Non-canonical Reflexive and Reciprocal Constructions in Basque

Kristina Bilbao

University of the Basque Country (EHU)
The Bilingual Mind research group

Emerging Topics in Typology, June 2025

Aims

Aims

- To analyze Basque non-canonical reflexives and reciprocals in comparison to their canonical counterparts.
- To explore how the reflexive and reciprocal interpretation arise in Basque non-canonical reflexives and reciprocals.

Main claims

Main claims

- Basque non-canonical reflexives and reciprocals are detransitivized:
 - The only argument is **absolutive** marked.
 - The intransitive auxiliary is selected.
 - BUT the only argument is interpreted as bearing two thematic roles.

Main claims

Main claims

- Basque non-canonical reflexives and reciprocals are detransitivized:
 - The only argument is **absolutive** marked.
 - The intransitive auxiliary is selected.
 - BUT the only argument is interpreted as bearing two thematic roles.
- These constructions constitute a subtype of verbal reflexives and reciprocals.

Main claims

Main claims

- Basque non-canonical reflexives and reciprocals are detransitivized:
 - The only argument is **absolutive** marked.
 - The intransitive auxiliary is selected.
 - BUT the only argument is interpreted as bearing two thematic roles.
- These constructions constitute a subtype of verbal reflexives and reciprocals.
- The **intransitive auxiliary** is encoding reflexivity and reciprocity.

Canonical Reflexives and Reciprocals in Basque

- Transitive constructions involving reflexive/reciprocal anaphors:
 - (1) a. Ni-k **neure burua** ikusi dut.
 I-ERG my head(ABS) see.PFV (3ABS).have.1SGERG
 'I have seen myself.' (lit. 'I have seen my head')
 - b. Gu-k elkar ikusi dugu.
 we-ERG REC(ABS) see.PFV (3ABS).have.1PLERG
 'We have seen each other.'
 - → Rebuschi (1988, 1992); Salaburu (1986); Etxepare (2003); Artiagoitia (2003).

Non-canonical Reflexives and Reciprocals

- **Detransitivized** constructions without an anaphoric element:
 - (2) a. **Ni** ikusi naiz.
 I(ABS) see.PFV 1SGABS.be
 'I have seen myself.'
 - b. Gu ikusi gara.we(ABS) see.PFV 1PLABS.be'We have seen each other.'
 - → Etxepare (2003); Artiagoitia (2003); Bilbao (2022); Bilbao et. al (2022, 2024).

Table of Contents

- 1 Typology of Reflexives and Reciprocals
 - Grammatical Reflexives and Reciprocals
 - Lexical Reflexives and Reciprocals
- 2 Are Basque Non-canonical Reflexives and Reciprocals Lexical Reflexives and Reciprocals?
- 3 The Role of the Intransitive Auxiliary
- 4 Summary

Outline of the talk

- 1 Typology of Reflexives and Reciprocals
 - Grammatical Reflexives and Reciprocals
 - Lexical Reflexives and Reciprocals
- 2 Are Basque Non-canonical Reflexives and Reciprocals Lexical Reflexives and Reciprocals?
- 3 The Role of the Intransitive Auxiliary
- 4 Summary

1. Grammatical Reflexives and Reciprocals

Two primary morphosyntactic means of encoding reflexivity/reciprocity:

- Nominal strategies
- Verbal strategies

 \rightarrow Faltz (1985); König & Kokutani (2006); Nedjalkov (2007); König & Gast (2008); Janic et al. (2023).

1.1 Nominal Reflexives and Reciprocals

- Reflexive/reciprocal (pro)nominals:
 - (3) a. I saw myself.
 - b. We saw each other.

1.1 Nominal Reflexives and Reciprocals

- Reflexive/reciprocal (pro)nominals:
 - (3) a. I saw myself.
 - b. We saw each other.

Canonical reflexives and reciprocals in Basque belong to this class.

1.2 Verbal Reflexives and Reciprocals

- Reflexive/reciprocal **voice markers**:
- (4) a. kuta ngith pathath-e dog(ABS) that bite.RDP-REFL.NPST 'That dog is biting himself.' (Kuuk Thaayorre, Gaby 2023)
 - Ali na Fatuma wa-na-pend-an-a
 Ali and Fatuma 3PL.SBJ-PRS-love-REC-ASP
 'Ali and Fatuma love each other.' (Swahili, König and Kokutani 2006)

1.2 Verbal Reflexives and Reciprocals

- Reflexive/reciprocal **voice markers**:
- (4) a. kuta ngith pathath-e dog(ABS) that bite.RDP-REFL.NPST'That dog is biting himself.' (Kuuk Thaayorre, Gaby 2023)
 - Ali na Fatuma wa-na-pend-an-a
 Ali and Fatuma 3PL.SBJ-PRS-love-REC-ASP
 'Ali and Fatuma love each other.' (Swahili, König and Kokutani 2006)
 - lacktriangleright The morphosyntactic valency is reduced ightarrow detransitivized

- Reflexive/reciprocal **voice markers**:
- (4) a. kuta ngith pathath-e dog(ABS) that bite.RDP-REFL.NPST'That dog is biting himself.' (Kuuk Thaayorre, Gaby 2023)
 - Ali na Fatuma wa-na-pend-an-a
 Ali and Fatuma 3PL.SBJ-PRS-love-REC-ASP
 'Ali and Fatuma love each other.' (Swahili, König and Kokutani 2006)
 - $lue{}$ The morphosyntactic valency is reduced ightarrow **detransitivized**
 - Duplex voices (Zúñiga & Kittilä 2019).

1.2 Verbal Reflexives and Reciprocals

- Reflexive/reciprocal voice markers:
- (4) a. kuta ngith pathath-e dog(ABS) that bite.RDP-REFL.NPST 'That dog is biting himself.' (Kuuk Thaayorre, Gaby 2023)
 - Ali na Fatuma wa-na-pend-an-a
 Ali and Fatuma 3PL.SBJ-PRS-love-REC-ASP
 'Ali and Fatuma love each other.' (Swahili, König and Kokutani 2006)

Basque non-canonical reflexives and reciprocals resemble verbal

strategies except for the absence of voice markers.

0000

Typology of Reflexives and Reciprocals

Outline of the talk

- 1 Typology of Reflexives and Reciprocals
 - Grammatical Reflexives and Reciprocals
 - Lexical Reflexives and Reciprocals



0000

Typology of Reflexives and Reciprocals

2. Lexical Reflexives and Reciprocals

- A semantically restricted group of predicates can convey reflexivity or reciprocity **lexically**, without necessary grammatical marking (Haspelmath 2007):
 - → Inherently Reflexive and Reciprocal Verbs (IRRVs).

- Inherently Reflexive → grooming verbs (Haspelmath 2008):
 - (5) Mary washed.

ŏŏŏŏ

- Inherently Reflexive → grooming verbs (Haspelmath 2008):
 - Mary washed. (5)
- Inherently Reciprocal → social interaction verbs (Haspelmath 2007):
 - (6) Mary and John hugged.

ŏŏŏŏ

Inherently Reflexive and Reciprocal Verbs

- Inherently Reflexive → grooming verbs (Haspelmath 2008):
 - Mary washed. (5)
- Inherently Reciprocal → social interaction verbs (Haspelmath 2007):
 - (6) Mary and John hugged.
- Uncoded reflexives and reciprocals (Zúñiga & Kittilä 2019).

ŏŏŏŏ

Typology of Reflexives and Reciprocals

Lexical Reflexives and Reciprocals in Basque

- IRRVs in Basque (Etxepare 2003; Bilbao 2022):
 - (7)a. Ni dutxatu naiz. I(ABS) shower.PFV 1SGABS.be 'I have showered.'
 - b. Gu **ezkondu** gara. we(ABS) marry.PFV 1PLABS.be 'We have married.'

Are Basque Non-canonical Reflexives and Reciprocals Lexical?

No, they are not:

The verbs in non-canonical constructions differ from IRRVs in their compatibility with reflexive and reciprocal anaphors.

Compatibility with Anaphors

- IRRVs disallow anaphors in Basque (Etxepare 2003):
- (8) a. *Nik neure burua dutxatu dut.

 I.ERG my head(ABS) shower.PFV (3ABS).have.1sgERG

 'I have showered myself.'
 - b. *Gu elkarr-ekin ezkondu gara.
 we.ABS REC-COM marry.PFV 1PLABS.be
 'We have married.' (lit. 'We have married with each other.')

Compatibility with Anaphors

- Verbs that form non-canonical constructions allow anaphors:
- (9)a. Nik neure burua ikusi dut. I.ERG my head(ABS) see.PFV (3ABS).have.1SGERG 'I have seen myself.' (lit. 'I have seen my head')
 - b. Guk **elkar** ikusi dugu. we.ERG REC(ABS) see.PFV (3ABS).have.1PLERG 'We have seen each other.'

Compatibility with Anaphors

- Verbs that form non-canonical constructions allow anaphors:
- (9) a. Nik neure burua ikusi dut. I.ERG my head(ABS) see.PFV (3ABS).have.1sGERG 'I have seen myself.' (lit. 'I have seen my head')
 - b. Guk elkar ikusi dugu.
 we.ERG REC(ABS) see.PFV (3ABS).have.1PLERG
 'We have seen each other.'

This indicates that those verbs do not convey reflexivity and reciprocity lexically, but instead require grammatical encoding.

The Intransitive Auxiliary as Encoding Reflexivity and Reciprocity

Claims

- Basque non-canonical reflexives and reciprocals constitute a subtype of verbal reflexives and reciprocals.
 - They are instances of duplex voices (Zúñiga & Kittilä 2019): detransitivized constructions where the only argument has two thematic roles.

The Intransitive Auxiliary as Encoding Reflexivity and Reciprocity

Claims

- Basque non-canonical reflexives and reciprocals constitute a subtype of verbal reflexives and reciprocals.
 - They are instances of duplex voices (Zúñiga & Kittilä 2019): detransitivized constructions where the only argument has two thematic roles.
- Reflexivity or reciprocity is encoded through the intransitive auxiliary, rather than through voice markers.

The Intransitive Auxiliary as Encoding Reflexivity and Reciprocity

Claims

- Basque non-canonical reflexives and reciprocals constitute a subtype of verbal reflexives and reciprocals.
 - They are instances of duplex voices (Zúñiga & Kittilä 2019): detransitivized constructions where the only argument has two thematic roles
- Reflexivity or reciprocity is encoded through the intransitive auxiliary, rather than through voice markers.
- This aligns with a general dispreference in Basque for encoding transitivity alternations using verbal voice markers.



Non-finite Clauses

- Non-finite clauses lack auxiliaries.
- In such clauses, non-inherently reflexive verbs cannot convey a reflexive interpretation without anaphors:
- (10) a. [Anek **bere burua** ikus-tea] pozgarria da.
 Ane.ERG her head.ABS see-NMLZ.ABS joyful (3ABS).be
 'Ane seeing herself is joyful.'
 - b. [Ane ikus-tea] pozgarria da.
 Ane.ABS see-NMLZ.ABS joyful (3ABS).be
 'Seeing Ane has been joyful.'
 Not: 'Ane seeing herself is joyful.'
- \rightarrow see Bilbao (2022) for parallel examples of reciprocals.



Non-finite Clauses

- Note that IRVs can have a reflexive interpretation even in the absence of the auxiliary and the anaphor:
- (11) [Ane dutxa-tzea] pozgarria da.
 Ane.ABS shower-NMLZ.ABS joyful (3ABS).be
 'Ane showering is joyful.' or 'Showering Ane is joyful.'
- ightarrow see Bilbao (2022) for parallel examples of reciprocals.

Other Transitivity Alternations

- Basque seems to show a general dispreference for voice markers in transitivity alternations (Haspelmath 1993; Nichols et al. 2004).
- Causative-inchoative alternation (Berro et al. 2018):
- (12) a. Ume horiek katuak hil child those.ERG cat.DET.PL(ABS) kill.PFV dituzte.

 3PLABS.have.3PLERG

 'Those children have killed the cats.'
 - b. Gure katuak hil dira.
 our cat.DET.PL(ABS) die.PFV 3PLABS.be
 'Our cats have died.'

Other Transitivity Alternations

- Basque seems to show a general dispreference for voice markers in transitivity alternations (Haspelmath 1993; Nichols et al. 2004).
- Impersonals (Fernández & Berro 2022; Berro et al. 2022):
- (13) a. Idazleek liburu horiek erraz saltzen writer.PLERG book those(ABS) easily sell.IPFV dituzte.

 3PLABS.have.3PLERG
 - 'Writers sell those books easily.'
 - b. Liburu horiek erraz saltzen dira.
 book those(ABS) easily sell.IPFV 3PLABS.be
 'Those books are easily sold.'

Summary

- Basque non-canonical reflexives and reciprocals are detransitivized constructions:
 - The only argument is **absolutive** marked.
 - The intransitive auxiliary is selected.
 - The only argument is interpreted as bearing two thematic roles (i.e. duplex voices, Zúñiga & Kittilä 2019).

Summary

- Basque non-canonical reflexives and reciprocals are **detransitivized** constructions.
 - The only argument is **absolutive** marked.
 - The intransitive auxiliary is selected.
 - The only argument is interpreted as bearing two thematic roles (i.e. duplex voices, Zúñiga & Kittilä 2019).
- They constitute a subtype of verbal reflexives and reciprocals.

Summary

- Basque non-canonical reflexives and reciprocals are **detransitivized** constructions.
 - The only argument is **absolutive** marked.
 - The intransitive auxiliary is selected.
 - The only argument is interpreted as bearing two thematic roles (i.e. duplex voices, Zúñiga & Kittilä 2019).
- They constitute a subtype of verbal reflexives and reciprocals.
- Instead of a verbal voice marker, the intransitive auxiliary encodes reflexivity or reciprocity.



Selected References

Etxepare, R. (2003). Reflexives and reciprocals. In J. I. Hualde & J. Ortiz de Urbina (ed.), A Grammar of Basque (380–385). Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter. https://doi.org/10.1515/9783110895285.363

Faltz, L. M. (1985). Reflexivization: A study in universal syntax. New York: Garland.

Janic, K., Puddu, N. & Haspelmath, M. (ed.). (2023). *Reflexive constructions in the world's languages*. [Research on Comparative Grammar 3]. Berlin: Language Science Press. DOI: 10.5281/zenodo.7861660

König, E. & Gast, V. (2008). Reciprocals and Reflexives: Theoretical and Typological Explorations. Berlin, New York: De Gruyter Mouton. https://doi.org/10.1515/9783110199147

König, E. & Kokutani, S. (2006). Towards a typology of reciprocal constructions: focus on German and Japanese. *Linguistics* 44(2), 271–302. https://doi.org/10.1515/LING.2006.010

Nedjalkov, V. (ed.). (2007). Reciprocal Constructions. Amsterdam: John Benjamins. https://doi.org/10.1075/tsl.71

Zúñiga, F. & Kittilä, S. (2019). *Grammatical voice*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. https://doi.org/10.1017/9781316671399

VIELEN DANK! THANK YOU!

This work has received support from the Spanish Ministry of Science, Innovation and Universities through the research project (PID2023-147383NB-100) and the grant (FPU22/01851), as well as from the Basque Government through the research project (IT1439-22).