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
HMWAVEKE (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   *(exclusive adverbial use)*
    3SG REC-build alone-TR ART.ANAPH house-POSS.3SG
    '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.	pa	xûûchî	chëi	**mûgé**	na	ri	ngê	kwââ
	COLL	child	hit	RETURN	PAST	3PL	with	stick

'The children hit themselves/each other with a stick.'

MĀORI

"Māori 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.	kaua	e	whaka-mamaeia	kōrua	**anō**
	NEG	TAM	CAUS-hurt	OBL 3DU	again

'Don't hurt yourselves / each other!" (Bauer, 1997:635)

11.	nā	Hone	rāua	ko	Mere	i	patu	a	rāua	**anō**
	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)

- transitivising: 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.
- detransitivising: 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 vī-): sociative or reciprocal, dispersive; in Samoan (fe- -Ca'i; also fe- -Ci); Tongan fe- Caki : reciprocative (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 suffixes or enclitics to index their object; Tolo hini- 'with', 'about, concerning'; Tamambo hina/hini; 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.	Ehne	hna	sice	**jew-**ore	len
	1DU.EXCL	PAST	flee	towards-ART	road

'We both fled towards the road.'

13.	ehnij	hna	**e-**rede-**jeu**
	1PL.EXCL	PAST	PREF-fight-SUF

'We fought each other.'

Drehu (Lifu) (-*keu* < *kowe*/*koi* 'towards')

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* < *köö* 'towards')

15.　　ödrine　　　　　i-hmehmë-**köu**
　　　　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　　fafine, 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.'

(iv) the suffix: reciprocal with verbs denoting grooming actions: *selu-keu* 'comb each other', *gii-keu* 'shave each other', etc. or in collective situations: *kata-keu* 'laugh together', *mako-keu* 'sing together', *inu-keu* 'drink together', *kai-keu* 'eat together', etc.

(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.'

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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, sì ; 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 > ∅/pers. pronoun > pronoun + intensifier > adjunct reflexive (possible steps in the development of reflexives in English)
    -   along the scale of grammatical relations? (dir. Obj. > indir. Object > prep. Object > adjunct) (cf. van Gelderen, 2000; Koenig & Siemund, 2000)
    -   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 –*zelf* > 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. NEG_1 V (NEG_2)
c. (NEG_1) V NEG_2
d. V NEG_2 '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)
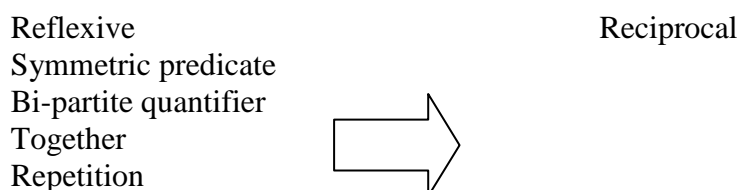(8)a. Je se-lavel on sucshina. 'I was up in the kitchen.'
b. *Je se-vesel el spieghel. 'I see myself in the mirror.'
c. Je vesel memez el spieghel. 'I see myself in the mirror.'

- *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?

RECIPROCALS

Heine & Miyashita (2008)

Reflexive　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　Reciprocal
Symmetric predicate
Bi-partite quantifier
Together
Repetition

(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
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; degree of fusion (mekaar, each other einander vs.

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