oneself): *ac beþæcst þe sylfne swyþe* (12-99) 'but (deceived) thyself most direly.' 2 (believe oneself): (12-196) 3 (condem oneself): (12-242)

3) METAPHOR

1 (divide oneself) *We nellað nates hwon us næfre to-tweman* (2-71) 'we desire on no account to be separated from each other'

2 (destroy oneself) (8-43) (3-529) 3 (release oneself) (5-397) (14-150)

2-1-3 Transitive Reflexive Pronoun Functioned Grammatically

(SVOO)

1 (offer oneself): *nu ic wylle me sylfe him soðlice geoffrian* (9-66) 'Now I desire verily to offer to Him myself' 2 (commit oneself) (6-346)

(7-57) 3 (give oneself) (12-125) (14-44) (12-286) (19-236)

(SVOC)

1 and *gebræd hi seoce mid bysmorfullan geþance* (2-151) 'she feigned herself sick with deceitful intent'

2 *let þe fullian* (5-204) 'let thyself be baptized' and also (5-213)

3 *þæt se læweda hine healde butan forligre* (16-322) 'that a layman keep himself without adultery'

2-2 Dative Reflexive Pronouns

The dative reflexive pronouns which we deal with here are divided into two kinds of usage: reflexive dative and indirect object. The latter will be dealt with in 2-2-2.

The former kind of usage unique to OE is never seen in the combination of the transitive verb and dative reflexive pronoun. The intransitive verb combines with the dative reflexive pronoun. This kind of reflexive pronoun is redundant to the Modern eye, so it is called a *redundant object* by Poutsma,¹⁴ while Onions calls it a *reflexive dative*.¹⁵ We use *reflexive dative* since the other nomenclature *redundant object* is not suitable in the viewpoint of OE syntax.

Reflexive datives, combined with the verb, constitute the following two kinds of usage denoting : 1) movement/state: *feran him* 'go' / *lidgan him* 'lie' and 2) psychology: *ondrædan him* 'be afraid'.¹⁶

2-2-1 Reflexive Datives of 1) Movement and 2) Psychology

1) MOVEMENT: 'go, ride, turn, run, move, do, break, sit'

1 (*feran* 'go') / *Æfter gearas fyrste ferde him eft on gean* (3-36) 'After the space of a year he returned again' and also (7-213) 2 (*feran* 'go') (3-559)

3 (*gan* 'go') (5-377) (7-71) (7-198) (12-60) (16-207) Vide *OES* (§ 272) 4 (*ridan* 'ride') (19-210)

5 (*gewendan* 'turn, go') (7-383) (21-192) (21-397) 6 (*ieran* 'run') (7-170) (21-206) (21-268) 7 (*styrian*

'move') (17-22) 8 (*don* 'do' with ad) (19-172) 9 (*to-berstan* 'break') (21-324) 10 (*gesettan* 'sit') and *ge-sæt* (JMS: *geset*) *hire upp* (10-72) 'and (she) sat up'

1-2) STATE

1 (*sittan* 'sit') *Hwæt ða on sumum dæge sæton him ætgædere florus and murus*. (6-160) 'Then on a certain day were sitting together Florus and Maurus' 2 (*lidgan* 'lie') (14-114)

2) PSYCHOLOGY

1 (be afraid of 1) with (1) gen.: *Ne on-dret he him nannes þinges* (1-44) 'He is not afraid of anything' and (XI-126) (XII-87) (2) with acc.:

Se rihtwisa soðlice ne þearf him ondrædan þa stiðan steora (17-21) 'The righteous verily need not fear the

strict rule' and (21-311) 2 (be ashamed) (12-169) (12-173) 3 (bewail oneself) (11-223) 4 (*beon anræd* 'be resolute') (XVI-244)

2-2-2 Indirect Object

The reflexive pronoun as indirect object is quite different in grammatical viewpoint from that in 2-2-1 since this reflexive

dative happens to refer to the subject in the sentence as seen in this example: *he mihte his mete him aræcan* 'he could get himself his food'. The indirect object here happens to be a reflexive dative pronoun just as the direct object happened to be a reflexive accusative pronoun in 2-1-3. Ogura lacks this viewpoint, so she lists *gesettan* here in 2-2-2, 4 and (*ge*)*biddan* in 9, showing erroneously that these verbs demand indiscriminately both a dative and an accusative objects in the appendix at the end of her dissertation.¹⁷

(SVOO)

1 (*aræcan* 'get, reach out'): *ne he mihte his mete him aræcan* (5-138) 'he could not lay hold of his food for himself' 2 (*gesweotolian* 'reveal') (7-323)
 3 (*onadon* 'put on') (7-156) 4 (*gesettan* 'set') (7-289) (5-289) 5 (*aræran* 'build') (4-83) 6 (*habban* 'have') (18-189)
 7 (*begietan* 'get') (21-159) 8 (*gebycgan* 'buy') (12-123) 9 (*biddan* 'ask') (6-218) 10 (*geceosan* 'choose')
 (13-7) (13-243) (18-14) 11 (*deman* 'assign') (17-86) 12 (*afindan* 'find') (18-30) 13 (*ge-openian*
 'open') (21-38)

(SVOO, or SVO + prep.phr. with poss.dat.)

1 (*underfon* 'take') *he sceolde underfon mæden him to gemacan* (4-14) 'he must take a maiden as a mate for himself and also' (4-24)
 2 (*habban* 'have'): *þæt þæt þe unge-sceadwyse nytena habbað him to big-leofan* (3-221) 'that which
 irrational beasts have for their sustenance'
 (SV+ for(to) obj.)

1 (*fremian* 'profit') *Hi ne magon him sylfum fremian* (7-206) 'They can neither profit themselves'

3 Object of Preposition

There are in *ÆLS* several prepositions which govern as their objects reflexive pronouns. Some of the prepositions govern reflexive pronouns in the position preceding in the ordinary manner (preposition) as in 3-1, while others in the position following their objects (postposition), for which we have no example in Modern English except *notwithstanding*, which sometimes follows its object as in *These notwithstanding, His hair and wrinkles will betray his age*.¹⁸

3-1 Reflexive Pronoun + Self after Preposition

As for the combination of the preposition and *oneself* in Modern English, there are two types of syntax, the phrase combined with a simple personal pronoun without *-self* and the phrase combined with a compound personal pronoun *oneself*.¹⁹ In both the cases, needless to say, the object of each preposition refers to its subject: *he has no money on him* and *he is beside himself with anger*. The former is the spatial or temporal type and the latter the metaphorical type.²⁰

Now, *self* in OE was properly a definitive adjective (Onions, 191. (1)) or a pronoun (Mitchell § 472), which usually agreed with the pronoun to which it was joined: *ic self* 'I self', *min selfes* 'of me self', *me selfum* 'to me self'. In late OE *ÆLS*, the prepositional phrases such as *to him* and *ðurh hi sylfe* tend to fall into the two types mentioned above in accordance with whether or not there is *self*.

Visser (§ 426) and Mitchell (§ 269) also referred to the co-occurrence of *self* and reflexive pronoun in the prepositional phrase, but did not comment on the difference in the meaning.

3-2-1 Spatial/Temporal

1 *ealle lichamlicra þinga hiw heo mæg on hyre sylfe gehiwan* (1-224) 'every form of corporeal things it can shape within itself'
 2 *him betweenan* (3-508) (5-458), *him betwynan* (11-21) 3 *fram him sylfum* (3-653)
 4 *to him* (2-254) (6-138) (4-162) 5 *mid him slfum* (12-96) / *mid him* (7-416) (15-101) (21-241)

3-2-2 Metaphorical: Comparison, Relation and Self-reliance

- 1 he bæd æt gode...hwylc basilius wære on wurðscope mid *him* (3-498) 'He besought God what manner of man Basil was in honor (as compared) with himself'
- 2 Feower and he forgeaf forð In mid *him* (7-386) 'Four estates he gave up entirely, together with himself'
- 3 þe swilce gedwolan ðurh *hi sylfe* gesetton(15-126) 'which such heretics wrote of themselves' 3-1 hleotað be *him sylfum* (17-80) 'cast lots concerning themselves' and be *him sylfum* (3-202), be *him sylfum* (1-12), on *hinn sylfne* (12-177), on *me sylfe* (12-195), on *hine sylfne* (12-247)
- 4 gesetton ðurh *hi sylfe* (15-224) 'wrote by themselves (only) 'and ðurh *hine sylfne* (16-87), ðurh *hine sylfne* (17-269), mid *him sylfum* (3-35) 'by Himself'

	time/space	metaphor	total
- self	9x	2x	12x
+ self	3x	11x	13x
total	12x	13x	25x

Table 2

Table 2 shows the numerical distinction between the temporal/ spatial type and the metaphorical. Despite limited data of both the types in *ÆLS*, the tendency for the two to be oppositely correlated is clearly discernible. In other words the frequency of the metaphorical type with *self* is as large in *ÆLS* as that of spatial and temporal type without *self*.

4 Self-Combination

Quirk (§ 120,(c)) asserts that *self* in OE was simply for emphasis. To examine whether or not his assertion is true throughout OE, that is, through early OE to late OE, especially *Beowulf* to *ÆLS* we made a statistical survey. The combination of a noun and *self* such as *sylf cyning* (920b) in *Beow* occurs seven times,²¹ absolute *self* as in *sylf (gewat) æfter sande* (1964a) does 14 times²² and the combination of a pronoun and *self* like *þa self* (594b) appears 15 times.²³ As for the combination of a pronoun and *self*, it accounts for 41.7% of all the occurrences, whereas *self* contained in the

	noun + <i>self</i>	<i>self</i> alone	pron. + <i>self</i>	Total
<i>Beowulf</i>	7x (21.2%)	14x (38.9%)	15x (41.7%)	36x (100%)
<i>ÆLS</i>	23x (13.4%)	0x (0%)	148x (86.5%)	171x (100%)

Table 3

pronominal phrase in *ÆLS* accounts for 148 of all 171 occurrences of the *self*-phrase,²⁴ which is 86.5%, while the combination of a noun + *self* decreases, compared with 21.2% of *Beowulf* (see Table 3) to the small frequency of 13.4%, that is, 23 occurrences.²⁵ I did not recognize even a single example of absolute *self* here. From this fact *self*-pronominal usage held sway in late OE *ÆLS* while *self* was only exceptionally used to emphasize nouns.

It is true that 98 examples of all 171 *self*-phrases such as *he sylf* (5-471) are considered to be emphatic, but the rest, as many as 51 examples (see endnote 24), combine with reflexive verbs as in *æteowde hine sylfne* (4-II) 'shewed himself.' *Sylfne* in *hine sylfne*, when combined with the reflexive verb here, can be said to be a reflexive sign, not an emphatic one unlike *self* in the following example *they toke him self alyue* (OED, Himself, 1). On the other hand, in earliest OE *Beowulf* we recognize only one example out of the sign of reflexivity 'self': 2875b: *þæt he hyne sylfne gewræc* 'that he avenged

himself'. Table 4 below shows the difference clearly.

	<i>Self</i> + Pron. + Reflex.Vb.
<i>Beowulf</i>	1x
<i>ÆLS</i>	51x

Table 4

These facts show that *self* was already on its way to compound personal pronoun *one-self* usage in late OE *ÆLS*, and we even have one example *him-sylf* (7-213) where *self* is a suffix enclitic to *him*.

However, the number of occurrences of the simple reflexive pronouns such as *hi*, *hine*, *þe*, etc. which co-occurs with the verb amounts to 118 in number (68 in accusative, 49 in dative and one in genitive) which is far greater than that of *self*-combination (51 in number: 39 in acc., 11 in dat. and one in gen). Thus the frequency of the simple reflexive construction may be said to be more than double that of the *self*-combination reflexive construction. In other words, the former construction remains superior in frequency to the latter.

5 Conclusion

When some accusative reflexive pronouns co-occur with the transitive verb, the result constitutes the intransitive construction which occurs at the high frequency of 75.7% (81/107). In this construction there are two types of verbs; one is more transitive and the other less transitive as Brunner states that "die Zahl der regelmäßig mit einem Reflexivpronomen konstruierten Verba hat sich allmählich stark verringert. Sie werden dadurch zu Verben ohne Objekt. So werden heute stets ohne Reflexiv gebraucht *rest* 'ruhen', *abstain*, *alter*, *change*, *approach*, *imagine*.. und viele andere. Bei einigen Verben ist das Reflexivum noch möglich, doch kommt daneben auch der Gebrauch ohne ein solches vor, wie bei *dress*, *wash*, *behave*, *feel*, *hide*, *prepare* usw."²⁶ The example of 'more transitive': *Þa ge-bealh hine se casere* 'Then the emperor was angry' (2-1-1,2),5) and one of 'less transitive': *Ic... behydde* 'I hid' (*OED*, *Behide*: 3-1-1,1),1).

The rest of the accusative reflexive pronouns constitute (1) the *ad-hoc* case where the accusative reflexive pronoun happens to be there, instead of some other pronoun or noun, and (2) the grammatical case which consists of the sentence patterns SVOO and SVOC.

The combination of the reflexive dative and the verb constitutes the so-called reflexive dative. The verbs, being already intransitive, seems to govern no dative pronoun to the modern eye. The combination in question denotes movement or psychology. There is no equivalent example in Modern English, while the usage is seen in early Modern English as we encounter in *But Jesus turned him about* (*Matt.* 9:22) or *I feared me*... (*OED*, *Fear*, v. II, 3 refl. 1530). Poutsma attempts the explanation that the combination shifts from a durative to an ingressive aspect (endnote 9), which is, however, not quite convincing. Most of the verbs are already ingressive, and if not, other parts of speech, especially, adverbs play the main part in creating the ingressive aspect: *geset hire upp* (10-72) and for another reason, there are examples to denote state and psychology. The reflexive pronoun probably functioned as dative of interest in order to liven up the sentence as Cumme (1931) and Onions (1971) assert.

Self was added more often to a noun in early OE than to a pronoun for emphasis; however, *self* gradually came to be used as a reflexive sign more exclusively with a personal pronoun. This tendency is clarified in Table 3 and 4. Thus *self* can be said to have constituted the beginning stage of the reflexive pronominal compound *oneself* in late OE as far as suggested

by *ÆLS*.

¹This work was probably written between 996 and 997 by *Ælfric*; see W. W. Skeat, *Ælfric's Lives of Saints II* (London: OUP, 1890-1966) xxvii.

²Tauno F. Mustanoja, *A Middle English Syntax* (Helsinki: Societe Neophilologique, 1960) 152-3.

³E. V. Gordon, *An Introduction to Old Norse* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1927-1956) 294.

⁴"For the most part, *self* was used in OE simply to emphasise and was not, as in Mod.E., associated with being a reflexive sign or a pronoun-enclitic," in R. Quirk and C. L. Wrenn, ed., *An Old English Grammar* (London: Routledge, 1955-1987) 72.

⁵H. Poutsma, *A Grammar of Late Modern English Part II The Parts of Speech Section II* (Groningen: P. Noordhoff, 1904-1928) 144.

⁶*Die Syntax in den Werken Alfreds des Grossen* (Bonn: 1901) ii. § 377-80.

⁷'Der Reflexive Dativ im Englischen,' Aug. 6 (1883), 317-74.

⁸'Intensives and Reflexives in Anglo-Saxon and Early Middle-English' (Johns Hopkins University diss., 1905).

⁹*A Grammar of Late Modern English* (1926), 2: 143 ff.

¹⁰His and these four scholars' descriptions are elaborated in Bruce Mitchell, ed., *Old English Syntax Vol. II* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1985) § 1053 and M. Ogura, *Verbs with the Reflexive Pronoun and Construction with Self in Old and Early Middle English* (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 1989) § § 14-15.

¹¹See Mitchell, § 1054.

¹²See Ogura, § 17.

¹³Poutsma, p. 144. Ichikawa, S. et al, *The Kenkyusha Dictionary of English Philology* (1940; rept. Tokyo: Kenkyusha, 1974), pp. 1030-31 defines the transitive reflexive verb: when the combination of the transitive verb and reflexive pronoun is notionally equal to the relation between the transitive vb and its object, that verb is so classified. Furthermore, he states this construction can be made passive. Because of the nature of this construction, Ohtsuka et al, *The Kenkyusha Dictionary of English Linguistics and Philology* (Tokyo: Kenkyusha, 1982) adds that some objects are accented in order to contrast/emphasize: She knew him better than he knew *himsēlf*.

¹⁴Poutsma, *A Grammar of Late Modern English* I Ch. 3, § § 7-8., while Farr calls it the pleonastic reflexive dative according to Mitchell (1985), § 271.

¹⁵The examples of C. T. Onions (1971: § 125): *She went and sat her down over against him. Stand thee close then. I followed me close. Then lies him down the lubber fiend.*

¹⁶F. Th. Visser, *An Historical Syntax of the English Language I*, (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1970) § 328 includes psychology in his *Type he him gewat ut of halle*, though he uses only *motion* and *posture*, giving the example *hie adredon him* 'they were afraid'

¹⁷See Ogura (1989: 80 and 103).

¹⁸See *OED*, *Notwithstanding*, 2; also, C. T. Onions states this post-positional preposition "is modelled on the French *nonobstant*" in *Modern English Syntax*, 100.3 (ii).

¹⁹The term 'a simple personal pronoun' E. Kruisinga, *A Handbook of Present-Day English*, (Groningen: P. Noordhoff,

1911-1932) vol. 3, § § 964 ff. used for the ordinary personal pronoun such as *I, you, he, his, their*, etc. is opposed to the compound personal pronoun such as *myself, yourself*, etc.

²⁰ See Quirk et al, ed., *A Comprehensive Grammar of the English Language* (London: Longman, 1985) 6.27, note (a) and (b)).

²¹ Six others in lines: 1010, 1313, 1605, 1996, 2702 and 3054.

²² Other occurrences: 419, 700, 895, 1077, 1924, 1968, 2222, 2360, 2639, 2710, 2776, 3013 and 30697

²³ Other occurrences: 29, 505, 953, 961, 1115, 1147, 1733, 1839, 1977, 2013, 2040, 2147, 2325, and 2875.

²⁴ They are 1-63, -65, -67, -68, -71, -224, 2-180, -225, -228, -372 (hi sylf), -372 (him sylf) and others.

²⁵ 1. drihten sylf (11-352, 18-137 (twice), drihten...sylfe (11-162); 2. Se hælend sylf (3-113); 3. petrus sylf (10-235); 4. God sylf (12-94, 15-37, 16-57, -103, 21-6), gode sylfum (12-89, 13-61, 16-381, 21-285); 5. Crist sylf (2-260, 15-14. -73, 16-145, 19-251); 6. Se cyning sylf (13-253); 7. david sylf (13-257) and 8. Swðyun sylf (21-237).

²⁶ K. Brunner, *Die Englische Sprache* (Tübingen: Max Niemeyer, 1962) 124.