

Verbal Reflexives/Reciprocals in (Some) Formosan Languages

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Cross-linguistically there are two basic strategies for the expression of reflexivity/reciprocity. Some languages (English (*himself, each other*), Italian (*proprio* ‘self’), Icelandic (*hvorn annan* ‘each other’), Russian (*sebja* ‘self’) etc.) use an anaphoric pronoun/noun while others (Diyari (*-tadi-* ‘self’), Kannada (*-koND-* ‘self’), Chicheŵa (*-an-* ‘each other’), Halkomelem (*-təl-* ‘each other’) etc.) use a verbal affix or a verbal predicate. This generalization is also true for (some) Formosan languages as shown in Table 1. The present paper aims to concentrate on the verbal strategy in six Formosan languages (Tsou, Saisiyat, Kavalan, Amis, Rukai, Paiwan) with regard to two center issues: semantic functions and transitivity.

We will first examine various different interpretations of verbal reflexive/reciprocal markers along the lines of Kazenin (2001) and Lichtenberk (2000). In addition to expressing reflexivity, a reflexive marker can also mark anticausative and decommitative situations. Similarly, a verbal reciprocal marker denotes more than one semantic function, which includes reciprocal, chaining, collective and distributive situations.

Then we will address the issue of transitivity related to verbal reflexives/reciprocals. Many previous studies (e.g., Gerds 2000, McGregor 2000, Mchombo 1993) often conclude that syntactically the derived reflexive/reciprocal constructions are intransitive. This is not exactly what we found in (some) Formosan languages. A careful examination reveals that a verbal reflexive/reciprocal does not necessarily derive an intransitive construction. It simply reduces the number of arguments, i.e. *sim-* in Kavalan changes a transitive verb like *pukun* ‘hit’ into an intransitive one, as in (1), and a ditransitive verb like *bura* ‘give’ into a transitive one, as in (2a). Since NAF in Kavalan is transitive, a reciprocal verb such as *sim-bura* in (2b) marked by NAF indicates that it is indeed a transitive verb. Therefore, we conclude that the reciprocal affix *sim-* in Kavalan is a valence-decreasing affix rather than an intransitivizing affix.

Table 1. Expressions of reflexives/reciprocals across (some) Formosan languages

	Languages	Reflexives	Reciprocals
Type I: Nominal Strategy	Kavalan	ayzipna	nan-
	Saisiyat	nonak	saso-
	Tsou	iachi	na-/nat-
	Amis	niyah	mala-
	Seediq	nanak	ms-/mt-
	Budai Rukai	NONE	-ma-
	Timur Paiwan	NONE	mare-
Type II: Verbal Strategy	Kavalan	NONE	sim-
	Saisiyat	nonak/ki'nonak	makak-, Ca-, sasobae:oeh
	Tsou	iachi (AF)/iachia (NAF)	yupa-
	Amis	NONE	mala-, ma-(C)a
	Seediq	nak	m-C-
	Budai Rukai	ngi(-a)-, ngi(-a)-kakamani	ma-Ca
	Timur Paiwan	ki-, kimad(j)u	ma-(C)a-

- (1) **sim**-pukun ci buya atu ci utay
 Rec-hit Ncm Buya and Ncm Utay
 'Buya and Utay hit each other.'
- (2) a. **sim**-bura tu Raq ya ci utay atu ci buya
 Rec-give Acc liquor Nom Ncm Utay and Ncm Buya
 'Utay and Buya gave each other liquor.'
- b. **sim**-bura-an-na ni utay atu ci buya ya Raq
 Rec-give-PF-3.Gen Gen Utay and NcmBuya Nom liquor
 'Utay and Buya gave each other liquor.'