

Valency-decreasing derivations (suite)

1. The reflexive, reciprocal, and middle domains

1.1. The Middle domain

Kemmer: ða semantic area comprising events in which the Initiator is also an Endpoint or affected entity; agent and patient roles are not clearly distinguishable. It includes grooming actions, movements and change in body positions, spontaneous events and -naturally reciprocal situations.

German: *Der Junge erhob sich; Die Tür öffnete sich*

French: *Le garçon s'est levé; La porte s'ouvre.*

Creissels uses the term *quasi-reflexivity* for the following type of relationship between one- and two-participant events:

óthe action performed by the unique participant in the one-participant event can be assimilated to the process undergone by the patient in the two-participant event;

óthis action is performed consciously and voluntarily, but in a way that cannot be assimilated to the action performed by the agent in the two-participant event.

According to Creissels, the notion of quasi-reflexive event is necessary to account for the cross-linguistically widespread use of reflexive forms or constructions to encode one-participant events that cannot be viewed as reflexive events *stricto sensu*, although they have an affinity with reflexive events that explains the tendency to use the same coding:

French: *se lever* -stand up and *lever* -raise same encoding as *se blesser* -injure oneself and *blesser* -injure

1.2. The reciprocal domain

According to König and Kokutani (2006), reciprocity presupposes at least two participants in a symmetric relation or event, in which both play two different roles: *Die Studierenden begrüßten sich. Les étudiants se sont salués. The students greeted each other.*

They distinguish two basic types of reciprocals, viz. -nominal reciprocals (-pronominal and -quantificational strategies) and -verbal reciprocals (-synthetic and -compound reciprocals)

1.3. The reflexive domain

The prototypical reflexive domain mostly concerns actions performed on oneself that one usually does to others, and it involves an agent and a patient which happen to refer to the same person. Reflexivity also typically involves intentionality and often draws attention to the unexpected nature of the event described.

German: *Er verzieh es sich nie.*

French: *Il ne s'est jamais pardonné.*

English: *He has never forgiven himself.*

Typological overview of the domains

- Non-canonical filling of argument positions, in contrast to typical transitivity; operations on argument structure;

1a. *The farmer sliced the bread.* (A → B)

1b. *The farmer admires himself.* (A → A) vs. *The farmer admires his neighbors.*

1c. *The farmers help each other.* (A ⇔ B)

- Referential dependency of arguments (anaphors); referentially dependent expression need an antecedent (in the sentence, the text, the situation)

2. *The professors of this university admire themselves/them/each other.*

Affinities and interaction with groups of predicates (verbs of grooming; symmetric predicates);

3a. *John washed, shaved and dressed carefully.*

3b. *John and Mary met, danced, kissed, married and split up.*

- Hence: expressed by same marker in a wide variety of languages, as in French:

4a. *Les professeurs s'admirent.* The professors admire themselves.

4b. *Les souris et les chats s'évitent le plus souvent possible.* Mice and cats avoid each other as often as possible.

A tentative definition of comparable concepts

(a) reflexive marker: a special formal (argumental or predicational) marker indicating co-reference (binding) between co-arguments of the same predicate (core use)

(b) reciprocal marker: a special (argumental or predicational) marker indicating for a situation with two participants that the relation denoted by the verb holds in both directions (core use);

5a. *People in this room know each other.*

5b. *People on these islands used to eat each other.*

5c. *People in this village help each other.*

Back to Oceanic languages

In Oceanic languages, "quasi-reflexives" have nothing to do with "reflexives *stricto sensu*", and for this reason, I maintain the distinction between the three domains: middle, reflexives and reciprocals. In these languages, **detransitivization markers with functions including the expression of middle and anticausativity developed with no connection with reflexivity**. Middle markers, by contrast, have affinity with the reciprocal markers.

Middle situations are:

a) either unmarked (that is, lexically marked), as in English: *The boy stood up, The door opens*. French: *Le lait bout*. "Milk is boiling."

EAST FUTUNAN (Nuclear Polynesian):

1. *E ma'anu a Malia.*
 NPST bathe ABS Malia
 -Malia is washing (up). \emptyset

b) or marked by reduplication

2. *selu* \rightarrow comb \emptyset > *seluselu* \rightarrow comb one \emptyset s hair \emptyset
tilo \rightarrow look through glasses \emptyset > *tilotilo* \rightarrow look at oneself in a mirror \emptyset
l \rightarrow swing s.o. \emptyset > *l l* \rightarrow go on a swing \emptyset

c) or expressed by a reflex of the Proto Oceanic prefix *paRi-, in an intransitive construction

- 3a. *E ke vaku le tu'a o lou toe.*
 NPST 2SG scratch SPC back POSS your child
 -You are scratching your child's back. \emptyset

- 3b. *E ke fe-vaku i le kai e namu.*
 NPST 2SG PREF-scratch OBL SPC eat ERG mosquito
 -You are scratching (your back) because of mosquito bites. \emptyset

-Depatientive \emptyset is the term used by most Oceanist linguists to refer to one of the meanings of a construction built with reflexes of the Proto Oceanic prefix *paRi-: reciprocal, chaining, collective, converse, distributed, repetitive, depatientive, middle, kinship relations, and collective plurals \emptyset and \emptyset two basic notions that underlie the polysemies: plurality of relations and a low degree of elaboration of situations \emptyset (Lichtenberk 1999:55).

Prototypical reciprocal situations are expressed with a reflex of the POC prefix, combined with a suffix as in (4), or a coreferent pronominal object as in (5):

East Futunan: POC *paRi- > *fe-* + PPn *-(C)aki suffix

4. *Ofolele kua fe-tio-aki le sä tagata o l fe-iloa-aki.*
 suddenly PFV PREF-see-SUF SPC CLS man and 3DU PREF-know-SUF
 -Suddenly the two men looked at each other and recognized each other. \emptyset

Xârâgurè (South of the Mainland, New Caledonia): POC *paRi- > *pu-* + coreferent pronominal object

5. *Pa-Mwâjoaru pu-tia nyärä nëëra.*
 COLL-Mwâjoaru PREF-separate 3PL today
 -The Mwâjoaru are splitting up today. \emptyset

In most Oceanic languages, **reflexivity is marked by specific morphemes**, called "**intensifiers**" (König 1991), whose presence and interpretation as identity function excludes the transitive other-directed interpretation of the event, in favour of a reflexive one.

a) *Emphatic particles*

East Futunan

6. *E 'ita a Petelo kiate ia fa'i.*
 NPST be angry ABS Petelo OBL 3SG INT
 -Petelo is angry at himself.∅

7. *Na ako'i le tagata e ia fa'i.*
 PST teach SPC man ERG 3SG INT
 -The man taught himself.∅

b) *The "Alone" strategy*

M ori (benefactive reflexive use)

9. *Ka hoko a Hone i te motok m na anake.*
 TAM buy PERS Hone OBJ ART car for him ALONE
 -Hone will buy a car for himself.∅ (Bauer 1997:639)

c) *The "True, exact" strategy*

East Uvean

10. *∅E lelei∅a ∅aupit e Soane ia ia totonu.*
 NPST admire very ERG Soane ABS 3SG true
 -Soane admires himself a lot.∅

d) *The Bound nouns strategy*

Lolovoli (North Central Vanuatu)

11. *Ra-ni wehe-ra sibo-ra.*
 3NSGS-IRREAL kill-3NSGO SELF-3NSGPOSS
 -They will kill themselves.∅ (Hyslop, 2001:266)

e) *The "again/return" strategy*

Xârâgurè (South of the Mainland, New Caledonia)

12. *Nyärä sa nyärä mûgé*
 3PL hit 3PL AGAIN
 -They are hitting themselves.∅

f) *The Deictic strategy*

Rapanui (Du Feu 1996: 97-98)

13. *E hapa∅ koe ia koe ∅a.*
 IPFV care for 2SG OBJ 2SG DEIC
 -Look after yourself!∅

1.4. Constructions and semantic domains

CONSTRUCTIONS	SEMANTIC DOMAINS
unmarked V, intransitive	middle situations such as grooming actions or natural reciprocity
unmarked V, transitive, with pronominal O obligatorily coreferent with S	middle situations such as meteorological events or change in body position
prefixed V	middle situations , generic, habitual events; shared activity; spontaneous events; grooming actions, inherent and dual reciprocity
prefixed V + pronominal O coreferent with S	prototypical reciprocal situations (extended to reflexive situations in a few Kanak languages)
circumfixed V	prototypical reciprocal situations
unmarked V, transitive, with coreference between S and pronominal O marked by a morpheme	prototypical reflexive situations (extended to reciprocal situations in a few Kanak and Polynesian languages)

2. Middle marking without reduction of the number of arguments

According to Creissels (2016), starting from the expression of agent-beneficiary reflexivization (or *auto-benefactive*), as in (14b), middle voices may develop uses marking no change in the number of arguments, their syntactic status, or the denotative meaning, in which middle marking just highlights the affectedness of the agent, as in (14d). Note that, in French, middle marking automatically triggers the use of *avoir* (instead of *être*) in completive auxiliary function.

French

- 14a. *Il a acheté des chaussures.*
 he has bought some shoes
 "He bought shoes."
- 14b. *Il s'est acheté des chaussures.*
 he MID=is bought some shoes
 "He bought shoes for himself."
- 14c. *Il a mangé un gâteau entier.*
 he has eaten a cake whole
 "He ate a whole cake."
- 14d. *Il s'est mangé un gâteau entier.*
 he MID=is eaten a cake whole
 "He ate a whole cake (and enjoyed it)."