Berlin - Utrecht Reciprocals questionnaire, survey & outline Version: 15 May 2006. Edited by Alexis Dimitriadis

0 Session information

0.1 About the language

Name of the language : East Futunan (EFU) / futunien /

SIL code : FUD

Dialect/variety reported, and/or region where it is spoken :

Futuna (Wallis and Futuna) ; New Caledonia (migrants)

Background (published) sources

Moyse-Faurie, Claire, 1992, Verb classes and argument structure variation in Futunan, *Oceanic Linguistics*, vol. 31, n°2, pp. 209-227.

- 1993, *Dictionnaire futunien-français*, Peeters-Selaf (Langues et cultures du Pacifique 8), 521p.
- 1997, *Grammaire du futunien*, Nouméa, Centre de Documentation Pédagogique, coll. Université, 240p.
- to appear "Reciprocal, sociative, reflexive and iterative constructions in East Futunan (Polynesian group)", in Vladimir Nedjalkov (ed.) *Reciprocal Constructions*, John Benjamins, Typological Studies in Language.

0.2 About the session

Analyst conducting session: Claire Moyse-Faurie

Analyst's familiarity with the language: good

Language of session: French. I had to translate the examples into French for my informants. Date : April 2007

0.3 About the language consultant

Name: (1) Atonio Takasi ; (2) Marie-Jo Lape Year of birth: (1) 1972 ; (2) 1975

Occupation: (1) teaches East Futunan in Futuna, but is presently in Paris for a "licence" at the Inalco institute ; (2) nurse assistant

Level of education: (1) university (3rd year) ; (2) 4th year of high school

Language biography: Give a list of your major places of residence, years, and the language(s) you spoke there. For each language, indicate what it was used for (home, friends, education, market, work, ...) :

(1) and (2) usually live in Futuna and speak East Futunan every day as native speakers. (1) is spending 6 months in Paris, (2) is in France for a formation, staying with her husband, also from Futuna.

How much do you know about the grammar of the reported language?

(1) As a language teacher (2) As a speaker (no formal knowledge).

Is it ok to credit you by name for this information, in the web database? Yes

1 Identifying the reciprocal strategies

(1,2) *e fe-tuli a lāua* NPAST PREF-chase ABS 3DU 'They (these two) are chasing each other' > 'Tous deux se pourchassent'

1.1 General transitive predicates

- (1) *e fe-vesi'a-'aki a Soana mo Paulo* NPAST PREF-hate-SUF ABS S. and P.
- (2) *e fe-lotoveli-'aki a Paulo mo Soana* NPAST PREF-bad feeling-SUF ABS P. and S.
 'Bill and Jane hate each other > Paulo et Soana se détestent'.
- (1) *na fe-'aka a Paulo mo Soana* PAST PREF-kick ABS P. and S.
- (2) na fe-'aka-'aki a Paulo mo Soana
 PAST PREF-kick-SUF ABS P. and S.
 'Jane and Bill kicked each other > Paulo et Soana se sont donnés des coups de pied.'

NB: With a few verbs, the prefix *fe*- can mark reciprocity involving no more than two participants, although its primary function is to encode sociative/collective situations. This dual reciprocal meaning appears with a dozen of verbs ('disagree', 'kiss', 'push', 'pursue', 'tell', 'rub', 'kick', etc.). With these verbs and two participants, the use of the circumfix instead of the sole prefix conveys a repetitive meaning.

1.2 Symmetric predicates

(1,2) *na felāvei a Paulo mo Soana i nānafi i le falekoloa* PAST meet ABS P. and S. in yesterday in ART shop 'Jane and Bill met. > Paulo et Soana se sont rencontrés hier matin au magasin.'

NB: historically, *felāvei* consists of prefix fe- + *lave* 'know, success, reach' + -(C)*i*. (*fe*- -(C)*i* is the sociative circumfix, no more productive in East Futunan)

- (1)na fono le kau toe sekolā i le 'oki o le sekolā а ART COLL child school at PAST gather ABS ART end POSS ART school
- (2) *na fakatasitasi le kau toe 'ako i le 'oki o le sekolā* PAST get together ART COLL child learn at ART end POSS ART school 'The students met. > Les étudiants se sont réunis après les cours.'

NB: *fakatasitasi* consists of the causative prefix *faka- + tasi* 'one' (reduplicated). Its use (rather than the use of fono 'gather') indicates that the gathering occurs gradually.

(1,2) na fefele a Paulo mo Soana
PAST argue ABS P. and S.
'Jane and Bill argued. > Paulo et Soana se sont disputés'

NB: *fefele* 'argue' (prefix *fe*-+ *fele, not attested anymore, but found in *fēlega* 'dispute' (nominalized form of *fele)

- (1) *e tatau a lāua* NPAST similar ABS 3DU
- (2) *e* tatau lāua / lātou
 NPAST similar 3DU / 3PL
 'They are similar. > Ils sont semblables.'
- (1) *e* tonatona fe-piki / fakatasi a Paulo mo Soana NPAST sit PREF-glue / together ABS P. and S. Lit. Paulo and Soana are sitting (on the ground) very near / together
- (2) e eke a Paulo mo Soana fakatasi i tafa o leia
 NPAST sit ABS P. and S. together at side POSS DEIC
 Lit. Paulo and Soana are sitting (on a chair) together at the side of the other
 'Bill and Jane are sitting next to each other. > Paulo et Soana sont assis l'un à côté de l'autre.'

1.3 Oblique objects, PPs, (Adjuncts?)

- (1,2) na fe-soli-'aki e lāua ni ne'a alofa
 PAST PREF-give-SUF ERG 3DU ART.PL thing love
 'They gave each other a present. > Ils se sont donné des cadeaux.'
- (1) *na fe-ano-'aki ki loto a lāua* PAST PREF-go-SUF OBL inside ABS 3DU
- (2) *na ano leia ki leia ti ano leia ki leia* PAST go DEIC(SG) OBL DEIC(SG) then go DEIC(SG) OBL DEIC(SG) 'They went to each other. > Ils sont allés l'un vers l'autre.'

NB : in (1) : A and B walked toward each other and met half way, while in (2) : A went all the way where B started, and B went all the way where A started.

- (1,2) na fe-'ita-'aki lāua / lātou
 PAST PREF-angry-SUF 3DU / 3PL
 'They complained about each other. > Ils se sont plaints l'un de l'autre / les uns des autres.'
- (1,2) *e* tasi nofo а Paulo mo Soana mo le pa'aki o leia with P. S. stay ABS and picture POSS NPAST one ART DEIC Lit. Paulo and Soana each stay with a picture of the other 'Jane and Bill have a picture of each other. > Paulo et Soana ont chacun une photo de l'autre.' (lit. P. and S. each stay with a picture of that one)

- (1) e tasi mālie e lāua le fa'asigā koti o le fā'ulu o leia NPAST one good ERG 3DU ART kind of cut POSS ART hair POSS DEIC Lit. they (two) each find well the kind of cut of the head of the other
- (2) e tasi fia fai lāua ki fa'asigā fa'u o le 'ulu o leia
 NPAST one feel make 3DU OBL kind of build POSS ART head POSS DEIC
 Lit. they (two) each feel make at the kind of build of the head of the other
 'They liked each other's hair cut. > Chacun aime la coupe de cheveux de l'autre.'

1.4 Asymmetric predicates

- (1) *na fe-muli-'aki lātou i le ala* PAST PREF-back-SUF 3PL in ART road
- (2) *na fe-taumuli-'aki lāua i le ala* PAST PREF-follow-SUF 3DU in ART road 'They followed each other. > Ils se sont suivis dans la rue.'
- (1)kaku tokatasi mai a le tokalima fakaafe na tau reach one(HUMAN) hither ABS ART five(HUMAN) PAST in turn guest
- (2) na taumai le tokalima fakaafe takitau tokatasi
 PAST arrive ART five(HUMAN) guest DISTRIB one(HUMAN)
 'The five guests arrived one after the other. > Les cinq invités sont arrivés l'un après l'autre.'

takitau : numeral distributive prefix

- (1) *na fakaolo tau tokatasi mai le kau fakaafe* PAST succeed in turn un(HUMAN) hither ART COLL guest Lit. the guests arrived successively one by one
- (1') *na fakaolo taki tokama'uke mai le kau fakaafe* PAST succeed DISTRIB several(HUMAN) hither ART COLL guest Lit. the guests arrived successively group by group
- (2) na taumai ni'iki kau fakaafe i mu'a ti muli mai alā
 PAST arrive ART.PL COLL guest at first then last hither DEIC(PL)
 Lit. some of the guests arrived first, then the others later.
 'The guests arrived one after the other. > Les invités sont arrivés les uns après les autres.'
- (1) *e fe-tānaki ki aluga a kisi* NPAST PREF-stack OBL top ABS box (there are several piles of boxes)
- (2) *e fe-teki-'aki a tasini i aluga o lā mo lā* NPAST PREF-put-SUF ABS box on top POSS DEIC(PL) and DEIC(PL) (only one pile of boxes)

'The boxes are stacked on top of each other. > Les boîtes sont empilées les uns sur les autres.'

1.5 Other

Are there other reciprocal strategies not yet reported? For example, used only with PPs, or for reciprocation between a main and an embedded clause. Give an example of any strategy found.

2 Morphology

Open questions, effort depending heavily on specific features like case. Fine-grained versions for different types of reciprocal constructions, so far as recognized.

2.1 Form

What is/are the position(s) of the exponent(s)?

Give a detailed glossed breakdown of any parts of the exponent, indicating lexical meaning and/or grammatical function of each part.

Can the exponent be used with its literal lexical meaning (not as a reciprocal)?

Can you speculate on the historical origin of the exponent or its parts?

What is the category (part of speech) of the reciprocal, as a whole?

What is the structure of the exponent(s)?

2.2 Agreement

[The following four are in an implicational relationship: An invariant exponent implies none of the others apply.]

Is the exponent invariant?

Is there agreement with the antecedent?

What features of the antecedent is there agreement with?

(number, person, case, gender, noun classes, ...)

Give an agreement paradigm in the form of a list of sentences. Explain.

What properties of the verb/predicate affect the form of the reciprocal exponent?

Give a paradigm of agreement or dependence on the verb, in the form of a list of sentences. Explain.

What kind of agreement does the reciprocal trigger on the verb?

2.3 Co-occurrence with derivational affixes

(Only in extended version)

2.4 Additional (for Thomas)

Specific questions can be entered into the database alongside the 'core' topics.

Compare with lexical / grammatical sources (for reflexive and other verbal grams cf. Section 6).

Give example sentences. (e.g. He hit / met a friend, After the first came another man, They each gave a present to her.)

Elicit positions, variance, paradigms of source constructions - available from grammar?

3 Binding and argument structure

3.1 Argument positions

One grammatical example for each position is enough; if the position cannot be used with this strategy, give one ungrammatical example.

A. Possibilities for the 'lower' reciprocated argument

Which of the following positions can be reciprocated with a subject antecedent?

- Direct object:
- (1) *na fe-tule a Paulo mo Soana* PAST pRef-push ABS P. and S.
- (2) na fe-tule-'aki a Paulo mo Soana
 PAST PREF-push-SUF ABS P. and S.
 'John and Mary pushed each other. > Paulo et Soana se sont poussés l'un l'autre.'

NB: with the verb *tule* 'push' and only two participants, the use of the circumfix also conveys a repetitive meaning (see 1.1.). Hence, (2) may also mean: 'Paulo and Soana pushed each other several times'.

- Indirect object
- (1) *na fe-'ave-'aki e Paulo mo Soana alāua pepa* PAST PREF-bring-SUF ERG P. and S. their paper
- (2) na fe-soli-'aki e Paulo mo Soana ni kate
 PAST PREF-give-SUF ERG P. and S. ART(PL) card
 'Jane and Bill gave a card to each other. > Paulo et Soana se sont donné une carte l'un à l'autre.'
 - Prepositional object
- (2) na fe-'ita-'aki lāua / lātou PAST PREF-angry-SUF 3DU / 3PL
 'They complained about each other > Ils se sont plaints l'un de l'autre / les uns des autres.'
 - Adjunct
- (1) *na faka'atu lātou o sua fakatasi* PAST align 3PL COMP sing together Lit. they were aligned to sing together *na sua faka'atu a lātou*

PAST sing align ABS 3PL Lit. they sang aligned

- (2) na sua lātou i tafa o lā mo lā
 PAST sing 3PL at side POSS DEIC(PL) and DEIC(PL)
 Lit. they sang at side of the ones and the others
 'They sang near each other. > Ils ont chanté les uns à côté des autres.'
- (1) *na fe-faikuka-'aki a Paulo mo Soana* PAST PREF-cook-SUF ABS P. and S.
- (2) na tasi fai e Paulo mo Soana a le ne'akai ki leia mo leia PAST one make ERG P. and Soana ABS ART food OBL DEIC and DEIC 'Mary and John cooked for each other. > Paulo et Soana ont fait la cuisine l'un pour l'autre.'

- Possessor of direct object
- (1,2) na fe-pena-'aki e lāua olāua fale
 PAST PREF-paint-SUF ERG 3DU their house
 'They (two) painted each other's house. > 'Ils (deux) se sont peints mutuellement leurs maisons.'
- (1,2) *na fe-pena-'aki e lātou olātou fale* PAST PREF-paint-SUF ERG 3PL their house 'They painted each other's house. > 'Ils se sont peints mutuellement leurs maisons.'
 - Other: If the language has important syntactic categories of NPs other than the above (e.g., 'Topic'), test these as well.

B. Possibilities for the antecedent

Can a non-subject serve as the antecedent? [Y/N] Condense: Ask only for 1-2 examples in the overview.

[For overview] Give 1-2 different examples, like the following

- (1)na fakamatala e Soane a ne'a e fe-'ave-'aki lā ki e PAST tell ABS thing NPAST PREF-bring-SUF ERG S. ERG DEIC(PL) OBL ki lā toe DEIC(PL) OBL child Lit. Soane told things to the children they spread on each other
- (2) na fakamatala e Soane ki toe la a ne'a ki leia mo lā
 PAST tell ERG S. OBL child EMPH ABS thing OBL DEIC(SG) and DEIC(PL)
 'John told the children about each other > Soane a raconté des choses les uns sur les autres aux enfants.'
- (1) *na tasi fakasāsā tau tokatasi a Soane mo Paulo ki le kau folau* PAST one show in turn one(HUMAN) ABS S. and P. OBL ART COLL travel Lit. Soane and Paulo each show in turn one after the other to the travellers
- (2) na faka'ilo'ilo e Soane mo Paulo a leia mo leia ki le kau folau PAST show ERG S. and P. ABS DEIC(SG) and DEIC(SG)OBL ART COLL travel Lit. Soane and Paulo showed this one and the other one to the travellers 'Soane and Paulo introduced each other to the travellers > Soane et Paulo se sont présentés l'un et l'autre aux voyageurs.'

If yes, which antecedent positions are possible? (You can change the word order if the language allows it)

- Direct object:
- faka'ilo'ilo tau tokatasi le kau (1)na е Malia а folau PAST CAUS.know one(HUMAN) ERG travel in turn M. ABS ART COLL
- (2) na fakafelāvei e Malia le kau folau ki lā mo lā PAST CAUS.meet ERG M. ART COLL travel OBL DEIC(PL) and DEIC(PL) 'Mary introduced the travellers to each other > Malia a présenté les voyageurs les uns aux autres.'

- Indirect, oblique, or prepositional object Bill introduced each other to the travellers Mary told each other about the travellers
- Adjunct

Mary praised each other near Bill and Jane ??

• Possessor of direct object

John gave each other's book to Mary and Ann. ??

• Other: If the language has important syntactic categories of NPs other than the above (e.g., 'Topic'), test these as well.

C. Subject reciprocal

Can the reciprocal appear in subject position, expressing reciprocation with another NP? Each other offended the workers. ??

Each other worries the men. ??

Each other were offered a book by John and Mary. ??(Passive or other derived-subject construction)

Is a special meaning involved in this construction? Describe.

3.2 .True. long-distance binding

Can the strategy express coreference between arguments of the main clause and an embedded full clause?

(1)	ki	leia	aloa	е	poto	(ake)	leia	aloa	ia	lāua
					intelligent	· • /			-	
	Lit. for that guy,			that (o	ther) guy is	(more) ir	ntellig	ent an	nong th	em two

(2) e tasi lo'ia e kita, e poto a leia
NPAST one know ERG 1sg.INCL NPAST intelligent ABS DEIC
Lit. each one knows personally that the other is intelligent
'The boys said that each other is smart. > Chacun trouve l'autre intelligent.'

Ann and Mary know that George likes each other.??

3.3 Extended binding domains

With causative/ small clause type only (about 5 questions)

Do some clause types allow coreference between arguments of the main clause and a subordinate clause? Consider causative constructions and small clauses. If you are aware of other clause types that allow this, give examples

The women made Bill thank each other. They consider each other intelligent.

3.4 Argument structure

Is the reciprocal an argument or an intransitivizer? Intransitiviser

• Does the object-comparatives test show the strategy to be an argument or an intransitiviser?

Construct and record the non-reciprocal object comparative sentence (1)

Then replace with a reciprocal predicate, as in (2); is the object-comparative interpretation still possible? (In some languages, depending on case marking, an irrelevant subject comparison reading might exist). If the reading is impossible, the strategy is an intransitiviser.

(1,2) *e* vesi'a lasi ake a le kau ga'oikele ki le faifeua upward ABS ART COLL farmer NPAST hate tall OBL ART fishing le kau tagata fana i ART COLL man gun OBL (i) 'The farmers hate the fishermen more than the hunters. > Les paysans détestent plus les pêcheurs que les chasseurs.' [= more than the farmers hate the hunters] fe-vesi'a-'aki le kau tagata ga'oikele (1)е NPAST PREF-hate-SUF ART COLL man farmer (ii) 'The farmers hate each other. > Les paysans se détestent entre eux.' (1,2) *e* lasi ake le fe-vesi'a-'aki o le kau tagata ga'oikele upward ART PREF-hate-SUF POSS ART COLL man NPAST tall farmer

i leia le fe-vesi'a-'aki o lātou mo le kau tagata fana OBL DEIC ART PREF-hate-SUF POSS 3PL and ART COLL man gun (iii) 'The farmers hate each other more than the hunters. > Les paysans se détestent entre eux plus qu'ils ne détestent les chasseurs.'

Can it mean .More than the farmers hate the hunters.?

• Apply any language-specific tests for (in)transitivity, such as: Auxiliary selection (e.g., in Romance), case alignment (in ergative languages). Do they show the strategy to be an argument or an intransitivizer? Discuss.

5 Semantic/Syntactic classes

5.1 Verb class : see examples above

Which of the following verb classes can the strategy be used with?

Note: THIS is the place to try multiple verb classes for each strategy. The first section is meant to discover reciprocal strategies. Of course you can link to sentences already entered.

 what about restricted classes à la Nedjalkov (symmetry, activity type, aspectual type) Non-symmetric (general transitive) Bill and Jane hate each other. Jane and Bill kicked each other.

Symmetric (social interaction: talking, loving, fighting) The students met. Jane and Bill argued. They are similar. Bill and Jane are sitting next to each other. Asymmetric They followed each other. (i.e., in a line) The five guests arrived one after the other. The boxes are stacked on top of each other.

Grooming

(1)	е	fe-selu	-'aki	е	lāua	0	lāua	lau'ul	lu
	NPAST	PREF-co	mb-SU	F ERG	3du	th	neir	hair	
Lit. they (two) comb each other their hair									
(2)	е	selu	le	fā'ulu	0	leia	ti	ko	leia
	NPAST	comb	ART	head	POSS	DEIC	then	PRED	DEIC
Lit. (one) comb the head of one then it is the other (reciprocal or non									
reciprocal/successive interpretations both possible)									
(There exists denote them $> \Sigma^{11}$ are used as the set of the s									

They combed each other. > Elles se peignent l'une l'autre.'

- (1) e fe-koti-'aki olāua fā'ulu e lāua NPAST PREF-cut-SUF their head ERG 3DU Lit. they (two) cut each other their heads
- (2) e koti fakatatau olātou lau'ulu
 NPAST cut CAUS.identical their hair
 Lit. their hairs are cut similarily (reciprocal or non reciprocal interpretation)
 'They are cutting each other's hair > Ils se coupent mutuellement les cheveux.'
- (1) *e fe-fakule- 'aki e ta'ineliki olātou fā'ulu* NPAST PREF-delouse-SUF ERG young girls their head Lit. the young girls delouse each other their heads
- (2) e tatau a fai fakule a toe
 NPAST identical ABS do delouse ABS child
 Lit. is similar the delousing of children (reciprocal or non reciprocal interpretation)
 'Children are delousing each other >'Les enfants / petites filles s'épouillent mutuellement.'

Stative

(1,2) na se fe-fanaki-'aki a lātou
PAST NEG PREF-trust-SUF ABS 3PL
'They distrust each other. > Ils ne se font pas confiance.'

(1)	е	fe-alofa-ʻaki	a	lāua/lātou			
	NPAST	PREF-love-SUF	ABS	3du/3pl			
(2)	е	fe-alofa-ni	lāua/l	lātou			
	NPAST	PREF-love-SUF	3du/3f	۲L			
	'They love each other > Ils s'aiment.'						

NB : fe-alofa-ni (almost a lexicalized form, since the circumfix fe--(C)i is no more productive) is used more often than fe-alofa-'aki.

fe-alofa- 'aki means 'love each other' when only two persons are involved ; *fe-alofa-ni* 'love each other' has a collective value, and more than two persons may be involved.

(1,2) e felōgoi mālie lāua / lātou NPAST talk together well 3DU / 3PL

'They get along with each other > Ils s'entendent bien.'

NB: *felōgoi* 'talk together' is also a lexicalized form, and consists of *logo* 'listen' + the no more productive collective circumfix)

5.2 Antecedent class

Which of the following classes of antecedent can the strategy be used with? (Add larguage-specific categories if appropriate.

Human Animal Inanimate Abstract Other: (language-specific categories)

Which of the following kinds of NP can express the antecedent of the strategy?

Quantifiers Questions/wh-antecedents Singulars/collectives Indefinites

5.3 Word class

Can the strategy be applied to nouns? (e.g., help, destruction of each other) yes (see for example under 3.4.)

Can the strategy be applied to adjectives? (proud, afraid, suspicious of each other) 'adjectives' are verbs in this language

Can the strategy be applied to other parts of speech? Discuss.

no?

6 Polysemy Classes (for whole constructions and parts)

Which of the possible non-reciprocal meanings are possible uses of this strategy?

Collective/ Distributive

(1,2)	na	ga'oi	fakatasi	lātou	i	le	faigasaga	
	past	work	together 3pl	in	art	field		
	'They	cultivate	d the field (to	ogether).	> Ils	ont trava	illé au champ ensei	mble.'

(1) *na tā e lātou a le kumete* PAST cut ERG 3PL ABS ART raft

(2) *na* '*aga lātou o fa*'*u a le kumete* PAST face 3PL COMP build ABS ART raft 'They built a raft. > Ils ont construit une pirogue.'

Dispersive

(1) *na fe-lele-'aki (sa'ele) lātou* PAST PREF-run/fly-SUF (everywhere)3PL Lit. they ran around (everywhere) (2) na makape lātou i gāne'a fulifuli
 PAST run 3PL in place all
 Lit. they ran in all places
 'They were running around. > Ils ont couru partout (dans tous les sens).'

Intensive/Repetitive

- (1) na kenu ne'a lātou i le $f\bar{a}$ silila'ala'atea fuli la PAST dig thing 3PL in ART CLAS afternoon all EMPH
- (2) *na kenu pū ātā lātou i le fakasililala'atea kātoa la* PAST dig hole only 3PL in ART around afternoon entire EMPH 'They dug. > Ils sont creusé tout l'après-midi.'

Reflexive

(1) *na mālie lana fe-puipui- 'aki* PAST well his PREF-protect-SUF Lit. is good his (physical) protection (against someone)

NB: Elsewhere, the circumfix is not used to express reflexivity. Here, it occurs to express that the protection is a response to someone else's attack. If only *lana puipui* were used, it would mean that his protection (for someone else) was good.

(2) na mālie 'oki a lana tali
 PAST well completely ABS his answer
 Lit. his answer (physical or verbal) was very good
 'He defended himself. > Il s'est bien défendu.'

Referential (pronominal)

e.g. he/they hit him/them (OR: his friend/body/other person).

Depatientive/Arbitrary

- (1,2) *e 'uti'uti a kulī* NPAST RED.bite ABS dog 'The dog bites (or plural). > Les chiens mordent.'
- NB: 'uti'uti 'nibble' (bite several times) or 'be a biter'

Can a single sentence have several of the above meanings? Discuss.

7 Discontinuous Reciprocals (Utrecht)

Does the strategy allow the .discontinuous reciprocal. construction? John met-RCP with Bill (Meaning: John and Bill met each other) John hit-RCP with Bill (Meaning: John and Bill hit each other) John kissed-RCP with Mary (Meaning: John and Mary kissed [each other])

Translate the following reciprocal sentences (if grammatical for this strategy; if not, use appropriate verbs). Which ones could describe a series of .asymmetric., sequential events? Which ones could describe .symmetric. events, with joint participation in each event?

- (1) na fe-tā a Soane mo Paulo PAST PREF-hit ABS S. and P.
- (2) na fe-tā-'aki fa'i a Soane aia mo Paulo
 PAST PREF-hit-SUF RESTR ABS S. DEIC and P.
 'John and Bill hit-RCP. > Soane et Paulo se sont frappés.'

NB: cf. 1.1.

- (1,2) *na fe-sogi a Paulo mo Soana* PAST PREF-kiss ABS P. and S.
- (1') na tau'alofa a Paulo mo Soana
 PAST shake hands ABS P. and S.
 'Bill and Mary kissed-RCP. > Paulo et Soana se sont embrassés.'
- (1) *na fe-tokoi-'aki a Paulo mo Soane i alā* gā'oi PAST PREF-help-SUF ABS P. and S. in their work Lit. Paulo and Soane helped each other in their work
- (2)sekolā Soane mo Paulo па tatau a а PAST identical school ABS S. and Р. Lit. was identical the schools of Soane and Paulo (reciprocal or non reciprocal interpretation)

John and Bill taught-RCP. > Soane et Paulo se sont instruits mutuellement

- (1) *na fe-toso-'aki e Ana mo Malia olāua pāki* PAST PREF-pull out-SUF ERG A. and M. their photo Lit. Ana and Malia took each other their pictures
- (2) na toso pāki a Ana mo Malia, а leia mo leia PAST pull out photo ABS A. and M. ABS DEIC and DEIC Lit. Ana and Malia took pictures, the one and the other 'Ann and Mary photographed/sketched-RCP. > Ana et Malia se sont prises en photo l'une l'autre.'
- (1) *na soli e Paulo le tokoi kia Soane leia na toe tokoi kiate ia* PAST give ERG P. ART help OBL S. DEIC PAST again help OBL 3SG
- (2) *na tokoi a Paulo kia Soane leia na 'au foki o tokoi mai kiate ia* PAST help ABS P. OBL S. DEIC PAST come also COMP help hither OBL 3SG 'Paulo a rendu service à Soane qui lui a rendu service en retour / à son tour.'

For each grammatical sentence constructed above, now construct the discontinuous version. Which ones could describe a series of 'asymmetric', sequential events? Which ones could describe 'symmetric' events, with joint participation in each event?

John met-RCP with Bill. John hit-RCP with Bill. (Meaning: John and Bill hit each other). Bill kissed-RCP with Mary. John taught-RCP with Bill.

Ann hugged-RCP with Mary. John followed-RCP with Bill. Ann photographed-RCP with Mary. (Meaning: Ann and Mary photographed each other) Can you think of any verbs (these or other verbs) that can be used with this strategy in the normal way (non-discontinuously), but cannot be used discontinuously? Give examples.

8 Situations (Utrecht)

Not included in the Overview

Thomas.s extra sections:

Additional section about quantifiers: Each, Other and the like Some questions about different types of Quantification / Choice If possible, also in languages without quantifier sources.

- One of two / a group / a type
- Few, some, many of a group / a type
- Each of two (? either)/ a group / a type
- Any, ... (really indefinite)
- All of two (? both) / a group / a type
- The other(s) / Another of two / a group / a type
- All the others of a group / a type

.group. also with pronouns (the others of you, we others,)

Later, only in some languages: combinations of quantifiers, especially choices from a group (Bei uns hat schon jeder jeden zitiert, ... einer alle / die andren ..., Wir haben schon beide den andren zitiert, Wir haben uns schon zitiert und zwar..., etc.,)

Additional section about specifiers

Are there reciprocal specifiers for clauses or nouns?

(mutual(ly) ('reciprocal', not 'common'), and vice versa[...], beidseitig, gegenseitig, ...)

Are there expressions for 'requital'?

(to love someone back, to give something in return, to give the same back, Gegenliebe / geschenk, opposite sides, ...)

(? corresponding, complementary,)

Additional questions about multi-clausal constructions, emergent ones, or discourse solutions (?)

Multi-clausal solutions of different types: quantifiers / pronouns, multiple instances of verbs, 'requitals', ... (possible sources for grammaticalized constructions)