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From Field Work to Typology: Reflexivity and Reciprocity

Ekkehard Koenig (FU Berlin) and Claire Moyses-Faurie (UMR 7107 -LACITO-CNRS)

Résumé

Prenant en compte les diverses contributions des chercheurs du Lacito ayant étudié les constructions réfléchies dans les langues océaniques et dans d'autres langues encore peu décrites, cet article examine ces analyses et leurs données dans le cadre d'une typologie du réfléchi, afin de caractériser les différents paramètres observés et la limite de la variation rencontrée dans ce domaine, en identifiant les problèmes et les intéressantes spécificités au regard des théories actuelles. Contrairement à ce qui était admis jusqu'à présent, les contributions sur les langues océaniques montrent clairement qu'il existe bel et bien des marques de réfléchi dans ces langues, même si ces marques sont rarement obligatoires, apparaissant essentiellement dans des contextes qui, sans elles, seraient ambigus. Les propriétés de ces marques de réfléchi peuvent être classées sans problème parmi les généralisations implicationnelles élaborées jusqu'à présent pour le domaine du réfléchi. En ce qui concerne l'origine des marques de réfléchi et celle des intensifieurs qui leur sont liés, des sources peu attestées, essentiellement spatiales, ont été identifiées comme base de départ à des processus de grammaticalisation ayant donné naissance à ces marques.

Mots clés: marque de réfléchi, intensifieur, généralisation implicationnelle, réfléchis possessifs, grammaticalisation.

Abstract

Based on a broad survey of the contributions made by members of the LACITO to the analysis of reflexive constructions in Oceanic and other lesser described languages, this paper examines the significance of these contributions to a typology of reflexivity, i.e. to characterizing parameters and limits of variation and to identifying problems and puzzles for current theorizing. Contrary to wide-spread previous views, these contributions clearly show that there are reflexive markers in Oceanic languages, even if these are used parsimoniously and primarily in potentially ambiguous contexts. The properties manifested by these markers can largely be subsumed under the implicational generalizations formulated for reflexives so far. As far as the origin of reflexive markers and the intensifiers they are based on are concerned, a variety of new, primarily spatial, sources have been identified as starting points for the relevant processes of grammaticalization.

Key-words: reflexive marker, intensifier, implicational generalization, polysemy, possessive reflexives, grammaticalization.

1. Introduction¹

Within the last ten years or so the research of the LACITO has moved beyond the fieldwork traditionally carried out and published in well-known grammars, dictionaries, descriptive articles and archives and has also become highly visible in typological and theoretical studies. The thematic domains to which researchers from the LACITO have contributed significantly include those of clause-linking, tense, aspect and mood, reflexivity and reciprocity, dynamic

¹We would like to thank two anonymous reviewers for critical and helpful comments on an earlier version of this paper.

deixis and (in)definiteness. On the 40th anniversary of this research institute, it seems therefore appropriate to take stock of this development and assess the significance of these contributions to current theoretical and typological debates. Our paper is an attempt to carry out such an assessment for one thematic domain only, viz. for the domains of reflexivity and reciprocity (*cf.* Brill, 2005, 2007; Guentchéva, 2007; Guentchéva and Rivière, 2007; König and Moyse-Faurie, 2009; Moyse-Faurie, 2007, 2008, 2012, 2017; Naïm, 2007; Pilot-Raichoor, 1997; Taine-Cheikh, 2005, etc.). Given the number and weight of the relevant LACITO publications, the main focus of our assessment will be on the encoding of reflexivity. The reason why Oceanic languages are singled out for special attention is that they are at the center of most of these studies.

Inter alia, the following questions will be addressed in our paper:

- What are current typological generalizations in the relevant domain?
- In what way can the properties manifested by Oceanic languages, one of the traditional focus of linguistic research at the institute, be subsumed under these generalizations and in what way have they led to changes of earlier views, such as the ones found in collective monographs like Frajzyngier and Curl eds. (2000) and Rousseau *et al.* eds.(2007)?
- In how far do the data from Oceanic languages provide problems or puzzles for current theorizing?

The specific contributions of this institute to cross-linguistic generalizations about reflexives and reciprocals emerge very clearly in confrontations with well-known implicational generalizations over parameters of variation and limits of variation, as summarized, for instance, in Koenig and Siemund, 2000; Koenig, 2007 and Everaert, 2013.

2. Typology: Parameters and Limits of Variation in Reflexive Constructions

Reflexivity, roughly definable as the marking of co-reference between two arguments of the same predicate or as binding of one co-argument by another, can be expressed by a wide variety of formal means. A systematization of this diversity can be carried out by assigning the relevant expressions and strategies to general parameters of variation, such as the formal complexity of reflexive markers, their possible syntactic functions, their possible antecedents or binders, etc. Limits of variation, i.e. wide-spread tendencies of cross-linguistic variation, can then be formulated, inter alia, as Greenberg-style implicational generalizations, which when read from right to left are meant to express that if a language has a certain property at some point in an implicational hierarchy it will also have all the properties further to the left. For the task at hand and going beyond a purely Greenbergian approach, we will, first of all, distinguish 4 general types of parameters of variation, each of which may comprise one or several subcases. Among the various typological generalizations proposed for the domain of reflexivity, we will specifically mention those that have some relevance for the characterization of the properties of Oceanic languages. The following parameters of variation will play a major role in what follows:

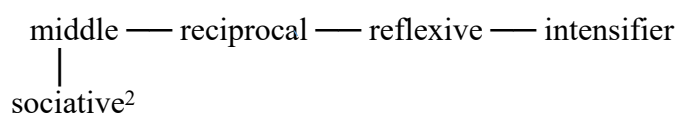
2.1. Formal complexity and categorial status of reflexive markers

This question relates to the morphological make-up of reflexive markers and to their classification as clitics, pronouns, nouns, noun phrases, etc. This parameter of variation was first discussed by L. Faltz (1985), who in his seminal typological study drew a basic distinction between verbal vs. nominal and between pronominal vs. nominal strategies of reflexivization, with the latter strategy comprising several subcases.

2.2. Possible patterns of polysemy or syncretism

In English there is no overlap or polysemy between reflexive markers (*her-/himself*), reciprocal markers (*each other*) and middle markers (markers or derived intransitivity, generally realized by zero), in contrast to Romance (*se/si*) or to other Germanic languages (e. g. *sich* in German). Reflexive markers in English take, however, the same form as intensifiers, also called ‘emphatics’ (*John hates himself. The Pope himself said that.*) and resemble in this respect those of Finnish (*itse*) or Turkish (*kendi*). Such comparative observations bring up the question of possible and impossible patterns of polysemy. Generalizations about such patterns of polysemy or polyfunctionality can be made in terms of semantic maps (*cf.* Haspelmath, 2003), where related meanings or functions are linked by connecting lines on the basis of the hypothesis that only adjacent regions can be expressed by the same form. A tentative semantic map for the domains under discussions could take the following shape, although the predictions implied by this diagram have only been clearly established for specific samples of languages used in typological studies (*cf.* Koenig and Siemund, 2000; Nedjalkov, 2007: 250).

Figure 1: Patterns of Polysemy for reflexive markers



2.3. Grammatical functions of a (nominal) reflexive marker and its possible antecedents

As far as the possible syntactic functions of reflexive markers and their antecedents are concerned, the following implicational generalizations have been proposed (*cf.* Koenig and Siemund, 2000; Koenig, 2007):

(i) Grammatical relation of reflexive markers

DO > IO > OBL > GEN/POSS > SUBJ/ERG (i.e. argument > non-argument)
--

This implicational generalization captures the observations that reflexive markers occur more typically in argument positions, the direct object position being the most typical one, and that reflexive markers in the position of possessive or genitive modifiers are rare. Even rarer are reflexive markers in subject positions. As far as oblique arguments are concerned, we may note that languages with special reflexives in direct object positions often use personal pronouns in prepositional phrases (*cf.* French, Spanish; Zribi-Hertz, 1995). Many languages do not have possessive reflexives or reflexives in genitive objects. Special adjectival (attributive) intensifiers (Engl. *own*; Germ, *eigen*; Fr. *propre*) are used instead in possessive adjuncts, which in many European languages have lost their original possessive meaning and function as attributive markers of remarkable co-reference between a ‘possessor’ and ‘a possessum’ instead. Exemplification for all these points is provided below.

(ii) Possible antecedents

SUBJ > DO > OBL > IO

² The ‘sociative’ interpretation, frequently also expressed by reciprocal markers, can be translated by ‘together’ in English.

Reflexive markers are referentially dependent expressions and need to be related to a preceding expression, their antecedent, to be interpreted. The question, therefore, is in which grammatical functions can the antecedent occur? The essential point of this implicational hierarchy is that the clausal subject is the most frequent and typical antecedent of reflexively marked constituents and that indirect objects are extremely rare as antecedents.

2.4. Interaction with other categories

It is well-known that reflexivity may interact with the grammatical category of person – in some languages (Romance, German) only 3rd-person pronouns have a reflexive form – and also with certain aspects of verbal semantics. These interactions are captured by the two following implicational statements (*cf.* Faltz, 1985):

(i) Interaction with person

$$3 > 2 > 1$$

Seen from a functional perspective, reflexive markers are not needed for first person and second person antecedents. It is only with third person antecedents that a referential contrast can be expressed (*John attacked him.* vs. *John attacked himself.*).

(ii) Combination with predicate type

$$\text{other-directed} > \text{non-other directed}$$

Many languages do not use reflexive markers in combination with verbs of grooming ('wash', 'dress', 'shave', etc.), i.e. verbs denoting conventionally self-directed situations (Koenig and Vezzosi, 2004). Analogously, many languages do not use reciprocal markers or only reduced markers for naturally mutual situation, where 'it takes two' for the action to be carried out (Engl. *They met/talked/danced/kissed/quarreled/split up.*)

3. Putting Oceanic languages on typological maps

On the basis of the preceding typological generalizations, it is now possible to characterize the specific properties of reflexives in Oceanic languages. The identification of those properties has substantially contributed to our cross-linguistic perspective on the encoding of reflexivity.

The first striking contribution of LACITO studies to typology is their answer to the question, are there reflexive markers in Oceanic languages to begin with? In contrast to wide-spread earlier assumptions (Dixon, 1988; Lichtenberk, 2000; Levinson, 1991)³, Moyse-Faurie (2008 and 2017) has shown that there are markers for the overt encoding of reflexivity in Oceanic languages, thus providing further support for the view that reflexive markers are very wide-spread and possibly found in most languages of the world. In the following two examples reflexivity is expressed by two intensifiers whose etymological origins are also indicated.

³The exceptional cases mentioned in earlier descriptions mainly concern Polynesian languages (Académie tahitienne, 1986; Besnier, 2000; Du Feu, 1996), but also a few other Oceanic languages such as Nengone (Codrington, 1885), Kwaio (Keesing, 1985), Saliba (Margetts, 1999), inter alia. The availability of reflexive markers in Oceanic languages is also confirmed in Park (2013) in a study on Fijian.

AJIË (Centre of the Mainland, New Caledonia)

- (1) Na rhôôru é tĕĕ.
3SG accuse 3SG AGAIN (>REFL)
'He accuses himself.'⁴

TUVALUAN

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

The fact that reflexive markers have often 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 to oneself what is usually done to 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 use of reflexive markers in other languages, markers expressing reflexive situations are seldom obligatory, even if they typically occur with third person arguments, since it is in this context that ambiguity may arise.

Let us now turn to the question how Oceanic languages fare with regard to the general parameters of variation identified in typological studies of reflexive constructions and listed in (2)a-d above.

3.1. Formal complexity and categorial status.

In Oceanic languages reflexivity is rarely, if ever, marked by verbal inflection. In a few, rare cases, such as (3), a basically reciprocal prefix has also assumed a reflexive function, but in general reflexive markers in Oceanic languages are free forms related to nouns, verbs or adverbs, such as (4), and in some cases are still used as such. Given the well-known problems of clearly distinguishing word classes in Oceanic languages in analogy to those established for European languages, a clear assignment of these markers and strategies to one of the formal types distinguished by Faltz⁵ (1985) is not possible, however.

HMWAVEKE (Centre of the Mainland, New Caledonia)

- (3) Le ve-caina le.
3PL PREF-know 3PL
'They know each other/themselves.'

TĪRĪ (South of the Mainland, New Caledonia)

- (4) Rri eghe rri mwâgi. (reflexive / reciprocal)
3PL tooth+hurt 3PL RETURN (>REFL/RECIP)
'They are biting themselves/each other.' (Agnès Holero, p.c.)

⁴Data not identified for source is taken from our own fieldnotes.

⁵Faltz draws a basic distinction between verbal and nominal strategies, dividing up the latter into pronouns vs. head or adjunct reflexives. From a more global perspective, reflexive markers could be classified according to their degree of grammaticalization, along a scale like the following:
affix > clitic > weak pronoun > strong pronoun > noun > NP

3.2. Patterns of polysemy and syncretism

There is, however, one property that reflexive markers share across Oceanic languages: Most of the relevant expressions are also used as intensifiers in the sense of Koenig and Siemund (2000) and Koenig and Gast (2006), analogously to Finnish *itse*, Turkish *kendi* and, in fact, to the *self*-forms in English:

NENGGONE (Maré, Loyalty islands)

(5a) Inu ha co rue ko. (intensifier)
 1SG PFV FUT do INT
 ‘I will do it myself.’ (Wassissi Könyi, p.c.)

(5b) Bone hna a-tango-ni bone ko. (reflexive marker)
 3SG PST CAUS-die-TR 3SG INT
 ‘He killed himself.’ (id.)

Such polysemy is a wide-spread phenomenon in the languages of the world, as is shown by the relevant map in WALS (Koenig and Siemund, 2005). A distinction between the two functions, as it is found in European languages (*sich* vs. *selbst* in German; *sebja* vs. *sam* in Russian), is by no means the typical case and even here we find a close semantic affinity between the two functions: Intensifiers like Ger. *selbst*, Russian *sam*, Italian *stesso*, etc. are frequently used to reinforce and add emphasis to a reflexive marker in cases of remarkable co-reference. Most Oceanic languages manifest this double use of forms, which are, more often than not, clearly differentiated from the markers of reciprocity and markers of the middle voice:

(6) [INT = REFL] ≠ [MID= REC] is widely attested.

Two other scenarios are also attested in Oceanic languages as a result of recent evolutions, but they are rare:

- Middles, reciprocals and reflexives are all marked with a prefix reflecting Proto Oceanic *paRi- and possibly additional material. This scenario is very rare in Oceanic languages and we only found it in some Kanak languages spoken in the North and Centre of the Mainland of New Caledonia (Nemi, Fwâi, Pije, Jawe, Cèmuhi and at least some of the Voh-Koné dialects such as Hmwaveke; cf. Moyse-Faurie, 2008:122). It is due to the extension of the middle/reciprocal markers (reflexes of the POC prefix *paRi-) into the prototypical reflexive domain. The lack of specific marking for reflexive situations leads to ambiguity of the relevant markers.

(7) [MID = REC > REFL] ≠ INT

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

(8) MID≠[REFL = INT > REC] or MID ≠ [REF > REC] ≠ INT

So, to summarize, reflexive markers are never identical to middle markers (Moyse-Faurie, 2008) and rarely manifest syncretism with reciprocal markers. Cases of such

polysemy and polyfunctionality are the result of two different historical evolutions: either the reciprocal marker extended its use to reflexive situations (as is the case in a few New Caledonian languages spoken in the north of the Mainland) or, as already mentioned, it is the reflexive marker which extended its use to reciprocal situations, after the loss of the POc prefix *paRi- (as in some Eastern Polynesian languages, such as Tahitian and Māori, or in a few New Caledonian languages spoken in the south of the Mainland, such as Tîrî).

All of these polysemy patterns are compatible with the semantic map given in Figure 1: In each of the cases listed only adjacent domains are lexicalized identically. Far more work is needed, however, to establish this tentative map as representing a wide-spread or even universal cross-linguistic tendency.

3.3. Grammatical functions of markers.

A wide variety of theoretical studies on reflexivity in European languages has clearly shown that reflexive markers are much more likely to occur in argument than in non-argument positions. Moreover, such markers most typically occur in direct object position, more rarely so in the position of indirect objects and in oblique positions. What is extremely rare are reflexive markers in the position of genitive objects or possessive (genitive) attributes (*cf.* A). What we find instead of such dedicated attributive reflexive constructions in many languages is one of the strategies B to E:

(i) Dedicated attributive (possessive) reflexives (Latin, Russian, Bulgarian, Armenian, Scandinavian, Basque) (*cf.* (9)).

ARMENIAN

(9a) John_i vatcharets **nra** tuna.
‘John_i sold his_j(own) house’

(9b) John_i vatcharets **ir** tuna.
‘John_i sold his_i house’

(ii) Alienable possessive construction (disjoint reference) vs. inalienable possessive construction for the marking of co-reference (African languages, e. g. Lele, examples (10) below).

LELE, a Chadic language spoken in Chad (Frajzyngier, 2001: 74)

(10a) è dí túgú bùgà-y.
go 3M house friend-3M
‘He_i went to his_i friend.’

(10b) è dí túgú bùgà-y kè-y.
go 3M house friend-3M GEN-3M
‘He_i went to his_j friend.’

(iii) Argumental reflexives/intensifiers suitably marked for their attributive and possessive function (Japanese, Mandarin, Turkic languages, Persian, Punjabi) (*cf.* (11)).

MANDARIN

(11a) Zhangsan piping-le ziji-de pengyou.
Zhangsan criticize.PST self-GEN friend.
‘Zhangsan_i criticized his_i friend.’

(11b) Zhangsan piping-le ta-de pengyou.
 Zhangsan criticize-PST 3SG-GEN friend
 ‘Zhangsan_i criticized his_j friend.’

(iv) Possessive suffix on noun + omission of possessive pronoun vs. pronoun + noun marked for possessor (Finnish, *cf.* Karlsson, 1983; (12)).

FINNISH (Karlsson, 1983: 92)

(12a) Kalle ajaa auto-nsa kotiin.
 Kalle drives car-3SG.POSS home
 ‘Kalle drives his (own) car home’

(12b) Kalle ajaa hän-en auto-nsa kotiin.
 Kalle drives 3SG-POSS car-3SG.POSS home.
 ‘Kalle drive his/her (i.e. somebody else’s) car home.’

(v) Possessive pronouns + special (non-argumental) intensifiers (English, German, Romance, Wolof, Dravidian, Oceanic languages) (*cf.* (13-14)).

ENGLISH

(13a) The realtor sold his own house.

(13b) The realtor_i sold his_j house.

ITALIAN

(14a) Edipo uccise il proprio padre.
 ‘Oedipus killed his own father.’

(14b) Carlo uccise suo padre.
 ‘Carlo killed his father.’

So, again let us look for the relevant phenomena in Oceanic languages. As is shown by the following examples, an intensifier is used in the Oceanic counterparts of (9a)-(14a), but in contrast to English it is not a special attributive intensifier, analogous to *own*, that we find, but the standard intensifier, e.g. *ko* in Nengone, also found in most of the other grammatical contexts, just as in the languages listed in (C) (Moyse-Faurie, 2008: 131f).

NENGONE (Maré, Loyalty islands)

(15) Maria ci opodone ti bone **ko**.
 Maria IPFV proud concerning 3SG INT
 ‘Maria is proud of herself.’

(16) Pier ci ikuja ne tei bone **ko** haicahman.
 Pier IPFV be jealous with child his INT male
 ‘Pier is jealous of his own son.’

This use of intensifiers as reflexive markers, both in argument positions and in the position of possessive modifiers is wide-spread phenomenon in Oceanic languages. In many Oceanic languages the same intensifier is used for possessive reflexives and argumental reflexives.

TOKELAUAN

- (17) Ko nā tino iēnā, ko tona lava hoāvaka. (attributive use)
 PRED ART.PL person DEIC PRED his own crew
 ‘These men, they are his very own crew members.’ (R. Hooper, p.c.)
- (18) Na lavea au iate au lava. (reflexive use)
 PST hurt 1SG OBL 1SG INT
 ‘I hurt myself.’ (Tokelau dictionary 1986: 181)

EAST FUTUNAN

- (19) Ku sakinake fa'i a ia kiate au ko sona toe totonu.
 PFV be.similar.to RESTR ABS 3SG OBL 1SG PRED his child RED.TRUE
 ‘He behaves to me as if I were his own child.’
- (20) E fiafia a Soane kiate ia totonu.
 IPFV happy ABS Soane OBL 3SG RED.TRUE
 ‘Soane is proud of himself.’

TAHITIAN

- (21) Tō'u iho mau tamari'i.
 my own ART.PL child
 ‘My own children’ (P. Vernaudon p.c)

MARQUESAN

- (22) Na 'aua e 'umuhi iho t-ō 'aua maakau.
 TOP 3DU TAM search IHO ART-of3DU thought
 ‘They searched each other's thoughts.’ (Lit. they searched for their own thoughts) (Mutu and Teikitutoua, 2002:66)

As far as the regularities of binding (antecedents, binding domains) are concerned, the facts of Oceanic languages seem to be in harmony with the standard Binding Principles (binding in local domain, typically by clausal subject), as formulated by Chomsky (1981), but then the relevant tests (e. g. local vs. long-distance binding) require a depth of familiarity with those languages that is not available at the moment.

3.4. Interaction with other categories

Verbs in Oceanic languages exhibit no inflectional marking for person and number⁶, so nothing can be said about that type of interaction. Reflexive markers occur in combination with all person categories. It is, however, interesting that reflexive markers of Oceanic languages are also sensitive to verbal semantics much like those identified for many European languages in recent years.

In descriptive grammars of specific languages, reflexive marking is often introduced in combination with verbs of body care (grooming). As pointed out in recent studies, however, verbs from that semantic domain are the least suitable area of exemplification, since the relevant constructions frequently manifest only a weak form of marking, as for instance in Dutch (*zich* as opposed to the more common, more emphatic *zichzelf*) or Swedish (*sig* vs. the strong form *sigsjäl*), or no marking at all, as in English (*he soaped up/washed/shaved*) and

⁶There are some exceptions. For instance, in some Polynesian languages, a few intransitive verbs either partially reduplicate with plural arguments, or have two different forms for singular and plural, as for instance East Uvean verb 'alu 'to go (sg)' vs *olo* 'to go (pl)'. The occurrence of obligatory subject and object clitics in some Oceanic languages could also be considered as an exception.

Mandarin Chinese. The explanations offered for this asymmetry of reflexive marking has to do with frequency and predictability (*cf.* Haspelmath, 2008)⁷. Body care is standardly self-oriented and reflexive situations are standard in the relevant domain, so that special marking is superfluous. In addition to verbs of grooming there are many verbs in different semantic domains that are equally self-oriented (introvert) in contrast to the vast majority of other-oriented (extrovert) verbs (*cf.* Haiman, 1995; Koenig and Vezzosi, 2004) and manifest weak reflexive marking or none at all. This distinction correlates with a number of other tests, as for instance the interpretation of the relevant nominalizations. Consider the following cases:

(23a) In such situations good defending/preparing/washing is called for.

(23b) In such situations good attacking/teaching/coaching is called for.

If these nominalizations are spelt out by finite verbs those in (24a) tend to be interpreted as reflexive actions, whereas those in (24b) are more likely to be regarded as non-reflexive.

Such sensitivity of reflexive markers to verbal semantics can also be observed in Oceanic languages. Dedicated reflexive markers are not used for conventionally self-oriented (introvert) verbs like ‘wash’ or ‘shave’ (24a). Only the reciprocal prefix can be used with certain verbs to express reflexivity (24b, 25):

EAST FUTUNAN

(24a) Kua ma'anu a ia.
 PFV bathe ABS 3SG
 ‘He took a bath.’

(24b) E kau fe-vaku i le kai e namu.
 NPST 1SG PREF-scratch OBL SPC eat ERG mosquito
 ‘I am scratching myself due to mosquito bites.’

IAAI (Uvea, Loyalty islands)

(25) Ame ũ-gi.
 3SG+IMPF PREF-shave
 ‘He is shaving.’

Kemmer (1993) makes the same point by assigning actions of grooming or body care to the middle domain, rather than to that of reflexivity. In her view, the middle domain includes not only body care (‘grooming actions’), but also movements and change in body positions, spontaneous events and ‘naturally reciprocal’ situations, which generally imply a certain undistinguishability of participants. The prototypical reflexive domain, by contrast, mostly concerns actions performed on oneself that one usually does to others, and it involves two participants which happen to refer to the same person.

4. Sources of grammaticalization for reflexive markers

As mentioned above, the only distributional and categorial property shared by reflexive markers in Oceanic languages is the fact that most of them can also be used as

⁷Haspelmath’s “form-frequency correspondence principle” can roughly be paraphrased as follows: frequency > predictability > shortness of coding.

intensifiers ('emphatics'). This property makes them quite similar to the relevant expressions found in other languages with a partial or complete identity of reflexive markers and intensifiers, such as Finno-Ugric, Semitic, Indic, Bantu or Turkic languages. There is, however, also a clear difference between Oceanic and these other languages with respect to the origin and historical development of intensifiers: In many of the world's languages intensifiers derive from body parts in the widest sense of the word, i.e. from concepts like 'head', 'bone', 'eye', 'heart', 'body', but also including concepts like 'soul' and the 'self' (*cf.* Schladt, 2000). In Oceanic languages, by contrast, a wide variety of totally unconnected concepts can be identified as the origin of intensifiers, which subsequently also develop into reflexive markers (Moyses-Faurie, 2017). These will now be listed and discussed in the following, pre-final section.

The first six sources identified for intensifiers in Oceanic languages below relate to concepts like 'restriction' ('only'), singularity ('alone'), 'similarity' ('like') and emphatic assertion of truth ('truly') and are not easily subsumed under a common denominator. Maybe the notion of 'choice of one value among others' that we also find in the meaning of focus markers is a first useful approximation identifying the underlying similarity. How the notion of 'spontaneity' relates to the first four sources is totally unclear. In our sixth group we find a property quite wide-spread among languages, namely a nominal expression relating to the concept of 'identity' with person and/or possessive marking. The relevant expression can be described as being bound by an antecedent. The assumption that the intensifier use of the relevant expressions is basic and that the reflexive one is derived from it is based on (i) the insights provided by the historic development of English and other European languages, (ii) by the optional occurrence of reflexive markers in Oceanic languages and (iii) by plausible ways of reconstructing one meaning from the other.

4.1. Expressions used as intensifiers and reflexive markers

*Restrictive and emphatic expressions

EAST FUTUNAN (Futuna)

26a Ko au **fa'i** na seu'ia le mala'e. (intensifier)
 PRED 1SG INT PST sweep SPC yard
 'I swept the courtyard myself.'

26b E 'ita a Petelo kiate ia **fa'i**. (reflexive marker)
 NPST angry ABS Petelo OBL 3SG INT
 'Petelo is angry at himself.'

*Expressions denoting singularity

MĀORI (New Zealand)

27a Keite 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)

27b Ka hoko a Hone i te motokā mōna **anake**. (benefactive reflexive)
 TAM buy PERS Hone OBJ ART car for.him ALONE
 'Hone will buy a car for himself.' (Bauer, 1997:639)

*Expressions denoting veracity, exactitude

EAST UVEAN (Wallis)

28a. Ne'e au fai e au **totonu.** (exclusive adverbial use)
PST 1SG make ERG 1SG RED.TRUE
'I did it myself.'

28b. 'E lelei'ia 'aupitō e Soane ia ia **totonu.** (reflexive)
IPFV admire very ERG Soane ABS 3SG RED.TRUE
'Soane admires himself a lot.'

*Expressions denoting resemblance

FIJIAN

29a. Au cako-na **vakātaki** au. (exclusive adverbial use)
1SG do-TR be.like.TR 1SG
'I do it myself.' (Geraghty, p.c.)

29b. E moku-ti koya **vakātaki** koya. (reflexive)
3SG smack-TR 3SG be.like.TR 3SG
'He smacks himself.' (id.)

*Expressions denoting spontaneity

FAGAUVEA (Polynesian Outlier; Uvea, Loyalty islands)

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

* Bound nominal expressions (body parts)

LOLOVOLI (North Central Vanuatu)

31a. Go=tai=e lawe=eu. Hate go=tai=e **sibo-mu.** (exclusive adv.)
2SGS=chop=3SGO BEN=1SGO no 2SGS=chop=3SGO SELF-2SGP
'Cut it for me. No, cut it yourself.' (Hyslop, 2001:266)

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

4.2. Reflexive markers from spatial notions

One of the main sources of reflexive markers in Oceanic languages, however, 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 (but see the Haméa examples below), although they are also used as reciprocals in a few languages, and between the 'go down, downwards' cases, which now manifest all the uses general found for intensifiers (except the inclusive adverbial one⁸). The fact that several Oceanic languages use the 'return' strategy to encode reflexivity can be due to two factors. First, a cognitive explanation could be given, such as the one offered 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." A second explanation could be given in terms of areal

⁸This use can be illustrated by the following English examples: 'I understand your problems. I once had a car like that **myself**.'

diffusion: some of the Kanak languages of the Mainland use cognate terms for ‘return, again’ to express reflexivity (Xârâcùù and Xârâgurè *mûgé*, Numèè and Drubea *mwéé*, 'Orôê *bwiri*, Tîrî *mwâgi*, Haméa *mwâi*, etc.). Other Kanak languages use a non-cognate term (Caac *jae*, Paicî *cōwâ*, 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, 2002); Tolai *mule* (Zwinge, 1953; Mosel, 1991), and in the Papuan Tip Cluster of the same subgroup, such as Tawala *me-* (Ezard, 1997) 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 Mwotlap *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 our knowledge, has not yet been revealed. In some cases, it is more evidently due to areal diffusion.

XÂRÂCÛÛ (South of the Mainland, New Caledonia)

32. Pa xûûchî chëi **mûgé**. na ri ngê kwââ. (reflexive / reciprocal)
 COLL child hit RETURN PST 3PL with stick
 ‘The children hit themselves/each other with a stick.’

MĀORI

33. 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)

As mentioned earlier, the ‘return/again/backwards’ sources seldom fulfill any intensifying function, but there are exceptions, as in Haméa (and also in Caac, another Kanak language spoken in the Far North of the New Caledonian Mainland):

HAMÉA (South of the Mainland, New Caledonia)

- 34a. Hewo-nô **mwâi** na ta nô. (attributive use)
 son-1SG.POSS RETURN 3SG hit 1SG
 ‘My own son hit me.’
- 34b. Rru éké rru **mwâi** (reflexive/reciprocal)
 3DU bite 3DU RETURN
 ‘They are biting each other/themselves.’

The ‘return/again/backwards’ origin of the reflexive marker is found in many parts of Oceania. 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, 1990, cited in Schladt, 2000).

Let us now turn to the case of *iho*, the reflexive/reciprocal marker only found in a few Eastern Polynesian languages (Tahitian, Hawaiian) and, surprisingly, also in at least one Micronesian language (Nukuoro). Two different etymological analyses are plausible:

- *Iho* may derive from the verb PPn *hifo < POc *sipo ‘to go down’, which was grammaticalized as an adverb with the meaning ‘downwards’ and as a marker of reflexivity, which is also used as reciprocal marker and intensifier. Our first explanation for this fact is that for East Polynesian settlers, returning to where they came from (namely the West) would imply going with the wind, that is, downwards.

- In some Central-Eastern Polynesian languages, however, *iho* has another completely different meaning, of which we were not aware until recently⁹: it could come from the Proto-Central Polynesian **iso* ‘pith, core, umbilical cord’ reflected as *iho* in Hawaiian ‘core, pith’, Tuamotu ‘kernel, pith, core, heart, inside, umbilical cord’, or Tahitian ‘essence or nature of a thing or person’, meanings that resemble ‘self’, the source for the intensifier and the reflexive marker in English and many other European languages.

Below are examples with *iho* used as a noun:

TAHITIAN

- 35a. No te rahu a Ta'aroa i riro ai te **iho** o te fenua ei fenua.
 for ART creation POSS Ta'aroa PFV become then ART essence POSS ART earth PRED earth
 ‘It is the incantation of Ta'aroa which made earth the substance of the earth’. [French:
 ‘C’était l’incantation de Ta'aroa qui fit terre la substance de la terre.’] (Henry, 1951:349)
- 35b. Te rautiraa i te parau a te Atua 'e te **iho** tumu mā'ohi.
 ART promotion PREP ART parole POSS ART God and ART essence origin autochthonous
 ‘The exaltation of the divine identity and the traditional Polynesian identity.’
 [French: ‘L’exaltation de l’identité divine et l’identité traditionnelle mā'ohi
 (polynésienne)’.] (Raapoto, 1988)

HAWAIIAN

- (36) Pa'akikī me kāna **iho**.
 stubborn with his core
 ‘Stubborn with his own [things].’ (Pukui and Elbert, 1986:94)

Whatever the origin of *iho* is, we find it as an expression of reflexivity, of reciprocity, and in intensifying uses:

TAHITIAN

- (37) 'O te 'orometua **iho** tē haere mai. (adnominal use)
 PRED ART pastor IHO ART+IPFV go DIR
 ‘The parson himself will come.’ (Lazard and Peltzer, 2000:173)
- (38) 'Ua taparahi rātou ia rātou **iho**. (reflexive use)
 PFV hit.with.a.stick 3PL OBJ 3PL IHO
 ‘They hit themselves with a stick.’ (Poeura Vernaudo p.c.)
- (39) 'Ua taparahi rātou rātou **iho**. (reciprocal use)
 PFV hit.with.a.stick 3PL 3PL IHO
 ‘They hit each other with a stick.’ (id.)

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

5. Conclusion

In our attempt to put reflexives in Oceanic languages on typological maps, the following points were made:

- (i) In contrast to frequent assumptions made in earlier studies of Oceanic languages, these languages do have reflexive markers. These markers are, however, sensitive to verbal semantics and are typically found in combination with extrovert, ‘other-oriented’ predicates.

⁹Many thanks to Vāhi Richaud, Bruno Saura and Jacques Vernaudo for giving us all the examples including *iho* in Tahitian.

Moreover, their use is restricted to 3rd person contexts, by an economy principle, i.e. to those contexts where ambiguity may arise.

(ii) As in many other languages of the world reflexive markers derive from intensifiers and still manifest all or at least some of the typical uses of intensifiers, just like the *-self*-forms in English (The President himself will attend. The President writes his speeches himself, etc.).

(iii) The available data suggest that reflexive markers generally and perhaps exclusively relate to, i.e. are bound by, the subject of the clause they occur in.

(iv) In contrast to many languages, which resort to a variety of other strategies, Oceanic languages use their regular reflexive markers, i.e. the relevant intensifiers, in possessive contexts.

(v) The possible polysemies found for reflexive markers in these languages are correctly captured by the semantic map in Figure 1.

(vi) A variety of different sources can be identified in the grammaticalization of intensifiers and further development to reflexive markers. Spatial notions, in particular, play a major role.

The preceding discussion reveals how the linguistic work of the LACITO has become more and more visible in typological and theoretical work in a specific domain, viz. in that of reflexivity. Similar assessments could be made for the other thematic domain listed at the beginning of the article. The typological literature has inspired the study of Oceanic languages and the study of Oceanic languages has contributed considerably to language typology and so the work of the institute has much to gain by continuing its current line of work and by also placing their results into the more general context of comprehensive language comparisons.

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