A. Diachronic considerations in Oceanic languages

Middle = Reciprocal ≠ Reflexive (most common situation).

* Two types of evolution:
  1. Middle = Reciprocal > Reflexive : North and Centre of New Caledonian Mainland
  2. Reflexive > Reciprocal (≠ Middle) : Eastern Polynesia, South of New Caledonian Mainland

1. Reciprocal/middle markers > reflexive marker

* POc prefix *paRi- used in both reflexive and reciprocal constructions

HMWAWEKE (New Caledonia, Centre of the Mainland)

1. le ve-caina le b. a ve-ibi a
   
   3PL PREF-know 3PL 3SG PREF-pinch 3SG
   
   ‘They know each other/themselves.’ ‘He is pinching himself.’

FWÂI (New Caledonia, North of the Mainland)

2. yele pe-cebi yele b. ye pe-cebi yek
   
   3PL REC-pinch 3PL 3SG REC-pinch 3SG
   
   ‘They are pinching each other/themselves.’ ‘He is pinching himself.’

NEMI (New Caledonia, North of the Mainland)

3. yele pe-hina re
   
   3PL REC-know 3PL
   
   ‘They know each other/themselves.’

* Extension of the use of *paRi- as intensifier:

NEMI

4. ye pe-pmwai gaeno-i vi nga-n
   
   3SG REC-build alone-TR ART.ANAPH house-POSS.3SG
   
   (exclusive adverbial use)
   
   ‘He built his house himself.’

2. Reflexive marker > reciprocal marker (but never > middle marker?)

RAPANUI (Easter island)

- reflexive

5. he aha ia a koe e vananga ena kia koe 'a
   
   ART what 3SG PERS 2SG NS talk there OBL 2SG INT
   
   ‘What are you doing there talking to yourself?’ (Du Feu 1996:97)

- reciprocal

6. e hogihogi ro a maua ia maua 'a
   
   IMPF kiss in fact PERS 1DU.EXCL OBJ 1DU.EXCL INT
   
   ‘We shall kiss each other.’ (Du Feu 1996:98)

- grooming actions?

7. ko hanga 'a Johua mo hopu ia ia 'a
   
   PERF want RESULT Joshua with wash OBL 3SG INT
   
   ‘Joshua wants to wash himself.’ (Du Feu 1996:143)

XÂRÂCÙÙ (New Caledonia, South of the Mainland)

- reflexive

8. xûûchî chëi mûgé na è ngê chaa kwââ
   
   child hit RETURN PAST 3SGO with one stick
   
   ‘The child hit himself with a stick.’
- reflexive = reciprocal (after the loss of the reflex of the POc *paRi- prefix)

9. \[\text{pa } xuûchî } \text{chëi mûgé } \text{na } ri } \text{ngê } \text{kwââ} \]
   \[\text{COLL} \text{ child hit return past 3PL with stick} \]
   ‘The children hit themselves/each other with a stick.’

\[\text{MÄORI} \]
   "Mäori does not have special reciprocal forms, but uses the reflexive construction, but with dual or plural pronouns. Whether a dual or plural pronoun is interpreted as reflexive or reciprocal is a matter of what makes more sense" (Bauer, 1997:635).

10. \[\text{kaua e whaka-mamae ia k} \text{örua } \text{anö} \]
   \[\text{NEG} \text{ TAM CAUS-hurt OBL 3DU again} \]
   ‘Don’t hurt yourselves / each other!’ (Bauer, 1997:635)

11. \[\text{n} \text{ā } \text{Hone r} \text{āua ko } \text{Mere i patu a } \text{r} \text{āua } \text{anö} \]
   \[\text{belong John 3DU SPEC Mary TAM beat PERS 3DU AGAIN} \]
   ‘John and Mary hit themselves/each other.’ (Bauer 1997:646)

3. Origin of the reciprocal affixes

3.1. Prefix POc *paRi-
Pawley (1973:152): Proto Oceanic prefix *paRi- marks “combined or repeated actions by a plurality of actors or affecting a plurality of entities, normally but not invariably those denoted by the subject of the verb”.

Lichtenberk (2000) lists several different functions for this POc prefix:
- plurality of relations (reciprocal, collective, converse, etc. situations)
- low elaboration of situations

3.2. Reflexes of POc *akin[i] (Evans, B., 2003)
- transitivevising: both causative (S = O) and applicative functions (S = A; O mostly instrument and concomitant, also content of speech, location): Manam; Motu; Longgu; Bouma Fijian; Bauan Fijian; Lolovoli, etc.
- detransitivevising: derives verbs with a resultant state or ‘agentless’ passive interpretation; Wayan Fijian; Meso-Melanesian languages; East Uvean, etc.
- use with reciprocal prefixes: sociative in Kara (-ai with fe-); in Tigak (-ai with e-); in Wayan Fijian (-Caki(ni) with vi-): sociative or reciprocal, dispersive; in Samoan (fe- -Ca’i; also fe- -Ci); Tongan fe- Caki: reciprocalative (movement to and fro or hither and thither) and reciprocal; fe- -Ci ‘communal verbs’ (sociative); in East Futunan (see handout 6), etc.
- use as verbal prepositions: like prepositions, introduce an oblique argument; like verbs, take the verbal object suffices or enclitics to index their object; Tolo hini- ‘with’, ‘about, concerning’; Tamambo hinalhini; Woleaian yagili ‘with’, ‘carrying’; Tongan, East Uvean ‘aki ‘instrumental’, etc.
- use as trace elements (when the instrumental complement is anteposed)

3.3. Loyalty islands reciprocal suffix: a directional source?
Nengone (Maré) (-jeu < jew(e) ’towards’

12. \[\text{Ehne hna sice } \text{jew-ore len} \]
   \[\text{1DU.EXCL PAST flee towards-ART road} \]
   ‘We both fled towards the road.’

13. \[\text{ehnij hna } \text{e-rede-jeu} \]
   \[\text{1PL.EXCL PAST PREF-fight-SUF} \]
   ‘We fought each other.’
14. Itre lapa a i-xatua-keu kowe la ifaipoipo
   PLUR clan IMPF PREF-help-SUF to ART wedding
   ‘The clans are helping each other for the wedding.’

Iaai (Uvea) (köu < kōō ‘towards’)

15. ödrine i-hmehmē-kōu
   3PL.RESTR+PRES PREF-be ashamed-SUF
   ‘They are ashamed of each other.’

4. Language contact

FAGAUVEA (Polynesian Outlier, Uvea, Loyalty islands)

(i) The prefix fe- used by itself: ‘natural’ reciprocal events: fe-aatu ‘to argue with each other’, fe-songi ‘kiss each other’, fe-tuku ‘take leave of each other’, etc.
(ii) Combined with the suffix -keu: reciprocity with verbs denoting violent actions: fe-linge-keu ‘kill each other’, fe-liko-keu ‘pursue each other’, etc. and with verbs of exchange such as fe-tapa-keu ‘call each other’, fe-pulou-keu ‘exchange clothes’, etc.

16. de lua kuli na fe-u-keu
   ART two dog PAST REC-bite-REC
   ‘The two dogs bit each other.’

(iii), the suffix: reciprocal with verbs of perception/emotion: maa-keu ‘be ashamed of e.o.’, maalie-keu ‘get along with e.o.’, moonyi-keu ‘be angry at e.o.’, fuletenua-keu ‘criticize e.o.’, and also okatue-keu ‘help e.o.’, ivitua-keu ‘be back to back’, etc.

17. lua fatine, o gilaa kilo-keu, o gilaa malingi ola suamata
   two woman PERF 3DU look-SUF PERF 3DU flow their tear
   ‘The two women, they looked at each other, and burst into tears.’

(v) the verb+suffix complex can be transitivised and have a pronominal object: reciprocal:

18. i dinei goi gilea kai-keu-ina gilehea (V-KEU-TR-O)
   at here INC 3PL eat-SUF-TR 3PL
   ‘Here, they are still eating each other.’

References

B. Trends in the Development of Reflexive and Reciprocal Markers

REFLEXIVES

1. Chains of grammaticalization

SOURCES
(i) a. expressions for body parts > intensifiers > reflexives (> reciprocals)
   (general impression on the basis of synchronic facts)
   b. body parts > intensifiers (identity) Mandarin
   c. body parts > reflexives (metonymy) Basque
   - which (use of) intensifier?
(ii) it is the adverbial intensifier zibun which is used in Japanese (instead of the adnominal intensifiers zisin, zitai)

RUSSIAN
(1) Narod upravljajet sam soboj. (remarkable agent) ‘Who governs them?’
(2) Narod upravlajet samim soboj. (remarkable object) ‘Who do they govern.’
   ‘People govern themselves.’

(3)a. The merchant ruined himSELF and nobody else.
   b. Nobody other than the merchant is responsible for his ruin. He ruined himSELF. (zibun)
   - in OE nominative forms seem to have been fused with pronouns (details not perfectly clear)

2. Renewal of system (English) and in Germanic

- The older pronominal reflexives in IE
  (Lat. se, sibi, suus; Romance: si, se, sè, si ; Germ. sich, seg ; Russ. sebja, etc.)
  - Kemmer calls the Latin forms heavy as opposed to light form –r found in passives and deponent verbs meditor ‘ponder’, revertor ‘turn’, etc.
  - Loss of –r and its replacement by se in Romance
  - Loss of this pronominal reflexive in Old English
  - pronominal reflexive > Ø/pers. pronoun > pronoun + intensifier > adjunct reflexive
    (possible steps in the development of reflexives in English)
  - along the person scale? (3rd > 2nd > 1st )
  - narrowing of binding scope?
  - along the verbal scale (other-oriented > non-other oriented)

Reinforcement and fusion in Germanic

DUTCH
  loss of SIK > borrowing of zich > reinforcement through –self > loss of zich (Vlaams)
SWEDISH
   sig > oblig. reinforcement by själv depending on verb and scope of binding

GERMAN
   - optional though frequent reinforcement of sich by selbst in German in contexts of remarkable reflexivity; since there is no reflexive in the genitive a combination of poss. pro + intensifier is used (seiner selbst)
   (4) Am meisten liebt er SICH/sich selbst.

3. Cycles in the development of reflexives?

   - Jespersen cycles (negation)

(5)a. NEG V
   b. NEG₁ V (NEG₂)
   c. (NEG₁) V NEG₂
   d. V NEG₂ ‘Je (ne) sais pas’ ‘I don’t know.’

BRAZILIAN PORTUGUESE (S. Reiter, field notes)
(6)a. ele se perguntou ‘She asked herself.’
   b. ele perguntou-se
   c. ele perguntou-se a si mesma
   d. ele perguntou a si mesma
   e. ele perguntou a ele mesma (often judged to be unacceptable, due to contact, etc.)

(7)a. Maria se olha no espelho.
   ‘Maria is looking at herself in the mirror.’
   b. Maria olha a si mesma no espelho. [emphatic]

RHETO-ROMANCE (Graubünden): Turley (1997)
(8)a. Je se-lavel on sucshina. ‘I was up in the kitchen.’
   b. *Je se-vesel el spieghel. ‘I see myself in the mirror.’
   c. Je vesel memez el spieghel. ‘I see myself in the mirror.’

   - Se replaced all other reflexive markers and became a verbal clitic;
   - A new heavy RM developed from pronoun + intensifier ipse: sē + ipsu > sez
   - New round of reinforcement: sei + sez > sesez
   - What exactly would count a cyclical change?


**RECIROCALS**

Heine & Miyashita (2008)

Reflexive
Symmetric predicate
Bi-partite quantifier
Together
Repetition

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(1) Role of Lat. *inter se* as a bridging context
(2) Video eos inter se amare. (Terence Ad. 5,3,42) ‘I see them loving each other’

- **symmetric predicates** are a frequent source for the development and grammaticalization of reciprocal markers (‘with’, ‘comrade’, ‘fellow’, ‘meet’, ‘exchange’, ‘opposite’); just like expressions for reversing the direction ‘back again’:

- **different degrees of grammaticalization**: the quantificational strategy

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FRENCH

(3) a. Il nous a présentés l’un à l’autre. ‘He introduced us to each other. (Ci ha presentati l’un all’altro.)’ Il nous a présentés les uns aux autres.

b. Ils s’admirent (les uns les autres). ‘They admire each other.’ Si ammirano (gli uni gli altri/l’un l’altro).

- **further differences**
  (a) Subject agreement (number, gender): Romance vs. Germanic/Slavic
  (b) Case marking for second quantifier: Slavic/Romance/Finnish/Japanese vs. Germanic
  (c) Article: Romance vs. Germanic
  (d) Possessive Affix: Turkish, Finnish vs. Germanic, Romance, Slavic
  (e) Fusion or reduction of the quantifier: Germanic, Finnish, Turkish vs. Romance, Slavic;

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**References**


