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Reflexives markers in Oceanic languages

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In a previous article (Moyse-Faurie 2008), I presented a typological overview of the middle, reciprocal and reflexive markers found in Oceanic languages² and I explained why, in most linguistic descriptions of Oceanic languages, reflexive markers languages have been neglected, their existence even often denied. On the other hand, other markers - mainly those expressing middle situations - were regarded as the real and only markers of reflexivity.

Indeed, it was generally asserted that: “[Oceanic languages] have morphological markers used to encode reciprocal and certain other situations, but not reflexive situations” (Lichtenberk, 2000:31). In the early 90s, Ulrike Mosel gave a paper entitled ‘Where have all the Samoan reflexives gone?’ linking the absence of reflexive constructions in Samoan to the absence of syntactically transitive clauses: “Assuming that reflexivity is inherently related to transitivity, we understand why we do not find morphosyntactic reflexivization in Samoan: Samoan does not have syntactically transitive clauses” (Mosel, 1991). Robert Dixon sums up his investigations on Boumaa-Fijian as follows: “There is no mark of reflexive, either in the form of a reflexive pronoun or of a reflexive marker on the verb – one simply says *I saw me*” (Dixon, 1988:9).

In the first part of this article (§1), I will briefly show what the Oceanic genuine anaphors/reflexive markers are and point out the necessity to distinguish them from middle and reciprocal markers. Looking at their various origins (§2), I will examine the links most of them have with intensifiers. Our findings will be compared to two recent databases and typologies: the WALS map and the Reflexive Database, trying to find out, on the one hand, if the lexical sources and the correlation with the intensifying uses are similar, and, on the other, if the implications discussed are relevant for the Oceanic languages I was able to investigate.

I will then examine in more detail two other points, viz. (a) the positions occupied in different languages by markers having the same semantic origin and (b) the question which type of arguments reflexive markers can be adjuncts to (§3). The coexistence of reflexive markers of different origins in several Oceanic languages, probably due to the recent grammaticalization processes observed in these languages, as far as the prototypical reflexive domain is concerned, will be examined in (§4). The conclusion (§5) will summarize the main findings of this study.

1. Semantic domains and syntactic constructions

Observations on the non-distinction or overlap between the middle and the reflexive domains in many European languages, such as French and German, has led to wrong analyses concerning Oceanic languages. Cross-linguistically, we often find overlapping strategies for these two different domains, but also contrasts for prototypical situations. In my 2008 article, I argued for the necessity of distinguishing between these two domains, showing, by contrast, that reciprocal and middle domains manifest important morphosyntactic similarities. I demonstrated the existence of genuine reflexive markers in the Oceanic languages, related in some cases to that of intensifiers whose functions, syntax and sources have also been greatly neglected in the description of these languages. Whereas Oceanic middle markers are

¹ I would like to thank an anonymous reviewer for critical comments, and E. König for stylistic improvements.

² There are approximately 500 Oceanic languages, a subgroup of the Austronesian family which comprises at least 1000 languages. They are spoken mainly in the islands of the Pacific, in the northern coast of Papua New Guinea, in the Bismarck archipelago (Admiralty, New Britain, New-Ireland), Bougainville, Solomon, Vanuatu, New Caledonia, Fidji, Polynesia (up to Hawaii, Eastern Island and New Zealand), Micronesia (Carolines, Marshall and Kiribati).

historically closely related to reciprocal markers (both are reflexes of the Proto Oceanic prefix *paRi-), reflexive markers are of diverse origins. Only one proto-form, POc *sibwa has been tentatively identified by John Lynch, for one type of reflexive strategies, involving the bound noun reflexive marker. Of course, the three semantic domains are cognitively related, and even in Oceanic languages, one may find, albeit in very few languages, the use of reflexes of the POc prefix in the three - reflexive, middle and reciprocal - constructions. But in such cases, this identity is due to specific, well identified evolutions.

The fact that reflexive markers have been overlooked is due to two main reasons:

(i) In Oceanic languages, markers used as intensifiers or as expressions of typical reflexive situations (defined as “do on oneself what is usually done on others”) also fulfill other functions either as content words (verb, noun, adverb, etc.) or grammatical morphemes (deictic, directional, focus particle, etc.).

(ii) In contrast to the grammaticalized and compulsory use of reciprocal markers, markers expressing reflexive situations are seldom obligatory, even if they are typically required with third person arguments.

My approach of reflexivity in the Oceanic world will therefore be different from the one proposed by linguists who include middle actions into the reflexive domain, and choose to consider that in one and the same language, reflexivity in the broad sense may be expressed by different strategies. This is understandable in languages such as English in which both expressions, *John washed* and *John washed himself* are possible and semantically identical. This possibility of adding a reflexive marker to an expression belonging to the middle domain is not allowed in Oceanic languages, and this is the reason why I chose to strictly delimitate the two semantic - middle and reflexive - domains, already morpho-syntactically differentiated at least at the Proto Oceanic level, and presumably earlier, even though the *paRi- prefix is said to be an innovation of Proto Oceanic (Pawley, 1973).

Table 1 summarizes the Oceanic morpho-syntactic organization concerning the semantic domains of reflexivity and middle, as well as the reciprocal domain, in order to show the overlapping marking of the latter with the middle one:

- middle and reciprocal situations are encoded by intransitive or pseudo transitive constructions, while prototypical reflexive situations are expressed by through transitive constructions;

- in most cases, middle and reciprocal constructions share the use of the prefix *paRi-.

CONSTRUCTIONS	SEMANTIC DOMAINS
unmarked V or *paRi-V, intransitive constructions	middle situations generic, depatientive: <i>be a fighter, be obedient</i> ; spontaneous events: <i>split, fall by itself</i> ; grooming actions: <i>bathe, shave</i> , shared activity, inherent and dual reciprocity: <i>marry, meet, date, argue</i>
unmarked V, pseudo-transitive, with pronominal O obligatorily coreferent with S	middle situations such as meteorological events: <i>appear (sun)</i> or change in body position: <i>turn around, arise, stand up, sit down</i>
circumfixed V with prefix *paRi- + suffix or *paRi-V + pronominal O obligatorily coreferent with S	prototypical reciprocal situations : <i>visit, help, chase, observe, talk to each other</i>
unmarked V, transitive construction, with coreference between S and pronominal O marked by a specific morpheme	prototypical reflexive situations : <i>cut, hurt, be ashamed of, admire, hate one self.</i>

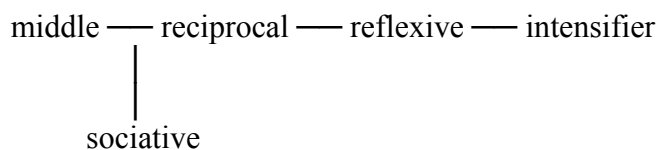
Table 1: Basic constructions and semantic domains among Oceanic languages
(adapted from Moyses-Faurie 2008:109)

From Table 1, we can identify the basic scenario, with Oceanic languages marking with the same prefix middle and reciprocal situations, and differently reflexive one:

Reflexive ≠ [Middle ≈ Reciprocal]

Reflexive constructions consist of an unmarked verb, the construction is transitive, and co-reference between S and pronominal O is marked by a morpheme, which in most cases also fulfills several intensifying uses. This is the most common situation amongst Oceanic languages. All the constructions expressing prototypical reflexivity encountered in Oceanic languages are transitive and the unique participant is encoded twice. The intensifier or the reflexive marker indicates co-reference between the subject and the pronominal object, in a transitive construction³. This point also marks the difference with constructions expressing middle values. As we will see in the following section, reflexive markers have quite a wide range of different origins in these languages, even if all of them are attested elsewhere in the world's languages, even if quite rarely in some cases. In a few languages, two or three different markers may be used to express prototypical reflexivity, with semantic correlates (cf. §4).

The semantic map below summarizes possible overlaps encountered in Oceanic languages in the encoding of the meaning under discussion. The same formal marker can only encode adjacent domains:



Two other scenarios are attested, both due to recent evolutions:

(i) Middle, reciprocals and reflexives are all marked with at least the prefix *paRi- (that is, the French and German type of languages). This scenario is very rare in Oceanic languages and I only found it in some Kanak languages spoken in the North and Centre of the Mainland of New Caledonia.

It is due to the extension of the middle/reciprocal markers (reflexes of POc *paRi-) into the prototypical reflexive domain. No specific marking for reflexive situations entails ambiguity between reflexive and reciprocal situations.

(ii) Reciprocal and reflexive situations are marked identically, but differently from middle ones. This is also a later evolution inside the Oceanic family, occurred in languages which lost reflexes of the Proto-Oceanic prefix. It is then the reflexive marker which extended its use into the reciprocal domain, but never in the middle one. This situation is found in Eastern Polynesia, and in a few Kanak languages spoken in the South of the Mainland.

In the next section, I will present a brief survey of the different sources of Oceanic reflexive markers (see Moyses-Faurie 2008:130-154 for more examples)⁴.

³Oceanic languages are not the only languages in which reflexive situations are expressed through transitive constructions. König & Siemund (2005) give a Malayalam (Dravidian language).

⁴Since 2004, I have begun a systematic survey of the different types, sources and uses of intensifiers and reflexive markers found in Oceanic languages. Here, I would like to thank all the Oceanic speakers I was lucky to encounter, either during fieldwork sessions (the so-called ‘informants’), or at the University of New Caledonia (students of the ‘Langues et Cultures océaniques’ cursus), or colleagues attending Austronesianist or Oceanist conferences, and last but not least, speakers from all parts of the New Caledonia and Vanuatu archipelagos, met at night in the Numea ‘squatt Coca’ nakamals, sharing kava drinking time.

As I already mentioned, in some languages there are more than one marker to encode prototypical reflexivity. For example, in Drehu (Loyalty islands), three different markers may be used, involving slight semantic distinctions. It is also the case in several Polynesian languages such as Māori, East Futunan and East Uvean, which have two reflexive markers, of different origin. These choices are available for most verbs likely to express prototypical reflexivity. The fact that different expressions may be used in one language to express prototypical reflexivity is due to the recent and somehow multi-dimensional grammaticalization of reflexive markers in Oceanic languages. They are very different from cases of reflexivization including middle situations, as described by Muysken (1993) for Papiamentu, each strategy being only available for a semantic class of verbs.

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; they presuppose intentionality and often draw attention to the unexpected nature of the event described. With this definition, the link with some of the main functions of intensifiers becomes obvious: In Oceanic languages, typical reflexive situations are mostly expressed by specific constructions (intensifiers or other particles) which are not limited to a few verbs or restricted situations, by contrast with the middle markers. And in addition, the implicational generalization formulated in König & Siemund (2000a:59) and König (2001:752) is confirmed by our data: “If a language uses the same expression both as an intensifier and as a reflexive anaphor, this expression is not used as a marker of derived intransitivity.” In languages in which reflexivity is marked by an expression also used as intensifier, middle situations are never expressed with such markers. It is the reflexes of the POc middle/reciprocal prefix *paRi- which are markers of derived intransitivity, functioning in the same way as French *se* or German *sich*.

2. Typological survey of the Oceanic reflexive markers

Whatever their origin, reflexive markers may be classified into two categories: those who also fulfill several intensifying uses, and those who seldom fulfill such uses. This dichotomy is partly due to their origin: morphemes first used as intensifiers extended their use to the reflexive domain, while (ad)verbs used as reflexive markers seldom extended their use to intensifying purpose. This is the case for a type of reflexive markers well attested amongst Oceanic languages, coming from spatial notions. Among the reflexive markers of spatial origin, only some of them are also used as intensifiers, such as the Eastern Polynesian markers.

Whatever their origin, the common use of all the reflexive markers, however, is to be able to mark co-reference between two arguments in transitive constructions, even if, in other semantic contexts, or occurring in different positions, reflexive markers may fulfill other functions: for example, markers of spatial origin may also express iterative/repetitive events, and restrictive particles may just have a modifying verbal use.

2.1. Reflexives come from intensifiers

The essential properties of intensifiers are by now well-known: They are basically operators denoting an identity function, and König & Gast (2006) describe their prosodic and semantic properties as follows:

- All intensifiers are generally focused and evoke specific types of alternatives (paraphrasing ‘alone’); or provide alternative descriptions of the *same event token* to which the sentence refers (‘too, also’)
- Intensifiers trigger certain types of presuppositions."

Four use types can be distinguished, even if not all of them are available in each language:

- the adnominal use: 'The chief *himself* will come to the meeting'
- the adverbial exclusive use: 'My father cooked the meal *himself*'
- the inclusive adverbial use: 'John was *himself* sick last month'.
- the attributive use: 'His *own* son betrayed him'."

As shown by König and Siemund (2000), intensifiers play an important role in the genesis, reinforcement and renovation of reflexive anaphors and indeed this is how English marks reflexivity: 'John pinches *himself*'.

Two main typological studies show the link between reflexivity and intensifiers:

- the *Typological Database of Intensifiers and Reflexives* (V. Gast, D. Hole, E. König, P. Siemund, S. Töpfer) (website <http://www.tdir.org>), with a sample of more than 100 languages, none of them Oceanic, however.

- the *WALS article and map: Intensifiers and reflexive pronouns* (E. König and P. Siemund), based on a sample of 168 languages. Two types of languages are defined. The first type, ('identical'), comprises languages in which intensifiers and reflexive pronouns are formally identical (94 languages). In the second type, ('differentiated'), intensifiers and reflexive pronouns are formally distinct (74 languages). The database includes nine Austronesian languages (four Oceanic, in bold characters), classified along the two types:

4 'identical': Chamorro, Indonesia, **Rapanui**, **Tukang Besi**

5 'differentiated': Batak (Karo), **Drehu**, **Fijian**, **Maori**, and Tagalog

Of the five with distinct forms, the three Oceanic ones should join Rapanui into the 'identical' or at least, partially identical category⁵. Examples of partial identity between intensifiers and reflexive markers will be found below in Māori (11-13), Fijian (15-16) and Drehu (Moyses-Faurie 2008).

Many Oceanic languages, indeed, mark reflexivity with morphemes first used as intensifiers⁶: Some of the intensifiers are of unknown lexical origin, very few come from body parts, or 'true, exact', 'alone', i.e. from notions rarely used as reflexive markers in the world's languages.

a) Restrictive and emphatic particles

"Restrictive" or "emphatic" particles are used as reflexive marker and intensifier (adnominal, exclusive adverbial and attributive uses), but for which no definite lexical origin has been found: East Futunan *fa'i*, East Uvean, Niuafou'ou and Tongan *pē*; Tuvaluan *loa*; Nengone *ko*; Drehu *kō*; Samoan and Tokelauan *lava*, used at least as exclusive adverbial and attributive intensifiers, and in reflexive constructions; in Northern Kanak languages emphatic particles such as Nêlêmwa *daa*, Nyêlayu *jiwa*; Yuanga *tuvu* are used to express reflexivity. In Taba (Bowden, 2001), an Eastern Malayo-Polynesian language of South Halmahera: the preverbal particle *do* marks reflexivity and is used as an adnominal and exclusive adverbial intensifier.

The Nengone (Maré, Loyalty islands) intensifier is *ko*, and has different intensifying uses (adnominal as in (1), exclusive adverbial (2) and attributive uses), along with the

⁵The authors are aware, however, of the inadequacy of the dichotomous classification they had to choose: "For the purposes of the map, cases of partial and complete identity have been lumped together and contrasted with cases of non-identity". The lack of data available when they established the classification led them to wrong results for the three Oceanic languages.

⁶A few authors do mention intensifiers and reflexive markers in the languages they worked on, mainly Polynesian ones: Hooper (2000) on Tokelauan; Besnier (2000) on Tuvaluan. As a matter of fact, I became aware of the existence of reflexive markers while studying East Futunan, also belonging to the Polynesian subgroup. This might not be a coincidence. As we are now aware of, Polynesian languages have more reflexive markers, recognized as such, than other Oceanic languages, and most of them do exhibit extensive uses of these markers as intensifiers.

reflexive use in a direct object construction (3) or an oblique one (4) and in a benefactive object (5):

NENGGONE (Maré, Loyalty islands)

1. Ka melei **ko** i Numea eje ci uni ileoden ore ace.
and there INT in Numea one IPFV find all DEF thing
'In Numea itself, one finds everything.' (Suzie Bearune, p.c.)
2. Inu ha co rue **ko**.
1SG PFV FUT do INT
'I will do it myself.' (Wassissi Könyi, p.c.)
3. Bone hna a-tango-ni bone **ko**.
3SG PST CAUS-die-TR 3SG INT
'He killed himself.' (id.)
4. Meri ci opodone ti bone **ko**.
Meri IPFV proud about 3SG INT
'Meri is proud of herself.' (Suzie Bearune, p.c.)
5. Peteru hna lae gutusi so bone **ko**.
Peteru PST buy book BEN 3SG INT
'Peteru bought himself a book.' (Katia Harper, p.c.)

The intensifier is also part of the negative marker *deko*:

6. **Deko** ma bone **ko** kore hna rue ore loto bon.
NEG ASP 3SG INT SM+DEF PST make DEF car 3SG
'He didn't repair his car himself.' (F. Wahea, p.c.)

In a few Oceanic languages, one only finds partial identity between the intensifier uses and the reflexive marker. It is the case for example in Tuvaluan, a Polynesian language, with *ēlō* (adnominal use in 7), *eiloa* (exclusive adverbial use in 8), *loa* (attributive use in 9) and either *loa* (10a) or *loa... loa* (10b) for the reflexive use, with both the absolutive and the ergative arguments followed by *loa*.

TUVALUAN (Ellicean Outlier)

7. Ttele atu nā mātou i te mata **ēlō** o te ava. (adnominal)
run DIR then ITRI.EXCL at ART face INT POSS ART passage
'We ran to the very mouth of the boat passage.' (Besnier 2000:239)
8. E kkai **eiloa** a lātou kiā lātou. (exclusive adverbial)
NPAST eat INT ABS 3PL OBL 3PL
'They eat by themselves.' (id.:204)
9. Lusi ne oko mai i te vaka o ia **loa**. (attributive)
Lusi PAST reach DIR in ART canoe POSS 3SG INT
'Lusi arrived in his [own] canoe'. (id.:203)
- 10a. Ne tā a Lusi nē ia **loa**. (reflexive)
PST strike ABS Lusi ERG 3SG INT
'Lusi killed himself'. (id.:203)
- 10b. Ne tā nē Lusi **loa** a ia **loa**. (reflexive)
PST strike ERG Lusi INT ABS 3SG INT
'Lusi killed himself'. (id.:203)

b) Expressions denoting singularity

Another well-known source for intensifier is expressions denoting singularity. Adjuncts reflexive markers or preverbs with the lexical origin 'alone, only, one' are found in Polynesian languages such as Māori (*anake*) and Fagauvea (*hage*), in Micronesian languages such as Kusaiean (*na*), Marshallese (*make*), Ponape and Mokilese (*pein*); in Fijian (*gā*); in

Saliba (*bom*); and outside the Oceanic subgroup, in Taba (*do*), Chamorro (*maisa*); Bahasa Indonesia (*sendiri*), etc. Also in the Melanesian Pidgin Bislama *wan* (reflexive, as nominal adjunct); and of course, elsewhere in the world languages, as in Tzotzil or Yiddish...

MĀORI (Eastern Polynesian)

11. Ko au **anake** rāi i 'aere mai ei. (exclusive adverbial use)
 PRED 1SG ALONE just PFV come DIR ANAPH
 'I came all by myself.' (Bauer 1997)
12. Kei te horoi a Mere i ōna kākahu **anake**. (attributive use)
 TAM wash PERS Mere OBJ her clothes ALONE
 'Mere is washing her (own) clothes.' (Bauer 1997:638)
13. Ka hoko a Hone i te motokā mōna **anake**. (benefactive reflexive use)
 TAM buy PERS Hone OBJ ART car for.him ALONE
 'Hone will buy a car for himself.' (Bauer 1997:639)

BISLAMA (Melanesian Pidgin, Vanuatu)⁷

- 14a. Hemi kilim hem. 14b. Hemi kilim hem **wan**.
 3SG hit.TR 3SG 3SG hit.TR 3SG ALONE
 'He is hitting him.' 'He is hitting himself.'

FIJIAN

15. E liunwri-taki koya na luve-na **gā**.
 3SG betray-TR 3SG ART son-his INT
 'His own son betrays him.' (P. Geraghty, p.c.)
- 16a. E kunati koya. 16b. E kunat koya **gā**.
 3SG hang 3SG 3SG hang 3SG ONLY
 'He hangs him.' 'He hangs himself.' (id.)

The Polynesian Outlier Fagauvea uses the cognate form *hage* 'alone', occurring by contrast in a preverbal position:

FAGAUVEA (Uvea, Loyalty islands)

17. E munea a Sili giate au penei i de **hage** maina ieia
 IPFV say PERS Sili OBL 1SG COMP 3SG IPFV ALONE be.ashamed 3SG
 'Sili is telling me that he is ashamed of himself.'

c) Expressions denoting veracity, exactitude or resemblance

Adjunct reflexive markers of verbal origin 'true, exact', that is expressions denoting veracity, exactitude, or resemblance ('image, be like') are used as intensifiers in attributive, exclusive adverbial and adnominal uses (but never as reciprocal markers), as *to(to)nu* in East Uvean, East Futunan or Tongan, a reflexive strategy also found in Modern Breton (*end-eeun*), in Fulfulde (*tigi*), in Malagasy (*mihitsy*) or in Chalcatongo Mixtec, mentioned in *WALS*.

In none of the Oceanic languages I am aware of did I find the 'true, exact' strategy as the only possible one to express reflexivity in a given language. East Uvean and East Futunan both have the restrictive strategy with respectively *pē* and *fa'i* particles, and the veracity expression *to(to)nu* comes in addition. See §4 below for more discussion concerning these cases of competition between different strategies.

In East Uvean, both forms - the non reduplicate *tonu*, or the reduplicate one *totonu* - occur as a verb meaning 'be right, exact' (18a, b, c). *Tonu* is often used in an impersonal construction to express the exhortative, as in (18b).

⁷ Bislama *nomo* seems to have reflexive and attributive uses, also as nominal adjuncts, and combines with *wan*: *mi wan nomo* 'only I (and no one else)'

EAST UVEAN (Nuclear Polynesian)

- 18a. 'E **tonu** ia Mikaele
 NPST be.right ABS Mikaele
 'Mikaele is right.'
- 18b. 'E **tonu** ke tou fakavilivili.
 NPST be.right that 1PL.INCL hurry
 'We must hurry up.'
- 18c. 'E mole fa'a **totonu** te fua o te fale.
 NPST NEG very straight SPC foundation POSS SPC house
 'The foundations of the house are not very straight.'

Both forms are used as intensifiers.

19. Ko Malia **tonu** 'aē ne'e ha'u. (adnominal use)
 PRED Malia TRUE DEIC PST come
 'Malia herself came.'
20. ko tanāua tamai **tonu** (attributive)
 PRED our son TRUE
 'Our own son.'
21. Ke ina fai e ia **totonu!** (exclusive adverbial use)
 that 3SG make ERG 3SG TRUE.RED
 'He has to do it himself!'
- 22a. Ne'e au fai e au **totonu** (exclusive adverbial use)
 PST 1SG make ERG 1SG TRUE.RED
 'I did it myself.'

But the non reduplicated form of the intensifier may be part of the verb phrase, and the pronominal doesn't need to occur twice either:

- 22b. Ne'e fai **tonu** e au
 PST make TRUE ERG 1SG
 'I did it myself.'

As a reflexive marker, the usual form is the reduplicated one: *totonu* is postposed in (23) to the absolutive argument:

23. 'E lelei'ia 'aupitō e Soane ia ia **totonu.** (reflexive)
 IPFV admire very ERG Soane ABS 3SG TRUE
 'Soane admires himself a lot.'

In East Futunan, both forms (the simple and the reduplicate) are also used, and it is difficult to determine if both are available for each use. In East Uvean, the attributive use seems to favor the simple form, but in East Futunan, it is the reduplicated form which occurs for the same use:

EAST FUTUNAN

24. Ku sakinake fa'i a ia kiate au ko sona toe **totonu.**
 PFV be.similar.to RESTR ABS 3SG OBL 1SG PRED his child TRUE.RED
 'He behaves to me as if I were his own child.' (Biggs, unpublished dictionary)

In addition to the 'alone' strategy with *gā*, Fijian *vakātaki* is used as an adjunct reflexive marker, meaning 'be like', also used as exclusive adverbial intensifier:

FIJIAN

25. Au cako-na **vakātaki** au (exclusive adverbial)
 1SG do-TR BE LIKE.TR 1SG
 'I do it myself' (Geraghty, p.c.)

26. E moku-ti koya **vakātaki** koya (reflexive)
 3SG smack-TR 3SG BE LIKE.TR 3SG
 ‘He smacks himself.’ (id.)

In addition to the bound body part noun *labe-* (see (29) below), Kwaio (South East Solomon) uses the noun *lakasini* as a reflexive marker meaning ‘resemblance, image (reflection), photography’ which, according to Keesing (1985:167), is borrowed from a Pijin word (Pijin is the Melanesian Pidgin spoken in the Solomon islands) coming from English *likeness*. Such a “reflection” meaning is also found in Finnish with the more grammaticalized form *itse* and also in Dyirbal.

d) Expressions denoting spontaneity

A verb or a verbal modifier meaning ‘(do) spontaneously’, ‘(do) reflexively’: Fagauvea *pusu/supu*, Ifira-Mele *tupu*⁸ (Clark 1998), Ura *espe* (Crowley, 1999), Sye *ehpe*, is used as a reflexive marker, exclusive adverbial intensifier, and to express spontaneous events: FAGAUVEA (Polynesian Outlier; Uvea, Loyalty islands)

27. E **pusu** fuatiaina ie ia a Pol (reflexive)
 IPFV SPONT hate.TR ABS 3SG PERS Pol
 ‘Pol hates himself.’

URA (Southern Vanuatu)

28. **K-espe** n-elei qa (reflexive)
 2SG.PST-do.reflexively NMLZ-scratch 2SG
 ‘You scratched yourself.’ (Crowley 1999:176)

e) Head bound nouns

Head bound nouns (obligatorily possessed) are mostly found in Vanuatu languages, such as: Anejoñ *isp^wa-*, cognate with Sye *ehpe-* and Lolovoli *sibo-*, and South Efate *tme-/tmo-*, which all have the exclusive adverbial and reflexive uses. In Central Eastern Oceanic, these bound nouns overtly refer to body parts as in Kwaio *labe-*; they are used in all functions but inclusive adverbial, as Kokota *tagi-/tai-*(+1sg.poss); or at least in an exclusive adverbial function as in Nadrogā (West Fijian) *vaini*; these forms recall the well-known Bahasa Indonesia *diri-*.

KWAIO (South East Solomon, Central Eastern Oceanic)

29. Ngai a aga-si-a **labe-na** naa ilonunu. (reflexive)
 3SG.FOC 3SG see-TR-3SG BODY-POSS.3SG LOC mirror
 ‘He saw himself in the mirror.’ (Keesing 1985:167)

LOLOVOLI (North Central Vanuatu)

30. Go=tai=e lawe=eu. Hate go=tai=e **sibo-mu.** (excl. adv.)
 2SGS=chop=3SGO BEN=1SGO no 2SGS=chop=3SGO SELF-2SGP
 ‘Cut it for me. No, cut it yourself.’ (Hyslop, 2001:266)

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

KOKOTA (Santa Isabel, Western Oceanic)

32. [...] ira mane **tagi-di** (adnominal)
 the.PL man REFL-3PL.POSS
 ‘...the people themselves.’ (Palmer, 2009:104)

⁸In Ifira-Mele, the marker *tupu* could be the same root as the verb *tupu* meaning "to grow".

33. Ara n-a fa marhi=nau tai-ŋu (reflexive)
 1SG REALIS-1SG.S CAUS feel.pain=1SG.O REFL-1SG.POSS
 ‘I have hurt myself.’ (id.:186)

Another type of bound noun is found in Iaaï: *ham-* ‘responsibility, duty’, always preposed to the predicate; it is used as an intensifier in adnominal and exclusive adverbial uses, and as a reflexive marker in combination with *hmetu* ‘return’ (*hmetoo* in its transitive form, when immediately preceded by a transitive verb) or with *bi*, particle expressing “l’insistance, le réfléchi, la simultanéité, la restriction” (Ozanne-Rivierre 1984), as in example (37), in which *hmetu* is no more compulsory. *Bi* insists on the fact that the event is totally unexpected.

IAAI (Uvea, Loyalty islands)

34. A ka hame-n oo thaan ganyi ûxacaköu. (adnominal)
 3SG ASS RESPONSIBILITY-POSS.3SG arrive chief for meeting
 ‘The chief himself came to the meeting.’
35. Haba köiö me ogee hamwök hingâlââ. (exclusive adverbial)
 PRED water then 1SG+IPFV RESPONSIBILITY+POSS.1SG spread
 ‘The water, I spread it myself.’ (Ozanne-Rivierre 1984)
36. Ame ka hame-n sumec hmetoo. (reflexive)
 3SG+IPFV ASS RESPONSIBILITY- POSS.3SG pinch.TR RETURN.TR
 ‘He is pinching himself.’
37. Ötine ka hamwötin hlingö ötin (hmetu) bi.
 1PL.INCL+IPFV ASS RESPONSIBILITY+POSS.1PL.INCL kill 1PL.INCL (RETURN) INT
 ‘We will kill ourselves.’

2.2. Reflexive markers from spatial notions

As already mentioned, one of the main sources of reflexive markers in Oceanic languages comes from spatial notions. Among verbal or adverbial reflexive markers of ‘spatial’ origins, we must distinguish between the ‘return/again/backwards’ sources which seldom fulfill any intensifying function, although it is also used as reciprocals in a few languages, and between the ‘go down, downwards’ origin, which now fulfils all the intensifying uses (except the inclusive adverbial one). The ‘return/again/backwards’ origin is found in many parts of Oceania, while the ‘downwards’ origin is specific to the Eastern Polynesian languages. My explanation for this fact is that for East Polynesian settlers, returning to where they came from (the West) would imply going down the wind, that is, downwards.

The fact that several Oceanic languages use the ‘return’ strategy to encode reflexivity is due to two factors. First, a cognitive explanation, such as the one given by F. Lichtenberk (1991: 504): “In a total ‘return’-situation complex, the deictic center is both the source and the destination of the motion; in reflexive situations the relevant participant is both the performer and the undergoer.” The second explanation holds in areal diffusion. This is striking in Kanak languages of the Mainland which use cognate terms for ‘return, again’ to express reflexivity (Xârâcüù and Xârâgurè *mûgé*, Numèè and Drubea *mwêê*, ‘Orôê *bwiri*, Tîrî *mwâgi*, Haméa *mwâi*, etc.). Other Kanak languages use a non-cognate term (Caac *jae*, Paicî *cöwâ*, Ajië *yâi* or *tëë*). The use of ‘return’ as a reflexive marker is also found in several languages belonging to the Meso Melanesian Cluster of the Central-Eastern Oceanic subgroup: Vangunu *pule* (Lichtenberk 1991), Roviana *pule* (Corston-Oliver in Lynch *et al.* 2002); Tolai *mule* (Zwinge

1953, Mosel⁹ 1991), or to the Papuan Tip Cluster of the same subgroup, such as Tawala *me-* (Ezard 1997)¹⁰ and Saliba *uyo* (Margetts 1999). A further case is Tetun *hika(r)*, a Central Malayo-Polynesian language (van Klinken 1999). In Northern Vanuatu languages such as Mwothlap *lok* (François 2001) and in an Eastern Polynesian language: Māori *anō* (Bauer 1997).

Such an extensive use of the ‘return’ strategy in Austronesian languages could be due to a common etymon, which, to my knowledge, has not yet been revealed. In some cases, it is more evidently due to areal diffusion (cf. §5). The use of ‘return’ to express reflexivity is also attested outside the Austronesian family, for example, in a Yanoman language of Brazil called Sanumá (Borgman 1991, cited in Schladt 2000).

In some languages which lost reflexes of the middle/reciprocal Proto Oceanic prefix *paRi-, ‘return, again’ has extended its use to encode reciprocity, with plural arguments. It is the case in Tawala, Xârâcùù, Tîrî and Hamea (New Caledonia), Māori and marginally in Mwothlap (François 2001) taking the place of the Proto Oceanic prefix. The word order is the same as in reflexive situations, leading to ambiguity with plural arguments when both situations are conceivable:

XÂRÂCÙÙ (South of the Mainland, New Caledonia)

38. Xûûchî chëi **mûgé** na è ngê chaa kwââ. (reflexive)
 child hit RETURN PST 3SGO with one stick
 ‘The child hit himself with a stick.’

39. Mée poa **mûgé** na ri wâ ri. (reciprocal)
 cat rub RETURN PST 3PL OBL 3PL
 ‘The cats have been rubbing against each other.’

TÎRÎ (South of the Mainland, New Caledonia)

40. Rri eghe rri **mwâgi**. (reflexive / reciprocal)
 3PL tooth+hurt 3PL RETURN
 ‘They are biting themselves/each other.’ (Agnès Holero, p.c.)

MĀORI

41. Kaua e whaka-mamae ia kōrua **anō**. (reflexive / reciprocal)
 NEG TAM CAUS-hurt OBJ 2DU AGAIN
 ‘Don’t hurt yourselves / each other!’ (Bauer, 1997:636)

Whereas in Xârâcùù, the ‘return’ strategy didn’t extend to intensifying uses¹¹, in the neighboring language Hamea, a language which also marks reflexivity (and, in a lesser extent, reciprocity) with the ‘return’ strategy, *mwâi* has all the different uses as intensifier, as for example, the attributive one (42) and even the inclusive adverbial one (43):

HAMEA (South of the Mainland, New Caledonia)

42. Hewo-nô **mwâi** na ta nô.
 son-1SG.POSS RETURN 3SG hit 1SG
 ‘My own son hit me.’

⁹Mosel (1991:176): “In Tolai, reflexive actions can be expressed by syntactically transitive clauses, the only difference being that the patient is expressed by a pronoun that is coreferential with the agent. This coreferentiality can be indicated by the particule *mule*.’ And in a note: “This particule is cognate with the verb *mule* (tr.) ‘do again’.”

¹⁰Tawala *me-* is semi grammaticalized: it is the non-reduplicated form of *meme* “return/again”, and a pronominal object has to be suffixed to it.

¹¹In Xârâcùù, intensifying uses are expressed by another strategy, also used for reflexivity in other Oceanic languages. For example, the ‘true, authentic’ morpheme *dō* is used as an attributive intensifier:

Famuru xōri chaa xuu kè **dō** xûâ rèè.
 Famuru like one young from TRUE village POSS+3SG
 ‘Famuru wants to live with a young of her own village.’

43. [...] o trâmwâ, é nô mwâi fi na chaa béé-mi-nô
 1SG.S know TO 1SG.INDEP RETURN exist SM one NMLZ-fall-1SG.POSS
 ‘[Car accidents are frequent], I know, I had an accident myself.’ (Lit. I know, to myself my accident existed)

In the Centre and South Mainland of New Caledonia, the areal diffusion of the ‘return’ strategy to express reflexivity is impressive, even though the forms are not always cognates. But, with the exception of Hamea, they seldom occur in intensifying functions.

The reflexive marker of the ‘downwards’ origin, by contrast, covers not only all the intensifying uses (except the inclusive adverbial one) but also the reflexive and the reciprocal uses. This marker, coming from the grammaticalization of the verb meaning ‘go down’, is widely attested in Eastern Polynesian languages, such as Marquesan, Tahitian, Hawaiian, Nukuoro (*iho*), West Uvean (*ifō*), and has many uses. In Tahitian, it fulfils all the intensifying uses (except the inclusive adverbial one): adnominal use in (44a), exclusive adverbial use in (44b), attributive use in (44c), and also reflexive use in (44d). Below are Tahitian examples, most of them already given in Moyse-Faurie (2008:150-152).

TAHITIAN: *iho* ‘downwards’ < Proto Polynesian *hifo ‘go down’

- 44a. 'O te 'orometua **iho** tē haere mai. (adnominal use)
 PRED ART pastor DOWN ART+IPFV go DIR
 ‘The parson himself will come.’ (Lazard & Peltzer 2000:173)
- 44b. E'e're nā'u **iho** i tāta'i i tō'u pere'o. (exclusive adverbial use)
 NEG to:1SG DOWN PFV repara OBJ my car
 ‘I didn't repara my car myself.’ (P. Vernaudon p.c.)
- 44c. 'E'ere rātou tō'u **iho** mau tamari'i. (attributive use)
 it.is.not 3PL my DOWN PL child
 ‘They are not my own children.’ (id.)
- 44d. 'Ua taparahi rātou ia rātou **iho**. (reflexive use)
 PFV hit.with.a.stick 3PL OBJ 3PL DOWN
 ‘They hit themselves with a stick.’ (id.)

The same strategy, with *iho* ‘downwards’, is used to express reciprocity, but in this case, the object marker does not occur anymore and the pronouns are juxtaposed¹²:

- 44e. 'Ua taparahi rātou rātou **iho**. (reciprocal use)
 PFV hit.with.a.stick 3PL 3PL DOWN
 ‘They hit each other with a stick.’ (id.)

According to Schladt (2000), the use of ‘downwards’ as intensifier is also found in Niger-Congo languages such as Zande, Ndogo, Nzakara, or Barambo.

In this section on spatial notions used as reflexive markers - and in some languages, also as intensifiers - mention must also be made of the Rapanui situation, where according to Veronica Du Feu (1996:93), it is the emphatic demonstrative 'a “necessarily anaphoric in that it points to a previously mentioned element”, which has a reflexive use (46), in addition to an intensifying attributive one (45):

RAPANUI (Polynesian, Easter Island): 'a ‘remote deictic’

45. E tai'o 'a ta'aku puka 'a (attributive use)
 NPST read RES my book INT
 ‘I am reading my own book.’ (Du Feu 1996:98)

¹²This seems to be a recent evolution. In Coppenrath and Prevost (1975:168), reciprocal constructions are strictly identical with the reflexive ones, both including the object marker.

46. He aha ia a koe e vananga ena kia koe 'a (benefactive reflexive)
 ART what 3SG PERS 2SG NPST talk there OBL 2SG INT
 'What are you doing there talking to yourself?' (id.:97)

3. Position in sentence

I will now consider two syntactic points concerning the position occupied by the reflexive marker in the sentence.

Reflexive markers as well as intensifiers can never occupy an argument position by themselves. In most cases, the position in the sentence of the reflexive markers is fixed, depending on the category they belong to and the function they perform: nominal adjunct in the noun phrase, or adverb in the verb phrase. But in some languages, the reflexive marker may occupy different position, often with semantic correlates. And in Polynesian ergative languages, the reflexive markers may occur as an adjunct after different types of arguments.

A striking point is that reflexive markers having the same semantic origin may occur in different positions depending on the language. This variation does not seem to be linked to the syntactic category they belong to, or to their semantics, or even to their degree of grammaticalization. Hence for example, reflexive markers whose origin is 'alone' may occur as preverbal particles (Taba, West Uvean) or as nominal adjunct (Māori). Similarly, reflexive markers coming from 'return, again' may still be part of serial verb constructions, or occur as nominal adjuncts, or even as preverbal particles. Examples of such cross-linguistic variation will be given in §3.1, while in §3.2 I will show that even in a given language, the position of the reflexive marker may vary.

3.1. The position is fixed in a given language, but differs from one language to the other

Contrastive or emphatic particles used as reflexive markers may be preposed to the predicate, as is the case for example in languages of the North of New Caledonia, but postposed to the pronominal argument, as for example in East Uvean or Tongan.

Expressions denoting singularity ('alone') may occur as preverbs (Fagauvea) or as postposed pronominal adjuncts (Fijian, Māori).

Bound nouns may express reflexivity, when preposed to the verb (Iaai, Anejoñ) or postposed to the pronominal argument (Lolovoli).

Expressions denoting veracity, exactitude, precision of reference: 'true, exact' may either occur as nominal adjuncts (East Uvean, East Futunan) or as preverbs (Drehu).

To illustrate this variation in position found across languages, starting from an identical semantic notion, I will look through the different types of occurrences found for 'return' used as a marker of reflexivity: The relevant expression may be part of a serial verb construction (a), or occur as an adjunct, after the pronominal object (b). Other languages have the 'again' morpheme occurring before the main predicate, as shown in (c).

a) In verb serialization

VANGUNU (Solomon)

47. Tinoni vahesihesi **pule** ni-na
 man praise.RED RETURN TR-3SG
 'The man praises himself a lot.' (Lichtenberk 1991 503)

XÂRÂCÛÛ (South of the Mainland, New Caledonia)

48. È cara-ri mûgé è.
3SG be.ashamed-TR RETURN 3SG
'He is ashamed of himself.'
49. Wèi bwa xõri dö kwêê-rè xõri mûgé è.
this.one DEIC like TRUE wife-3SG like RETURN 3SG
'He who loves his own wife loves himself.'

The use of 'again' to express reflexivity is also attested in Saliba (Western Oceanic, Papuan Tip, Milne Bay Province), where A. Margetts (1999: 334) also describes the use of *uyo* 'go back, again', in a serial verb construction.

b) After the pronominal object

In the Vangunu and Xârâcùù examples just presented, and as it is also the case in Saliba, 'return/again' was part of serial verb constructions¹³. In Ajië (50) and (51b), 'Orôê (52), Tîrî (53) and Paamese (54) by contrast, the pronominal co-referent object is followed by 'return/again', indicating that this verbal element is on its way to becoming an autonomous reflexive marker, no longer belonging to the serial verb construction:

AJIË (Centre of the Mainland, New Caledonia)

50. Na rhôoru é tēē
3SG accuse 3SG AGAIN
'He accuses himself.'

The reflexive marker is bound to its domain, also marking co-reference between the subject and the pronominal object inside the subordinate clause:

- 51a. Nai moké êrê yè nyâ na Nénoâi êrê nai kōō xi ej.
3SG PROG say OBL 1SG SM Nénoâ COMP 3SG be.ashamed BEN 3SG
'Nénoâ is telling me that he is ashamed of him (someone else).' (Angy Boehe, p.c.)
- 51b. Nai moké êrê yè nyâ na Nénoâi êrê nai kōō xi [e tēē].i.
3SG PROG say OBL 1SG SM Nénoâ COMP 3SG be.ashamed BEN 3SG RETURN
'Nénoâ is telling me that he is ashamed of himself.' (id.)

'ORÔÊ (Center of the Mainland, New Caledonia)

52. I dé rôé yè è bwiri.
3SG IPFV be.angry OBL 3SG RETURN
'He is angry against himself.'

TÎRÎ (South of the Mainland, New Caledonia)

53. Nrà ôi nrî mwâgi
3SG pinch 3SGO RETURN
'He pinches himself.' (Agnès Holero, p.c.)

In Paamese, the reflexive marker is included into the verb phrase, following the pronominal object:

PAAMESE (Vanuatu): --ris(i) < 'return, go back'

54. Nalesinauris en kilās.
1SG.REAL.see.1SG.AGAIN OBL mirror
'I looked at myself in the mirror.' (Crowley 1982: 180, 233-234)

c) Preposed to the verb

In other languages, the 'again, return' marker is preposed to the verb, in the same position as when it is used to express iteration, and thus, leading to ambiguity between the

¹³The same word order is found in Numèè and in Drubea, Kanak languages spoken farther South, separated from Xârâcùù by Xârâgurè, a language in which the reflexive marker follows the pronominal object. This areal discontinuity is probably due to the Kanak migrations which occurred after the French colonization.

repetitive and the reflexive interpretation. This is the case in Caac, with the reflexive marker *jae*, also meaning ‘again’. This form is not found in J. Hollyman's unpublished dictionary. According to young and middle age speakers, it might be the result of the conflation of two morphemes, the continuous aspect marker *jaa* ‘go on doing sth.’, still in use (*i jaa go* ‘s/he cries continuously’), and *oye* ‘again’ only used nowadays by old speakers. The examples below illustrate the use of *jae* as reflexive and repetitive marker in main clauses (55a and b). CAAC (New Caledonia, Extreme-North of the Mainland)

55a. I **jae** wi i na cawek
 3SG AGAIN bite 3SG DEIC dog
 ‘The dog is biting himself.’ or ‘The dog is biting him again.’

55b. Ra **jae** wi ra tale cawek
 3PL AGAIN bite 3PL DEIC.PL dog
 ‘Dogs are biting themselves.’ or ‘Dogs are biting them again.’

In subordinate clauses (56b), however, *jae* only confers the reflexive interpretation:

56a. I nōja o Rok ave Petelo i e i.
 3SG see SM Rok COMP Petelo 3SG hit 3SG
 ‘Rok saw Petelo hitting him.’

56b. I nōja o Rok ave Petelo i **jae** e i.
 3SG see SM Rok COMP Petelo 3SG AGAIN hit 3SG
 ‘Rok sees Petelo hitting himself.’

As intensifier (57), *jae* has at least the exclusive adverbial use:

57. I **jae** pwae o ni le loto
 3SG AGAIN repair SM 3SG ART car
 ‘He repaired his car himself.’

3.2. Various positions possible in one and the same language

a) Either part of the verb phrase, or as nominal adjunct

In a language where a marker expressing reflexivity is liable to occupy different positions, the situation is always less ambiguous (more reflexive) when the marker is a pronominal adjunct than when it is an adverb. Some languages such as Xârâgurè allows both word orders as shown in the following examples.

XÂRÂGURÈ (South of the Mainland, New Caledonia)

58a. Nyî sa nyî **mûgé**. 58b. Nyî sa **mûgé** nyî.
 3SG hit 3SG RETURN 3SG hit RETURN 3SG
 ‘He is hitting himself.’

Whereas (58a) only has this meaning, example (58b) could also mean ‘He is hitting him again’, in a given context.

With verbs such as *xa* ‘speak, ‘tell’, the reflexive marker either is part of the serial verb construction when the object and the addressee are one and the same (59a), or follows the direct object when both arguments are referentially distinct (59b):

59a. Jo nă xa xù **mûgé** rè nyî.
 Jo IPFV tell BEN return IPFV 3SG
 ‘Jo is speaking to himself.’ (without *mûgé*, the sentence would mean: ‘Jo is speaking to him.’)

59b. Jo xa xù inè nyî **mûgé**.
 Jo tell BEN 1PL.incl 3SG RETURN
 ‘Jo told us about himself.’

When the transitive verb occurs with an oblique object argument, the reflexive marker usually comes last:

60. Lita xwé bara wâ nyî **mûgé**.
 Lita make fear OBL 3SG RETURN
 ‘Lita scares herself.’

b) Postposed to any type of arguments

East Futunan, Tokelauan, and Tuvaluan provide a counterexample to Leonard Faltz's claim (1985: 28) that “it is always the object or patient noun phrase that exhibits any special marking for reflexivization”:

In Polynesian ergative languages, the reflexive marker may follow the ergative argument, as shown in Tokelauan:

TOKELAUAN

61. Kua vavae kehe koe **e koe lava** mai nā mea a tō kāiga.
 PFV separate away 2SG ERG 2SG INT from ART.PL thing POSS 2SG.POSS family
 ‘You have cut yourself off from the affairs of your family.’ (Tokelau dict. 1986: 427)

This is also the case in Tuvaluan in (62), an example already given in (10a.)

TUVALUAN

62. Ne tā a Lusi **nē ia loa**.
 PST strike ABS Lusi ERG 3SG INT
 ‘Lusi killed himself’. (Besnier 2000:203)

In East Futunan, the restrictive morpheme *fa'i* has several (adnominal, exclusive adverbial and attributive intensifying uses, along with the reflexive one, following the oblique argument in (63) as well as the ergative one in (64).

EAST FUTUNAN

63. E 'ita a Petelo kiate ia **fa'i**.
 IPFV be.angry ABS Petelo OBL 3SG INT
 ‘Petelo is angry at himself.’
64. Na ako'i le tagata e ia **fa'i**.
 PST teach DEF man ERG 3SG INT
 ‘The man taught himself.’

These last two examples require extra comments, due to differences in their verb classes, and valency structure. Example (63) illustrates an indirect transitive construction, mandatory with verbs of perception, communication or emotion¹⁴, such as *'ita* ‘be angry’, occurring with an argument referring to the experiencer in the absolutive case, and an argument referring to a patient in the oblique case. The construction follows an accusative pattern.

Example (64) has an ergative verb as predicate, with an argument in the ergative case (the agent) and an argument in the absolutive case (the patient). The construction follows an ergative pattern.

Without *fa'i*, in example (65), the construction being accusative, the situation would simply be other-directed: *E 'ita a Petelo kiate ia* ‘Petelo is angry at him.’

¹⁴In the linguistic Polynesian tradition, these verbs are called ‘middle verbs’; in this paper, I chose another terminology, using ‘indirect transitive verbs’ to avoid confusion since I use the ‘middle’ term for the middle domain, distinct from the prototypical reflexive domain.

Starting from example (64), the deletion of *fa'i* would also lead to an 'other-directed' event, but some changes would be required in order to maintain the sentence grammatically correct. Two solutions may be considered:

- if the case of the arguments are left unchanged, the word order has to be modified, with the pronominal phrase in the ergative case expressed before the absolutive noun phrase - this is a morphological constraint, only violated in reflexive constructions - implying a change in the role of the arguments, 'the man' now only referring to a patient:

65. Na ako'i e ia le tagata.
 PST teach ERG 3SG SPC man
 'He taught the man.'

- if the ergative pronominal phrase is changed into the absolutive case, it is the noun phrase which would then occur in the ergative case (here too, occurring after the pronominal phrase). The sentence would then simply mean 'The man taught him.'

66. Na ako'i a ia e le tagata.
 PST teach ABS 3SG ERG SPC man
 'The man taught him.'

This shows that the reflexive construction occurring with ergative verbs has severe implications: the word order is changed, requiring the pronominal argument to be expressed after a nominal one. The role of the absolutive argument in (64) in the reflexive construction is identical to the role of the ergative argument in the non-reflexive construction (66).

But, according to East Futunan speakers, another word order including the reflexive marker is also possible, implying no semantic or pragmatic change: it is now the pronominal argument in the absolutive case which is followed by the reflexive marker, and occurring after the nominal phrase in the ergative case:

67. Na ako'i e le tagata a ia fa'i.
 PST teach ERG ART man ABS 3SG INT
 'The man taught himself.'

The following examples, with only pronominal arguments, are also said to be totally equivalent:

68a. E viki e ia a ia fa'i. 68b. E viki a ia e ia fa'i.
 NPST praise ERG 3SG ABS 3SG INT NPST praise ABS 3SG ERG 3SG INT
 'He is praising himself.'

This indifference concerning which pronominal argument is followed by the reflexive marker is puzzling, except if we consider that reflexivity implies that the two participants refer to the same person, no matter what the position of the reflexive is.

And this consideration could also explain the fact that in Tuvaluan the reflexive *loa* may be postposed to both arguments, as we have seen in example (10b), repeated below.

TUVALUAN

69. Ne tā nē Lusi loa a ia loa. (reflexive)
 PST strike ERG Lusi INT ABS 3SG INT
 'Lusi killed himself'. (Besnier 2000:203)

Whatever these Polynesian ergative languages choose for the position of their reflexive marker - after the ergative argument (Tokelauan), either after the ergative argument or the absolutive one (East Futunan), or after both (Tuvaluan), the constraints are identical in the three languages:

- (i) the reflexive marker has to occur after the last argument expressed
- (ii) and this argument must be a pronominal.

If these two requirements are not met, the reflexive meaning is lost, and if the marker still occurs in the sentence, it will only have an intensifying use, as shown in the following East Futunan example:

EAST FUTUNAN

70. Na ako'i e ia fa'i a le tagata.
 PST teach ERG 3SG INT ABS ART man
 'He taught the man himself.'

Subordinate clauses, either simply juxtaposed to the main clause, or introduced by a conjunction, manifest the same constraints. And in all cases, the binding domain condition seems at work.

The reflexive marker occurs as a nominal adjunct after the oblique object if the construction is accusative, as it is the case in (71) and (72) examples:

71. E manatu a Soane na vote [a Pili]_i [kiate ia fa'i]_i.
 NPST think ABS Soane PST vote ABS Pili OBL 3SG INT
 'Soane thinks that Pili voted for himself.' [i.e., voted for Pili]

72. Na logo atu a Soane [kia Pili]_i e māsau mālie (a ia)_i;
 PST hear DIR.CTF ABS Soane OBL Pili NPST speak well (ABS 3SG)
 [kiate ia fa'i]_i.
 OBL 3SG INT
 'Soane heard Pili praising himself.'

Without the intensifier *fa'i*, this last sentence would mean: 'Soane heard Pili praising him [i.e., praising Soane]'.

With ergative verbs in the subordinate clause, the reflexive marker may also occur either after the absolutive argument (73a) or the ergative argument (73b), without any noticeable difference in meaning:

73a. Na pati a Pili kia Malia_i ke faka'ilo'ilo [e ia]_i [a ia fa'i]_i.
 PST say ABS Pili OBL Malia that explain ERG 3SG ABS 3SG INT
 'Pili told Malia to describe herself.'

73b. Na pati a Pili kia Malia_i ke faka'ilo'ilo [a ia]_i [e ia fa'i]_i.
 PST say ABS Pili OBL Malia that explain ABS 3SG ERG 3SG INT
 'id.'

4. Available choice for the expression of prototypical reflexivity

The languages that offer different strategies to express prototypical reflexivity can be classified according to which strategies are in competition and according to which reflexive markers are also used as intensifiers. Moreover, we can inquire after the possible semantic or pragmatic differences. As already mentioned, the choice between strategies is not dependent on the semantic class of the verb, but on pragmatic considerations.

In Saliba, Tawala and Māori, the available choice is between the 'return/again' and the 'alone' strategies; in Fagaueva, between the 'alone' and the 'spontaneous' strategies; in Kwaio, between the bound noun and the 'true, exact' strategies, etc.

In East Futunan (as in East Uvean), there is the choice between the 'true' (*totonu*) and the restrictive particle (*fa'i*) strategies. Examples (74) to (77) are from the Anaphora Questionnaire:

EAST FUTUNAN

74. Na tio-'i a Soane e ia fa'i/totonu
 PST see-TR ABS Soane ERG 3SG INT/TRUE
 'Soane saw himself.'

75. E vesi'a a Lita kiate ia **fa'i/totonu**.
 NPST hate ABS Lita OBL 3SG INT/TRUE
 'Lita hates herself.'
76. Na le'ese tasi na māsau veli kiate ia **fa'i/totonu**.
 PST NEG one PST speak bad OBL 3SG INT/TRUE
 'Nobody blamed himself.'
77. Ko ai e vesi'a kiate kita **fa'i/totonu?**
 PRED who NPST hate OBL 1SG.INCL INT/TRUE
 'Who hates himself?'

In Drehu, there is the choice between the 'true' strategy, the emphatic particle and the preverbal 'other' strategies. In reflexive situations, their meaning varies slightly. In its reflexive use as nominal adjunct, the emphatic particle *kō* expresses the implication of the agent as the sole responsible agent of the event, while the 'true' morpheme *sipu* in preverbal position is used to insist on the veracity of the unexpected event. *Ketre* 'other', in preverbal position too, underlines the possibility that someone else could have performed the event but that the agent was able to do it on himself after all. These three markers can combine, thus reinforcing the unexpected occurrence of the event:

DREHU

- 78a. Wamo **kō** a **ketre sipu** xumuthi angeic.
 Wamo INT IPFV OTHER TRUE pinch 3SG
 'Wamo pinches himself.'
- 78b. Wamo a **ketre sipu** xumuthi angeic **kō**.
 Wamo IPFV OTHER TRUE pinch 3SG INT
 'id.'

In subordinate clauses however, it seems that only *sipu* can occur as a marker of reflexivity.

5. Conclusion

In Oceanic languages, reflexive markers are not as strongly grammaticalized as they are in other languages. Their semantic domain is strictly delimited and does not overlap with the middle and the reciprocal domains. They never occur as reflexive pronouns or other specific and obligatory reflexive markers. Their position may vary and their lexical origins are mostly transparent. All the different sources of grammaticalization listed for intensifiers e.g. in König and Siemund (2000) and König & Gast (2006) are attested in Oceanic languages:

- (i) expressions denoting singularity: 'alone' + 'other';
- (ii) expressions denoting veracity, exactitude, 'precision of reference';
- (iii) head bound nouns (obligatorily possessed nouns), such as body parts;
- (iv) (ad)verbs with the meaning 'return/again/backwards', 'downwards', '(do) spontaneously'.

In all Oceanic languages, the inclusive adverbial function is not expressed by an intensifier but by a focus particle 'too, also'. It is however worth noting that among the particles used to express the inclusive adverbial identity use, several Oceanic languages use a morpheme meaning 'return/again', 'also'. But this is never the case in the languages in which the 'return/again' marker is used to express reflexivity (cf. Moyses-Faurie 2012).

Finally, concerning the directionality of change, Suzanne Kemmer's statement "If there is a middle and it does not express reflexivity, this is due to loss" doesn't seem to be borne out by the data from Oceanic languages.

Abbreviations (others than the Leipzig glossing rules conventions)

ANAPH anaphoric, APPL applicative suffix, ASS assertive aspect, CFUGE centrifugal directional, DEIC deictic, DIR directional, EMPH emphatic particle, EXCL exclusive, IMM immediate aspect, INCL inclusive, INT intensifier, MID middle marker, NPST non past, OBL oblique preposition, PFV perfective, PRED predicative marker, RESTR restrictive particle, SM subject marker, SPC specific article, TR transitive suffix.

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