The Selective Properties of Verbs in Reflexive Constructions

A DISSERTATION
SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY OF LINGUISTICS OF THE UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD
IN FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF
DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

Karen Park
Christ Church
Trinity Term 2011

The Selective Properties of Verbs in Reflexive Constructions
Karen Park, Christ Church
DPhil; Trinity Term 2011

Abstract

This dissertation investigates the relationship between verbs and reflexive markers within reflexive constructions, setting forth the hypothesis that the verb plays a determining role in anaphoric binding. The work builds upon Dalrymple's (1993) argument that binding constraints are lexically specified by anaphoric elements and demonstrates that reflexive requirements can be lexically specified for distinct groups of verbs, an approach which offers another level of descriptive clarity to theories of anaphoric binding and introduces a means of predicting reflexive selection in domains where syntactic constraints do not readily apply. This is shown to be particularly pertinent in languages with more than one reflexive type that have overlapping syntactic binding domains.

The hypothesis is substantiated by data from five typologically distinct languages: English, Dutch, French, Russian, and Fijian. Contributing to this data set, new empirical evidence in favour of previously unrecognized reflexive forms in the Fijian language is introduced in this work.

Following Sells et al. (1987), it is demonstrated that reflexive constructions are definable over four different components of linguistic representation and a quadripartite linguistic analysis is, therefore, adopted that incorporates c-structure, f-structure, lexical structure, and semantic structure within a Lexical Functional Grammar theoretical framework. The level of semantic structure is found to be particularly interesting since the realization of a reflexive construction is shown to be influenced by differing semantic requirements between verbs and reflexives. On the basis of several semantic tests, verbs in reflexive constructions are shown to have two different predicate structure types, 'transitive' and 'intransitive', and reflexive markers are shown to have three different internal semantic structures, 'strict' (x,x), 'close' (x,f(x)), and 'near' (x,y).

The syntactic, semantic, and lexical characteristics of the reflexives and verbs analyzed over the data set presented in this work result in the identification of eight different reflexive/verb types and the establishment of two implicational relationships:

1) Reflexive markers in lexically intransitive reflexive constructions have no semantic content.

2) Verbs that take a reflexive argument with a strict (x,x) or close (x,f(x)) internal structure must be intransitive at the semantic component of linguistic structure.

These results contribute to our understanding of anaphoric binding theory, directed verb categories, the syntax-semantics interface, and the licensing of multiple reflexive types within a given language.

Acknowledgements

With a degree in English, a background in pre-med, and fresh from two years as a volunteer in the Pacific, I began my graduate career in linguistics confident in my beliefs that linguists were people who spoke many languages and Professor Chomsky was the world's most quoted political activist. The fact that this thesis is before you now is credit to the superb education and support granted to me by the Oxford Faculty of Linguistics and specifically to my supervisor, Professor Mary Dalrymple, whose unfailing encouragement, guidance, and vast knowledge truly made this work possible.

I am also most grateful to those individuals who acted as my language advisors. In particular, this dissertation has been much helped by Gwenda Simons, who provided invaluable insight into the many quirks of the Dutch language, Katie Eckley and Vincent Viles, who were absolutely delightful in handling all of my queries about the French language, and Mark Bainbridge and Eleanor Parker, who kindly put up with numerous evenings of 'does this sound right to you?' and 'what if we add a barber to the equation?' in addition to treating me with unfailing support throughout the process.

A number of people from Fiji deserve singular recognition and my infinite appreciation for their help. Mela Katonivuluku and Reijeli Qalikaono proved to be wonderfully insightful language advisors. Mika Sela merits special recognition for the hours and conscientious attention he put into supervising the research project that substantiates much of my argument for reflexive types in Fijian. Dr Paul Geraghty, who has shown himself a knowledgeable and kind advisor many times in the past, remained true to character and the Fijian sections in the dissertation benefit greatly from his input. Vinaka saka vakalevu taucoko na veivuke bibi.

I am indebted, too, to Christ Church for providing both an extraordinary and inspiring home and much needed financial assistance, in the form of the American Friend's graduate scholarship, during my time as a graduate student.

I must devote a few words to recognizing the fact that all of the misunderstandings and mistakes in this work are my own and are testament to the reality that there is still so much for me to learn.

In addition to the invaluable academic input I have received, I could not have made it through the past four years without the incredible support of friends and family. There are too many names to mention individually but Graeme Wilson, Katie Marienfeld (and wonderful Sofia), Barbara Eckley, Sara Harrison, Nick Park, and Jessica Park (as well as Finn and Leo, such marvelous boys!) warrant specific mention for being simply exceptional.

Lastly, most deserving of my gratitude and recognition for the tremendous role they have played in this endeavour, as they have with so many others, are my parents, Carol and Roger Park. To you I dedicate this work.

Abbreviations

1	first person
2	second person
3	third person
A	agent-like argument of canonical transitive verb
ABL	ablative
ABS	absolutive
ACC	accusative
ADJ	adjective
ADV	adverb
ANTIC	anticausative voice
ASP	aspect
CARD	cardinal
CAUS	causative
CLF	classifier
COMPL	completive
COND	conditional
CONT	continuous
DAT	dative
DEF	definite
DEM	demonstrative
DETR	detransitive
DIR	direct case
DU	dual
ERG	ergative
EXCL	exclusive
EXT	extension
F	femanine
FOC	focus
FUT	future
GEN	genitive
IMP	imperative
INCL	inclusive
INDEP	independent pronoun
INDF	indefinite
INF	infinitive
INS	instrumental
IPFV	imperfective
LOC	locative
LOG	logophoric
M	masculine
MID	middle voice
MODIF	post-head modifier
NMLZ	nominalizer
NOM	nominative
PAS	passive voice
PAUC	paucal
PL	plural
POSS	possessive
PP	past participle
PREP	preposition
PRF	perfect
PRS	present
PST	past
PTCP	participle
REFL	reflexive
$REFL_1$	refl type 1
$REFL_2$	refl type 2
SBJV	subjunctive
SG	singular
TOP	topic
TR	transitive

Contents

Abstract i

Acknowledgements ii

Abbreviations iv

List of Figures ix

List of Tables x

1 Introduction 1

Introduction 1

1.1 Anaphoric Binding Theory 1

1.2 Chomsky and the Binding Theory 5

1.2.1 Government and Binding Theory 5

1.2.2 Binding Theory 7

1.2.3 Chomsky Since Government and Binding: The Minimalist Program 14

1.3 Critical Approaches to Binding Theory Since Chomsky 15

1.3.1 Domain Problem 17

1.3.2 Antecedent Problem 21

1.3.3 Classification Problem 26

1.4 The Reflexive Verb 33

1.4.1 Multiple Reflexive Types 34

1.4.2 Reinhart and Reuland (1993) 36

1.4.3 Lidz (2001) 46

1.4.4 Reuland (2001) 53

1.4.5 The Reflexive Verb within Multiple Components of Linguistic Structure 59

1.5 The Dissertation 64

2 Reflexives Defined 66

Introduction 66

2.1 Identifying the Challenges 68

2.1.1 Incongruities in the Nature of the Reflexive 68

2.1.2 Two Primary Interpretations: Taxonomic vs Anti-taxonomic 75

2.2 Characteristics of Reflexives 79

2.2.1 Form
2.2.1.1 Lexical Category Continuum 79
2.2.1.2 Origins, Grammaticalisation, and Internal Structure 82
2.2.1.3 Binding, Domain, and Command 93
2.2.2 Function 102
2.2.2.1 Coreference 102
2.2.2.2 Multiple Reflexive Strategies 108
2.2.2.3 Uncharacteristic Functions 112
2.3 Conclusions: A Working Definition of the Reflexive 115

3 Data 1: Fijian 119
Introduction 119
3.1 Fijian Language 120
3.1.1 Orthography 121
3.1.2 Typology 123
5.1.3 Fijian Pronouns 128
5.1.4 The Fijian Reflexive 130
3.2 Research 132
3.2.1 Data Set 1 133
3.2.2 Data Set 2 140
3.2.3 Data Set 3 151
3.2.3.1 Binding Conditions 154
3.2.3.2 Trends 157
3.2.3.3 Verb Groups 177
3.3 Summary and Conclusions 186

4 Data 2: Language Survey 189
Introduction 189
4.1 English: A Single Nominal Reflexive Marker 190
4.1.1 English: Subcategorization of Reflexive Constructions 194
4.1.1.1 English: Semantic Fusion Subcategorization 196
4.1.1.2 English: Directed Verb Subcategorization 202

4.1.2 English: Functions other than Coreference 217
4.1.3 English: Summary 223
4.2 Dutch: Multiple Nominal Reflexive Markers 225
4.2.1 Dutch: The Semantics of Simplex and Complex Reflexives 229
4.2.2 Dutch: Reflexive Verbs and Directed Verb Categories 237
4.2.3 Dutch: Summary 243
4.3 French: Reflexive Clitics 244
4.3.1 French: Reflexive Verbs 252
4.3.2 French: The Reflexive NPs 259
4.3.3 French: The Reflexive Clitic 263
4.3.4 French: Functions other than Coreference 266
4.3.5 French: Summary 270
4.4 Russian: Reflexive Morphemes 272
4.4.1 Russian: *Sebja* vs *–sja* 277
4.4.2 Russian: The Many Functions of *–sja* 281
4.4.3 Russian: Summary 285
4.5 Conclusions: Cross-linguistic Patterns of Verb and Reflexive Interaction 287

5 Theoretical Analysis 289
Introduction 289
5.1 Analysis: Four Components of Linguistic Structure 290
5.1.1 Syntax 297
5.1.2 Semantics 300
5.1.2.1 The Refleixve: Coreference 305
5.1.2.2 The Verb: Semantic Transitivity 311
5.1.3 Lexicon 314
5.2 Formalization 322
5.3 Conclusions 334

6 Concluding Remarks 337

Appendices

A	**Fijian Data Set 1**	**344**
B	**Fijian Data Set 2**	**355**
C	**Fijian Data Set 3**	**359**
Bibliography		**522**

List of Figures

1.1 Levels of Linguistic Representation 6

1.2 Realization of AGR and Tense in a Parsed Sentence 11

1.3 C-command 12

1.4 Functional Correspondence Between C-structure Nodes and F-structure Domains 32

2.1 Schematic Picture of the Life-cycle of the Reflexive 92

3.1 The Austronesian Language Family 121

3.2 Predicate Composition 125

3.3 Four Types of Fijian Noun Phrase 128

3.4 Miss Hibiscus 158

3.5 Mere and Jone 160

3.6 Translation Data – 1st Person 178

3.7 Translation Data – 2nd Person 179

3.8 Translation Data – 3rd Person 180

3.9 Rating Scale Data – 1st Person 182

3.10 Rating Scale Data – 2nd Person 183

3.11 Rating Scale Data – 3rd Person 184

5.1 Syntactic Domain Overlap for Languages with Multiple Reflexive Types 298

5.2 Coreferential Domain of Reflexive Markers 308

List of Tables

1.1 Features of Anaphoric Expressions 37

1.2 Internal Semantic Structures Available to Reflexive Types 63

2.1 Summary of Reflexive Characteristics 115

2.2 English Reflexive Profile 118

3.1 Fijian Orthography – Consonants and their Respective Phonemes 122

3.2 Common Standard Fijian Affixes 123

3.3 Common Standard Fijian Function Items 124

3.4 Singular Pronouns in the Standard Fijian Dialect 129

3.5 Dual Pronouns in the Standard Fijian Dialect 130

3.6 Paucal Pronouns in the Standard Fijian Dialect 130

3.7 Plural Pronouns in the Standard Fijian Dialect 130

3.8 Summary of Data Set 1 139

3.9 Summary of Data Set 2 150

3.10 Participant Age 151

3.11 Research Design – Verbs 152

3.12 Antecedent Constraints 155

3.13 Domain Constraints 157

3.14 Summary of Binding Constraints 157

3.15 Trends – Illustrations and Story Translations 176

3.16 Translation Data – 1st Person 178

3.17 Translation Data – 2nd Person 179

3.18 Translation Data – 3rd Person 180

3.19 Rating Scale Data – 1st Person 182
3.20 Rating Scale Data – 2nd Person 183
3.21 Rating Scale Data – 3rd Person 184
3.22 Correlation Between Person and Reflexive Type for Selected Verbs 185
3.23 Distinct Reflexive/Verb Groups 186
3.24 Fijian Reflexive Types 187
3.25 Fijian Reflexive Profile – Short 188
3.26 Fijian Reflexive Profile – Mid 188
3.27 Fijian Reflexive Profile – Long 188
4.1 English Reflexive 190
4.2 English Reflexive Profile 194
4.3 Semantic Fusion Subcategories of Reflexive Constructions 201
4.4 Possible Subtypes of Inherent Reflexives 216
4.5 English - Coreferential Function 223
4.6 English – Other Functions 224
4.7 Dutch Simplex Reflexive ($REFL_2$) 226
4.8 Dutch Complex Reflexive ($REFL_1$) 226
4.9 Dutch Reflexive Profile – Complex 228
4.10 Dutch Reflexive Profile – Simplex 229
4.11 Reflexive Coreferential Range and Corresponding Tests 232
4.12 Dutch Reflexive Verbs: The Simplex Reflexive 239
4.13 Dutch Reflexive Verbs: The Complex Reflexive 241
4.14 Possible Subtypes of Dutch Reflexive Verbs 242
4.15 Dutch - Coreferential Function 243

4.16 French Reflexive Clitic 245
4.17 French Reflexive Noun Phrases 246
4.18 French Reflexive Profile – Clitic 251
4.19 French Reflexive Profile – Complex Noun Phrase 251
4.20 French Reflexive Profile – Simplex Noun Phrase 252
4.21 French Reflexive Verbs 253
4.22 Subcategorization of Verbs Incorporating the Reflexive Clitic 258
4.23 Possible Subtypes of French Reflexive Verbs 259
4.24 French - Coreferential Function 270
4.25 French – Other Functions 271
4.26 Case-Marking Paradigm for *Sebja* 273
4.27 Binding Domain 275
4.28 Russian Reflexive Profile – Noun Phrase 277
4.29 Russian Reflexive Profile – Affix 277
4.30 General *–sja* Verbs 284
4.31 Russian - Coreferential Function 285
4.32 Russian – Other Functions 286
4.33 Summary of Coreferential Function 287
4.34 Summary of Non-Coreferential Function 288
5.1 Key to Table 5.2 295
5.2 Summary of Data 296
5.3 Internal Semantic Structures Available to Reflexive Types 306
5.4 Semantic Requirements of the Verb 314
5.5 Eight Types of Reflexive Constructions 322

B.1 'Jo shaved himself.' 355

B.2 'Kalara washes herself before she makes breakfast.' 356

B.3 'Paula killed himself.' 356

B.4 'Jone opened the door for Kalara. She slipped and hurt both herself and him.' 357

B.5 'Jone believed himself to be very strong.' 357

B.6 'I helped myself to a cookie.' 357

B.7 'Because I was late, you helped yourself with your homework instead of me and you did a very good job.' 357

B.8 'Bill exercises every day to make himself the strongest man in the village.' 357

B.9 'Jone thought that Epi adored himself.' 358

B.10 'Their fathers adored each other.' 358

B.11 'Why do you hate yourself?' 358

B.12 'Kalara praised herself in front of her friends.' 358

B.13 'The queen separated herself and the king.' 358

B.14 'Paula defended himself better than Samu defended himself.' 358

B.15 'Paula defended himself better than Samu defended him.' 358

C.1 Rating Scale – *vanai* 'to shoot' and *tirovi* 'to look at' 366

C.2 Matrix of Choices – *vanai* 'to shoot' and *tirovi* 'to look at' 368

C.3 Rating Scale – *raica* 'to see' and *rogoca* 'to hear' 370

C.4 Matrix of Choices – *raica* 'to see' and *rogoca* 'to hear' 372

C.5 Rating Scale – *toroi* 'to shave' and *vakasilima* 'to bathe' 374

C.6 Matrix of Choices – *toroi* 'to shave' and *vakasilima* 'to bathe' 376

C.7 Rating Scale – *lomalomani* 'to love and *cāti* 'to hate' 378

C.8 Matrix of Choices – *lomalomani* 'to love and *cāti* 'to hate' 380

C.9 Rating Scale – *digitaki* 'to vote' and *vakamatei* 'to kill' 382

C.10 Matrix of Choices – *digitaki* ‘to vote’ and *vakamatei* ‘to kill’ 384

C.11 Rating Scale – *vosa* ‘to talk’ 386

C.12 Matrix of Choices – *vosa* ‘to talk’ 388

C.13 ‘He saw himself in the mirror.’ 390

C.14 ‘The queen invited me for tea.’ 391

C.15: ‘Paula requires that Kata’s parents support both himself and the child.’ 392

C.16: ‘I hate spiders.’ 393

C.17: ‘You shave yourself.’ 394

C.18: ‘The door opened.’ 395

C.19: ‘Mere said to Jone that she hit herself.’ 396

C.20: ‘I hate myself.’ 397

C.21: ‘Jone defended himself better than Kalara.’ 398

C.22: ‘Paula seems to Kalara to be a nice person.’ 399

C.23: ‘Somebody opened the door.’ 400

C.24: ‘She washed herself.’ 402

C.25: ‘Jone is a doctor.’ 403

C.26: ‘He shot himself.’ 404

C.27: ‘I heard your favorite song on the radio.’ 405

C.28: ‘You love yourself.’ 406

C.29: ‘Paula requires that Kata’s parents support himself.’ 407

C.30: ‘Jone likes to take photographs.’ 408

C.31: ‘He shaved himself.’ 409

C.32: ‘I wash myself.’ 410

C.33: ‘Jone got his shirt torn.’ 411

C.34: ‘The queen invited both Melika and herself to my house for tea.’ 412

C.35: ‘I like to eat pineapples.’ 413

C.36: ‘She killed herself.’ 414

C.37: ‘Simeli worries about himself.’ 415

C.38: ‘Jone seems to Mere to be very lucky.’ 416

C.39: ‘Mere loves her cat and Jone does too.’ 417

C.40: ‘I voted for myself.’ 418

C.41: ‘He voted for himself.’ 419

C.42: ‘Jone tore his shirt with a stick.’ 420

C.43: ‘Paula defended himself better than Isoa defended him.’ 421

C.44: ‘I shave myself.’ 422

C.45: ‘The queen invited both Melika and myself for tea.’ 423

C.46: ‘Simeli worries Paula.’ 424

C.47: ‘Paula is a student.’ 425

C.48: ‘You killed yourself.’ 426

C.49: ‘I speak to myself.’ 427

C.50: ‘Mere seems to herself to be very lucky.’ 428

C.51: ‘You shot yourself.’ 429

C.52: ‘I saw the movie.’ 430

C.53: ‘Kalara opened her eyes.’ 431

C.54: ‘You saw yourself in the mirror.’ 432

C.55: ‘Kata defended herself better than Paula defended her.’ 433

C.56: ‘Spiders scare me.’ 434

C.57: ‘The queen invited both Melika and me for tea.’ 435

C.58: ‘I heard myself on the radio.’ 436

C.59: ‘She speaks to herself.’ 437

C.60: ‘Kalara gave me a piece of cake.’ 438

C.61: ‘I killed myself.’ 439

C.62: ‘She bought Mere a sulu but decided to keep it for herself.’ 440

C.63: ‘You speak to yourself.’ 441

C.64: ‘Paula defended himself better than Mere defended herself.’ 442

C.65: ‘The wind opened the door.’ 442

C.66: ‘Isoa spoke to Kalara about himself.’ 443

C.67: ‘She loves herself.’ 444

C.68: ‘Jone tore Isoa’s shirt.’ 445

C.69: ‘Kalara opened Jone’s eyes.’ 446

C.70: ‘You wash yourself.’ 447

C.71: ‘Mere washes the dishes.’ 448

C.72: ‘Mere said to Jone that she thought she once saved herself from a shark.’ 449

C.73: ‘I shot myself.’ 450

C.74: ‘He hates himself.’ 451

Table C.75: ‘Samu likes to swim and Isoa does too.’ 452

C.76: ‘You heard yourself on the radio.’ 453

C.77: ‘Simeli worries himself.’ 454

C.78: ‘Samu sang to us.’ 455

C.79: ‘Pineapples taste good to me.’ 456

C.80: ‘You voted for yourself.’ 457

C.81: ‘The queen invited both Melika and herself to tea at my house.’ 458

C.82: ‘Kata’s parents require that Paula support himself.’ 459

C.83: ‘She heard herself on the radio.’ 460

C.84: ‘Jone tore his shirt with his hands.’ 461

C.85: ‘I love myself.’ 462

C.86: ‘Samu accidentally broke his leg.’ 463

C.87: ‘You hate yourself.’ 464

C.88: ‘Isoa spoke to Kalara about herself.’ 465

C.89: ‘I saw myself in the mirror.’ 466

C.90: ‘Paula defended himself better than Kalara defended herself.’ 467

Chapter 1

Introduction

Introduction

This dissertation takes a critical look at the interaction between verbs and reflexive markers within reflexive constructions, putting forward the argument that the verb plays a determining role in reflexive selection. In particular, it is here asserted that reflexive constructions are definable over four different components of linguistic representation: c-structure, f-structure, lexical structure, and semantic structure, and reflexive/verb interactions are identifiable over all of these. Semantic structure is of particular interest as differing semantic requirements between verbs and reflexives interact to impact the outcome of a reflexive structure.

1.1 Anaphoric Binding Theory

Since the early 1990's work in anaphoric binding has intermittently explored the interactions between verbs and anaphors in reflexive constructions (Reinhart and Reuland 1993; Reuland 2001; Lidz 2001a; Lidz 2001b; Ruigendijk et al. 2004; Amiridze 2005; Conroy 2007). This work has taken many different approaches, ranging from reflexive marked predicates and syntactic chains developed along the principles of the Minimalist Program (Reuland 2001), to a more semantic approach in which the interaction between the lexical content of the predicate and the anaphor results in a distinction between 'pure reflexives' and 'near reflexives' (Lidz 2001b). Yet, despite this recent work, the study of verbs in reflexive constructions currently makes up a small and often overlooked offshoot with regards to prevalent approaches to anaphoric binding. Most current theories of anaphoric binding in generative grammar remain primarily concerned with the distribution and co-indexation of noun phrases in a sentence and pay very little attention to the influence of distinct verb

types. This dissertation hypothesizes that the verb is an important component of anaphoric binding and that its inclusion in a theory of binding allows it to play a vital role in the interface between syntax and semantics.

Whether or not it is taken into account within a theory of anaphoric binding, there is little disagreement that different verb types do exist with regards to reflexivity. Inherently reflexive verbs, also known as verbal reflexives or simply reflexive verbs, have been observed in a number of typologically distinct languages, including English (Huang 2000; Büring 2005). Inherently reflexive verbs are described as semantically intransitive but syntactically transitive in that they can only employ a reflexive as the argument of the verb. This is exemplified in the following sentences:

(1.1) Inherently Reflexive Verbs
- a. Andrew$_i$ behaved himself$_i$.
- b. * Andrew behaved Elizabeth.
- c. Jackson$_i$ perjured himself$_i$.
- d. * Jackson perjured Jonathan.
- e. [Frederick and Jane]$_i$ behaved themselves$_i$.
- f. [Jackson and Jonathan]$_i$ perjured themselves$_i$.[1]

In addition to inherently reflexive verbs, verbs have also been classified as typically self-directed and typically other-directed (Huang 2000; Büring 2005), both of which appear to influence anaphoric binding. Typically self-directed verbs are frequently described as the inverse of inherently reflexive verbs (Büring 2005: 22) in that they are semantically transitive but can be syntactically intransitive. Essentially, self-directed verbs do not require the overt presence of a reflexive to be considered syntactically complete:

(1.2) Typically Self-directed Verbs
- a. Jane washed.
- b. Jane$_i$ washed herself$_i$.
- c. Chris shaved.
- d. Chris$_i$ shaved himself$_i$.

[1] Interestingly, while inherently reflexive verbs permit plural reflexives in English, they do not allow reciprocals:
1. *Frederick and Jane behaved each other.
2. *Jackson and Jonathan perjured each other.

Typically other-directed verbs, on the other hand, do not permit optional reflexives. These are verbs that describe actions that are rarely self-directed:

(1.3) Typically Other-directed Verbs
a. Agamemnon$_i$ killed himself$_i$.
b. * Agamemnon killed.
c. Kafka$_i$ hated himself$_i$.
d. * Kafka hated.

Other forms of reflexive verbs include verbs that employ reflexive derivation. In some cases this is the result of explicit morphology; languages, such as the Dravidian language Kannada, use a reflexive marker to transform a verb to a reflexive form:

(1.4) Morphologically marked reflexive verbs[2]
a. * Hari$_i$ tann-annu$_i$ hoḍe-d-a.
Hari self-ACC hit-PST-3SG.M
'Hari$_i$ hit himself$_i$.'
b. Hari$_i$ tann-annu$_i$ hoḍe-du-koṇḍ-a$_i$.
Hari self-ACC hit-PP-REFL.PST-3SG.M
'Hari$_i$ hit himself$_i$'
(Kannada; Lidz 2001b: 127)

It has also been argued that some languages, such as English, can employ reflexive morphology in a less conventional manner with a reflexive prefix. 'Self-V' in English and 'auto-V' in many of the Romance languages have been cited as examples:

(1.5) *More morphologically marked reflexive verbs*
a. The letter will self-destruct in five minutes.
b. The plant self-seeded.
c. Il s=auto-détruire.
He REFL=self-destroy
'He destroys himself'
(French)

Long before the emergence of generative syntax, the concept of reflexive verbs was a standard feature in the grammar books of many typologically distinct languages (Tornos 1900 (Spanish); Becker and Rhoades 1909 (German); Scott and Buck 1906 (English)), grammatical theories

[2] Regardless of source, all examples in this work have been glossed according to the Leipzig Glossing Rules (http://www.eva.mpg.de/lingua/pdf/LGR08.02.05.pdf).

(Jespersen 1924, 1933), and historical surveys (Hatcher 1942). In his work *The Philosophy of Grammar* (1924), Otto Jespersen asserts that reflexivity is a property of predicates. Likewise, Lees and Klima (1963) argue that English has 'absolute' reflexive verbs that can be interpreted as a separate category of verbs, 'reflexive intransitives'. However, none of these early insights led to a rigorous, formal theory of coreference and anaphoric binding on a level with Noam Chomsky's Binding Theory established in the 1980s.

Building upon both these earlier allusions to reflexive verbs and the more recent work on predicates and verbs in reflexive constructions within the transformationalist tradition, the primary goal of this dissertation is to develop a formal theory of anaphoric binding that effectively incorporates the interactions between reflexive types and lexically distinct verbs. Evidence in favour of the reflexive/verb interactions will be built upon both a corpus of work in a variety of typologically distinct languages and new empirical evidence in favour of previously unrecognized reflexive forms in the Fijian language. The patterns of influence by the verb over anaphoric binding demonstrated in these languages will be shown to suggest that anaphoric binding constraints can be described as syntactically, semantically, and lexically motivated by interactions between the verb and different reflexive types. Thus, a theory of reflexive verbs in anaphoric binding should take into account the syntax-lexical semantics interface. It is proposed in this work that the constraint-based theory of Lexical Functional Grammar offers the best framework in order to do this.

This introduction sets the stage for an inquiry into verbal reflexives with a general overview of theoretical developments in anaphoric binding commencing with Chomsky's Binding Theory of the 1980's. Section 1.2 focuses on the original Binding Theory introduced as a sub-theory of Chomsky's Government and Binding theory. The ideas put forward in Binding Theory have generally served as a foundation for most of the developments in anaphoric binding to follow. Section 1.3 discusses some of the primary weaknesses in Binding Theory that have been observed over the years following its

establishment, and presents several different approaches to resolving these problems. Section 1.4 then discusses the most influential recent work on reflexive verbs in Binding Theory. The chapter concludes with a summarized outline of the dissertation in section 1.5.

1.2 Chomsky and the Binding Theory

The premises put forward in Binding Theory, a sub-theory of Government and Binding theory developed by Chomsky in the 1980's (1980, 1981, 1982, 1986a, 1986b), laid the foundation upon which much of the current work in anaphoric binding is based. Essentially a formal set of conditions that describe a typology of noun phrases determined by grammatical principles regulating the distribution of NPs according to their referential properties, Binding Theory introduced three critical concepts:

1) The delineation of noun phrases into anaphors, pronominals, and referential expressions (R-expressions)

2) The introduction of three binding conditions which regulate the distribution of each type of noun phrase

3) A definition of binding based upon c-command.

Since Chomsky (1981), each of these concepts has been debated, re-worked, contradicted, reinforced, and re-defined; however, a clear understanding of each remains essential to the mastery of any work on anaphoric binding produced since the early 1980s. This section will, therefore, take a close look at each of these concepts following the work of Chomsky (1981, 1982, 1986a, and 1986b) in order to put in place a solid formal groundwork upon which the developments of later works and the present hypothesis can be established.

1.2.1 Government and Binding Theory

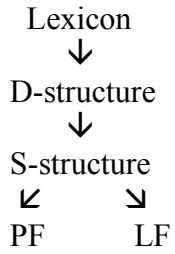
Building upon a theme that has become the cornerstone of all generative linguistics, Chomsky's Government and Binding Theory is based upon the belief that at the heart of the human language faculty there are core grammatical principles which are common to all languages. These principles comprise universal grammar and it is the primary goal of generative linguistics to model, as precisely as possible, those properties of language that are common to all languages. The Government and Binding framework approaches this task by splitting our understanding of universal grammar between two key abstractions:

1) levels of linguistic representation

2) a system of constraints

With respect to the first component, four levels of linguistic representation are identified: the level of the lexicon, which lists the properties of lexical items constituting the atomic units of syntax; the level of underlying structure that represents the lexical properties of the elements in an utterance, or D-structure; the level of surface representation that takes into account the ordering of the elements in an utterance, or S-structure; and the level of interface with phonological form (PF) and semantics, or logical form, (LF). These four levels are illustrated below:

Figure 1.1: Levels of Linguistic Representation



Lexical items are combined at D-structure. D-structure is identified as the underlying structural organization of a sentence and is credited with specifying factors that govern some aspects of the way

in which a sentence should be interpreted. S-structure is then described as the level of syntactic representation that most closely matches the surface ordering of the sentence. S-structure is derived from D-structure by the transformation 'move alpha' which is a universal movement rule authorizing the movement of any phrasal or lexical category anywhere at anytime. LF and PF are likewise derived from S-structure according to move alpha.

The second component, a system of constraints, is responsible for correctly restricting the scope of move-alpha in order to allow the generation of proper structures. These constraints are subsumed within a finite selection of sub-theories that comprise Government and Binding Theory. These include X-bar Theory, Theta Theory, Case Theory, Binding Theory, Control Theory, and Government Theory. Anaphoric binding constraints are contained within the Binding Theory sub-theory of Government and Binding.

1.2.2 Binding Theory

The following exposition of Binding Theory follows Haegeman (1994). The term 'binding' within Government and Binding Theory is defined as a set of conditions that describe relations between certain elements within a sentence. Chomsky identifies A-binding, which deals with NPs in A-positions, and A-bar-binding, which deals with binders in A-bar positions. A-positions are 'argument positions' and A-bar positions are positions other than subject, object, and prepositional object, such as topicalized NPs:

(1.6) a. James$_i$ didn't invite himself$_i$. (A-binding)
b. Charlie, James didn't invite. (A-bar-binding)

Binding theory concerns only the relations between NPs in A-position (A-binding) and describes situations in which NPs can be coindexed with other NPs. Thus, within this work 'binding' will be taken to refer to A-binding unless otherwise stated.

As mentioned earlier, Binding Theory classifies NPs as anaphors, pronominals, or R-expressions. At the level of LF, nominal types, like those presented in (1.7), are distinguished according to their referential properties:

(1.7) a. Kathy$_i$ helped her$_{*i/j}$.
b. Kathy$_i$ helped herself$_{i/*j}$.
c. Jackson$_i$ taught her$_{*i/j}$.
d. Jackson$_i$ taught himself$_{i/*j}$.
e. *Jackson taught herself.
f. Leo$_i$ thought that he$_{i/j}$ had done a good job.
g. *Leo$_i$ thought that himself$_i$ had done a good job.
h. Eleanor$_i$ explained the game to her$_{*i/j}$.
i. Eleanor$_i$ explained the game to herself$_{i*j}$.
j. He$_{*i/j}$ thought Andrew$_i$ played basketball.
k. They$_i$ helped each other$_{i/*j}$.
l. She$_i$ helped herself$_{i/*j}$.
m. *Herself$_i$ helped her$_{i/j}$.

R-expressions consist of full nominal expressions, such as names, that select a referent from the universe of discourse independent of the sentence. In the above sentences *Kathy*, *Jackson*, *Leo*, *Eleanor*, and *Andrew* are all R-expressions. Pronouns, reflexives, and reciprocals, on the other hand, lack complete inherent reference and can therefore only select from particular subgroups within the domain of discourse depending upon their type and the features for which they specify. The pronoun *her* in sentence (1.7a), for example, carries the nominal features [+singular] and [+female] whereas the reciprocal form *each other* in (1.7k) carries the nominal feature [-singular] and the reflexive form 'himself' in (1.7d) has the features [+singular] and [-female]. While these features do restrict choice within the universe of discourse, they do not specify a unique referent. Thus, unlike R-expressions, pronouns, reflexives, and reciprocals all require a contextual antecedent in order to obtain a complete referential interpretation.

Pronouns differ from reflexives and reciprocals with respect to both their level of referential independence and the grammatical binding domain containing the antecedents with which they are able to co-refer. Whereas pronouns can be referentially free (1.7a, c, d, h, and j), reflexives and

reciprocals must have an antecedent (1.7b, d, e, i, k, l, and m) and are therefore labelled 'referentially dependent NP types'. Moreover, according to Chomsky, reflexives and reciprocals must be bound to an antecedent within a limited domain, the 'binding domain'. Patterns of coreference, Chomsky further argues, suggest that the binding domains of pronouns and reflexives/reciprocals are in complementary distribution; meaning that for all domains in which a reflexive or reciprocal is bound by an antecedent a pronoun must be free.

The examples in (1.7) elucidate these concepts of binding domain and acceptable coreference. In (1.7a) *her* cannot select the subject NP *Kathy* as its antecedent whereas *herself* in (1.7b) can. Likewise, sentence (1.7e) is ungrammatical because *herself*, being [+female], does not agree with the [-female] antecedent, *Jackson*; but *her* in sentence (1.7c) is acceptable because, as a pronoun, it has greater referential independence than the reflexive and is not permitted to select *Jackson* as an antecedent. Moreover, demonstrating a difference in referential independence, a pronoun may act as an antecedent for a reflexive, as shown in (1.7l), but the inverse is not possible, as demonstrated in (1.7m), since pronouns have greater referential independence than reflexives. Chomsky bases his classification of the three NP types upon these patterns of coreference and binding domain:

a) **Anaphor**: reflexives and reciprocals, which are referentially dependent and must be bound to an antecedent within a limited binding domain

b) **Pronominal**: pronouns, which, though more independent than anaphors, lack complete inherent reference but cannot be bound to an antecedent within the binding domain required by anaphors

c) **R-expressions**: full nominal expressions, which select a referent from the universe of discourse and cannot be bound

This typology is clearly established by Chomsky in the three conditions that came to define Binding Theory. Each of these conditions, or principles, classifies one of Chomsky's three types of NP according to the grammatical principles of binding and governing category:

(1.8) Binding Theory
A. An anaphor is bound in its governing category
B. A pronominal is free in its governing category
C. An R-expression is free
(Chomsky 1981: 188)

Governing category is an important concept in the above conditions, being the key grammatical element that distinguishes NP types. It is interpreted as the minimal domain within which the relationships of binding hold. According to Chomsky (1981) this is defined as follows:

(1.9) β is a *governing category for* α if and only if β is the minimal category containing α, a governor of α, and a SUBJECT accessible to α
(Chomsky 1981: 211)

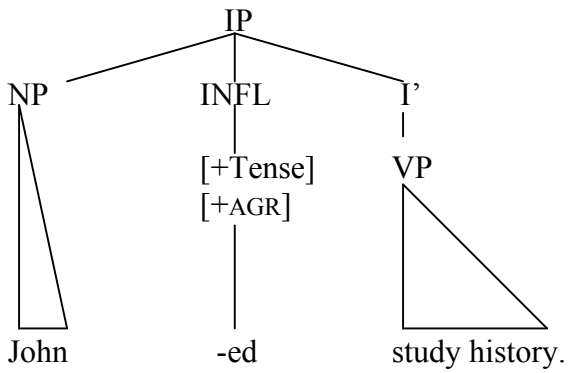
Governing category is the minimal domain that contains the NP, the governor of the NP, and an accessible subject or, in the absence of an overt subject, finite agreement marking (AGR). Accessible is taken to mean a subject for which co-indexation with an NP does not transgress any grammatical principles. The following sentences demonstrate acceptable interpretations of governing category:

(1.10) a. [Jack$_i$ saw himself$_i$.]
b. Upon hearing of Ann's birthday, [Fred$_i$ invited himself$_i$ to the party.]
c. [Sophie$_i$ believes the painting of herself$_i$ is nice.]
d. * Sophie$_i$ believes that [herself$_i$ is the best artist.]

In sentence (1.10a) the reflexive NP *himself* is bound to *Jack* in a minimal category, α, where α is an S containing the governor, *Jack*, and the reflexive NP, *himself*. In sentence (1.10b) the minimal category, α, is the VP *Fred invited himself to the party*, which contains both the reflexive NP *himself* and the governor, *invited*. Sentence (1.10c) differs from the other two sentences in that the antecedent of the reflexive NP is located outside of the finite clause containing the reflexive NP. The acceptability of this example and the unacceptability of example (1.10d) are determined by our understanding of accessible subject and finite AGR.

In both examples finite AGR plays an important role in determining the binding domain of the reflexives in question. AGR, along with Tense, is realized under the inflectional node (I and IP) of a parsed sentence:

Figure 1.2: Realization of AGR and Tense in a Parsed Sentence



In a sentence, AGR is attributed with encoding the agreement properties of the subject, often through inflectional endings on the verb. In languages, such as English, that do not have a rich inflectional system, AGR is assumed to have abstract specification. Since AGR picks up nominal features of a subject, Chomsky classifies it as such and refers to the AGR of finite clauses as SUBJECT, using all capitals to distinguish it from lexical subjects. In this capacity Chomsky argues, the AGR 'SUBJECT' can be interpreted as the required 'subject' within his definition of binding domain. Applying this to sentences (1.10c) and (1.10d) clarifies some of the original discrepancy.

In sentence (1.10d) the AGR attributed to the inflectional marker *is* can serve as the SUBJECT for *herself*. As a result, the finite subordinate clause of (1.10d) constitutes the binding domain for the reflexive since it includes all the necessary components: the reflexive, *herself*; the governor of the reflexive, *I*; and the SUBJECT, AGR. Thus, since *herself* is bound within the subordinate clause, it cannot be coreferenced with *Sophie* which is contained within a higher clause.

In sentence (1.10c), however, the reflexive is part of a larger subject of the subordinate clause; as a result of this, the governor of the reflexive is the preposition *of* but the only apparently accessible

subject would be the NP subject of the clause which has already been described as containing the predicate: [$_{NPi}$ the painting of [$_{NPi}$ herself]]. Chomsky responds to challenging situations like this one with the *i*-within-*i* filter, which prohibits circularity of reference:

(1.11) The *i*-within-*i* filter
*[$_{Ai}$. . . B$_{i}$. . .]

Therefore, taking into account the limitations imposed by the *i*-within-*i* filter, the subordinate clause in sentence (1.10c) does not contain an accessible subject that does not violate any grammatical principles. As a result, the binding domain of the reflexive is extended to include the next higher clause. At this level the subject *Sophie* does serve as an accessible subject and can, thus, be coindexed with the reflexive.

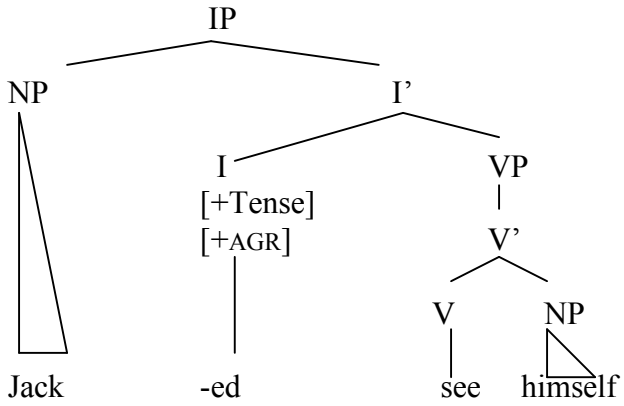
To return to Chomsky's Binding Conditions stated in (1.8), in addition to governing category a clear understanding of the terms 'bound' and 'free' is also necessary to fully understand Binding Theory. According to Chomsky, these may be defined as follows:

(1.12) i. α is bound by β if and only if α and β are coindexed and β c-commands α
ii. α is free if and only if it is not bound
(Chomsky 1981: 184)

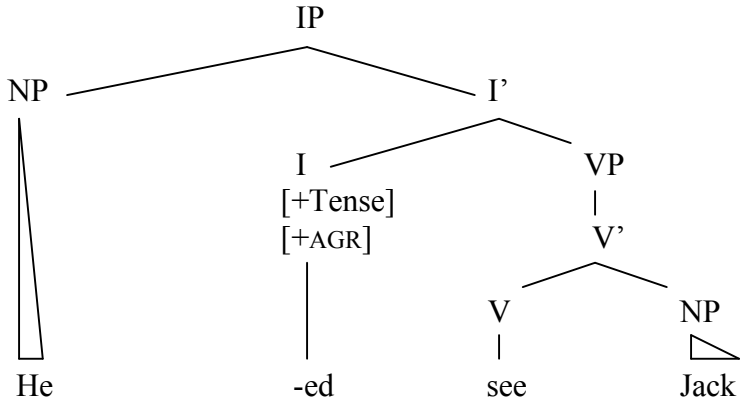
Chomsky's interpretation of binding is based on a structural relationship between anaphors and antecedents: the anaphor must be c-commanded by the antecedent. He defines c-command as follows: "α c-commands β iff α does not dominate β and every γ that dominates α dominates β," (Chomsky 1986b: 8). This relationship is illustrated below following the structure of tree diagrams in Haegeman (1994):

Figure 1.3: C-command

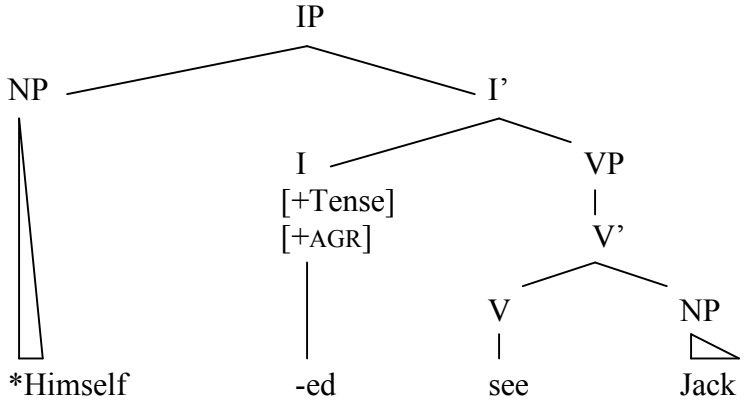
a.



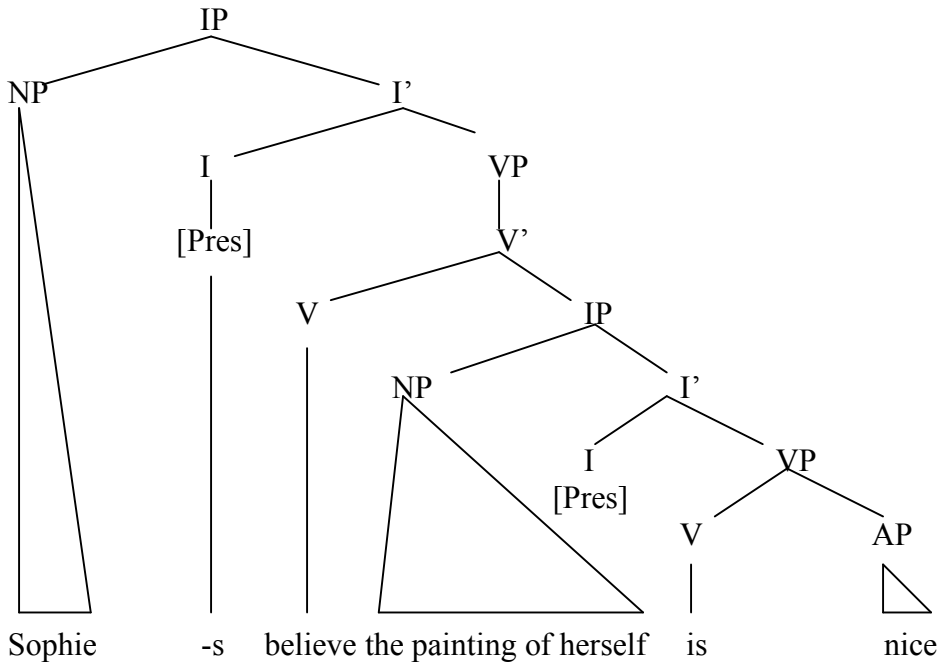
b.



c.



d.



In Figure 1.3a the structural nodes for the antecedent, *Jack*, and the reflexive, *himself*, do not dominate each other; however, the first branching node that dominates the antecedent, 'IP', also dominates the reflexive. This is also the case in Figure 1.3d, which illustrates sentence (1.10c) discussed earlier. Figure 1.3c demonstrates a situation in which there is no c-command between the reflexive and the antecedent. Unlike the pronominal in Figure 1.3b, the referentially dependent reflexive in Figure 1.3c is not permitted in a position where the first branching node that dominates it also dominates its antecedent.

1.2.3 Chomsky Since Government and Binding: The Minimalist Program

In recent years Chomsky's research has come to prioritize simplicity and comprehensive statements about language (Chomsky 1995). His principles of economy and, in particular, the principle of Full Interpretation, encode this ideal:

(1.13) *Principle of Full Interpretation*
There can be no superfluous symbols in representations; an element can appear in representation only if it is properly "licensed."
(Chomsky 1995: 27, 151)

With this in mind the four levels of linguistic representation identified in Government Binding Theory (Figure 1.1) are reduced to two 'interface' levels: logical form (LF) and phonetic from (PF). These are based on a delineation of two distinct types of 'performance system' that enable language use: articulatory-perceptual (PF) and conceptual-intentional (LF). Chomsky asserts that the mapping of sounds to meanings entails only the lexicon and a syntactic 'computational' mechanism that supplies the lexical items with a phonological and semantic identity.

Within this framework, Binding Theory can only apply at the LF interface since binding conditions do not involve phonetic form:

> Conditions on representations – those of binding theory, Case theory, θ-theory, and so on – hold only at the interface, and are motivated by properties of the interface, perhaps properly understood as modes of interpretation by performance systems. (Chomsky 1995: 170-171)

1.3 Critical Approaches to Binding Theory Since Chomsky

Though Chomsky set down much of the foundation for current theories of anaphoric binding, work since Chomsky (1981) has been described as a progression from the all-encompassing, universal conditions of Binding Theory (Huang 1983; Lebeaux 1983; Pica 1987) to systems of increasing specification, ranging from distinct sets of parameters for different languages (Huang 1982; Yang 1983) to properties of individual lexical items within a given language (Manzini and Wexler 1987; Dalrymple 1993). Additionally, approaches to binding constraints have varied from purely syntactic to wholly pragmatic with various approaches involving some unification of the diverse components of linguistic structure.

Several key weaknesses within Chomsky's original Binding Theory lie at the root of these developments, most of which become apparent when Binding Theory is applied to languages other

than English. The three most dominant of these are described by Harbert (1995) as the domain problem, the antecedent problem, and the classification problem.

The domain problem concerns the definition of the local domain in which anaphors must be bound and pronominals must be free. This problem is based on the fact that there appears to be a great deal of cross-linguistic variation with respect to the binding domain. Sentences in languages such as Chinese, Icelandic, and Italian, for example, demonstrate a number of instances of "non-clause-bounded reflexives" (Koster and Reuland 1991):

(1.14) a. Zhangsan$_i$ shuo ziji$_i$ hui lai
Zhangsan say REFL will come
'Zhangsan$_i$ said that self$_i$ will come.'
(Chinese; Huang 1982: 331)

b. Jón$_i$ heldur að Haraldur se að skrifa bókina sína$_i$ í
Jon thinks DEM Harald is INF writing book 3SG.REFL.POSS.ACC in
herberginu sínu$_i$
room 3SG.REFL.POSS.DAT
'Jon$_i$ thinks that Harald$_j$ is writing self's$_j$ book in self's$_i$ room.'
(Icelandic; Richards 1996: 2)

The above examples illustrate cases in which, according to Binding Theory, anaphors are bound to an antecedent located outside of their governing category. This is not allowed following a strict adherence to Chomsky's binding conditions. Thus, either our interpretation of anaphors within Binding Theory must be refined or the concept of binding domain must be reinterpreted to permit this variation.

The antecedent problem has links to the domain problem. It concerns the observation that the binding conditions of Binding Theory do not provide any information regarding the functional role of the antecedent. Though acceptable in English, not all languages allow non-subjects to act as antecedents. Certain reflexives in languages such as Gothic, Russian, and Norwegian, for instance, only license subjects to act as binders. Furthermore, many of these languages appear to have different anaphoric binding domains from those described for non-subject permissive languages like English.

Some linguists believe that these two characteristics are linked and much debate has been generated surrounding the proper designation of antecedents.

Lastly, the classification problem concerns Chomsky's tripartite classification of referring NPs into anaphors, pronominals, and R-expressions following the constraints set forth in his binding conditions. Many different problems have arisen from this classification. For instance, applied to languages other than English, it quickly becomes apparent that Chomsky's categories are insufficient for describing the large variety of unique anaphoric elements present in natural language. A number of languages, including Norwegian, Dutch, and, as it will be demonstrated in this work, Fijian, have more than one reflexive, each with different binding domains and semantic properties. Moreover, some of these 'reflexive' forms straddle the boundary between anaphor and pronominal, making it quite challenging to classify them correctly within the Binding Theory constraints.

Another form of the classification problem concerns the complementary distribution of anaphors and pronominals according to conditions A and B of the Binding Theory (see (1.8) in section 1.2.2). If we assume governing category to be equally interpreted for both anaphors and pronominals, there should be no instances of interchangeability between anaphors and pronominals within a particular binding domain. Yet there are many examples where this is clearly not the case:

(1.15) a. Mason$_i$ saw a picture of him$_{i/j}$/himself$_{i/*j}$ on the wall.
b. Katie$_i$ likes stories about her$_{i/j}$/herself$_{i/*j}$.
c. Peter$_i$ took the glass nearest to him$_{i/j}$/himself$_{i/*j}$.

Furthermore, anaphors are described as consisting of both reflexives and reciprocals which, following Condition A, are understood to have identical patterns of distribution. However, as the examples in (1.16) demonstrate, this is not always the case:

(1.16) a. It would please the boys very much for each other to win.
b. * It would please John$_i$ very much for himself$_i$ to win.

In this section a selection of some well-known approaches to these problems will be summarized, taking into account each level of increasing specification from theories maintaining the

universal, cross-linguistically invariant constraints of Binding Theory to those approaches that define binding constraints as either language specific or as distinct lexical properties.

1.3.1 Domain Problem

The two most prominent approaches to the domain problem are divided according to whether the problem can be resolved in terms of universal constraints or language-by-language parameterization.

According to the universal approach, occurrences of long distance anaphora can be described as the result of movement at the level of LF. Lebeaux (1983), which will be discussed in further detail in section 1.3.3, and Chomsky (1986a) are early proponents of this hypothesis. Pica (1987) offers a unique take on this approach that provides an elegant example of the theory of movement in support of universal binding constraints. He puts forward the hypothesis that all anaphors raise at LF; however, the final position of an anaphor resulting from this movement is controlled by the anaphor's internal structure. Following this hypothesis, Pica observes that anaphors should be divided into two types according to their morphological composition (compound vs. simple) and their argument status. Mono-morphemic (or simplex) anaphors are described as morphologically simple, generated in argument positions, and most likely bound in long distance binding domains. Compound (or complex) anaphors, on the other hand, are morphologically complex, generated in non-argument positions (making them subject to Chomsky's Specified Subject Condition (SSC)[3]), and most often restricted to local binding domains.

Pica claims that, despite their differences, mono-morphemic and compound anaphors share the lexical property of being 'unsaturated' at a particular level of transformational representation, which needs to be resolved at a higher level:

[3] "In a structure ...X...[*a*...Y...]... where *a* contains a subject distinct from Y and not controlled by X, X may not properly bind Y." (Chomsky 1976: 11)

(1.17) An anaphor is an argument which is not saturated at S-structure.
(Pica 1987: 487)

Pica's interpretation of 'saturation' is based on Higginbotham (1984), which uses the terms 'saturated' and 'unsaturated' to describe situations in which the argument requirements of a predicate at the level of theta-structure are properly satisfied (saturated) or left open (unsaturated). This is demonstrated below:

(1.18) a. A dog barked. (saturated)
b. * Dog barked. (unsaturated)

In these examples the head noun 'dog' bears a lexically open position that allows it to be interpreted as "each of the various dogs in the world" (Pica 1987: 486). In order to satisfy the requirements placed on it in its role as argument to the predicate head 'barked', however, this open position must be suppressed by an operation of closure. In (1.18a) this is achieved by binding the head noun to a determiner. Higginbotham (1984) argues that all arguments must be saturated in order to be grammatically acceptable; thus, the unsaturated (1.18b) is not regarded as a grammatical sentence.

Pica finds parallels to this phenomenon in the lexical composition of both his compound and mono-morphemic anaphors. According to Pica, "an anaphor is an argument which contains an open position" (Pica 1987: 487). He then, responding to Higginbotham's requirement that all arguments must be saturated, proposes that items can be unsaturated at one level of linguistic representation but must achieve saturation at a different level. In order for his anaphors to achieve saturation, he proposes a movement rule in LF based on Chomsky's (1986a) hypothesis that anaphors move to the INFL position at LF.[4] The final position of the anaphor resulting from this movement is determined by the lexical composition of the anaphor. Mono-morphemic anaphors can be interpreted as heads (X^o) and are always subject oriented whereas compound anaphors are regarded as phrasal anaphors

[4] Chomsky (1986: 175)

(XP). Mono-morphemic anaphors, moreover, must undergo head-to-head movement in order to be interpreted:

> I claim, developing an idea suggested in Chomsky (1986.a) that the X^o reflexive has to move to the matrix INFL in order to be antecedent governed by its antecedent.
> (Pica 1987: 492)

This is prohibited for compound anaphors due to their status as XPs. On the other hand, compound anaphors, unlike mono-morphemic anaphors, can be adjoined to the phrase containing them:

> An X^{max} anaphor, such as *hinanden* in Danish, cannot however adjoin to X^o elements and must adjoin to an X^{max} such as VP or PP.
> (Pica 1987: 488)

As mentioned earlier, theories that apply language specific parameters have also been prevalent in responses to the domain problem. Progovac (1992) and Manzini and Wexler (1987), in particular, have been prominent in this debate. Progovac (1992) proposes a SUBJECT parameterizing approach in which SUBJECT can be either AGR or a subject. Manzini and Wexler (1987), likewise, tackle the domain problem through parameterization of the governing category. Their method differs from many of the others in that it interprets parameterization of binding constraints as specified for individual lexical items.

According to Manzini and Wexler (1987), parameters offer a solution to the challenge of accounting for the diversity of natural language with the requirements of language acquisition. Following an analysis of data from English, Italian, Icelandic, and Japanese, Manzini and Wexler arrive at five different definitions of governing category. With this in mind, they interpret governing category as a parameter with five different values:

(1.19) Governing Category

γ is a governing category for α iff
γ is the minimal category that contains α and a governor for α and
a. can have a subject or, for α anaphoric, has a subject β, β≠α; or
b. has an Infl; or
c. has a Tense; or
d. has a "referential" Tense; or
e. has a "root" Tense.
if, for α anaphoric, the subject of γ is accessible to α

(Manzini and Wexler 1987: 421)

The definition of 'accessible' in the above parameter follows that of Chomsky (1981) in which c-command and the *i*-within-*i* Condition apply (see section 1.2.2); however, it differs with respect to control. Chomsky (1981) suggests that if an anaphoric element does not find an accessible subject within its original category it continues searching until it arrives at the first category that does contain an accessible subject. Manzini and Wexler, on the other hand, maintain that the search for a governing category stops at the first category with a subject and if that subject is found to be inaccessible then the anaphoric element is recognized as having no governing category. This approach allows binding theory to subsume control in certain instances. Manzini and Wexler illustrate the strength of their argument with the following example:

(1.20) Alice$_j$ sapeva che [[i miei ritratti di sè$_{i/j}$]=spaventavano Mario$_i$]
Alice know[IPFV.3SG] that my[M.PL] portrait[PL] of REFL=frighten.[IPFV.3SG] Mario
'Alice$_j$ knew that my portraits of self$_{i/j}$ frightened Mario$_i$.'

(Italian; Manzini and Wexler 1987: 422)

According to Chomsky's Binding Theory, due to the presence of *i miei* 'my', the governing category for the reflexive clitic *sè* is the embedded sentence. This incorrectly limits the referential capacity of the anaphoric element. Manzini and Wexler's parameterized definition of governing category instead predicts that the reflexive *sè* is not subject to any binding condition and is, thus, free to corefer with nonlocal antecedents.

When applied to further examples from Italian, Japanese, and Icelandic, it becomes apparent that different anaphoric elements within each of the languages require different governing category

parameters. With this in mind, Manzini and Wexler suggest that parameterization can occur at the level of the lexicon:

(1.21) Lexical Parameterization Hypothesis
Values of a parameter are associated not with particular grammars but with particular lexical items.
(Manzini and Wexler 1987: 424)

This hypothesis introduces an element of flexibility and greater descriptive clarity that is lacking in many other approaches to anaphoric binding constraints.

1.3.2 Antecedent Problem

As mentioned above, the antecedent problem concerns the observation that many languages appear to place functional limitations on acceptable antecedents in regards to anaphoric binding. Büring (2005) refers to this as 'orientation'. Following the observations of linguists including Rappaport (1983), Yang (1983), Giorgi (1984), Anderson (1986), Toman (1991), and Dalrymple (1993), most examples of orientation pertain to situations in which the anaphoric element must be either bound to or free from an antecedent bearing the grammatical function of subject. With this in mind, Büring identifies two types of orientation: 'subject orientation', in which the bound antecedent must be a subject, and 'anti-subject orientation', in which binding with a subject is forbidden. Dalrymple (1993) refers to these as the 'Subject Binding Condition' and 'Subject Disjointness Condition' respectively.

Subject orientation has been observed in a large number of typologically distinct languages including Mandarin, Czech, Russian, Icelandic, Georgian, Marathi, Finnish, Kannada, and French. In many but not all of these cases, subject orientation has been perceived as a requirement of long distance anaphors. As a result, it is often considered an element in the determination of the binding domain of an anaphor. This is exemplified in the Mandarin sentences below:

(1.22) a. Zhangsan$_i$ shou ziji$_i$ hui lai.
Zhangsan say REFL will come
'Zhangsan$_i$ says self$_i$ will come.'

b. Zhangsan$_i$ renwei Lisi$_j$ zhidau ziji$_{i/j/*k}$ de taitai shi yi-ge da hao ren.
Zhangsan think Lisi know REFL POSS wife is one-CL big good person
'Zhangsan$_i$ thought that Lisi$_j$ knew that self's$_{i/j/*k}$ wife was a very good person.'
(Mandarin; Büring 2005: 59)

c. Zhangsan$_i$ song Lisi$_j$ yi-zhang ziji$_{i/*j}$ de xiangpian.
Zhangsan give Lisi one-CL REFL POSS picture
'Zhangshan$_i$ gave Lisi$_j$ a picture of self$_{i/*j}$.'

d. Zhangsan$_i$ gaosu Lisi$_j$ ziji$_{i/*j}$ de fenshu.
Zhangsan tell Lisi REFL POSS grade
'Zhangsan$_i$ told Lisi$_j$ his own$_{i/*j}$ grade.'
(Mandarin; Tang 1989: 99)

Sentences (1.22a) and (1.22b) illustrate the fact that the anaphor, *ziji*, can take a non-local antecedent. In (1.22a) the antecedent must be *Zhangsan* since it is the only subject in the sentence. In (1.22b) both the higher clause subject, *Zhangsan*, and the subordinate clause subject, *Lisi*, are marked as acceptable antecedents. However, in (1.22c) and (1.22d) the anaphor *ziji* demonstrates a clear preference for an antecedent with the subject function. In both of these sentences the subject, *Zhangsan*, is the only NP allowed to act as the antecedent to *ziji* despite the fact that, in both cases, the direct object *Lisi* also c-commands the reflexive. Grammatical function thus plays a discernable role in the determination of anaphoric binding conditions.

Anti-subject orientation, though apparently much less common than subject-orientation, has also been observed. Büring provides an example from the Yoruba language of the Niger-Congo family. Yoruba contains the weak pronoun *ó*, which can equally be used bound or free provided that it is not anaphorically connected to a subject:

(1.23) a. Ségun$_i$ so pé Túndé$_j$ rò pé ó$_{k/*i/*j}$ sanra.
Segun say that Tunde think that INDF.SG fat
'Segun$_i$ said that Tunde$_j$ thought that he$_{k/*i/*j}$ was fat.'

b. Tolú$_i$ so fún Ségun$_j$ pé Dúpé$_k$ rò pé ó$_{j/*i/*k/l}$ sanra
Tolu say to Segun that Dupe think that INDF.SG fat
'Tolu$_i$ told Segun$_j$ that Dupe$_k$ thought that he$_{i/*j/*k/l}$ was fat.'
(Yoruba; Büring 2005: 60)

Other examples of anti-subject orientation have been found in Danish, Kannada, Norwegian, and Russian (Büring 2005).

Instances of subject orientation have been explained in anaphoric binding theories in a number of different ways, ranging from language specific parameters to lexically specified constraints. Anderson (1986) provides one example of a parameterized approach to antecedent requirements. Working with Icelandic, he argues that binding theory should be adapted to include a parameterized approach to anaphoric dependencies:

> The Icelandic evidence suggests that the binding theory should be enriched by the addition of a parametric choice which determines the domain within which certain anaphoric dependencies hold.
> (Anderson 1986: 65)

This 'parametric choice' resulting from Anderson's Icelandic data is based upon subject orientation. According to Anderson, languages that demonstrate subject-sensitive binding are treated with a modified version of the binding theory. With respect to Icelandic, this is realized in a binding theory that consists of four amended conditions:

(1.24) a. Reflexive pronouns are bound by a superordinate subject within their anaphoric domain
b. Anaphors are bound in their governing category
c. (Other) pronouns are SUBJECT-FREE (i.e., not bound by a super-ordinate subject) within their anaphoric domain
d. R-expressions are free
(Anderson 1986: 82)

According to Anderson the initial subject-sensitive condition (1.24a) determines whether or not condition (1.24c) applies. In languages, like English, that do not express subject orientation, Anderson's condition (1.24a) is blocked and his condition (1.24c) is replaced with the original Condition B of binding theory (1.25):

(1.25) Condition B: Pronominals are free in their governing category.

Anderson claims this subject-sensitive parameterized approach to binding permits both a typologically appropriate account of anaphoric binding and a more precise description of the anaphoric elements within a given language.

With respect to anti-subject orientation, Benedicto (1991) provides an interesting lexical interpretation of instances of long distance anaphora that do not require subject binding. She bases her argument on Giorgi (1984) who interprets a selection of Italian long distance anaphora according to thematic roles. Giorgi claims anaphoric elements select an antecedent according to a 'thematic hierarchy':

(1.26) *Thematic Hierarchy*
1. Agent
2. Experiencer
3. Theme and others

(Benedicto 1991: 179)

According to both Benedicto and Giorgi, the antecedent of a long distance anaphor is determined by its thematic role rather than its grammatical function. The thematic role at the top of the hierarchy, "the prominent argument of a θ-grid" (Benedicto 1991: 179), is the preferred antecedent of a long distance anaphor. Subject orientation is, therefore, the result of anaphoric elements selecting the most prominent argument of the θ-grid, agent. In the absence of an agent, the next most prominent thematic role on the thematic hierarchy is recognized as the prominent argument and is, thus, selected as the determining factor for the antecedent. This is demonstrated in the Latin examples in (1.27):

(1.27) a. Iam inde ab initio Faustulo$_i$ spes fuerat
since beginning[ABL] Faustulus[DAT] hope[NOM] be[PST]
[regiam stirpem apud se$_i$ educari]
royal[ACC] stock[ACC] next.to REFL.ACC be.educated[INF]
'Since the beginning, Faustulus$_i$ had hoped that (someone of) royal stock was being educated with him$_i$' (Liv., 1.5.5)

b. Annali$_i$ litterae pergratae fuerunt [$_S$' quod
Annalis[DAT] letter[NOM] pleasant[NOM] was because
curares de se$_i$ diligenter]
to.worry[SBJV] about REFL.ABL diligently
'Annalis$_i$ was very pleased with your letter, because you worried very much about him$_i$' (Cic., *Quint*., 3.1.20)

(Latin; Benedicto 1991: 179-180)

Both of the above sentences demonstrate non-subject antecedents: a possessive dative in (1.27a) and a dative dependent in (1.27a). In each sentence the experiencer, the second thematic role in Giorgi's thematic hierarchy, rather than the agent has taken on the role of prominent argument.

However, Benedicto points out that there are some instances of non-subject antecedents that do not respect this prominence hypothesis:

(1.28) a. Canum$_i$ tam fida custodia... quid significat aliud
dogs[GEN] such trusty watchfulness[NOM] what mean else
nisi [se$_i$ ad hominum commoditates esse generatos?]
except REFL.ACC for men[GEN] comfort[ACC] be created[INF]
'The trusty watchfulness of the dogs$_i$... what else does it mean, except that they$_i$ were created for human comfort?' (Cic. *nat. deor*., 2.158)

b. A Casare$_i$ ualde liberaliter invitor [sibi$_i$ ut
By Caesar[ABL] very generously invite[PRS.IND.1SG] REFL.DAT COMP
sim legatus]
be[SBJV] legate[NOM]
'Caesar most liberally invites me to take a place on his personal staff' (Cic., *Att*., 2.18.3)

(Latin; Benedicto 1991: 180)

Neither of the sentences in (1.28) have an antecedent in the argument position, making it difficult to assign 'prominent argument'. In (1.28a) the antecedent is a genitive, dependent upon on an NP, and in (1.28b) it is the ablative agent phrase of a passive sentence (Benedicto 1991: 181). In these instances Benedicto suggests that anaphoric coreference is triggered by a syntactically prominent phrase. Syntactic prominence, she claims, results from the phrase taking the Topic position in the

sentence. However, regardless of syntactic prominence, sentences (1.28a) and (1.28b) contradict the previously established expectation that anaphors must have an antecedent in an argument position (A-position). Benedicto, following Aoun (1986), resolves this problem by differentiating between two types of anaphoric relations: A-anaphora and A'-anaphora. All instances of a long-distance anaphor bound to an element in the Topic position, such as the above sentences, are cases of the anaphor being bound in A'-position.

1.3.3 Classification Problem

The classification problem applies to several distinct weaknesses that arise from Chomsky's tripartite classification of NPs into anaphors, pronominals, and R-expressions. Three of the most prominent of these, as mentioned earlier, concern observed variation between reflexives and reciprocals (both of which are classified as anaphors in Binding Theory), the complementary distribution of anaphors and pronominals according to Condition A and Condition B of Binding Theory, and the large variety of different types of anaphoric elements expressed by different languages.

Lebeaux (1983) presents an early response, couched in the universal constraints of Binding Theory, to perceived differences between reflexives and reciprocals in the English language. As demonstrated in (1.16) above and the sentences listed below, there are many examples of instances in which reflexives and reciprocals do not have identical distribution:

(1.29) a. John and Mary brought some books for each other to read.
b. ?John brought some books for himself to read.

(1.30) a. John and Mary didn't know what each other had done.
b. *John didn't know what himself had done.
(Lebeaux 1983: 724)

(1.31) a. John and Mary like each other's parents.
b. *John likes himself's parents.
(Lebeaux 1983: 725)

Binding Theory suggests that reflexives and reciprocals should have identical distribution since they are both anaphors. However, all of the sentences above illustrate occurrences in which this is not the case. According to Lebeaux, the sentences in (1.29), (1.30), and (1.31) can be described as instances in which the anaphors are not properly governed. Based on these examples, he proposes two principles that might account for the distribution of anaphors:

(1.32) a. Reciprocals are subject to the binding theory.
b. Reflexives (a) are subject to the binding theory.
(b) must be properly governed.
(Lebeaux 1983: 725)

In order to explain this distinction according to grammatical principles, Lebeaux turns to the level of logical form to account for the restrictions on reflexives. At LF Lebeaux finds the interpretive content of the reciprocal *each other* to be much broader than that of a reflexive such as *himself* since *each* and *other* pick out members from disjoint sets. As a result, the reciprocal has an independent interpretive content that is not present in the reflexive. He then argues that the broader interpretive content of the reciprocal allows it to obtain proper government as the result of movement at LF. Lebeaux bases this argument on the Empty Category Principle (ECP),[5] which concerns the government subtheory of Chomsky's Government and Binding Theory. The ECP requires a trace to be properly governed. With respect to Lebeaux's reflexives and reciprocals, this requirement can only be met by the additional lexical content present in the reciprocal.

Like Lebeaux, Huang (1983) approaches the classification problem according to Chomsky's Government and Binding framework. Huang's work concerns the complementary distribution of anaphors and pronominals. As demonstrated in (1.15) and the following examples from Huang (1983), there are many cases in which anaphors and pronouns are not mutually exclusive:

[5] "**Empty category principle (ECP)**: Traces must be properly governed. A properly governs B if and only if A theta-governs B or A antecedent-governs B." (Chomsky 1986b: 17)

(1.33) a. Zhangsan$_i$ kanjian-le ziji$_i$ de shu.
Zhangsan see-PFV REFL POSS book
'Zhangsan$_i$ saw his$_i$ own books.'
b. Zhangsan$_i$ renwei ziji de shu zui hao.
Zhangsan think REFL POSS book most good
'Zhangsan$_i$ thinks that his$_i$ own books are the best.'

(1.34) a. Zhangsan$_i$ kanjian-le ta$_{j/j}$ de shu.
Zhangsan see-PFV he POSS book
'Zhangsan$_i$ saw his$_{i/j}$ books.'
b. Zhangsan renwei ta de shu zui hao.
Zhangsan think he POSS book most good
'Zhangsan$_i$ thinks that his$_{i/j}$ books are the best.'
(Mandarin; Huang 1983: 555)

Huang (1983) argues that the concept of 'domain' in conditions A and B of the Binding Theory is not identical for anaphors and pronominals. In order to resolve this problem, Huang proposes a simple and subtle change to the definition of governing category. His refined definition assumes that the accessibility of SUBJECT is irrelevant with respect to the binding domain of pronominals:

(1.35) Huang's (1983) Refined Definition of Governing Category
α is a governing category for β if and only if α is the minimal category containing β, a governor of β, and a SUBJECT that, if β is an anaphor, is accessible to β. (Huang 1983: 557)

Huang points out that this modified definition in fact reflects a distinction introduced but not formalized in Chomsky (1981) (Huang 1983: 554).

Dalrymple (1993) confronts the classification problem from a considerably different perspective to that of the universal theories of Huang (1983) and Lebeaux (1983). Her approach concerns the large diversity of anaphoric elements found both within and amongst languages. In particular, she focuses on anaphoric elements within Marathi, an Indo-Aryan language, and Norwegian, a Germanic language. Whereas English has two anaphoric elements with distinct binding domains (a pronoun and a reflexive), Marathi has three (a pronoun, a "local reflexive" and a "long-distance reflexive"), and Norwegian has seven:

(1.36) a. English
he – (pronoun) may not be bound in the minimal nucleus.
himself – (reflexive) must be bound in the minimal complete nucleus.

b. Marathi
to – (pronoun) may not be bound to a coargument (i.e. within its minimal nucleus).
swataah – ("local reflexive") two dialects:
*must be bound by a SUBJ in the minimal complete nucleus.
*must be bound by a SUBJ in the minimal finite clause.
aapan – ("long-distance reflexive") must be bound by something that is not a coargument (i.e. not in the minimal nucleus). The binder must also be the most prominent element in its a-structure; i.e. θ or "logical subject."

c. Norwegian
ham – (pronoun) may not be bound within its minimal nucleus
seg – ("long-distance reflexive") must be bound by a SUBJ within the minimal finite clause but not within its minimal nucleus.
seg selv – must be bound by a SUBJ within its minimal nucleus.
ham selv – must be bound by a nonSUBJ within the minimal complete nucleus.
sin – (possessive reflexive) must be bound by a SUBJ within the minimal finite clause.
hans – (possessive pronominal) may not be bound by the next higher SUBJ (i.e. a SUBJ in the minimal complete nucleus).
hverandre – (reciprocal) must be bound in minimal complete nucleus.
(Falk 2001: 183-184)

With such great discrepancies between languages, binding domain cannot simply be interpreted as a feature of universal grammar. Likewise, the great variety of anaphors within languages makes it, equally, very difficult to interpret binding domain as a parameterized property of individual languages. Thus, Dalrymple (1993) dismisses universal and language-by-language parameterization methods as too limited. Rather, like Manzini and Wexler (1987), she puts forward a theory in which anaphoric constraints are lexically specified and not associated with a language as a whole:

> If a language has, for example, only one reflexive, it might seem adequate to characterize the "domain of reflexivization" as a property of universal grammar, or of a particular language. However, if a language has two or more reflexives, each with a different domain, the domain of reflexivization must clearly be a property of the particular lexical item for which it is applicable. Similarly, if a language has two or more reflexives, each with different requirements on the syntactic role of its antecedent, one must take these antecedent requirements as lexically specified for each anaphoric element. (Dalrymple 1993: 1)

According to Dalrymple, a "typology of constraints" rather than a typology of anaphoric elements is much better suited to the task of describing anaphora (Dalrymple 1993: 3). Each anaphor is marked with a precise description of co-referential possibilities expressed through lexically specified anaphoric binding constraints. These constraints have two dimensions: syntactic binding constraints which can be either positive, elements with which an anaphor may co-refer, or negative, elements with which an anaphor may not co-refer, and domain or antecedent constraints which identify either the domain in which an anaphor may be bound or the required grammatical function of the antecedent. A universally available set of anaphoric binding constraints is made up of combinations of constraints generated by these two dimensions. These binding constraints are categorized according to three grammatical concepts: predicate, subject, and tense. The realization of combinations of these constraints results in twelve informal conditions which can be incorporated into fifty logically conceivable combinations of binding constraints. These twelve informal conditions are listed in (1.37) below:

(1.37)

A. Antecedent Conditions
   1. Subject Binding Condition: the anaphor must be bound by a SUBJ.
   2. Subject Disjointness Condition – the anaphor may not be bound by a SUBJ.
   3. GF Binding Condition – the anaphor must be bound by some element, unrestricted in terms of GF.
   4. GF Disjointness Condition – the anaphor may not be bound by any element (i.e. bearing any GF).

B. Domain Conditions
   5. Coargument Binding Condition – the anaphor must be bound to an element in the minimal nucleus containing it.
   6. Coargument Disjointness Condition – the anaphor may not be bound to an element in the minimal nucleus containing it.
   7. Minimal Complete Nucleus Binding Condition – the anaphor must be bound to an element in the minimal complete nucleus containing it.
   8. Minimal Complete Nucleus Disjointness Condition – the anaphor may not be bound to an element in the minimal complete nucleus containing it.
   9. Minimal Finite Domain Binding Condition – the anaphor must be bound to an element in the minimal f-structure containing it that includes the attribute TENSE.
   10. Minimal Finite Domain Disjointness Condition – the anaphor may not be bound to an element in the minimal f-structure containing it that includes the attribute TENSE.
   11. Root S Binding Condition – the anaphor must be bound by some element in the sentence.
   12. Root S Disjointness Condition – the anaphor may not be bound by some element in the sentence.

(from Falk 2001: 184-185 and Dalrymple 1993: 39-40)

Falk (2001) provides an examples of English anaphors stated in terms of these conditions:

(1.38) English anaphors
   a. *he* – (pronoun) GF Disjointness Condition + Coargument Disjointness Condition
   b. *himself* – (reflexive) GF Binding Condition + Minimal Complete Nucleus Binding Condition

(Falk 2001: 185)

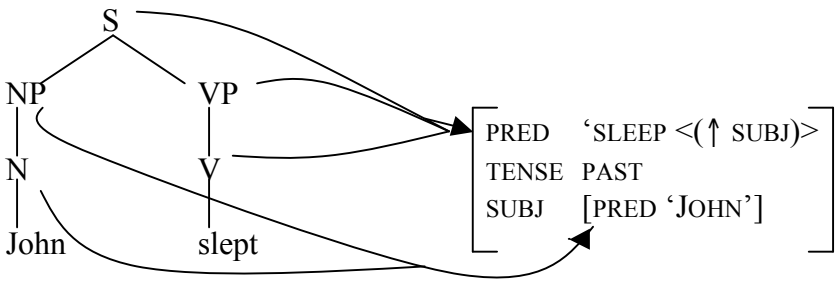
Lexical Functional Grammar (LFG) is recognized as offering the most effective vocabulary for formalizing these lexically specified constraints. Most of the approaches to anaphoric binding discussed previously within this chapter have described binding constraints configurationally. This is common to transformational syntax, which assumes that the configuration of constituent structure trees can elucidate all the key concepts of syntax. Dalrymple (1993), however, contends that configurational notions can only adequately describe the most basic examples of anaphoric binding domains and argues that the functional-structure (f-structure) of LFG is far better suited to the characterization of syntactic constraints on anaphoric binding.

Lexical Functional Grammar is a nontransformational theory of syntax that claims the structure of language is best modelled through two parallel subsystems: constituent structure (c-structure) and functional structure (f-structure). C-structure is generally expressed in the form of constituent structure trees and follows the principles of X'-theory, however it differs from transformational syntax in that abstract syntactic structure is encoded in the f-structure of LFG. C-structure in LFG represents only concrete phrasal configurations, the linear and hierarchical relations of words in a sentence. It is subject to the principle of Economy of Expression:

(1.39) Economy of Expression
All syntactic phrase structure nodes are optional and are not used unless required to license elements required to create a well-formed f-structure or to add semantic content.
(Falk 2001: 34)

Following Economy of Expression, functional relations and empty categories that are incorporated in the c-structures of transformationalist theories comprise the f-structure in LFG. F-structure is conventionally expressed as an attribute-value matrix and carries information about grammatical functions and syntactic predicate-argument relations. Functional correspondence between c-structure nodes and f-structure domains correlate these two primary structures within LFG. This correspondence is represented by the arrows in the diagram below:

Figure 1.4: Functional Correspondence Between C-structure Nodes and F-structure Domains



(Dalrymple 1993: 5)

Dalrymple's typology of lexically specified constraints is formalized in terms of correlations in f-structure, stated formally as 'binding equations', which describe the relations between the f-structure of a pronoun and its antecedent (Dalrymple 1993: 5). This involves movement outward from the f-structure of the anaphor to that of the antecedent.

Though the theory presented in this work differs from that of Dalrymple (1993) with respect to the role of antecedent and domain it, too, assumes binding conditions are lexically specified and that the parallel structures of LFG, and further projections of linguistic representation based on the LFG framework, offer the most precise and versatile formal language for the description of anaphoric binding.

1.4 The Reflexive Verb

As has been demonstrated in the previous two sections, theories of anaphoric binding in generative grammar have traditionally been concerned with nominal types. Essentially, regardless of whether the approach has been one of invariant universal constraints, language-by-language parameterization, or lexically specified antecedent requirements, the antecedent and the anaphor have been repeatedly recognized as the most important elements. As a result, few of these nominal approaches take into account the effect different verbs appear to have upon binding conditions. For instance, the following sentences demonstrate identical syntactic environments that result in different requirements on the reflexive:

(1.40) a. Jessica$_i$ behaved herself$_i$/*her$_j$ at the party last night.
b. Frederick$_i$ hates himself$_i$/him$_j$.

(1.41) a. Oscar$_i$ haat zichzelf$_i$/*zich$_i$/hem$_j$.
Oscar hates REFL$_1$ REFL$_2$ 3SG.M
'Oscar$_i$ hates himself$_i$/him$_j$.'
b. Oscar$_i$ gedraagt zich$_i$/*zichzelf$_i$/*hem$_j$.
Oscar behaves REFL$_2$ REFL$_1$ 3SG.M
'Oscar$_i$ behaves himself$_i$'
(Dutch; Reuland 2001:451)

In these examples both of the verbs *hate* and *behave* and their Dutch counterparts, *haat* and *gedraagt*, can be used as either a transitive or an intransitive and, thus, do not result in differing syntactic environments. However, *behave* can only take a reflexive as its argument whereas *hate* permits both a reflexive and a pronominal. The situation is complicated somewhat in the Dutch examples due to the fact that the Dutch language has two distinct reflexive forms: *zich* (REFL$_2$) and *zichzelf* (REFL$_1$). Yet, the pattern still reflects that of the English examples with *gedraagt* requiring one form and *haat* another. Section 1.1 of this chapter summarizes several different verb types that have been observed to have an influence on anaphoric binding. Among these are inherently reflexive verbs, self-directed verbs, other-directed verbs, and morphologically marked reflexive verbs. This section takes a look at three of the most influential recent works that include verbs as an active agent in a theory of anaphoric binding (Reinhart and Reuland 1993; Lidz 2001b; Reuland 2001) as well as a critical multi-level interpretation of transitive verbs within the framework of Lexical Functional Grammar (Sells et al. 1987), and concludes with a brief summary of how the framework and objectives of the approach taken in this work builds upon and differs from these current views.

1.4.1 Multiple Reflexive Types

For some time now, many approaches to anaphors (Pica 1985, 1987; Reinhart and Reuland 1993; Reuland 2001) have divided reflexives into two types: those described as long-distance anaphors (such as *zich* in Dutch, *seg* in Norwegian, and *sè* in Italian) and those referred to as local anaphors (such as *himself* in English, *zichzelf* in Dutch and *seg selv* in Norwegian). The two are distinguished not only by binding domain, but also by form: the long-distance type has been shown to be universally simple whereas the local type is universally complex (Pica 1985, 1987). These two forms have come to be called 'SE' ('simple expression') and 'SELF anaphors' (Reinhart and Reuland 1993: 658).

SE anaphors have been described as similar to pronouns in structure. In fact, with respect to internal structure, both SE anaphors and pronouns have been presented as forming a single group separate from SELF anaphors:

(1.42) a. $[_{NP}$ Pron $[_{N}$'...e...]]
b. $[_{NP}$ SE $[_{N}$'...e...]]
c. $[_{NP}$ Pron/SE $[_{N}$'self]]
(Reinhart and Reuland 1993: 658)

Pronouns and SE anaphors are believed to be in determiner position, but they project as full NPs (Postal 1970; Reinhart and Reuland 1993). SELF anaphors, on the other hand, project SELF as an N that combines with either a pronoun determiner or an SE determiner.

SE anaphors differ from pronouns and resemble SELF-anaphors in that they have far fewer agreement-features than pronouns. Agreement features are grammatical features such as person, number, gender, and case. In particular, SE anaphors always lack specification of number and gender and, thus, cannot be understood independent of an antecedent:

> A SE-anaphor is a non-clitic pronoun that lacks a specification for gender and number, and is therefore deficient in phi-features [argument features].
> (Everaert et al. 2006: 271)

Essentially, both SE and SELF anaphors, following Chomsky's original description, are referentially dependent NPs.

As discussed in section 1.3, Lebeaux (1983), Pica (1987), Dalrymple (1993) and Manzini and Wexler (1987) all recognize multiple reflexive types in their differing approaches to anaphoric binding. In this section Reinhart and Reuland (1993) and Reuland (2001) are shown to interpret the differences between SELF and SE anaphors according to their interaction with the predicate. They put forward the argument that a critical difference between SE and SELF anaphora can be found in their grammatical function. According to Reinhart and Reuland (1993) and Reuland (2001), SELF anaphors function as 'reflexivizers', transforming a regular predicate into a 'reflexive predicate'. SE anaphors do not carry this function. Lidz (2001b) also takes into account the distinct properties of

SELF and SE anaphors; however, he argues that they should be titled 'pure-reflexives' and 'near-reflexives' based on their semantic structure. According to Lidz, pure-reflexives carry a meaning identical to the antecedent, (x,x), whereas near-reflexives are interpreted as a function of the antecedent (x,f(x)), and, thus, permit a less precise semantic connection with the antecedent. The theory presented in this paper recognizes this tradition of classifying anaphors as 'simplex' or 'complex' according to varying syntactic and semantic interpretations, however it disagrees with the simple bifurcation of anaphoric elements, arguing for an approach that combines the systems of lexically specified constraints put forward by Dalrymple (1993) and Manzini and Wexler (1987) with the predicate based theories of Reinhart and Reuland (1993), Lidz (2001a, b), and Reuland (2001). In addition to the distinct domain and antecedent requirements observed by Dalrymple (1993), it is proposed here that the semantic structure of reflexive types can be described according to a coreferential domain that ranges from strict coreference with an antecedent, (x,x), in which the semantic information relayed by the reflexive is identical to that of the antecedent, to near coreference, (x,y), in which the reflexive can refer to a representation of the antecedent such as a statue or photograph. Within this domain three prototypical semantic structures are readily observed in different reflexive types: strict (x,x), close (x,f(x)), and near (x,y).

1.4.2 Reinhart and Reuland (1993)

As mentioned in the previous section, Reinhart and Reuland assume anaphors are split into two distinct types: SELF (or complex) anaphors, which are universally local, and SE (or simplex) anaphors, which can be both local and long-distance. Moreover, though both SE and SELF anaphors are defined by their limited agreement features, they differ with respect to the role they play as 'reflexivizers' within Reinhart and Reuland's theory. SE anaphors are regarded as pronominal

anaphors since they share with pronouns the want of a 'reflexivizing function'. Table 1.1 below illustrates this typology of anaphoric expressions:

Table 1.1: Features of Anaphoric Expressions

	SELF	SE	Pronoun
Reflexivizing function	+	-	-
R(eferential independence)	-	-	+

(Reinhart and Reuland 1993: 659)

With this in mind, Reinhart and Reuland argue that their approach to anaphoric binding and the Binding Theory can only be thoroughly explained through a combination of different modules of linguistic knowledge:

> A major claim of this article will be that each of the properties in (4) [reflexivizing function and referential independence] is governed, in fact, by a different module of linguistic knowledge, which together capture the full distribution of local anaphora: only the reflexivizing function of anaphoric expressions is relevant for (our modified) binding conditions, whereas all aspects of their distribution that are sensitive to the R property [Referential Independence] fall, together with NP-movement, under chain theory.
> (Reinhart and Reuland 1993: 659)

Thus, the revised binding conditions of Reinhart and Reuland's theory primarily concern the bifurcation of SELF and SE anaphors/pronouns according to the concept of a reflexive predicate and the differentiation between SE anaphors and pronouns through a reworked interpretation of chain theory.

Reinhart and Reuland (1993) first suggested the 'reflexive predicate' as an alternative to Conditions A and B of Binding Theory. They claim that interpreting Condition B as a condition on reflexive predicates rather than the distribution of pronouns offers a solution to the problem of complementary distribution discussed under the classification problem in section 1.3. Likewise, redefining Condition A as a condition on reflexive predicates instead of on the distribution of anaphors solves many of the problems involving binding domain discussed in section 1.3 as the domain problem.

Reinhart and Reuland define a reflexive predicate as one that is linguistically marked as reflexive. This can be done in one of two ways:

1) marking the predicate's head (intrinsic)
2) marking one of the arguments of the predicate (extrinsic)
(Reinhart and Reuland 1993: 662)

Intrinsically marked reflexive predicates (predicate head) are purely reflexive and cannot be used otherwise, whereas an extrinsically marked predicate (argument of the predicate) can only be used as a reflexive predicate if one of its arguments is marked with a SELF anaphor. These definitions are formally presented below:

(1.43) Definitions
a. A predicate is *reflexive* iff (at least) two of its arguments are coindexed
b. A predicate (formed of P) is *reflexive-marked* iff either P is lexically reflexive, or one of P's arguments is a SELF anaphor.
(Reinhart and Reuland 1993: 663)

According to Reinhart and Reuland, the predicate heads (verbs) of intrinsically marked reflexive predicates are designated in the lexicon. This marking can, but need not, be in the form of a morphological marker on the verb. Reinhart and Reuland, following Keenan (1988) and Chierchia (1989), argue that intrinsically marked reflexive predicates are the result of an "operation on the verb's θ-grid, absorbing one of its θ-roles" (Reinhart and Reuland 1993: 662). Extrinsically marked reflexive predicates, on the other hand, are the result of a pairing between a regular transitive predicate and a reflexively marked argument in the form of a SELF anaphor.

With respect to Binding Condition B, Reinhart and Reuland argue that reinterpreting the condition in terms of the reflexive predicate will solve problems resulting from inconsistencies in complementary distribution like those listed below:

(1.44) a. Max_i criticized $\text{himself}_{i/*j}$/$*\text{him}_{*i/j}$.
b. Max_i speaks with himself_i/$*\text{him}_j$.
c. Lucie's_i joke about herself_i/$*\text{her}_j$.

(1.45) a. Max_i saw a gun near $himself_{i/*j}$/$him_{i/j}$.
b. $Lucie_i$ counted five tourists in the room apart from $herself_{i/*j}$/$her_{i/j}$.

(1.46) a. $Lucie_i$ saw a picture of $herself_{i/*j}$/$her_{i/j}$.
b. Max_i likes jokes about $himself_{i/*j}$/$him_{i/j}$.
(Reinhart and Reuland 1993: 661)

In example (1.44), the anaphor and its antecedent are both arguments of a transitive verb. In example (1.45), however, the anaphor is in an adjunct PP and cannot be interpreted independently as a direct argument of the verb. Likewise, in example (1.46) the anaphor is embedded in the argument and, again, cannot be taken as a direct argument of the verb. According to the original binding conditions of Chomsky 1981, (1.45) and (1.46) should be ungrammatical as they demonstrate contexts in which a pronominal and an anaphor are permitted in the same environment.

Reinhart and Reuland respond to these situations by reinterpreting Condition B as follows:

(1.47) Condition B: A reflexive predicate is reflexive-marked.
(Reinhart and Reuland 1993: 663)

Applying this reinterpretation to the sentence (1.44a) generates the same results as the original Condition B. In this sentence, the arguments of the verb are coindexed, resulting in a reflexive verb that requires the reflexive marking *himself* and appropriately prohibits the pronominal. The situation is reversed in sentences like those in (1.46a) and (1.46b). Here, the pronominal is not a direct argument of the verbs *see* and *like* respectively, rather it is an argument of *picture* in (1.46a) and *jokes* in (1.46b). As a result, the predicate is not reflexive and does not necessitate reflexive marking, thereby allowing the use of both the pronominal and the anaphor. A similar situation occurs in example (1.45). Since the anaphor is not a direct argument of the verb, the verb is not reflexive-marked which, again, grants the use of the pronominal. Essentially, the predicate based interpretation of Condition B restricts the coindexed arguments of a verb to an antecedent and a SELF anaphor. It does not permit pronominals or SE anaphors within this domain.

Reinhart and Reuland's Condition B is found to be particularly applicable to understanding SE pronominal-anaphors. SE anaphors, according to Reinhart and Reuland, do not mark a predicate as reflexive. In this respect they behave very much like pronominals and, following the predicate based Condition B, are ruled out in exactly the same manner as demonstrated in the Dutch (1.48) and Norwegian (1.49) examples below:

(1.48) a. *Max haat zich.
Max hate[PRS] $REFL_2$
'Max hates SE.'

b. *Max praat met zich.
Max speak[PRS] with $REFL_2$
'Max speaks with SE.'

c. Max legt het boek achter zich.
Max put[PRS] DET book behind $REFL_2$
'Max puts the book behind SE.'

(Dutch)

(1.49) a. *Jon foraktet seg.
Jon despise[PST] REFL
'Jon despised SE.'

b. *Jon snakket med seg.
Jon talked[PST] with REFL
'Jon talked with SE.'

c. Jon legger boken bak seg.
Jon put[PRS] book[DET] behind REFL
'Jon puts the book behind SE.'

(Norwegian)
(Reinhart and Reuland 1993: 665-666)

Moreover, patterns of binding for SE pronominal-anaphors, taken into account with Reinhart and Reuland's revised Condition B, provide a means of understanding inherently reflexive verbs. This is demonstrated in the following Dutch (1.50) and Norwegian (1.51) sentences:

(1.50) a. Max wast zich.
Max wash[PRS] $REFL_2$
'Max washes SE.'

b. Max schaamt zich.
Max shame[PRS] $REFL_2$
'Max is ashamed (SE).'

(Dutch)

(1.51) a. Jon wasket seg.
Jon wash[PST] REFL
'Jon washed SE.'
b. Jon skammer seg.
Jon shame[PRS] REFL
'Jon shames SE.'
(Norwegian)
(Reinhart and Reuland 1993: 666)

Since SE-anaphors are permitted in argument position despite the fact that they do not reflexive-mark the verb, it must be assumed that the verbs used in the sentences in (1.50) and (1.51) are inherently reflexive. In other words, these verbs already bear the necessary reflexive marking to license the use of SE-anaphors in coargument position.

According to Reinhart and Reuland (1993), and as illustrated by the limited selection of inherently reflexive verbs in English compared to the greater variety found in many other languages, the list of inherently reflexive verbs differs from language to language. Thus, translations of the verb *shame* in Dutch and Norwegian are inherently reflexive ((1.50) and (1.51)) whereas *shame* in English is not. Moreover, some verbs, like *wast* 'to wash' in Dutch, appear to act as both inherently reflexive and nonreflexive, permitting both SE and SELF anaphors without any significant change in meaning:

(1.52) a. Max wast zichzelf.
Max wash[PRS] $REFL_1$
'Max washes SELF.'
b. Max wast zich.
Max wash[PRS] $REFL_2$
'Max washes SE.'

(1.53) a. *Max schaamt zichzelf.
Max shame[PRS] $REFL_1$
'Max shames SELF.'
b. Max schaamt zich.
Max shame[PRS] $REFL_2$
'Max shames SE.'
(Dutch; Reinhart and Reuland 1993: 666)

Reinhart and Reuland (1993), following Everaert (1986 and 1991), propose that verbs like *wassen* are doubly listed in the lexicon: as transitive verbs they allow SELF anaphors and as reflexive verbs they

take SE anaphors. This argument is further supported by evidence from verbal nominalizations. As demonstrated in (1.54a) and (1.54b) below, devoid of subject and object arguments, the verb *wassen* in Dutch suggests, but is not limited to, a reflexive interpretation. The verb *haten*, 'to hate', prohibits this interpretation:

(1.54) a. Wassen is gezond.
wash[PRS.PTCP] is healthy.
'Washing (oneself) is healthy.'
b. Haten is neit gezond.
hate[PRS.PTCP] is NEG healthy.
'Hating (only someone else) is unhealthy.'
(Dutch; Reinhart and Reuland 1993: 666)

Reinhart and Reuland's revised Condition B is, thus, shown to effectively solve many of the complementary distribution problems created by Chomsky's original binding conditions and provide a plausible explanation for the patterning of inherently reflexive verbs. Their revised version of Condition A addresses some of the domain problems. They build their argument upon several examples of instances in which SELF anaphors are found to occur without an antecedent:

(1.55) a. There were five tourists in the room apart from myself.
b. *Five tourists talked to myself in the room.

(1.56) a. Physicists like yourself are a godsend. (Ross 1970)
b. *A famous physicist has just looked for yourself.

(1.57) a. "She gave both Brenda and myself a dirty look." (actual discourse, quoted in Zribi-Hertz 1989)
b. *She gave myself a dirty look.
(Reinhart and Reuland 1993: 669)

(1.58) a. Max boasted that the queen invited Lucie and himself for a drink.
b. *Max boasted that the queen invited himself for a drink.
(Reinhart and Reuland 1993: 670)

The traditional Condition A of Chomsky (1981) should block anaphora in all of the cases listed above and this is correct for all of the (b) examples. However, the (a) examples are grammatical despite the fact that they all demonstrate instances in which an anaphor is free. Reinhart and Reuland suggest that, as was the case with Condition B, rewriting Condition A as a condition on a reflexive predicate

resolves the discrepancy. Their reinterpretation is written as the inverse of the predicate based Condition B:

(1.59) Condition A: A reflexive-marked predicate is reflexive.
(Reinhart and Reuland 1993: 663)

Following this interpretation (1.55b), (1.56b), (1.57b) and (1.58b) are appropriately blocked. In each case, the argument of the predicate is reflexive, which results in a reflexive-marked predicate according the definitions in (1.59). It then follows, according to Condition A, that the predicate is reflexive. However this is not the case in the (b) examples since none of the predicates are intrinsically reflexive and none of the arguments of the predicates are coindexed. Examples (1.55a), (1.56a), (1.57a) and (1.58a), on the other hand, are deemed grammatical since the anaphors in each case are not direct arguments of the predicate. The predicate is, therefore, not deemed to be reflexive-marked. In these instances Condition A does not apply (Reinhart and Reuland 1993: 671). Rather, the anaphors in these sentences can be regarded as logophoric. Reinhart and Reuland define SELF logophors as all cases of SELF anaphors that do not reflexive-mark a predicate (Reinhart and Reuland 1993: 673).

The redefined Conditions A and B introduced in Reinhart and Reuland's work depart from Chomsky's original theory in that they do not necessarily require an anaphor to be interpreted as a bound variable, as defined by Government-Binding theory, coindexed and formally bound by a c-commanding noun phrase in an argument position. Rather, the key defining properties of anaphors are their lack of R(eferential) independence, as illustrated in Table 1.1 above, and the division between reflexivizing SELF and the non-reflexivizing SE anaphors.

> Viewing Condition B as a condition on the linguistic marking of reflexivization entails yet another departure from the standard assumptions on binding: our Condition B, like its twin Condition A that we will introduce shortly, makes no use of configurational relations like binding, c-command, or even argument hierarchy. It is strictly a condition on reflexive predicates, regardless of their internal structure. (Reinhart and Reuland 1993: 665)

Moreover, Reinhart and Reuland re-evaluate approaches to long distance and local domains and reduce anaphoric domains to two simplified domains based on their anaphoric reflexivizing function. The first is the domain of reflexivity (equivalent to the local domain, which is traditionally defined as "the minimal NP or S containing α [the anaphor] and its governor" (Hestvik 1991: 266)) in which SELF anaphors must reflexivize a predicate. The domain of reflexivity is, thus, a domain that contains the predicate and its arguments but not the modifiers. SE anaphors and pronouns are excluded from this domain. The second is simply stated as a domain that permits SE anaphors and pronouns as well as SELF anaphors. Reinhart and Reuland suggest that these domains, combined with a clear understanding of logophoric applications of anaphors, account for the great variety of binding domains observed throughout the world's languages,

> Specifically, the terms *local anaphor* and *long-distance anaphor* are highly misleading. Both kinds of anaphor can occur at all kinds of distances when they are used logophorically. If we focus on the grammatical function of anaphors, the domains of anaphor occurrence can be reduced (possibly universally) to just two. (Reinhart and Reuland 1993: 660)

Lastly it is worth noting that, despite the parallel wording, Reinhart and Reuland's revised conditions are not symmetric. Essentially Reinhart and Reuland argue that Condition B concerns semantic reflexivization whereas Condition A checks for syntactic reflexive marking. Syntactic and semantic predicates are defined below following Reinhart and Reuland:

(1.60) Definitions

a. The *syntactic predicate* formed of (a head) P is P, all its syntactic arguments, and an external argument of P (subject).
The *syntactic arguments* of P are the projections assigned θ-role or Case by P.

b. The *semantic predicate* formed of P is P and all its arguments at the relevant semantic level.

c. A predicate is *reflexive* iff two of its arguments are coindexed.

d. A predicate (formed of P) is *reflexive-marked* iff either P is lexically reflexive or one of P's arguments is a SELF anaphor.

(Reinhart and Reuland 1993: 678)

According to Reinhart and Reuland, this subtle distinction is not generally apparent in most instances. However, there are examples, such as the collective/distributive cases below, that do illustrate the distinction:

(1.61) a. Max_i and Lucie talked about him_i. (collective)
Max and Lucie (λx(x talked about him)

b. * Both Max_i and Lucie talked about him_i. (distributive)
Max (λx(x talked about x)) & Lucie (λx(x talked about him))

(Reinhart and Reuland 1993: 677)

(1.62) a. The queen invited both Max and myself for tea.
the queen (λx(x invited Max & x invited myself))

Example (1.61) illustrates the application of Condition B with semantic predicates. In the collective sentence (1.61a) the two NPs in the subject are interpreted as one group and, as a result, a reflexive predicate is not formed. Thus, *him* in sentence (1.61a) can be coindexed with *Max*. The distributive sentence (1.61b), on the other hand, demands that the predicate be distributed independently over the two NPs. As a result, one interpretation of the predicate is reflexive, λx(x talked about x); however, none of its arguments bear reflexive-marking. As a result, Condition B is not met and the sentence is deemed ungrammatical.

The influence of a semantic predicate does not hold, however, with respect to Condition A as demonstrated in example (1.62). If Condition A were applicable at the level of semantic representation, it would incorrectly filter out sentence (1.62a) as ungrammatical since a predicate that is not reflexive contains reflexive marking at the level of semantic interpretation. Syntactically,

however, the anaphors in sentence (1.62a) are deemed to be used logophorically, since they are not direct syntactic arguments of the verb and therefore do not reflexive-mark the verb. Thus, Condition A does not apply, correctly classifying the sentence as grammatical, (Reinhart and Reuland 1993: 675 and 678).

Overall, Reinhart and Reuland's binding conditions do an elegant job of distinguishing SELF anaphors from SE anaphors and pronouns. However, the reflexivizing function on which these conditions are based cannot distinguish the SE anaphors from pronouns since both share the feature '(-) reflexivizing function' as demonstrated in Table 1.1 above. Reinhart and Reuland, therefore, apply a separate module of linguistic knowledge, the movement module based on Chomsky's original movement and binding module separation, to the task of differentiating SE anaphors from pronouns. Referential independence is recognized as the distinguishing factor between anaphors and pronouns and chain theory is identified as the most effective method for describing this distinction.

The most significant contribution of Reinhart and Reuland's re-interpretation of Chomsky's binding conditions for this work is the fact that the revised conditions concern the predicate alone. Constraints on the antecedent are effectively excluded and the links to anaphor and pronominal are reduced to the presence or absence of reflexive marking.

1.4.3 Lidz (2001)

Lidz (2001b) supports Reinhart and Reuland's theory of a reflexive predicate but challenges its realization at the level of LF. Building upon Reinhart and Reuland (1993), Lidz (2001b) broadens the definition of reflexive-marked predicate by demonstrating instances of morphologically marked reflexive predicates in the Dravidian language, Kannada:

(1.63) a. *Hari tann-annu hoDe-d-a.
Hari self-ACC hit-PST-3SG.M
'Hari hit himself.'
b. Hari tann-annu hoDe-du-koND-a.
Hari self-ACC hit-PP-REFL.PST-3SG.M
'Hari hit himself.'
(Kannada; Lidz 2001b: 127)

A reflexive-marked predicate can, therefore, be achieved lexically (either as inherently reflexive or through a verbal affix as demonstrated above) or syntactically (through the use of a SELF-anaphor as demonstrated in the previous section). However, as Lidz (2001b) points out, Reinhart and Reuland's theory, being primarily concerned with binding conditions, assumes that all reflexive predicates have the same interpretation at LF. Lidz argues that this is not the case, but rather lexically and syntactically reflexive-marked predicates have different semantic properties that entail subtle differences in grammaticality which are not recognized in Reinhart and Reuland's original theory. Basically, lexically reflexive-marked predicates demand more restricted readings than syntactically reflexive-marked predicates.

Lidz demonstrates this with two different contexts in which Reinhart and Reuland's theory does not accurately predict grammaticality. The first is based on the Madame Tussaud context originally introduced in Jackendoff (1992), a paper that discusses situations in which a representation of a person or thing, such as a statue, is referred to by the name of the person or thing it depicts.

Jackendoff (1992) particularly focuses on hypothetical situations that take place in Madame Tussaud's wax museum. According to Jackendoff (1992), these situations demonstrate interesting implications for the binding theory, especially concerning coreference between an anaphor and its antecedent. The sentences in (1.64) illustrate this:

(1.64) The other day I was strolling through the wax museum with Ringo Starr, and we came upon the statues of the Beatles, and...

a. ...All of a sudden I accidentally stumbled and fell on $\text{Ringo}_{\text{man/statue}}$.

b. ...All of a sudden $\text{Ringo}_{\text{man/*statue}}$ started undressing $\text{himself}_{\text{man/statue}}$.

c. ?...All of a sudden $\text{Ringo}_{\text{man/*statue}}$ stumbled and fell on $\text{himself}_{\text{*man/statue}}$.

d. ...All of a sudden I accidentally bumped into the statues, and John toppled over and fell on $\text{Ringo}_{\text{man/statue}}$.

e. *...All of a sudden I accidentally bumped into the statues, and $\text{Ringo}_{\text{statue/*man}}$ toppled over and fell on $\text{himself}_{\text{*statue/*man}}$.

(Jackendoff 1992: 4-5)

Sentences (1.64a), (1.64b), and (1.64d) are all generally regarded as good sentences. In these instances *Ringo* in sentences (1.64a) and (1.64d) and *himself* in sentence (1.64b) are ambiguous and can equally refer to Ringo the man or Ringo the statue. However, according to Jackendoff (1992), many speakers find sentence (1.64c), in which *himself* refers to Ringo the statue, to be odd, and most speakers claim sentence (1.64e), in which *himself* refers to Ringo the man, to be impossible (Jackendoff 1992: 5). Moreover, sentences (1.64b, c, d, and e) can all be read as situations in which the anaphor does not have the same reference as its antecedent.

Lidz expands on Jackendoff's original English examples to explore SE and SELF-anaphors in Dutch:

(1.65) a. Ringo scheert zich.
Ringo shave[PRS] REFL_2
'Ringo shaves himself.'

b. Ringo scheert zichzelf.
Ringo shave[PRS] REFL_1
'Ringo shaves himself.'

(Dutch; Lidz 2001b: 128)

In both of these examples, context is required in order to determine whether the sentence is acceptable. Thus, for one reading, Lidz describes a situation in which Ringo, the man, sees a bearded statue of himself. Not liking the beard, Ringo shaves the statue. In this case (1.65a) is ungrammatical and only (1.65b) can express the appropriate meaning. However, if the sentences are read within the context of the man Ringo shaving his own face, both (1.65a) and (1.65b) are acceptable. Lidz also demonstrates this distinction in Kannada:

(1.66) a. Hari tann-annu nod-i-koND-a
Hari self-ACC see-PP-REFL.PST-3SG.M
'Hari saw himself. (=Hari, *statue)'
b. Hari tann-annu-tanne nod-id-a
Hari self-ACC-self see-PST-3SG.M
'Hari saw himself. (=Hari or statue)'
(Kannada; Lidz 2001b: 128)

It appears that the statue interpretation is not permitted for lexically reflexive-marked predicates.

Lidz argues that this subtle distinction between lexically and syntactically reflexive-marked predicates is also illustrated in comparative deletion constructions. Like the statue sentences in the above examples, lexically reflexive-marked predicates only permit a sloppy interpretation whereas syntactically reflexive-marked predicates permit both a sloppy and a strict interpretation:

(1.67) a. Zij vergedigde zich beter dan Peter.
3SG.F defend[PST] $REFL_2$ better than Peter
'She defended herself better than Peter defended himself.'
*'She defended herself better than Peter defended her.'
b. Zij verdedigde zichzelf beter dan Peter
3SG.F defend[PST] $REFL_1$ better than Peter
'She defended herself better than Peter defended himself'
'She defended herself better than Peter defended her'
(Dutch; Lidz 2001b: 129)

Lidz solves these problems by providing formally distinct definitions for lexically and syntactically reflexive predicates:

(1.68) a. $\lambda x[P(x,x)]$ (Semantic/Pure-reflexive) = lexical
b. $\lambda x[P(x,f(x))]$ (Near-reflexive) = syntactic
(Lidz 2001b: 129)

According to Lidz, the coindexed arguments of lexically reflexive-marked predicates, P, are taken to be identical, (1.68a), whereas the second argument of syntactically reflexive-marked predicates is a function of the first argument resulting in a near, but not necessarily identical, outcome, (1.68b). In reference to these two types Lidz claims, "The representations of these predicates are formally distinct, although in most cases they are extensionally equivalent," (Lidz 2001b: 130). The critical

consequence of this interpretation is the realization that, though the syntactically marked, near-reflexive, function is permitted to bear the same meaning as the antecedent, it is not required to do so as it is, in fact, semantically separate from the antecedent. The lexical, pure-reflexive, function, on the other hand, prohibits any representation in which the antecedent and its anaphor are not identical.

This formal interpretation of reflexive predicates also changes our interpretation of anaphors. Reinhart and Reuland's description of reflexive pronouns was primarily concerned with whether or not the anaphor provided reflexive status to the predicate: SELF anaphors reflexive mark a predicate whereas SE anaphors do not. Lidz, however, building upon the consequences of the strict and flexible readings of his two types of reflexive predicates, interprets anaphors accordingly. He titles SELF anaphors 'Near-reflexives', pointing out that they contribute the near-reflexive function, $f(x)$, to the reflexive predicate. This permits 'representations of the antecedent' to be mapped to the antecedent in addition to instances of direct reference. SE anaphors, labelled 'Pure-reflexives' by Lidz, do not contribute any further information and must be read as identical to the antecedent.

Lidz additionally points out that lexically and morphologically reflexive predicates, such as *wash* and *shames* in Dutch and Norwegian, illustrated in sentences (1.50) and (1.51) in the previous section, are, by their very nature, pure-reflexive entities since they do not allow a 'nonidentity interpretation' of the antecedent (Lidz 2001b: 130). However, predicates which obtain their reflexive marking from a SELF-anaphor are necessarily near-reflexives, permitting a 'nonidentity' interpretation (Lidz 2001b: 130). Moreover, according to Lidz, it is the lexical content of the reflexive pronouns that contributes to our interpretation of near-reflexive and pure-reflexive predicates. In other words, Lidz claims that whether or not an anaphor introduces the near-reflexive function in a sentence is lexically specified. It does not need to be linked to situations in which it is a coargument of its antecedent. This is demonstrated in (1.69):

(1.69) a. Ze zag zich in een griezelige hoek staan.
3SG.F see[PST] $REFL_2$ in ART creepy corner stand
'She saw herself (=reflection, *statue) standing in a creepy corner.'
b. Ze zag zichzelf in een griezelige hoek staan.
3SG.F see[PST] $REFL_1$ in ART creepy corner stand
'She saw herself (=reflection or statue) standing in a creepy corner.'
(Dutch; Lidz 2001b: 130)

According to Lidz, in the above examples the anaphor and the antecedent are arguments of different predicates, *staan* 'to stand' and *zag* 'to see', illustrating the fact that anaphors are separately lexically specified.

In order to explain why lexically reflexive predicates do not permit a near-reflexive interpretation, Lidz formulates the binding principle Condition R:

(1.70) Condition R
$\lambda x[P(x,x)] \quad \leftrightarrow \quad (\theta 1=\theta 2)$
(Lidz 2001b: 131)

The left side of Lidz's formula illustrates the semantic depiction of reflexivity and the right side represents the theta-grid of a predicate that is lexically, or inherently, reflexive (such as *wash* and *shames* in the Dutch and Norwegian sentences (1.50) and (1.51)). This principle formally states Lidz's observation that if a predicate is semantically reflexive it must also be lexically reflexive and vice versa. The following sentences in Kannada (1.71) and Dutch (1.72) demonstrate the applications of this formula:

(1.71) a. *Hari tann-annu noDi-d-a.
Hari self-ACC see-PST-3SG.M
'Hari saw himself.'
b. Hari tann-annu noDi-du-koND-a.
Hari self-ACC see-PP-REFL.PST-3SG.M
'Hari saw himself.' (=reflection, *statue)
c. Hari tann-annu-tanne noDi-d-a.
Hari self-ACC-self see-PST-3SG.M
'Hari saw himself.' (=reflection or statue)
(Kannada; Lidz 2001b: 132)

(1.72) a. *Max haat zich.
Max hate[PRS] $REFL_2$
'Max hates himself.'
b. Max scheert zich.
Max shave[PRS] $REFL_2$
'Max shaves himself.'
c. Max scheert zichzelf.
Max shave[PRS] $REFL_1$
'Max shaves himself.'
(Dutch; Lidz 2001b: 132)

Sentences (1.71a) and (1.72a) demonstrate situations in which the sentence is semantically reflexive, since neither Kannada *tann-annu* nor Dutch *zich* can provide a near-reflexive function, but not lexically reflexive, since neither Kannada *noDi-d-a*, 'saw', nor Dutch *haat*, 'hates', are inherently reflexive verbs. The (a) examples, thus, fail to follow the left-to-right reading of Condition R: if a sentence is semantically reflexive it must also be lexically reflexive (Lidz 2001b: 132). Sentences (1.71b) and (1.72b), on the other hand, provide examples in which both the lexical and the semantic reflexivity requirements are fulfilled. Once again the sentences are semantically reflexive due to the choice of the pure-reflexive anaphors *tann-annu* and *zich*. However, the (b) examples also employ lexically reflexive verbs: the morphologically reflexive Kannada *noDi-du-koND-a*, 'saw', and the inherently reflexive Dutch *scheert*, 'shaves'. Lastly, in sentences (1.71c) and (1.72c), the presence of the near-reflexive function, *tann-annu-tanne* in Kannada and *zichzelf* in Dutch, and the absence of lexically reflexive predicates, provide examples of situations in which Condition R does not apply.

Lidz claims the most significant difference between his approach to reflexive predicates and anaphors and that of Reinhart and Reuland (1993) concerns their classification of the distinct anaphoric types. Reinhart and Reuland group SE anaphors with pronominals since neither is able to reflexivize the predicate. Lidz, on the other hand, classifies his near-reflexive (equivalent to the SELF anaphor) with pronominals, interpreting both as dependent expressions which do not incorporate semantic reflexivity:

> In contrast, my proposal is that only Pure-reflexives impose an identity requirement between arguments. It is this identity requirement which, in combination with Condition R, blocks the Pure-reflexive from taking a coargument antecedent. (Lidz 2001b: 132-133)

Overall Lidz refines Reinhart and Reuland's original work on the reflexive predicate by taking into account the semantic content of the different types of anaphor. This allows for a formal description of unique differences between lexically and syntactically marked predicates.

1.4.4 Reuland (2001)

Reuland (2001) readdresses the premise put forward in Reinhart and Reuland (1993), reinterpreting the theory in terms of Chomsky's Minimalist Program. It also includes a response to the claims put forward by Lidz (2001b).

In response to Lidz (2001b), Reuland contends that Lidz's conclusions are not validated by his argument. In particular, Reuland disagrees with Lidz's assertion that Reinhart and Reuland (1993) assume reflexive-marked predicates are 'semantically uniform'. Reuland points out that this dispute is difficult to assess since Lidz fails to provide a definition of semantic uniformity. Moreover, Reuland maintains that Reinhart and Reuland (1993) define reflexivity according to coindexing, stating:

> a predicate is reflexive iff two of its arguments are coindexed, and a predicate is reflexive marked iff (a) it is lexically reflexive or (b) one of its arguments is a SELF anaphor. (Reuland 2001: 486)

He argues that this hypothesis stands independent of semantic uniformity. In short, the theory put forward in Reinhart and Reuland (1993) does not assert any position regarding whether or not the predicate is semantically uniform, nor is such a stance required. Reuland does, however, agree with Lidz that the semantic composition of the SELF anaphor is more complicated than was propounded in Reinhart and Reuland (1993), but he maintains his belief that this alone does not warrant the further conclusions of Lidz (2001b) (Reuland 2001: 486).

Reuland also disagrees with Lidz's Condition R, (1.70), which he interprets as a solution to the problems that arise with Lidz's departure from "the predicate-centered approach of Reinhart and Reuland (1993) to an approach in which the lexical content of the anaphor determines its interpretation," (Reuland 2001: 486). Reuland claims that Condition R is difficult to interpret, appearing to be merely "an unspecified relation between two θ roles" (Reuland 2001: 487); theoretically imprecise, since Lidz fails to describe the further binding conditions that coexist with his Condition R; and ultimately unnecessary.

Approaching binding relations according to the goals of the Minimalist Program (MP), Reuland (2001) builds upon the reflexivity framework advanced in Reinhart and Reuland (1993) while arguing for a general principle of economy.

> One of the prerequisites for attaining the goals of the Minimalist Program (MP) developed in Chomsky 1995, 2000, to appear, is to draw the boundaries of syntax in a principled way. The MP proposes that the computational system of human language (C_{HL}) reflects the combinatorial properties of a purely morphosyntactic vocabulary. (Reuland 2001: 440)

The work focuses on the Inclusiveness Condition, which is central to the MP definition of a 'perfect language':

(1.73) Inclusiveness Condition
> Any structure formed by the computation is constituted of elements already present in the lexical items selected. No new objects such as indices are added in the course of the derivation.

(Reuland 2001: 440)

Based on this principle, Chomsky argues that binding conditions are relevant only at the conceptual-intentional (C-I) interface.[6] Reuland (2001) challenges this assumption with his observation that the

[6] Chomsky (1995, 2002) describes the C-I interface as one of two "external" interface systems, the other being the articulatory-perceptual (A-P) interface, that enable interaction between the cognitive system (information storage) and the performance systems (information access and use) that, together, comprise the language faculty. The C-I interface can be described as the semantic interface

binding of anaphors and pronominals appears to be sensitive to locality, suggesting that binding incorporates an irreducible syntactic component. Reuland (2001) therefore addresses the problem of developing a theory of anaphoric binding that can incorporate both the inherent syntactic factors of binding and the minimalist requirements of the Inclusiveness Condition.

In particular, Reuland (2001) concentrates on the fundamental question of why natural languages typically distinguish between pronominals and anaphors and, within this, why many languages show a further contrast between simplex and complex anaphors (Reuland 2001: 439). To address this, he puts forward two specific questions:

1) Is it possible to develop an approach to binding that is compatible with the Inclusiveness Condition and yet sensitive to syntactic factors?
(Reuland 2001: 442)

2) Why must reflexivity be linguistically licensed?
(Reuland 2001: 443)

Reuland's responses to these questions ultimately lead to the elucidation of his hypothesis that "locality conditions on binding follow from independent principles of (minimalist) syntax" (Reuland 2001: 485).

To address the first question Reuland focuses on the distinction between binding of SE anaphors and pronominals. He demonstrates that, in positions of structural, objective Case, the binding of SE anaphors can be encoded within C_{HL} whereas the binding of pronominals cannot, resulting in the requirement for pronominals to be locally free. Reuland (2001) reasserts the premise in Reinhart and Reuland (1993) that a modified application of chain theory can explain this phenomenon. Reuland (2001) points out, however, that there are notable differences between the chains conceived in Reinhart and Reuland (1993), which are representational and derived from

---

since it incorporates the "interface level" Logical Form (LF). See section 1.2.3 of this chapter for more information. (Chomksy 1995: 2).

coindexing, and the MP-type chains described in Chomsky (1995), which are derivational and do not involve coindexing.

The sentences in (1.74) and (1.75) reiterate the differences between reflexivity effects and Chain Condition effects introduced in Reinhart and Reuland (1993):

(1.74) a. Oscar$_i$ haat zichzelf$_i$/*zich$_i$.
Oscar hate[PRS] REFL$_1$ REFL$_2$
'Oscar$_i$ hates himself$_i$.'
b. Oscar$_i$ gedraagt zichzelf$_i$/zich$_i$
Oscar behave[PRS] REFL$_1$ REFL$_2$
Oscar$_i$ behaves himself$_i$.'
(Dutch; Reuland 2001: 451)

(1.75) a. *Oscar$_i$ haat zich$_{i/*j}$/ hem$_{*i/j}$.
Oscar hate[PRS] REFL$_2$ 3SG.M.OBJ
'Oscar$_i$ hates himself$_{i/*j}$/him$_{*i/j}$.'
b. Oscar$_i$ gedraagt zich$_{i/*j}$/ *hem$_{*i/j}$
Oscar behave[PRS] REFL$_2$ 3SG.M.OBJ
'Oscar$_i$ behaves himself$_i$.'
(Dutch; Reuland 2001: 452)

The sentences in (1.74) are syntactically identical. However the application of the two reflexive anaphors differs. Whereas the SELF anaphor is permitted in both environments, the SE anaphor cannot be used with the verb *haat*, 'hate'. This is resolved through Reinhart and Reuland's Condition B, (1.47), described in section 1.4.2. The sentences in (1.75) illustrate the Chain Condition. Both the pronominal and the reflexive anaphor in (1.75a) violate Condition B and the sentence is recognized as ungrammatical. In (1.75b), on the other hand, both the pronominal, *hem*, and the SE anaphor, *zich*, satisfy Condition B but *hem* is prohibited whilst *zich* is allowed. The Chain Condition entails that only the head of a chain, in this case *Oscar*, can be fully specified for argument features. Thus, *Oscar* and *zich* form a chain in (1.75b) because *zich* is referentially deficient. *Oscar* and *hem*, on the other hand, do not form a chain since *hem*, like *Oscar*, is fully specified.

Following the Minimalist Program, Reuland claims that expressing dependencies within C_{HL} is restricted to (1.76):

(1.76) a. The only ways to establish a dependency: Move/Attract and checking.
b. The only way to force a dependency: checking grammatical features in a checking configuration.
(Reuland 2001: 453)

Reinhart and Reuland's (1993) original interpretation of the Chain Condition did not take into account a checking configuration. This omission impedes a direct reinterpretation of the Chain Condition following the Minimalist Program framework. Thus, in order to account for an approach to binding that is compatible with the Inclusiveness Condition, Reuland (2001) redefines the Chain Condition such that it includes a checking configuration.

Within the Minimalist Program, 'checking' describes a relation by which one element can license another by checking off the features originally associated with it (Crystal 2003: 70). Following Chomsky (1995), 'checking off' features results in the deletion or erasure of as many features as possible:

(1.77) a. A checked feature is deleted when possible.
b. A deleted feature is erased when possible.
(Reuland 2001: 454)

With this in mind, Reuland (2001) and Chomsky (1995) assert that the deletion of a feature by another results in a 'core syntactic dependency' (Reuland 2001: 454). Reuland therefore claims, "syntactic dependencies are thus derivative on dependencies between features they contain" (Reuland 2001: 454). Moreover, Chomsky (1995) interprets 'possible' to mean that a deletion cannot occur if it challenges the 'principle of recoverability of deletion' (PRD), essentially "being in a checking configuration entails deletion/erasure up to recoverability," (Reuland 2001: 454). Chomsky construes this as a principle permiting the deletion of uninterpretable features but banning the deletion of interpretable features. Reuland's Chain Condition, however, can incorporate checking only if dependencies on interpretable features are permitted. This is because the acceptability of *zich* in

sentences like (1.75b) requires the deletion of the argument features of *zich* by the head *Oscar* in order to achieve the valency requirements of the inherently reflexive verb *gedraagt* 'behave'. Thus, in order to incorporate checking into his Chain Condition, Reuland reinterprets the PRD to permit the deletion of interpretable features if no violation of the PRD results. This is acceptable because the argument features of the SE pronoun are included in those of the antecedent. According to Reuland (2001: 456) these features can be interchangeable. Thus, if one deletes the other, the remaining duplicate feature can carry the role of the deleted feature in addition to its own, thereby validating the chain in terms of the Minimalist Program framework. Reuland claims the result of this is that "SE anaphors enter into a real dependency with their antecedents within C_{HL}," (Reuland 2001: 458). Moreover, pronominals cannot do the same since they carry the argument feature 'number', which is described as both interpretable and optional. As an interpretable feature that cannot necessarily be recovered if deleted, number does not meet the demands of the PRD (Reuland 2001: 458-459). Hence, simply clarifying the limitations of PRD within the Chain Condition solves the problem of understanding the asymmetry between pronouns and anaphors within the Minimalist Program.

As mentioned earlier, the second question Reuland (2001) addresses is 'why must reflexivity be linguistically licensed?'. This question pertains to the distinction between simplex (SE) and complex (SELF) anaphors observed in a large number of different languages. Reinhart and Reuland (1993) originally resolve the problem of differing domain requirements on SE and SELF anaphors by transforming Conditions A and B of Chomsky's (1981) Binding Theory into conditions describing the reflexive predicate, (see (1.47) and (1.59) in section 1.4.2). Reuland (2001) maintains this theory, but he interprets it according to the role of complex anaphors in licensing reflexivization. To do this, Reuland (2001) concentrates on the valency of the predicate.

In Reinhart and Reuland (1993), reflexive marking permits a predicate to accept an anaphor. Some predicates, such as *schaamt* in (1.53) (repeated here in (1.78)), are described as inherently

reflexive. Essentially, the predicate is naturally reflexive marked and, as a result, can only accept SE anaphors which do not add additional reflexive marking to the predicate:

(1.78) a. *Max schaamt zichzelf.
Max shame[PRS] $REFL_1$
'Max shames SELF.'
b. Max schaamt zich.
Max shame[PRS] $REFL_2$
'Max shames SE.'
(Dutch; Reinhart and Reuland 1993: 666)

Other predicates, such as *haat* 'hate' in (1.74a), do not carry internal reflexive marking and, therefore, require reflexive marking from one of the arguments in the form of a SELF anaphor. In terms of predicate valency, inherently reflexive predicates require only one argument to fill their valency requirements, thereby submitting to the PRD deletions of the Chain Conditions. Predicates such as *schaamt* 'shave', on the other hand, need two distinct arguments to meet valency requirements. Thus, SELF anaphors, credited with reflexive marking a predicate in Reinhart and Reuland (1993), are ascribed a licensing role in Reuland (2001). Therefore, in response to Reuland's (2001) second question, reflexivity must be linguistically licensed in order to meet the valency demands of the predicate.

1.4.5 The Reflexive Verb within Multiple Components of Linguistic Structure

This work builds upon the concept of a reflexive predicate introduced in Reinhart and Reuland (1993) and supported by both Lidz (2001b) and Reuland (2001). However, it is proposed here that Reinhart and Reuland's revised binding principles are too restricted in regard to the variety of anaphoric elements and verbal types expressed in a number of typologically distinct languages. Reuland (2001) makes note of the need for greater lexical specification of verbs in his response to Lidz (2001b):

> [...] a precise theory of the thematic differences between verbs of the *hate*-type (which in many languages appear to require protection under a reflexive interpretation) and verbs such as *defend* and *cut* (which do not) is still lacking. (Reuland 2001: 487)

Moreover, data from languages such as Norwegian (Dalrymple 1993) and Fijian (as will be demonstrated in this dissertation) suggest that the selection of reflexive elements within a given language is more complex than the simple bifurcation between simplex and complex anaphora as advocated by the approaches of Reinhart and Reuland (1993), Lidz (2001b), and Reuland (2001). With this in mind, this work espouses methods that specify anaphoric binding constraints as properties of distinct lexical items as illustrated in the work of Manzini and Wexler (1987) and Dalrymple (1993). It differs from these works in that the verb and the reflexive, in addition to factors such as the antecedent, c-command, and binding domain, are recognized as key elements in anaphoric binding.

It is proposed here that anaphoric binding can be described through the interaction between distinct verbs and distinct anaphoric elements within a language. Taking into account Reuland's call for greater lexical specification, interactions between different verbs and reflexive types are incorporated in the hypothesis put forward in Sells et al. (1987) that transitive constructions can best be described by taking into account their realization at different levels of linguistic representation which vary according to language. Sells et al. suggest that reflexive constructions are best interpreted in terms of the interaction within three components of linguistic representation. Here it is asserted that this varies between individual verbs within a language rather than between distinct languages and that the relationship between verbs and reflexives are best described over four components of linguistic structure based upon the insights of LFG: constituent structure, functional structure, lexical structure, and semantic structure.

The three components of linguistic representation incorporated in Sells et al. comprise a lexical component, a constituent structure (c-structure) component, and a semantic component:

(1.79) Example of a tripartite description of a transitive verb

lexical structure:	ARG1	Predicate	ARG2
constituent structure:	NP_1	Verb	NP_2
semantic structure:	$Thing_1$	Relation	$Thing_2$

(Sells et al. 1987: 170)

For each of these levels Sells et al. propose a separate interpretation of transitivity. At the lexical level an item is described as transitive if it incorporates both a subject and an object in its lexical form; if not, it is regarded as intransitive. At the c-structure level transitive items are described as analytic and intransitive items as synthetic. Analytic c-structures are those in which the verb and its object argument are two distinct entities, in other words they are 'syntactically transitive', whereas synthetic c-structures are those in which the object argument and the verb are represented by just one constituent. Lastly, at the level of semantic structure, transitive items are described as open predicates and intransitive items as closed predicates. Open predicates comprise the form R(x,y) and closed predicates, the form R(x,x). Sells et al.'s approach is illustrated in (1.80):

(1.80) Transitive and intransitive distinctions

	'transitive'	'intransitive'
lexical structure	transitive	intransitive
	SUBJ-OBJ	SUBJ only
constituent structure	analytic	synthetic
	independent NP	no independent NP
semantic structure	open predicate	closed predicate
	R(x,y)	R(x,x)

(Sells et al. 1987: 173)

Sells et al. support their language-by-language approach to the tripartite description of transitive verbs by submitting linguistic data to a series of tests for each level they describe. These tests can differ with respect to the unique characteristics of the language they are investigating. The test for transitivity at the level of c-structure is the same for all languages - a tree diagram provides a straightforward illustration of whether or not a sentence contains an independent NP.

In order to determine transitivity at the level of semantic structure, Sells et al. use comparative deletion constructions such as those described with respect to Lidz (2001b) in section 1.4.3 and illustrated in (1.81) below:

(1.81) John defends himself better than Peter.
- a. John defends himself better than Peter defends himself. ("sloppy")
- b. $John_i$ defends himself better than Peter defends him_i. ("strict")
- c. $John_i$ defends himself better than he_i defends Peter. ("object comparison")

A transitive semantic structure, one that permits an open predicate, will permit both the sloppy and the strict reading of a comparative deletion construction whereas the intransitive, or closed predicate, semantic structure will only permit a sloppy reading according to Sells et al. (1987: 175-76).

At the level of lexical structure, Sells et al.'s test for transitivity appears to vary considerably depending upon the language they are investigating. For English, they apply *out*-prefixation (Bresnan 1982a) to test for lexical transitivity as demonstrated in (1.82)-(1.86):

(1.82) a. John ran.
b. John outran Peter.

(1.83) a. John ate the apple.
b. * John outate the apple Peter.

(1.84) a. John ate.
b. John outate Peter.

(1.85) a. John washed his clothes.
b. *John outwashed his clothes Peter.

(1.86) a. John washed himself.
b. * John outwashed himself Peter.
(Sells et al. 1987: 175)

Following Bresnan (1982a), Sells et al. assume *out*-prefixation to be sensitive to lexical transitivity. According to Sells et al. the examples in (1.82)-(1.86) demonstrate that *out*-prefixation does not differentiate between reflexive objects and other objects. As a result, they claim that reflexive forms

and normal transitive forms cannot be distinguished at the lexical level. The 'object comparison' interpretation of the comparative deletion test is also a good test of lexical transitivity. Unlike lexically intransitive constructions, lexically transitive constructions permit the object comparison reading of a comparative deletion construction.

Though this work agrees that anaphoric binding is best described over several components of linguistic structure, the realization of reflexive constructions at each component is found to be more complex than the simple bifurcation of transitive and intransitive traits. This is particularly evident at the component of semantic structure and the component of lexical structure. Moreover, it is argued here that the description of reflexive constructions differs from verb to verb rather than from language to language as is suggested in Sells et al.

Two tests are used to explore the characteristics of reflexive constructions at the level of semantic structure: the comparative deletion test, originally used in Sells et al. (1987), and Madame Tussaud statue context (Jackendoff 1992), described apropos Lidz (2001b) in section 1.4.3 of this chapter. It is argued here that these two tests identify very different semantic information. Whereas the Madame Tussaud context provides information on the internal structure of reflexive types, the comparative deletion test provides information on the semantic requirements of verbs in reflexive constructions. It will be argued here, based on data from the Madame Tussaud context, that the internal structure of reflexive types can be realized as one of three types according to the manner in which they refer to the antecedent. These three types are summarized in Table 1.2 below and are discussed in detail in Chapter 5:

Table 1.2: Internal Semantic Structures Available to Reflexive Types

STRICT	(x,x)	Very strict, can only refer directly to the antecedent
CLOSE	(x,f(x))	Strict, can refer to the antecedent or to a very close approximation such as a reflection or a recording.
NEAR	(x,y)	Sloppy, can refer to the antecedent or a near approximation of the antecedent such as a statue, painting, or look-alike.

The comparative deletion test, on the other hand, identifies two different semantic requirements for verbs: intransitive, in which only a sloppy reading is permitted for a comparative deletion construction, and transitive, in which both a strict and a sloppy reading are permitted. These two types are similar to those identified in Sells et al.; however, it is here argued that they apply strictly to verbs in reflexive constructions and therefore can vary from verb to verb rather than from reflexive type to reflexive type in a given language. It is found that transitive verbal reflexive structures must be paired with reflexives that have near reflexive structures while intransitive verbal reflexive structures show no such selective bias.

The comparative deletion test is also employed in this work to identify transitivity at lexical structure. Though Sells et al. use *out*-prefixation (Bresnan 1982a) to test for lexical transitivity, they do recognize that an object comparison reading, 'x VERB x better than x VERB y' can be used as a test for lexical transitivity. Building upon data from this test and the syntactic and semantic realizations of reflexive constructions cross-linguistically, this thesis explores a number of lexical structures available to verbs in reflexive constructions.

Ultimately, interpreting the reflexive verb within multiple levels of linguistic representation allows for a more refined and highly descriptive framework that enables a far more detailed analysis of verbs in reflexive constructions than the simple bifurcation between reflexive and non-reflexive predicates acknowledged in the works of Reinhart, Reuland, and Lidz.

1.5 The Dissertation

The primary hypothesis of this dissertation is built upon the observation that the verb plays a key, but as yet underrepresented, role in anaphoric binding. As discussed in the previous section, within the past decade this observation has resulted in two distinct approaches to a "theory of reflexive predicates". It is proposed here that though both approaches introduce the verb as a key element in

anaphoric binding, neither fully takes into account the linguistic structure of and interaction between individual verbs and reflexive types in reflexive constructions.

The dissertation is comprised of five chapters organized into three sections and framed by this introduction and a final concluding chapter.

The first section, encompassing Chapter 2, sets the stage for an investigation into the distinct contributions verbs and reflexive markers bring to reflexive constructions. Chapter 2 explores the many interpretations and approaches that have been proposed for reflexives over the recent history of research on the subject. The chapter culminates in a definition of the reflexive that will be used in the selection and analysis of the data in the second section of the dissertation.

The second section consists of Chapters 3 and 4. This section explores the interactions between reflexives and verbs over a broad selection of typologically distinct languages and reflexive types. Chapter 3 explores the reflexive strategies in the Fijian language, a language long assumed to have no dedicated reflexive marker. From a series of research projects on reflexive constructions in Fijian, the language is found to have three distinct reflexive types, described according to morphological form as short (PRO), mid (PRO-ga), and long (PRO-ga-vakai-PRO). Moreover, each of these reflexive types is found to interact differently with different verbs in reflexive constructions. Chapter 4 further investigates the patterns observed in the Fijian language, exploring the relationships between reflexive types and different verbs over four different languages each of which represents morphologically different reflexive types: English, Dutch, French and Russian.

The third and final section, comprising Chapter 5, explores the theoretical implications of the data presented in the second section of the thesis. An argument is put forward for a description of reflexive constructions over four components of linguistic structure according to interactions between individual verbs and reflexive markers.

Chapter 2

Reflexives Defined

Introduction

As is set out in Chapter 1, this thesis addresses the phenomenon of the reflexive apropos its relationship to the verb and its realization over four components of linguistic structure. Before a proper enquiry is feasible, however, the nature and meaning of the reflexive for the purposes of this work must be determined. This 'working definition' of the reflexive is, thus, the primary goal of this chapter.

As was also discussed in the previous chapter, the study of reflexives has been pursued over a number of distinct languages, methodologies, and theories (Chomsky 1981; Huang 1982; Yang 1983; Faltz 1985; Koster and Reuland 1991; Dalrymple 1993; Yu 2000). Pre-eminent within theoretical approaches has been the Government and Binding Theory, the Principles and Parameters Theory, and the Minimalist Program. Taking a transformational perspective, Binding Theory relegates the study of reflexives to NPs and defines them in terms of c-command and coreference. However, as duly noted by Reuland (2000), the numerous alternatives to and variations upon Binding Theory that have been proposed since its inception generally appear to be inspired by variation within systems of reflexive marking not accounted for by Chomsky's tripartite system of classification:

> Such alternatives may appear to be motivated by the correct observation that binding shows far more cross-linguistic variation than one might expect on the basis of Chomsky's classical binding theory. (Reuland 2000: 5)

Constraint-based theories such as LFG and HPSG have offered insight into the specific properties that the distinct lexical and morphological components in a reflexive construction must satisfy to be considered grammatically acceptable. Likewise, typologies have identified overarching patterns linking and distinguishing reflexive types over large selections of distinct languages.

Though much good insight has come out of this myriad of research, cross-linguistic progress on the subject is persistently complicated by the fact that linguists have not settled upon a common definition for the term 'reflexive' (Geniušienė 1987; Lichtenberk 1994; Frajzyngier and Curl 2000). This is made more difficult by the reality that reflexive form and function are not consistent across languages. Cross-linguistically, the reflexive form can be described along a continuum from morphological verbal marker to distinct noun phrase. Likewise, the coreferential function of a reflexive can vary subtly from detransitivizing a verb to coreference between two distinct verbal arguments. Moreover, reflexive forms across the world's languages frequently serve to mark further functions in addition to, and dissociated from, the indication of coreference. In fact, the variation amongst definitions of a reflexive element is so great that Reuland (2000) questions its pertinence to grammatical theory:

> The question of what a reflexive element is ends up being theoretically as misguided as the question of what a passive is. (Reuland 2000: 6)

This observation, however, does not hinder Reuland from proposing defining characteristics of reflexives within a generative theoretical framework.

This chapter explores the diverse interpretations and definitions that have been proposed for reflexives within the recent history of research on the topic. As stated above, the primary objective is to arrive at a working description of the reflexive for the purposes of identifying the data set for this investigation. This description will later be expanded into a verb-oriented interpretation of the reflexive over four distinct components of linguistic structure in Chapter 5. In pursuit of this goal, this chapter is comprised of three separate parts. The first section presents the scope of the challenges impeding endeavours to define the reflexive, and introduces two prominent descriptive approaches primarily employed in research on the reflexive. The second section explores assumed characteristics of reflexives and the manner in which many of the world's reflexives diverge from these conventions. This section is presented in two parts, form and function, mirroring a dichotomy linguists face when

settling upon a definition for the reflexive. The third, and final, section concludes this chapter by settling upon a working description of the reflexive based on both the applications of reflexive types (uncharacteristic as well as characteristic) and the strengths and weaknesses of previous research on the topic. As stated earlier, the objective here is to arrive at a descriptive definition of the reflexive for the sake of data collection and analysis; this does not, however, preclude investigation into the theoretical implications of the working definition, which will be rejoined in Chapter 5.

2.1 Identifying the Challenges

2.1.1 Incongruities in the Nature of the Reflexive

Research on the reflexive is unclear as to whether the phenomenon is best described according to reflexive function, morphological form, or a combination of the two, and, within these categories, what type of function or form best serves as a descriptive template for purposes of analysis and theoretical interpretation. As discussed previously, the most well known definition of the reflexive in generative syntax and primary theoretical reference point to date is encompassed in Chomsky's tripartite classification of noun phrases within Binding Theory. This definition takes into account elements of both form and function with respect to the reflexive and its occurrence within the grammar. For the sake of convenience, Chomsky's three conditions, introduced in the previous chapter, are reiterated in (2.1) below:

(2.1) Binding Theory
- (A) An anaphor is bound in its governing category
- (B) A pronominal is free in its governing category
- (C) An R-expression is free

(Chomsky 1981: 188)

Since Chomsky's work on Binding Theory in the 1970s and 80s, the reflexive has predominantly been defined in generative syntax within a typology that delineates three distinct kinds of noun phrases: anaphors (comprised of reflexives and reciprocals), pronominals, and R-expressions. Within

this typology the reflexive is presented as a pronoun that must be bound to an antecedent according to the parameters described by a specific set of binding constraints. Critical to this definition are the concepts of coindexing, domain, and governing category, which will be revisited in further detail in section 2.3. Though there are many who have identified problems (Ross 1970; Cantrall 1974; Huang 1982; Huang 1983; Lebaux 1985; Kuno 1987; Pica 1987, 1991), a Binding Theory definition of the reflexive, for the most part, seems to work well for the English language. This is, in no small part, due to the fact that there is only one commonly recognized reflexive strategy taking the form of a reflexively marked pronoun. A cross-linguistic investigation into the nature of the reflexive form over a number of typologically distinct languages, however, quickly illustrates the fact that this definition is inadequate in many ways.

A fair number of languages, ranging from the Uto-Aztecan language Tohono O'odam[1] to French, make use of verbal affixes or clitics rather than modified pronouns to mark coreference. This is illustrated in sentences (2.2) through (2.5) below:

(2.2) Maša odevajet-sja
Masa dress[3SG.PRS]-REFL
'Masa is dressing herself.'
(Russian; Geniušienė 1987: 11)

(2.3) q'óy-thet tú-tl'ò
kill-REFL DET-3INDEP
'He killed himself.'
(Upriver Halkomelem; Wiltschko 2004: 108)

(2.4) hari tann-annu hogaL-i-koND-a
Hari self-ACC praise-PP-REFL.PST-3SG.M
'Hari praised himself.'
(Kannada; Lidz 2001a: 313)

(2.5) hejel ap e=neid
REFL 2SG.NOM REFL=see
'You see yourself.'
(Tohono O'odam; Faltz 1985: 51)

[1] Formally called 'Papago' and titled thusly in Faltz (1985).

The Russian sentence in (2.2) and the Upriver Halkomelem sentence in (2.3) use verbal affixes to mark the reflexive. The Tohono O'odam sentence in (2.5) provides an example of a reflexive clitic, *e*, and both the Tohono O'odam sentence (2.5) and the Kannada sentence (2.4) present examples of reflexive constructions that require the use of two distinct reflexive elements in order to be considered grammatically acceptable. In instances such as these, a Binding Theory interpretation cannot apply. Furthermore, the function of coreference cannot be defined as shared reference between two arguments of a verb since there is no reflexive noun phrase that can be referentially paired with an antecedent. In fact, a more appropriate description of the situation might be to interpret some of these instantiations of reflexive types as marking the detransitivisation of a given verb.

Likewise, to reiterate the primary focus of this thesis, many languages exhibit multiple reflexive strategies, the use and interpretation of which appear to depend upon the verb with which they are used. As has been found in many multi-reflexive languages, ranging from Dutch to Kannada, certain verbs only permit certain reflexive constructions. Moreover, verbal constructions that license the use of multiple reflexive strategies can be employed to elucidate slight differences in the meaning of the two forms. This is illustrated in Rooryck and Vanden Wyngaerd (1998) and Jackendoff (1992). Basically, all reflexives are not created coreferentially equal; some reflexives can be more coreferential than others.

Reflexive strategies have also been observed to bear meanings other than the marking of coreference with an antecedent. Emphatic uses of reflexives in English provide one example, but the phenomenon is far more pronounced in languages that use a verbal affix rather than a pronominal noun phrase. Within such languages reflexive affixes have been observed to act as possessive markers, passivizers, and decausatives.

Frajzyngier and Curl (2000) identify five key areas that have proven particularly controversial with regards to an accurate description of the reflexive. These concern the identification of reflexive

function, the categorial status of reflexive markers, the fact that reflexive markers often possess functions that have nothing to do with the domain of reference, the role point of view plays in binding constraints, and the various ways in which the process of grammaticalisation has arrived at reflexives from a variety of distinct sources, oftentimes resulting in unique syntactic properties related to the source linguistic material.

Coreference is generally assumed to be the defining factor when it comes to reflexive function; however, the manner in which coreference presents itself has been cause for a great deal of debate. Broadly speaking, particularly within generative strategies, many linguists interpret a reflexive as any grammatical construction that codes coreference between a subject and an object or, in terms of semantic roles, an agent and another semantic role (Frajzyngier 2000: viii). However, this is not the only acceptable interpretation of reflexive function, and even within this construal there is a fair amount of microvariation. This results in very different decisions when it comes to including a particular marker of coreference within the category of reflexives. For instance, Reuland (2000) does not include the Dutch pronoun *zich* in his definition of 'reflexive anaphors'. Rather, he employs the broader term 'anaphor' to describe pronouns such as the Dutch *zich*, using the term in a general sense to simply mean "non-pronominal pronouns" (Reuland 2000: 9). Pronouns such as the more complex Dutch pronoun *zichzelf* are then termed 'reflexive anaphors' and identified as "a special class of anaphors", namely anaphors that bear the function of "reflexive marking" a predicate,

> A predicate formed of some head P is *reflexive-marked* iff either P is lexically reflexive, or one of P's arguments is a SELF-anaphor. (Reuland 2000: 19)

König and Siemund (2000), on the other hand, take a completely opposing approach to categorizing these distinct pronoun types. In their typological analysis of intensifiers and reflexives they recognize only pronouns like the Dutch *zich* as reflexives. More complex pronouns, such as the Dutch *zichzelf*, are described as intensifiers.

"Short reflexive markers", such as *zich*, have also been involved in disagreements over reflexive categorial status. In particular, there is ongoing debate as to whether these forms should be classified as particles (Geniušienė 1987) or as part of a set that also incorporates pronouns and anaphors (Abraham 2000). At the heart of the classification problem, however, is Chomsky's Binding Theory. Though the Binding Theory presents a clear system of categorization by introducing three distinctly defined categories, it disregards many possible reflexive functions and forms. In particular, many reflexive forms have been observed to be marking functions of coreference that are not recognized within the constraints of Binding Theory. For example, (2.6) presents constructions in which both the English reflexive *himself* and the Chinese reflexive *ziji* are bound outside of their local domains.

(2.6) a. Tom$_i$ believed that the paper had been written by Ann and himself$_i$.
(Ross 1970: 226)

b. Lisi$_i$ zhidao Wangwu$_j$ xihuan ziji$_{i/j/*k}$.
Lisi think Wangwu like REFL
'Lisi thinks Wangwu likes him/himself.'
(Mandarin; Lidz 1999: 327)

Likewise, as Frajzyngier and Curl (2000: viii) note, many languages have reflexive markers that can also be used as pronominals (van Gelderen 2000; Lyutikova 1999). Heine (2005), exploring this topic with respect to creoles, identifies two distinct categories of pronominal/reflexive overlap within his classification of the six 'most common types of reflexive markers in creoles' that have been observed in natural language: type A- and type B-reflexives. Type A-reflexive systems are those in which the reflexive and pronominal share an identical form over all three persons, whilst type B-reflexive systems are those that use the personal pronoun form for first and second person objects but a marked reflexive form for the third person. Type A-reflexives have been found to be fairly common in creoles, though rare in other languages; thus, the examples in (2.7) come from creoles. Type B-reflexives, on the other hand, are relatively common and have been observed in languages including French, Spanish, Portuguese, and German. The examples in (2.8) come from French.

(2.7) a. Li_i wè $l_{i/2}$.
3SG.SBJ see 3SG.OBJ
'S/he saw her(self)/him(self)/it.'
(Haitian Creole; Heine 2005: 207)

b. I bey li partu.
3SG.M.SBJ wash 3SG.M.OBJ all.over
'He washes him/himself all over.'
(Seychellois Creole; Heine 2005: 207)

(2.8) a. Elle la=voit.
3SG.F.SBJ 3SG.F.OBJ=see[3SG.PRS]
'She sees her.'

b. Elle se=voit.
3SG.F.SBJ 3SG.REFL=see[3SG.PRS]
'She sees herself.'

c. Elle te=voit.
3SG.F.SBJ 2SG.OBJ=see[3SG.PRS]
'She sees you.'

d. Tu te=vois.
2SG.SBJ 2SG.REFL=see[2SG.PRS]
'You see yourself.'

e. Elle me=voit.
3SG.SBJ 1SG.OBJ=see[3SG.PRS]
'She sees me.'

f. Je me=vois.
1SG.SBJ 1SG.REFL=see[1SG.PRS]
'I see myself.'
(French)

Though the overlap between pronouns and reflexives within Heine's A-type and B-type reflexives can be ascribed to a single form encompassing both reflexive and pronominal characteristics as separate functions, many languages have been found to exhibit a much subtler distinction between traditional pronouns and anaphors. For instance, Dalrymple (1993) provides examples of anaphoric elements in Norwegian and Marathi that can be defined according to traditional Binding Theory constraints as meeting the criteria of both reflexives and pronominals:

> Some Norwegian and Marathi anaphoric elements are, by these criteria [antecedent and domain requirements], both reflexives and pronominals: they must have an antecedent within a wide domain but must be noncoreferent from elements within a narrow domain. (Dalrymple 1993: 2-3)

Moreover, as mentioned before, many languages indicate coreferential functions through morphological markers on the verb as was illustrated in (2.2) – (2.5) above. Overall, the classification of anaphoric elements appears to be far more complicated than can be encompassed within three clearly defined nominal categories.

In fact, patterns of grammaticalisation with respect to the reflexive suggest that reflexive marking progresses from a referentially defective noun phrase to an inflectional marker on the verb. Faltz (1985) makes a strong argument in favour of the gradual transformation of both simple and compound reflexive types from noun phrases to verbal markers. This will be covered in further detail in section 2.2.1.

Cross-linguistically, and possibly universally, reflexive markers have been observed to indicate functions other than coreference, and, in many cases these supplementary functions have no referential significance. For instance, the Russian reflexive affix *–sja* can be used to mark middle, passive, and anticausative voice in certain contexts:

(2.9) Middle Voice
a. Sobaka kusaet-sja
dog.DET bite[3SG.PRS]-REFL
'The dog is a biter.'
b. Eti plat'ja ne rvut-sja.
DET dress.PL NEG tear=REFL.
'These dresses don't tear.'
(Russian; Townsend 1967: 198)

(2.10) Anticausitive Voice
a. Dver' otkryvala-s'.
door.DET open[3SG.PST]-REFL
'The door opened.'

(2.11) Passive Voice

a. Dom stroi-l-sja dedom.
house build-PST-REFL grandfather
'The house was being built by the grandfather'

(Russian; Geniušienė 1987: 9)

In English, the primary examples are the emphatic and logophoric applications observed in circumstances such as (2.12) and (2.13) below:

(2.12) Chris, himself, told the story.

(2.13) I well know the story about himself that Chris loves to tell.

The correct classification of logophors, however, has also proven to be difficult to pinpoint within definitions of the reflexive. This might be due, in part, to differing interpretations concerning the role point of view has to play in the establishment of reflexive binding constraints.

Each of these disputes concerning the reflexive will be covered in greater depth in section 2.2. Though there appears to be far more variation than agreement with respect to reflexive constructions cross-linguistically, research within the field has generally taken a comprehensive approach to the phenomenon. In fact, despite an apparent dearth of shared functional or formal properties, most research on reflexives can be described as falling into one of two distinct approaches: taxonomic or anti-taxonomic. These two interpretations are explored in greater detail in the next section.

2.1.2 Two Primary Interpretations: Taxonomic vs Anti-taxonomic

As illustrated above, the challenges inhibiting agreement pertaining to a consistent cross-linguistic definition for the reflexive are well recognized within the literature. Frajzyngier (2000) and Geniušienė (1987), in particular, offer explicit discussions concerning the problem and summarize the different approaches to research on reflexives that have been pursued over the years. According to Frajzyngier (2000), this research can essentially be divided into two distinct interpretations that have

authorized the abundance of distinct forms and functions that have been included within the study of reflexives:

1) interpretation of the reflexive according to the function of marking coreference between the two arguments of a verb.

2) interpretation of the reflexive as a morphological marker of coreferentiality. (Frajzyngier 2000: vii)

Frajzyngier's observation parallels Geniušienė's (1987) differentiation between anti-taxonomic and taxonomic interpretations of the reflexive. For Geniušienė, these differing methods of research have a geographic basis; she relates these two disparate construals to distinct Eastern and Western traditions within the field of linguistics. Like Frajzyngier, Geniušienė identifies a dichotomy between an emphasis on the function of coreference amongst arguments and an emphasis on a distinct morphological class of reflexives. Her separate definitions of taxonomic and anti-taxonomic reflexive research are summarized below:

1) Anti-taxonomic: Primary perspective within Western linguistics, and, in particular, generative syntax. Semantic reflexivity, essentially coreference of arguments, is of central importance. Reflexivization is seen as a generative process. Fundamentally interested in Universals. (Geniušienė 1987: 15)

2) Taxonomic: Primary perspective within Eastern linguistics. A distinct morphological class of reflexives is assumed and generalizations are made over its content. Reflexives are viewed as a set of subtypes and single invariant characterizations are rare. Semantic heterogeneity is implicitly assumed and the description of reflexive verbs as a set of semantic types is a central goal. (Geniušienė 1987: 12)

Whereas Frajzngier (2000) simply introduces the problem and outlines various controversial aspects of the reflexive (Frajzngier 2000: xiv), Geniušienė (1987) highlights this distinction in order to validate her own selective definition of the reflexive within her typological study of the subject.

Geniušienė's typology is contemporary with Faltz's (1985) typology of reflexives, and, though Faltz and Geniušienė can be argued to share certain sensibilities, a comparison between Faltz (1985)

and Geniušienė (1987) nicely exemplifies the typological repercussions of these two general approaches. Whereas Faltz follows the anti-taxonomic interpretation of reflexives and defines them according to the function of marking coreference, Geniušienė maintains an essentially taxonomic approach to the study of reflexives, differing from the assumptions she has observed in her predecessors only in her anti-taxonomic conviction that the collected reflexive strategies within a given language describe a unified phenomenon (Geniušienė 1987: 18).

Faltz (1985) and Geniušienė (1987) agree that attention to both variance and invariance within reflexive constructions is critical to a rigorous investigation of the topic; however, the two differ in their bias with respect to how similarities and differences between reflexives should be interpreted. Faltz argues that similarities and differences within the world's reflexives are both governed by identifiable principles that can ultimately be incorporated within a universal grammar (Faltz 1985: forward). The task put before the linguist is to study a selection of the world's languages broad enough to serve as a 'basis for a generalization' (Faltz 1985: forward).

Underpinning Faltz (1985) is the assumption that grammar equips language with strategies for accomplishing a variety of linguistic functions and that the process of reflexivization is considered to be one of these functions (Faltz 1985: forward). Faltz subsumes this assumption under the general theory of universal grammar, which is a driving force within the study of generative syntax. The identification of universal tendencies and points of departure from these universals is a central tenet of Faltz's typology. It is surmised that from these observations, generative linguists can advance both a set of laws governing reflexive functions and a set of principles governing the manner in which languages differ from one another (Faltz 1985: forward).

Geniušienė (1987) recognizes and responds to this strategy, making mention of her general impression that anti-taxonomic, generative, approaches to reflexives are concerned primarily with

identifying invariance among reflexive constructions (Geniušienė 1987: 15). Taxonomic approaches, on the other hand, are primarily concerned with variance, or, as Geniušienė puts it,

> The taxonomic approach [...] is based on an implicit assumption of semantic heterogeneity of RVs [reflexive verbs[2]] and aims at describing RVs as a set of semantic types. (Geniušienė 1987: 12)

Moreover, Geniušienė argues that the interpretation of reflexives as a "set of semantic classes", rather than functions, precludes the task of identifying invariant meaning.

The critical differences between Geniušienė (1987) and Faltz (1985) are apparent immediately in their choice of terminology. Where Faltz (1985) presents examples of the reflexive as "reflexive strategies" (Faltz 1985: 9), Geniušienė discusses the reflexive in terms of "reflexive verbs". Essentially, though pursuing a similar concept, these two different general interpretations of the reflexive, anti-taxonomic and taxonomic, result in the investigation of two very different phenomena. Faltz's reflexive strategies encompass "grammatical devices" that create a reflexive context (Faltz 1985: 3):

> Specifically, I assume that, given any language, we can isolate a class of simple clauses expressing a two-argument predication, the arguments being a human agent or experiencer on the one hand and a patient on the other. Such clauses will consist of a verb, denoting the predicate, two noun phrases, referring to the arguments, and any tense-aspect, modal, agreement, or other grammatical material required by the syntax. (Of course, one or both of the noun phrases may be reduced to a pronoun or deleted entirely (depending on the language) if the reference is anaphoric, deitic, or unspecified.) Now, if the language has a grammatical device which specifically indicates that the agent/experiencer and the patient in such clauses are in fact the same referent, then that grammatical device will be called the primary reflexive strategy of that language. (Faltz 1985: 3-4)

Geniušienė's reflexive verbs (RV), on the other hand, concern a heterogeneous semantic set of verbs coupled with a reflexive marker. Unlike Faltz's reflexive strategies, the meaning of this reflexive marker is not limited to functions of coreference.

[2] Geniušienė (1987) refers to reflexives according to their interaction with a verb; thus, reference to reflexives in her work is presented as reference to 'reflexive verbs' (RV), (see section 2.2.1.1).

> Indeed, RVs can express an extremely broad range of meanings, including semantic reflexivity (coreference of Agent and Patient), reciprocity, possessivity, anticausativity, modality, etc. Moreover, in many languages the RM is used as a passive and impersonal marker. (Geniušienė 1987:1)

This work will attempt to straddle these two distinct approaches. Reflexives are interpreted as a semantically heterogeneous class of morphological markers that, whilst united in the function of indicating reflexive coreference, comprise a diverse set of syntactic and semantic types. The taxonomic vs. anti-taxonomic argument will be re-addressed at the end of this chapter building upon the information provided in section 2.2.

2.2 Characteristics of Reflexives

This section presents a summary of reflexive characteristics that have been identified in the literature of the past fifty years. The following reflexive attributes have been roughly split into features that concern reflexive form (2.2.1) and those that concern reflexive function (2.2.2). As there is, however, appreciable overlap between reflexive function and form this dichotomy only serves as a generalization. The characteristics that will herein be discussed have been grouped as follows:

2.2.1 Form
- 2.2.1.1 Lexical Category Continuum
- 2.2.1.2 Origins, Grammaticalisation and Internal Structure
- 2.2.1.3 Binding, Domain and Command

2.2.2 Function
- 2.2.2.1 Coreference
- 2.2.2.2 Multiple Reflexive Strategies
- 2.2.2.3 Uncharacteristic functions

2.2.1 Form

2.2.1.1 Lexical Category Continuum

Binding Theory is concerned with reflexives only as they relate to nominal categories. However, as has been demonstrated across languages (Faltz 1985; Geniušienė 1987; Lichtenberk 1994; Lidz

2001a,b), the marking of coreference is not limited to referentially deficient noun phrases. In fact, as mentioned earlier, Geniušienė's (1987) taxonomic typology of reflexives interprets them as verbal properties. According to Geniušienė, the term 'reflexive' applies to the grammatical construction obtained from the pairing of a verb and its reflexive marker,

> The term **reflexives**, or **reflexive verbs** (henceforth RV), is used here to refer to verbs with a reflexive marker (RM), whatever their meaning, in accordance with the traditional use of this term in Baltic (and Slavic) linguistics. (Geniušienė 1987: 1)

Likewise, as discussed in Chapter 1, though still focusing on nominal reflexives - in particular SE and SELF reflexives in Dutch, Reuland (1993) specifically argues against Chomsky's nominal interpretation of binding, countering that reflexivity is a property of predicates. And Lidz (2001a), following Reuland's hypothesis, asserts that two distinct strategies are generally accepted for indicating reflexivity: anaphoric pronouns and verbal affixes (Lidz 2001: 311). He demonstrates, through his work on reflexives in the Dravidian language Kannada, that a language can require a combination of the two to mark reflexivity in certain instances:

(2.14) a. *Hari tann-annu hoDe-d-a
Hari self-ACC hit-PST-3SG.M
'Hari hit himself.'

b. Hari tann-annu hoDe-du-koND-a
Hari self-ACC hit-PP-REFL.PST-3SG.M
'Hari hit himself.'

(Kannada; Lidz 2001b: 127)

As illustrated in (2.14), the primary Kannada reflexive strategy requires the reflexive pronoun 'tann-annu' to be used in conjunction with the past tense verbal reflexive morpheme 'koND'.

Faltz (1985), too, recognizes the fact that reflexivity is not limited to noun phrases,

> The distinction between NP-reflexives and verbal reflexives is fundamental to the typology of reflexive grammar. (Faltz 1985: 15)

He puts forward a clear argument in favour of interpreting reflexive forms along a continuum ranging from verbal affixes to independent NPs. Lichtenberk's comprehensive overview of reflexives and reciprocals also recognizes the morphological variation available to reflexive forms and identifies

three primary reflexive types: nominal reflexives, verbal reflexives, and possessive reflexives (Lichtenberk 1994: 3504). Examples of these three types are illustrated in sentences (2.15), (2.16), and (2.17) below:

(2.15) John fed himself. (*Nominal*)

(2.16) Nganwa n aa-ye –shereka. (*Verbal*)
Nganwa PRS he-REFL-hide
'Nganwa is hiding (himself).'
(Nkore-Kiga; Lichtenberk 1994: 3504)

(2.17) On ljubit svoju rodinu. (*Possessive*)
3SG.M love[3SG.M.PRS] SG.F.REFL.POSS country.F.SG
'He loves his (own) country.'
(Russian; Lichtenberk 1994: 3504)

Lichtenberk describes nominal reflexives, such as (2.15), as constructions in which the reflexive marker manifests nominal or pronominal characteristics. As is illustrated in (2.16), verbal markers are, thus, constructions in which the reflexive marker presents itself within the verbal morphology. Possessive reflexives, lastly, categorise circumstances in which the reflexive marker shares characteristics with possessive forms as is demonstrated in (2.17).

Ultimately, as both Faltz (1985) and Lichtenberk (1994) recognize, a clear distinction amongst reflexive strategies according to lexical category is difficult to pinpoint. As mentioned earlier, Faltz (1985) states that, although a division between verbal and nominal reflexives simplifies the task of classifying them, the reflexive form is more accurately described as a continuum from verbal affixes to nominal phrase,

> [...] the distinction [between NP reflexives and verbal reflexives] is ultimately hard to draw precisely, and should possibly be viewed as a continuum rather than a discrete partition. (Faltz 1985: 15)

There are several typologically distinct cases of reflexives that must be classified on a continuum somewhere between the verbal and nominal categories. Romance clitics provide a good example

(2.18) Jean se=voit.
Jean REFL=see[3SG.PRS]
'Jean sees himself.'
(French; Faltz 1985: 16)

Lichtenberk (1994) and Faltz (1985) both suggest that this continuum derives from diachronic processes of grammaticalisation. As Lichtenberk (1994) claims, "verbal reflexives typically develop from nominal reflexives" (Lichtenberk 1994: 3504). Subtle differences in the independent evolution of a reflexive form and the lexical elements that are employed in its original construction within a given language, however, appear to be relevant to trends in the manner in which grammaticalisation progresses and idiosyncratic semantic and syntactic properties of particular reflexive types. Faltz (1985), in particular, provides compelling evidence for pursuing a system of categorization according to historical aspects of reflexive composition. The next section, which concerns the internal structure of reflexives, will pursue these questions of reflexive composition and processes of grammaticalisation in greater detail.

2.2.1.2 Origins, Grammaticalisation, and Internal Structure

The question of internal structure as it applies to reflexives is quite broad, pertaining to many distinct themes that fundamentally concern the nature and composition of reflexives. Two very different structural themes are of particular interest to this work. As mentioned in the previous section, the unique lexical paths that a language can take with respect to the evolution of reflexive forms and the manner in which grammaticalisation facilitates this process will be covered in greater detail here. Also of interest is the question of referential dependency and the various strategies that have been used in describing the internal structure of nominal reflexives. This has especially been of considerable interest to linguists working within the generative tradition.

Investigation into the origins of reflexive forms has primarily been pursued by linguists working on typologies of reflexives. According to Lichtenberk (1994), the most comprehensive of

these can be found in Faltz (1985), Geniušienė (1987), and Kemmer (1992). Whereas Faltz (1985) offers a thoughtful introduction to the historical sources of reflexive forms, Geniušienė (1987) and Kemmer (1992) give more focus to the range of functions that reflexives may develop based upon their source elements, which will be discussed in further detail in section 2.2.2. Schladt (2000) and van Gelderen (2000) have also provided detailed work on the topic of reflexive origins, and Kazenin (2001) provides interesting insight on two distinct origins for verbal reflexives.

In languages where they can be determined, the characteristics of the elements that were originally combined to serve as rudimentary reflexive forms can tell us a great deal about both their current syntactic properties as reflexives within the grammar and the nature of any additional non-reflexive functions. As will be discussed in further detail below, it is widely accepted that verbal reflexive morphemes develop from nominal reflexives through processes of grammaticalisation. Thus, research into reflexive origins primarily concerns noun phrases. Though there is general agreement amongst linguists regarding the value of this information, there are many differing approaches to the categorisation of elements that are typically involved in early reflexive marking.

Schladt (2000), in his comprehensive typology of reflexive origins and investigation into the grammaticalisation of body part reflexives, describes seven distinct sources of reflexives, presented in (2.19) – (2.25) below:

(2.19) Body part names:
Kabuverdiano (Estudos 1967: 22)
Manêl ferí sê cabeça.
Manuel hurt 3.SG.POSS head
'Manuel hurt himself.'

(2.20) Nominal sources denoting something like PERSON, SELF, OWNER:
Paumarí (Chapman and Derbyshire 1991: 178)
Abono-ra na-noki-a-'a-ha
self-OBJ CAUS-see-DETR-ASP-THEME
'He sees himself.'

(2.21) Emphatic pronouns:
English
'He killed himself.'

(2.22) Object personal pronouns:
Samoan (Faltz 1985: 68)
Ā fasi 'o ia 'e ia.
FUT kill ABS 3SG ERG 3SG
'He is about to kill him/himself.'

(2.23) 'To return, come back':
Sanuma (Borgman 1991: 43)
Atakusa a-nö kama nia sapa ko-pa-so-ma
gun 3.SG-INS 3.SG shoot reverse:DIR return-EXT-FOC-COMPL
'He shot himself with a gun.'

(2.24) 'Reflection':
Finnish (Faltz 1985: 137)
Jussi näki itse-nsä.
Jussi.NOM see[PST] reflection.on.water-3.SG.POSS
'Jussi saw himself.'

(2.25) Locative prepositions
Zande (Tucker and Bryan 1966: 150)
Mì-ímí tì-rɛ̀.
1SG.SBJ-kill on-1SG.OBJ
'I kill myself.'

(Schladt 2000: 105-106)

Lehmann (1982) suggests that category (2.20), nominal sources, should be further differentiated according to whether the nominal source is autophoric or reflexive. This would result in a separate class for reflexives with a source similar to 'person' and reflexives with a source similar to 'self'. Schladt counters, however, that such a distinction is ultimately unnecessary seeing that none of the grammars he consults in his investigation of reflexives for over one hundred and fifty languages single out such a dichotomy (Schladt 2000: 106). Likewise, Schladt points out an inherent difficulty in distinguishing between nominal and emphatic sources. 'Self' offers a good example of this. In (2.20) it is identified as a nominal source, whereas in (2.21) it is presented as an emphatic. According to Schladt,

> The main difference for me is that the former has the clear morphological features and syntactic function of a noun whereas the latter is a pronoun without clear nominal sources. (Schladt 2000: 106)

Moreover, as Schladt demonstrates, for many reflexives that have emphatic markers as a source, there is continuing confusion over how emphatic and reflexive uses might be properly interpreted. Are emphatic pronouns and reflexive markers essentially different applications of a single form, or can emphatic pronouns accurately be described as the source of a certain class of reflexive markers as Schladt suggests in (2.21) (Schladt 2000: 106)? Schladt cites Heine (1999) as providing evidence to support an interpretation in which they are two different entities, reflexives simply having originated from the use of emphatic pronouns as a marker of reflexivity. As a question of reflexive function, this subject will be explored in further detail in section 2.2.2. At this point it suffices to recognize that emphatic markers are one of a number of different sources of reflexive forms.

Lastly, regarding Schladt's reflexive forms which use descriptions of reflection (2.24), Schladt points out a discrepancy concerning whether this form applies solely to visually reflexive situations, such as seeing one's reflection in a mirror, or, as a proper reflexive marker, indiscriminately to all coreferential situations. According to Schladt, Keesing (1985) provides an example from the Austronesian language Kwaio in which a reflective reflexive is restricted to purely visual instances of coreference. Fromm (1982: 93), on the other hand, suggests that the Finnish reflexive marker *itse*, which translates to "reflection on water, shadow" (Fromm 1982: 93; Schladt 2000: 107), demonstrates no such restrictions. The use of personal pronouns as a marker of reflexivity has also proven difficult to clarify. Ultimately, these questions and inconsistencies are most likely the result of differing levels of grammaticalisation.

Unlike Schladt, whose primary focus is the detailed categorisation of specific reflexive elements, Faltz concentrates on the manner in which these elements have been combined to create different types of reflexive noun phrases. Faltz suggests that all reflexive strategies can be

categorized as one of three distinct types according to both their composition and the processes of grammaticalisation that have led to their reflexive applications. These three types are compound reflexives, pronominal reflexives, and verbal reflexives. Moreover, Faltz argues that the origins of all verbal reflexives can be traced to NP-reflexives. So, with respect to reflexive origins, two categories are of primary interest here: compound reflexives and pronominal reflexives (Faltz 1985: 53). Both of these categories can be further subcategorized according to unique characteristics of the reflexive types that comprise them. Faltz claims that this tripartite classification holds true in a number of syntactic tests.

Compound reflexives are easily the most complex of the three categories that Faltz introduces and can readily be further subcategorized into three distinct, but syntactically less significant, types. All NP reflexives within this categorization have in common the fact that the reflexive is comprised of at least a pronominal element and a morpheme that indicates reflexivity. The key distinction that Faltz draws amongst the many types of elements that could historically be used to mark reflexive meaning is between reflexive markers that serve as the head of the reflexive noun phrase and those that serve as an adjunct to a pronominal head. He labels these two different types of constructions head reflexives and adjunct reflexives accordingly. These are then further subcategorised to include "head reflexives with redundant possessive pronouns", "adjunct reflexives", and "fused adjunct reflexives" (Faltz 1985: 49).

In languages that employ a head reflexive, any indication of case relations within noun phrases, such as inflection and word order, are applied to this reflexive head. Head reflexives, according to Faltz, frequently evolve from body part nouns, and noun roots meaning 'head', 'body', and 'soul' are particularly common. Examples of head reflexives in Turkish, Basque, and Malagasy are listed in (2.26) through (2.29) below:

(2.26) a. Taroo wa Ziroo o mamotta.
Taroo TOP Ziroo ACC defend[PST]
'Taroo defended Ziroo.'
b. Taroo wa zibun o mamotta.
Taroo TOP REFL ACC defend[PST]
'Taroo defended himself.'
(Japanese; Faltz 1985: 29)

(2.27) a. Hasan Orhan aynada gördü.
Hasan.NOM Orhan.ACC mirror.LOC see[PST]
'Hasan saw Orhan in the mirror.'
b. Hasan kendini aynada gördü.
Hasan.NOM REFL.3SG.POSS.ACC mirror.LOC see[PST]
'Hasan saw himself in the mirror.'
(Turkish; Faltz 1985: 30)

(2.28) a. aitak bere semea hil du.
father.ERG 3SG.POSS son.NOM.DEF kill have.3SG
'The father killed his son.'
b. aitak bere burua hil du.
father.ERG 3SG.POSS head.NOM.DEF kill have.3SG
'The father killed himself.'
c. bere buruan tzapela ipiñi du.
3SG.POSS head.LOC.DEF cap.NOM put have.3SG
'He put the cap on his head.'
(Basque; Faltz 1985: 32)

(2.29) a. namono tena Rabe.
kill[PST] body Rabe
'Rabe killed himself.'
(Malagasy; Faltz 1985: 33)

For the most part the reflexives presented in (2.26) – (2.29) have nominal roots. The Japanese reflexive *zibun* (2.26) originates from a nominal source translating roughly as 'self' along the lines of Schladt's group of nominal sources presented in (2.20). Likewise, the Basque (2.28) and Malagasy (2.29) reflexives both have body part sources (2.19), which they still retain as (2.28c) demonstrates for Basque. The Basque reflexive *burua* (2.28) makes use of the Basque word for head and the Malagasy reflexive *tena* (2.29) is the Malagasy word for body. The Turkish reflexive *kendi-*, which is also included in Faltz's category of head reflexives, however, does not demonstrate a nominal source. According to Schladt, *kendi-* resembles English in having an emphatic pronoun source (2.21).

Following from his observation that the reflexive marker acts as the head of the reflexive noun phrase, these examples are grouped together as head reflexives by Faltz. For instance, in (2.26b), the topical marker *wa* applies to the Japanese reflexive *zibun* in the same manner that it applies to the object *Ziroo* in (2.26a). The same is true for the Turkish, Basque, and Malagasy examples in (2.27b), (2.28b), and (2.29a) respectively. The use of *kendi*- as a primary reflexive in Turkish differs slightly from the Japanese, Basque, and Malagasy examples in that in the reflexive constructions *kendi*- is used with a pronominal possessive that agrees with the antecedent. This slight variation, which most likely stems from the fact that it does not have a nominal source, does not change the role of *kendi*- as the head of a head reflexive noun phrase. Faltz does, however, recognize this slight variation by titling it a "head reflexive with a redundant possessive pronoun" (Faltz 1985: 30).

Adjunct reflexives, on the other hand, which often evolve from the use of emphatic markers or other special reflexive morphemes used to mark reflexive meaning on a pronoun, employ the pronoun as the head of the reflexive phrase. Faltz provides the following examples of adjunct reflexives from Irish and Old English:

(2.30) a. ghortaigh Seán Séamas.
hurt[PST] Sean Seamas
'Sean hurt Seamas.'
b. ghortaigh Seán é.
hurt[PST] Sean 3SG
'Sean hurt him.'
c. ghortaigh Seán é féin.
hurt[PST] Sean 3SG REFL
'Sean hurt himself.'
(Irish; Faltz 1985: 34)

(2.31) a. ac wundorlice swyðe geeadmedde Crist hine sylfne.
but wondrously much humiliate[PST] Christ 3SG.M.ACC REFL
'But Christ humiliated himself very much.'
b. understandað eow sylfe.
understand 3PL.ACC REFL
'Understand yourselves.'
c. þe silfne ne hera.
2SG REFL NEG praise
'Do not praise yourself.'
(Old English; Faltz 1985: 35)

In the Irish example (2.30c), the word *féin* is added after the pronoun *é* to indicate a reflexive meaning. The word *sylfne* in the Old English example (2.31a) serves the same purpose as *féin*, marking the pronoun *hine* reflexive. Faltz points out that the Old English system of reflexive marking gradually changed as the language evolved into the English we speak today. During the Middle English period 'self' lost its gender and case agreement and the possessive pronoun replaced the first and second person object pronouns. These two changes gave 'self' reflexive constructions characteristics more similar to those of head reflexives like the Turkish *kendi-* (2.27). Faltz, thus, acknowledges this development by titling such cases "fused adjunct reflexives". Gumbaingar as illustrated in (2.32) offers a further example of fused adjunct reflexives:

(2.32) a. naidja na:njau buan:n.
1SG.ERG 1SG.OBJ.REFL hit
'I hit myself.'
b. na:nja balngabalngawu jindjan.
1SG.OBJ ant.ERG bite
'An ant has bitten me.'
(Gumbaingar; Faltz 1985: 68)

The reflexive pronouns in the Australian language Gumbaingar consist of pronouns marked with the reflexive suffix *–u* (2.32a). Faltz suggests, however, that adjunct reflexives are rarely employed as a language's primary reflexive strategy and are most often found in the role of secondary reflexives. Particulars of Faltz's categorization of distinct reflexive types will be covered in greater detail in section 2.2.2 (Faltz 1985: 41).

Unlike his compound reflexives, Faltz's pronominal reflexives are quite simple, consisting only of a unique reflexive pronoun free from any form of reflexive morpheme. Faltz provides two very different examples of pronominal reflexives in his typology: the Russian reflexive pronoun *sebja* as illustrated in (2.33) and the German reflexive pronoun *sich* as illustrated in (2.34):

(2.33) a. Ivan uvidel Mariju /ego /ee v zerkale
Ivan.NOM see[PRF.PST] Mary.ACC 3SG.M.ACC 3SG.F.ACC in mirror.PREP
'Ivan saw Mary/him/her in the mirror.'
b. Ivan uvidel sebja v zerkale
Ivan.NOM see[PRF.PST] REFL.ACC in mirror.PREP
'Ivan saw himself in the mirror.'
c. Ja uvidel Mariju/ ego/ ee v zerkale
1SG.NOM see[PRF.PST] Mary.ACC 3SG.M.ACC 3SG.F.ACC in mirror.PREP
'I saw Mary/him/her in the mirror.'
d. Ja uvidel sebja v zerkale
1SG.NOM see[PRF.PST] REFL.ACC in mirror.PREP
'I saw myself in the mirror.'
(Russian; Faltz 1985: 11-12)

(2.34) a. Hans sah ihn.
Hans see[PST] 3SG.M.ACC
'Hans saw him.'
b. Hans sah sich.
Hans see[PST] REFL
'Hans saw himself.'
c. Ich sah mich.
1SG.NOM see[PST] 1SG.ACC
'I saw myself.'
d. Hans sah mich.
Hans see[PST] 1SG.ACC
(German; Faltz 1985: 42-43)

As illustrated in (2.33), Russian employs the pronoun *sebja* for all reflexive situations regardless of number or person. German, on the other hand, as demonstrated in (2.34), only uses the reflexive pronoun, *sich*, in the third person making it a B-type reflexive system according to Heine's classification (section 2.1.1). First and second person reflexive situations make use of the standard German first and second person accusative pronouns, *mich* and *dich* respectively. In other words, German does not require unique reflexive marking for constructions involving the first and second person. Faltz points out that this is really a very logical strategy:

> This makes sense functionally: since the referents of first and second person pronouns are uniquely determined by the speech act, there is no need for a special reflexive form. It would be highly unexpected to find the opposite case, namely a language in which reflexives are marked in the first and/or second persons but not the third. I know of no language, and I am confident that none exists. (Faltz 1985: 43)

Furthermore, he suggests that selective reflexive marking, as demonstrated by German, is limited to pronominal reflexives, hypothesizing that grammars select against "imbalance" in semantically parallel sentences (Faltz 1985: 43). A similar, grammatically acceptable strategy of pronominal/reflexive overlap, which is not recognized by Heine (2005), involves a unique reflexive form that is used to mark reflexivity in second and third person constructions but not first person. This has been observed in Tohono O'odam and suggested for Pre-Old-Norse. Neither Faltz (1985) nor Heine (2005) make mention of a system in which reflexive marking is found on the first and third person but absent on the second person pronoun though this does not preclude it as a possibility. Faltz remarks, however, that most of the unusual situations are evidence of transitional stages within the language of interest.

As mentioned earlier, Faltz argues that all verbal reflexives evolve from nominal reflexives through processes of grammaticalisation. He uses the French reflexive clitic as an example of a reflexive form in transition from a nominal to a verbal reflexive. Unlike the nominal reflexives in languages such as Spanish and German, the French reflexive clitic cannot be employed to mark reflexivity in prepositional phrases. This is demonstrated in (2.35) below:

(2.35) a. Jean le=voit.
Jean 3SG.M.OBJ=see[3SG.PRS]
'Jean sees him.'

b. Jean se=voit.
Jean REFL=see[3SG.PRS]
'Jean sees himself.'

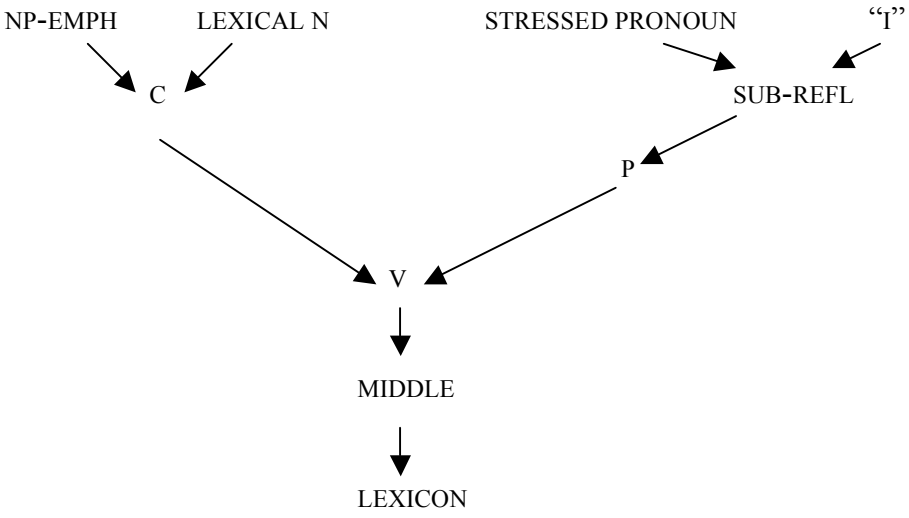
c. Jean parle à Marie de lui.
Jean speak[3SG.PRS] to Marie about 3SG.M
'Jean is talking to Marie about him.'

d. Jean parle à Marie de lui-même.
Jean speak[3SG.PRS] to Marie about REFL.3SG.M
'Jean is talking to Marie about himself.'
(French; Faltz 1985: 53-54)

Kazenin (2001), however, argues that the origins of verbal reflexives are far more complicated than the prevailing opinion suggests. He states that describing verbal reflexives according to their origins results in two primary types: derived, which are derived from their non-reflexive counterparts, and non-derived, which have not been derived from their non-reflexive counterparts. The most prevalent type, derived verbal reflexives, can be further subcategorized into Faltz's verbal reflexives (with diachronic ties to reflexive pronouns) and verbal reflexives that have evolved from other sources.

Despite his argument in favour of a more complex interpretation of verbal reflexive forms, Kazenin does agree with Faltz (1985), Lichtenberk (1994), and Schladt (2000) that the vast majority of verbal reflexives have evolved from nominal counterparts. In describing this progression, Faltz (1985) presents a state-process diagram that illustrates his interpretation of the distinct pathways grammaticalisation can follow with respect to his three types of reflexive forms. Faltz's "schematic picture of the life-cycle of the reflexive" (Faltz 1985: 276) is presented in Figure 2.1 below:

Figure 2.1: Schematic Picture of the Life-cycle of the Reflexive



(Faltz 1985: 276)

According to Faltz's diagram, both compound reflexives (C) and pronominal reflexives (P) can follow a path of grammaticalisation that results in a verbal reflexive; however the two paths are inherently separate. The primary theme of the diagram, and essential point reiterated by linguists (Faltz 1985; Schladt 2000), is the assumption that NP reflexives gradually lose their nominal characteristics as their functions and properties progressively become more entwined with the verb until all nominal characteristics have been exchanged for the lexically diminished properties of verbal affixes.

Schladt adds to the dialogue a unique areal interpretation. Geographic factors, according to Schladt, can provide an explanation for why many different reflexive strategies exist within language families, "or - to put it the other way round – the choice of the same strategy cannot be explained by language-genetic factors," (Schladt 2000: 109). According to Schladt, grammaticalisation might be further described in terms of location,

> If these prove to be systematic in further typological studies then this phenomenon could lead to the following hypothesis: There exist a number of grammaticalization areas that are defined by means of isoglosses of similar or same grammaticalization phenomena. For reflexive markers this would mean that there exists a limited set of grammaticalization strategies for the choice of a certain category, the choice of which is denoted at a lower level through the area. (Schladt 2000: 111)

Though much work outside the boundaries of this thesis remains to be done on the topic, it is worth taking into consideration as cross-linguistic patterns of reflexivization are observed in the ensuing chapters.

2.2.1.3 Binding, Domain, and Command

As is mentioned in the previous chapter, the concepts of binding, domain, and command are integral to much of the discourse surrounding the reflexive as a result of their defining roles within Chomsky's Binding Theory. In syntax, binding relates to levels of linguistic structure and grammatical constraints that appear to influence the manner in which a reflexive pronoun can share reference with its antecedent. However, as it applies to the reflexive, binding is essentially a semantic

concept. A specialized term for coreference that involves two independent elements, it describes relations in which a particular element is dependent upon the reference of another within an utterance.

Since the inception of Binding Theory, the concept of domain has played a principal role in discussions regarding an accurate cross-linguistic definition of the reflexive. Section 1.3.1 of Chapter 1 already addresses in detail several of the problems relating to the definition of binding domain; however, though the role domain plays in reflexive functions is readily open to debate, as a defining element in many theories of anaphoric binding it should be addressed within a thorough description of reflexive types.

Fundamentally, binding domain simply refers to the domain in which an anaphor and a pronoun must or must not be bound. As Chapter 1 observes, the pattern of binding that led to the inclusion of governing category within Binding Theory is the claim that, in the English language, the domain in which anaphors must be bound is also the domain in which the binding of pronominals was forbidden. A pattern of complementary distribution was identified. This is shown in (2.36) below:

(2.36) a. Graeme$_i$ hurt himself$_i$.
b. * Graeme$_i$ hurt him$_i$
c. Katie thinks that Graeme$_i$ has hurt himself$_i$
d. *Graeme$_i$ thinks that Katie hurt himself$_i$

Based on observations such as these, Chomsky (1981) presents domain as a locality condition and defines it as the "minimal category containing β, a governor of β, and a SUBJECT accessible to β," (Chomsky 1981: 211). As has been reiterated several times already, Condition A of the Binding Theory restricts reflexive function to the limited domain of its governing category (2.37).

(2.37) Condition A: An anaphor is bound in its governing category

However, as discussed under the 'domain problem' of Chapter 1, for many languages the topic of reflexive binding domains is an area of great variation. Within the literature, this has been most notable in languages that have long-distance reflexives, or reflexives that appear to bind to an

antecedent outside of their governing category. Examples of non-clause bounded reflexives include Icelandic (Thráinsson 1976), Italian (Giorgi 1984), and Chinese (Huang 1982; Yang 1983, Yu 2000). As a result, generative linguists have put forward a number of suggestions for ways in which Binding Theory can be appropriately adjusted to respond to this cross-linguistic deficiency (Koster 1985, 1987; Manzini and Wexler 1987; Wexler and Manzini 1987; Reuland and Koster 1991). According to Reuland and Koster (1991), the predominant conclusions of these suggestions are twofold:

1. languages may differ in the binding domains of their anaphors;
2. within one language different anaphors may have different binding domains.

(Reuland and Koster 1991: 2)

Following these assumptions, an easy and popular solution to long-distance anaphora is arrived at by making the opacity factor that defines governing category a parameter of Binding Theory which takes into account the unique grammar rules of diverse languages. This is described in Reuland and Koster (1991) as follows:

(2.38) **b** is a **governing category for a** if and only if **b** is the minimal category containing **a**, a governor of **a**, and **F** (**F** an opacity factor).

(Reuland and Koster 1991: 2)

According to Reuland and Koster (1991), within Binding Theory, 'F' can be selected from a universal set of opacity factors that include such values as SUBJECT, Tense, AGR, and Comp. A particular opacity factor selected by a given language would then be expressed in the lexical entry of the reflexive. A long-distance reflexive is, thus, described as any reflexive with an opacity factor that exceeds SUBJECT.

An apparent weakness of the parameterized approach to binding domain, however, is the fact that opacity factors within Binding Theory currently lack any generally accepted, clear restrictions or parameters of their own. In fact, many linguists feel that opacity factors, as they currently stand, are

simply arbitrary features that open up an unlimited range of possibilities by which anaphors in general may differ (Reuland and Koster 1991).

Dalrymple (1993) offers an alternative to the parameterized approach. According to Dalrymple, binding should be interpreted according to both domain constraints, which describe the domain in which an anaphoric element can be bound or free, and antecedent constraints, which identify a necessary grammatical function of for the antecedent resulting in a domain description that is lexically specified for individual anaphoric elements.

> There is a certain universally-available, syntactically relevant set of binding constraints which anaphoric elements may obey. These constraints are definable in terms of the presence of a SUBJ , of a PRED, or of TENSE. They break down along two dimensions: domain conditions stand in opposition to antecedent conditions, and positive constraints stand in opposition to negative constraints. (Dalrymple 1993: 43)

This is discussed in detail in section 1.33 of Chapter 1. Since a central argument in this work is that reflexive constructions differ from verb to verb rather than from language to language, Dalrymple's lexically specified account provides the most straightforward interpretation of domain requirements and her Domain and Antecedent Conditions outlined in (1.37) of Chapter 1 will be applied to the reflexive descriptions of the various languages investigated.

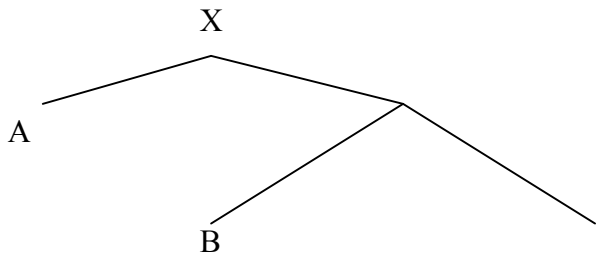
Ultimately, whether or not domain constraints come into play depends upon the reflexive strategy that is being described within a particular language. Some reflexive strategies do not employ domain constraints, rather binding is determined by factors on the antecedent. These will be discussed in further detail in section 2.2.2. Likewise, antecedent restrictions do not apply to all reflexive strategies. Furthermore, reflexive strategies can be observed in which both antecedent and domain conditions are positively specified.

As with domain, the Binding Theory introduces the concept of command into the reflexive discourse.[3] Broadly speaking, command describes dominance relationships within utterances. As will be discussed here, these relationships can be syntactic, semantic, or an amalgamation of the two.

Constituent-command, or c-command, which is already discussed in some detail in Chapter 1, concerns dominance within phrase structure as it is portrayed in tree diagrams. The relation is outlined and illustrated in (2.39) and (2.40) below:

(2.39) C-command
Node A c-commands node B if and only if
(i) A does not dominate B and B does not dominate A; and
(ii) the first branching node dominating A also dominates B.
(Haegeman 1991: 134)

(2.40)



A c-commands B.

As is illustrated in (2.40), 'A' is the highest member of a pair in which neither 'A' nor 'B' dominates the other and 'X', the mother of 'A', also dominates 'B'. In Binding Theory, as mentioned in section 1.2 of Chapter 1, c-command is presented as a critical component in the definition of anaphors and their relationship to the antecedent.

In addition to the fact that the concept of c-command, like domain, limits a definition of reflexives to nominal forms, there have been numerous accounts describing languages that do have nominal reflexives but do not follow the restrictions imposed by c-command. Examples from

[3] C-command was already recognized as the 'in construction with' relation in Klima (1964) by the time *Lectures on Government and Binding* was published in 1981.

Japanese, Korean and German, for instance, introduce situations in which reflexive pronouns can be found to precede their antecedents in c-structure.[4] Likewise, non-configurational languages, such as Hungarian (Kiss 1991) and Modern Irish (Carnie 2005), which have been described as having a flat structure, arguably present situations in which all arguments in a clause are best described as c-commanding each other. Instances of these contradictions to c-command are demonstrated in sentences (2.41) through (2.43) below:

(2.41) Zibun-o Hanako-ga utagatte iru
REFL–ACC Hanako-NOM doubts
'Hanako doubts herself.'
(Japanese; Büring 2000: 14)

(2.42) Caki casin-eke Kim-ŭn silmanghaŏssta
self -DAT Kim-TOP disappointed
'Kim was disappointed in himself.'
(Korean; Büring 2000: 14)

(2.43) Oft hat sich der Mann im Spiegel betrachtet.
often has REFL DET man in mirror watched
'Often the man watched himself in the mirror.'
(German; Büring 2000: 14)

Japanese, Korean, and German, as shown in (2.41), (2.42), and (2.43), are all languages with free word order in which, according to Büring (2000), the "logical subject" is bound to the "logical object". C-command does not apply in any of these cases.

Several alternative interpretations of command have been suggested in response to the shortcomings of c-command. Two of the most well known are Θ-command (Williams 1994; Büring 2000), which reinterprets command as a semantic matter, and obliqueness command (or o-command) (Pollard and Sag 1994; Büring 2000), which reinterprets command syntactically but does not rely upon ordering immediately encoded in the phrase structure of a sentence. Both of these alternatives have their limitations but they do bring to light interesting observations concerning patterns of dominance with respect to the reflexive.

[4] It is worth mentioning, however, that this observation assumes uniformly right branching trees.

The semantically motivated Θ-command concerns the thematic relations of the reflexive and its antecedent. According to Büring, Θ-command assumes the phrase-structure relationships observed in c-command are simply an epiphenomenon of a correlation between phrase structure and the thematic hierarchy (Büring 2000: 16). The theory behind Θ-command appears to have its origins in Jackendoff (1972) which proposes that the hierarchy of thematic roles (Θ-roles) illustrated in (2.44) provide the pertinent asymmetric ordering among elements.

(2.44) Agent > Location, Source, Goal > Theme
(Büring 2000: 16)

One advantage of Θ-command over c-command is the observation that, since it describes command as a property of thematic roles, it can identify certain parallels between NPs and PPs that c-command does not. Both c-command and Θ-command capture the fact that binding can proceed into PPs, but only Θ-command recognizes that it can also proceed out of PPs, as is shown in (2.45) below:

(2.45) a. We talked to John about himself.
b. *We talked to himself about John.
c. *We talked about John to himself.
(Büring 2000: 16)

The sentences in (2.45) demonstrate a situation in which the Goal, *John*, a complement of *to*, Θ-commands the Theme, *himself*, a complement of *about*. In this situation the dominating node is the PP and, as a result, *himself* is not c-commanded by *John*. However, following the hierarchy in (2.45), Goal can be easily said to Θ-command Theme.

The concept of Θ-command does have its drawbacks however. Büring (2000) identifies three in particular. The first observation applies to situations like the English double-object constructions illustrated in (2.46), in which a verb allows more than one realization of its arguments.

(2.46) a. I sold the slave himself.
b. I sold the slave to himself.
c. *I sold himself the slave.

In cases like (2.46), alternations in argument realization are coupled with alternations in Θ-command. In (2.46a) *slave* is interpreted as a Goal which binds to a Theme, *himself*. However, in (2.46c) this relationship is forbidden while in (2.46b) it is turned on its head and the Theme, *slave*, is permitted to bind with the Goal, *himself*.

The second problem identified by Büring concerns an ongoing debate regarding the validity of thematic roles. Many linguists feel that there is no linguistic basis for thematic roles, they are simply a convention and are not linguistically relevant. As Büring states,

> According to critics, then, a sufficiently elaborated Θ-command account is just a somewhat misleadingly labelled instantiation of an argument-structure based account. (Büring 2000: 17)

Lastly, Büring points out that there are certain instances of raising in which the relevant NPs do not conform to the thematic role hierarchy. This is demonstrated in (2.47) below:

(2.47) Max strikes himself as qualified for the job.

In this example *himself* is interpreted as the Goal or Experiencer of *strike* and appears to be higher in the thematic hierarchy than *Max*, which has been raised to the position of Theme of the verb *qualified* as well as of the clause from which it was raised, Theme of the verb *strike*. Once again the situation appears to violate the Θ-command condition that binding can only proceed from the subject to the object position (Büring 2000: 17).

Obliqueness command, also known as o-command or argument command, offers a compromise between the opposing syntactic and semantic approaches of c-command and Θ-command. Essentially, o-command postulates that a non-thematic, syntactic ordering is present between the noun phrases within a sentence; however, this ordering is not immediately encoded in the phrase structure, be that as c-structure or any other phrase-structure relation (Büring 2000: 19). Both Head Driven Phrase Structure Grammar (HPSG) and Lexical Functional Grammar (LFG) suggest variations of o-command as part of their respective theories. Within HPSG, o-structure is presented

as ARG-ST. ARG-ST is comprised of two lists that identify valency and subcategorization. This is demonstrated in (2.48) below:

(2.48) a-list of *watch*: <NP, NP*acc*>

Elements on the a-list are organized according to obliqueness, with the least oblique noun phrase located at the top of the list. In LFG concepts related to o-command are presented as f-command. Unlike o-command, f-command doesn't incorporate a ranking between coarguments.

Büring (2000) presents a reinterpretation of the Binding Conditions according to o-command that adequately responds to the structural limitations posed by languages such as German (2.43), Japanese (2.41), and Korean (2.42).

(2.49) a. A *locally o-commands* B iff A is less oblique than B on some a-list.
b. A (locally) o-binds B iff A and B are coindexed and A (locally) o-commands.

(2.50) Binding Conditions
(A) A reflexive pronoun must be o-bound within its local domain.
(B) A non-reflexive pronoun must not be o-bound within its local domain.
(C) A full NP must not be o-bound.

(2.51) O-Command: A o-commands B iff
a. A locally o-commands B, or
b. A locally o-commands a C which dominates B.
(Büring 2000: 20)

According to Büring, o-command appears to be the most adequate method for describing command within Binding Theory. However, he also argues that o-command could essentially be seen as communicating very little, insinuating that a-lists are little more than descriptions of observed binding patterns. To respond to this presumed weakness, o-command needs to either demonstrate a visible correlation between both a-lists and constituent structure and a-lists and thematic relations in order to take into account the motivations behind c-command and Θ-command or it needs to provide an independent motivation for a-lists.

Ultimately, taking into account the observations prompting these three distinct types of command, it is worth noting that all are driven by the reality that, within any given phrase structure,

noun phrases tend to present an asymmetric and transitive command ordering which appears to determine their binding potential.

2.2.2 Function

2.2.2.1 Coreference

The concept of coreference is at the heart of definitions of reflexive strategies and summaries of reflexive function. In essence, the term can be used to describe any situation in which certain constituents within an utterance refer to the same entity. For instance, the two occurrences of *you* in (2.52) corefer:

(2.52) I told Mark that I do not like to play tennis.

As the term relates to reflexives, considerations of locality, indexing, strict/sloppy reference, valency, and thematic constraints come into play. Just as the establishment of a prototypical reflexive form is undermined by the reality of a continuum of reflexive types, the identification of a prototypical function of reflexive coreference is hindered by a multiplicity of possible interpretations and realizations of the concept. This section looks at three different approaches to coreference in particular: Kazenin (2001) and Geniušienė's (1987) distinction between direct and indirect reflexives with respect to thematic roles and verbal valency; Dalrymple (1993) and Lichtenberk's (1994) antecedency constraints that take into account grammatical functions and animacy requirements; and Büring (2001), Jackendoff (1992), Reinhart (1982, 1983), and Bach and Partee's (1980) approach to instances of strict and sloppy coreference between reflexive markers and their antecedents.

According to Kazenin (2001), it is a universal tendency of languages to avoid instances of multiple, referentially identical, full NPs within a single clause. As this applies to reflexives he identifies two distinct approaches towards managing coreference: either a reflexive pronoun can replace the coreferential NP or one of a pair of coreferential NPs is deleted and an affix is added to

the verb in order to identify sameness of reference between two of the verb's argument. These are illustrated in (2.53) and (2.54) below.

(2.53) a. Finn_i dressed Finn_i.
b. Finn_i dressed himself_i.

(2.54) a. Mat' odela syn-a
mother dress[1.SG.PST] son-ACC
'The mother dressed her son'
b. Mat'_i odela-s'_i
mother dress[1.SG.PST]-REFL
'The mother dressed herself'
(Russian; Kazenin 2001: 916)

Whereas cases of nominal reflexive coreference tend to involve substitution of a full NP with a reflexive pronoun, hence apparently maintaining the number of core predicate arguments, verbal reflexive coreference is generally assumed to be recessive, reducing the number of core arguments of a verb (Kazenin 2001: 917).

With respect to verbal reflexive coreference, Kazenin draws a distinction between direct and indirect reflexives according to the thematic roles of the participants. Direct reflexives are those that mark coreference between an Agent and a Patient. Indirect reflexives, correspondingly, mark coreference between an Agent and all other roles, in particular Beneficiary and Recipient. Geniušienė describes this first type as 'semantic reflexivity' and the verbal reflexives that demonstrate it 'true reflexives', (Geniušienė 1987: 1, 15). She describes indirect reflexives separately based on the thematic role covered by the verbal reflexive marker, resulting in labels such as 'reflexive-possessive', 'reflexive-benefactive', and 'reflexive-addressee' (Geniušienė 1987: 129).

According to Kazenin, the direct reflexive functions as a detransitivizing device, which combines the Agent and Patient of a verb into a singular core argument (Kazenin 2001: 918). Both Geniušienė and Kazenin are in agreement that occurrences of indirect reflexives are much less common than their direct counterparts. Most often languages that employ a verbal reflexive for

semantically reflexive situations have a separate, nominal form for situations that would require an indirect verbal reflexive. Russian provides a good example of this (2.55):

(2.55) a. Ivan$_i$ odel-sja$_i$ v pal'to
Ivan dress[1SG.PST]-REFL in coat
'Ivan (Agent) dressed himself (Patient) in the coat.'
b. Ivan$_i$ kupil sebe$_i$ pal'to
Ivan buy[1SG.PST] REFL[LOC] coat
'Ivan (Agent) bought a coat for himself (Benefactive).'
c. *Ivan$_i$ kupil-sja$_i$ pal'to
Ivan buy[1SG.PST]-REFL coat
(Russian; Kazenin 2001: 918)

As demonstrated above, according to Kazenin, the verbal reflexive marker *sja* is used when the situation involves coreference between an Agent and a Patient (2.55a); however, this is ungrammatical when the target of coreference is a Benefactive (2.55c). Rather, Russian makes use of the locative nominal reflexive marker *sebe* in such instances (2.55b). Geniušienė provides examples of indirect reflexive forms in both Lithuanian and Latvian. In both cases the reflexive marker denotes coreference between an Agent and a Benefactive. She subsumes this reflexive-benefactive under the category 'dative transitive reflexives' and argues that it illustrates an instance in which a verbal reflexive marker does not act as a detransitivizing device. The sentences in (2.56) and (2.57) provide examples of both the Lithuanian and Latvian reflexive-benefactives:

(2.56) a. On-a pasiuv dukr –ai suknel-e.
Ann-NOM sew[PST] daughter-DAT dress-ACC
'Ann (has) made a dress for her daughter.'
b. On-a$_i$ pa-si-siuvo$_i$ suknel-e.
Ann-NOM PRF-REFL-sew[PST] dress-ACC
'Ann (has) made herself a dress.'
(Lithuanian; Geniušienė 1987: 126)

(2.57) a. Mat-e apseja savai meit-ai lakat-u.
mother-NOM tie[PST] 3SG.POSS daughter-DAT kerchief-ACC
'Mother (has) tied a kerchief on her daughter's head.'
b. Mat-e$_i$ apseja-s$_i$ lakat-u.
mother-NOM tie[PST]-REFL kerchief-ACC
'Mother (has) covered her head with a kerchief.'
(Latvian; Geniušienė 1987: 126)

According to Geniušienė, the indirect reflexive marks the deletion of the indirect dative object bearing the thematic role of Benefactive. Since the deletion does not involve the direct object, the verb retains its transitive status. Geniušienė claims that, though such occurrences of indirect reflexives can arguably be described as non-detransitivizing, they still involve a decrease in the number of overt arguments of the verb and, thus, maintain the defining recessive quality of verbal reflexive markers. Lastly, it is worth reiterating that indirect reflexives have only been found in languages that have direct reflexives. No language has been observed that employs a nominal reflexive for semantically reflexive coreference of an Agent and Patient and a separate verbal strategy for other, less direct, types of shared reference (Kazenin 2001: 918).

Grammatical function in addition to thematic roles comes into play within the discourse on nominal reflexive coreference. According to Lichtenberk (1994), the prototypical nominal reflexive strategy involves coreference between a subject and a direct object, and, more particularly, a thematic agent and a patient (Lichtenberk 1994: 3505). He counters this assertion, however, by pointing out that, though standard, such a strict pattern of coreference is by no means crosslinguistically necessary. English provides several strong examples of instances in which non-subject and non-agent antecedents, as well as non-patient reflexives, are all deemed perfectly acceptable. This is demonstrated in (2.58), (2.59) and (2.60) respectively:

(2.58) The next day, when the giant's grandmother had turned Jack back into himself, he set off for home.

(2.59) He likes himself too much.

(2.60) He bought himself a brand new car.
(Lichtenberk 1994: 3505)

There are, nevertheless, languages where a strong case can be made for a strict interpretation of Lichtenberk's prototypical strategy. Mandarin and Marathi, for instance, though flexible with regards to domain restrictions, both require that only subjects act as reflexive antecedents for particular

reflexive strategies (Dalrymple 1993; Lichtenberk 1994). In the case of Mandarin, the subjects must also be interpretable as animate. Likewise, the antecedent of the Norwegian reflexive, *seg selv*, which is restricted to a limited binding domain, must also have a subject as its antecedent (Hellan 1988). Dalrymple recognizes these patterns by proposing the 'Subject Binding Condition' based on Faltz's (1985) 'Subject Antecedence Condition'. Taking into account data from Marathi, Darymple identifies a subtle, but critical, distinction concerning the identification of a subject antecedent as it applies to a given reflexive strategy. Marathi has two reflexive strategies generally distinguished in terms of domain as long-distance and short-distance. Both forms require a subject as an antecedent; however the short-distance reflexive, *swataah*, must corefer with a surface subject whereas the long-distance reflexive, *aapan*, requires the logical subject. In contrast to the surface subject, which does not take voice into consideration, the logical subject is defined as "the subject of an active sentence, and the argument of a passive sentence that bears the same thematic role as the subject in the corresponding active sentence," (Dalrymple 1993: 11). Dalrymple's Subject Binding Condition applies to situations in which the antecedent of a reflexive must be a surface subject.

In addition to constraints upon the thematic roles and grammatical functions of the antecedent, questions concerning the nature of the shared meaning between the two NPs involved in a reflexive construction are critical to the notion of reflexive coreference. As it is interpreted within Binding Theory, nominal reflexive coreference reinforces the theory's limited scope of application to maximal projections of nominal categories. Indexing is seen as integral to the representation of coreference. Shared reference is realized at the level of D-structure through NPs that carry the same semantic index. An antecedent is, thus, an NP that c-commands a subsequent NP, the reflexive pronoun, with which it shares an index, as illustrated in (2.61) below:

(2.61) a. The dog_i scared $himself_{i/*j}$.
b. The dog_i scared $him_{*i/j.}$

However, indexing fails to take into account many of the subtleties of shared reference. Jackendoff's Madame Tussaud context and Reuland's Münchhausen sentences, for instance, provide insightful examples of instances of sloppy or indirect coreference.

(2.62) Münchhausen context

a. De baron$_i$ trok zich$_i$ uit het moeras.
DET baron pull[PST] REFL out of.DET swamp
'The baron pulled himself out of the swamp.'

b. De baron$_i$ trok zichzelf$_i$ uit het moeras.
DET baron pull[PST] REFL out of.DET swamp
'The baron pulled himself out of the swamp.'

Favored interpretations:

a. Normal situation: the baron pulls himself out by grabbing a branch of a tree hanging over him.
b. The story situation: the baron pulls himself out by his hair.

(Dutch; Reuland 2001: 483)

(2.63) Madame Tussaud context

The other day I was strolling through the wax museum with Ringo Starr, and we came upon the statues of the Beatles, and...

a. ... All of a sudden I accidentally stumbled and fell on Ringo.
b. ... All of a sudden Ringo started undressing himself.
c. ... All of a sudden Ringo stumbled and fell on himself.
d. ... All of a sudden I accidentally bumped into the statues, and John toppled over and fell on Ringo.
e. ... All of a sudden I accidentally bumped into the statues, and *Ringo toppled over and fell on himself.

(Jackendoff 1992: 5)

These contexts demonstrate instances in which the nominal reflexive does not maintain direct coreference with its antecedent. Rather than referring directly to the antecedent, the reflexives refer to an entity that simply bears a close relation to the antecedent. The two contexts also illustrate two distinct particularities of indirect coreference.

Jackendoff's Madame Tussaud sentences introduce a pragmatic conundrum into the discourse on reflexive binding. As is demonstrated in sentences (2.63b) through (2.63d), coreference between the antecedent Ringo-the-person and a reflexive Ringo-the-statue is deemed grammatically acceptable. However, as sentence (2.63e) portrays, the inverse of this, in which Ringo-the-statue acts

as the antecedent and Ringo-the-person serves as the reflexive, is not permitted. Jackendoff uses this example to put forward the argument that coreference relations are purely semantic (Culicover and Jackendoff 2005: 256).

Reuland's Münchhausen sentences, on the other hand, serve to distinguish between two distinct nominal reflexive strategies. Multiple reflexive strategies will be covered in greater detail in the next section; however, as it relates to coreference, it is important to note that not all reflexive strategies permit indirect coreference. As illustrated in (2.62a) the short reflexive, *zich*, refers directly to the baron, however the long reflexive, *zichzelf*, permits a reading in which the baron is seen as an agent separate from his body (Reuland 2001: 483). This subtle distinction has played an important role in a great deal of recent research on multiple reflexive strategies (Lidz 2001c, Safir 2004; Amiridze 2005; Labelle 2008) and is critical to the identification of semantic subtleties within the interactions between reflexives and verbs explored in this dissertation.

2.2.2.2 Multiple Reflexive Strategies

Another prevalent cause of disagreement, and the primary impetus behind the objectives of this work, is the observation that many of the world's languages exhibit more than one reflexive strategy. The number of reflexive strategies attributed to any given language varies greatly according to the manner in which a reflexive form is defined and whether a given linguist is willing to license multiple reflexive forms within a particular theory.

Many linguists, for instance, have described and discussed languages that exhibit two primary reflexive strategies, recognizing different properties between the two through their different systems of categorization: SE and SELF anaphors (Reuland 2001; Huang 2000; Anagnostopoulou and Everaert 1999; Reinhart and Reuland 1993), pure- and near-reflexives (Liu 2003, Lidz 2001a,

2001b;), and Simplex and Complex reflexives (Rooryck and Wyngaerd 1999; Yu 2000; Frajzyngier and Curl 2000) according . Reuland, in fact, bases his research on the following observation:

> Natural languages generally have a contrast between pronominals and anaphors, and, within the latter category, a further contrast between simplex and complex anaphors. (Reuland 2001: 439)

The manner in which a linguist chooses to distinguish between these two reflexive forms within a given language is open to considerable debate; however, all are in agreement that questions of antecedent and domain constraints have particular bearing upon the applications of the two distinct forms.

As discussed in Chapter 1, according to Lidz, pure-reflexives must carry reference that is identical to that of their antecedents whereas near-reflexives do not require complete identity with their antecedents (Lidz 2001a: 123), thereby explaining why certain reflexive types in languages with multiple reflexive types cannot be used in the Jackendoff (1992) Madame Tussaud statue contexts discussed in the previous section. Reuland's interpretation of SE and SELF anaphors, as was also touched upon in the previous chapter, differs from this approach, adding a syntactic element to the differentiation of the two forms. He frames his argument within a Binding Theory format:

> Condition A: A reflexive-marked (syntactic) predicate is reflexive
> Condition B: A reflexive (semantic) predicate is reflexive-marked
> a. A predicate is <u>reflexive</u> iff two of its arguments are coindexed
> b. A predicate is <u>reflexive-marked</u> iff
> i) it is lexically reflexive; or
> ii) one of its arguments is a SELF anaphor
> c. A SELF-anaphor is a morphologically complex anaphor
> (Reinhart and Reuland 1993: 678)

Whereas many linguists interpret reflexivity according to attributes of the reflexive markers, Reuland's interpretation is specifically motivated by his hypothesis that reflexivity is a property of predicates. As a result, the function of a language's reflexive markers is primarily defined by the demands of the verb rather than according to antecedent relations.

Though not often explicitly stated or necessarily incorporated within many theories of reflexives, verbs have been observed by many linguists to play a role in the selection of reflexive types. Faltz (1985) observes this in his choice of the verb 'see' over 'wash' for his investigation into reflexive strategies. Accompanying this choice, he offers a brief explanation of the motivations for his selectivity

> The elicitation of a sentence with wash oneself may yield a formation other than a primary reflexive strategy. Since a primary strategy is necessarily productive, and, presumably, unmarked (in the sense of being used when special semantic features which would trigger special formations are absent), it is best hunted for by checking verbs which take human or nonhuman objects indifferently, whose use with human objects is not semantically (socially? culturally?) distinguished from its use with nonhuman objects, and whose reflexive use is likewise not specially distinguished from its nonreflexive use. (Faltz 1985: 7)

Varying from the bipartite description of reflexive types, Faltz (1985) describes an explicit distinction between primary reflexives and other reflexive strategies, making it very clear that languages have only one primary reflexive strategy. Apart from the primary reflexive, his typology identifies four further reflexive categories that can be employed in the classification of additional reflexive forms in a given language: middles, secondary reflexives, subordinate reflexives, and NP-emphatics. Examples of each of Faltz's types are listed in (2.64) through (2.67) below:

(2.64) Middles
- a. John washed up.
- b. John got washed.
- c. John bathed.
- d. John took a bath.

(Faltz 1985: 5)

(2.65) Secondary Reflexives
- a. Jean$_i$ pensait à lui$_{*i/j}$.
  Jean think[3SG.PST] to 3SG.M
  'John thought about him.'
- b. Jean$_i$ pensait à lui-même$_{i/*j}$.
  Jean think[3SG.PST] to REFL.3SG.M
  'John thought about himself.'

(French; Faltz 1985: 20)

(2.66) Subordinate Reflexives

a. $John_i$ $Bill_j$ okiyaki na $iye_{i/*j}$ Berkeley ta yin kta hécha.
John Bill say.to and 3SG.REFL Berkeley to go FUT has.to
'John told Bill he has to go to Berkeley.'

(Lakhota)

b. $John_i$ told $Bill_j$ (that) $he_{i/j}$ has to go to Berkeley.

(Faltz 1985: 21)

(2.67) Emphatics

a. John himself cooked supper.
b. John cooked supper himself.
(Faltz 1985: 1)

As mentioned earlier, Faltz's definition of primary reflexives is particularly concerned with the function of coreference between a subject and an object: "grammatical devices which specifically indicate subject-object coreference" (Faltz 1985: 6). Middles, illustrated in sentences (2.64a) through (2.64d), are defined by Faltz as "lexical or semiproductive devices used with common lexical items," (Faltz 1985: 8). Except for the 'get-passive' these forms are not obtained under the primary reflexive category, as they are lexical rather than grammatical devices. The combination of 'get' and a verb marked for the past tense, as shown in (2.64b), is more frequently applied to passive constructions as the 'get-passive'. In its nonreflexive applications, Faltz concedes that the 'get-passive' is a productive, grammatical process (Faltz 1985: 6). In fact, the construction in (2.64b) can be read both as a lexicalized, 'middle', reflexive strategy or as a grammatical get-passive. Like the get-passive, all four of the strategies in (2.64a) through (2.64d) have primary applications that differ from the marking of coreference. Object deletion, like (2.64c) can also be employed to indicate an unspecified object. The use of 'up' in (2.64a) also has links with object deletion. The use of the word 'take', as in (2.64d), is often applied to utterances in conjunction with a "verb-derived noun" (Faltz 1985: 6).

According to Faltz, the secondary reflexive strategy is used to identify coreference within oblique noun phrases. Essentially, secondary reflexives are employed in situations in which the grammatical structure is such that a primary reflexive strategy is unable to adequately mark coreference. Faltz interprets the coreferential use of the French pronominal clitic as the primary

reflexive strategy within the French language. However, since this strategy cannot be used to apply to the marking of coreference within a prepositional phrase, a nominal construction is also required as is demonstrated in (2.65b). With this in mind, secondary reflexives must always take the form of nominal phrases and are, thus, primarily used as a secondary strategy in languages that do not have a nominal primary strategy.

Subordinate reflexives, like those illustrated in sentences (2.66), are similar to secondary reflexive strategies in that they concern grammatical constraints. However whereas the secondary reflexives are used in response to an oblique noun phrase, within Faltz's system of classification subordinate reflexives are applied when the reflexive marker is located in a subordinate clause.

Lastly, Faltz includes NP-emphatics within his inventory of reflexive types, as demonstrated by sentences (2.67). The emphatic role is a remnant of the emphatic function as described in the section 2.2.1.1. His argument for including a category that is not inherently reflexive is diachronic. As mentioned earlier, NP-emphatics can tell us a fair amount about acceptable domains and functions of certain nominal reflexives.

Though this dissertation agrees with Faltz in the recognition of more variety within reflexive systems than is observed in the bipartite classifications assumed by Reinhart and Reuland (1993), Reuland (2001), and Lidz (2001a,b), amongst others, Faltz's hierarchy of reflexive types and the identification of a single primary reflexive strategy is not followed here. Rather, all reflexive strategies within a language, herein described as reflexive types, will be granted equal attention in the data presented in the following two chapters.

2.2.2.3 Uncharacteristic Functions

Cross-linguistically, reflexive forms have consistently been observed to carry out functions that do not fall under specifications of accepted reflexive behaviour. These functions include

emphasis, point of view, reciprocity, anticausativity, possessivity, modality, and passivity, to name several of the most frequently observed non-coreferential functions of reflexives (Faltz 1985; Geniušienė 1987; Heine 1999; Schladt 2000; Kazenin 2001). Such uncharacteristic reflexive functions occur irrespective of a given reflexive's lexical function or type; however, nominal and verbal reflexives do differ in terms of quantity and type of function with verbal reflexive markers generally showing more variation. Moreover, logical patterns within the grammar might be observed to predict when and how a reflexive strategy is used for non-coreferential functions.

In cases where origins can be traced, certain uncharacteristic functions of reflexive forms can be found to relate to the functions of their original elements. This is particularly the case for many nominal types, and one of the most conspicuous examples is the application of the reflexive form for indicating emphasis. In effect, emphatic applications of reflexives markers add prominence to an argument. Examples of this are provided in (2.68) below:

(2.68) a. John himself cooked supper.
b. John cooked supper himself.
(Faltz 1985: 1)

Another common uncharacteristic function attributed to nominal reflexives is logophoricity. This has predominantly come up in response to instances of long distance and intersentential reflexives which do not meet the constraints of Binding Theory's Condition A (Maling 1984; Bresnan et al. 1985; Kuno 1987; Sells 1987). Examples of such cases are illustrated in Ewe (Clements 1975) and Icelandic and Faroese (Thráinsson 1991) below:

(2.69) Kofi gblo be yè-se$_i$ Koku wò-no yè$_i$ dzu-m.
Kofi say[PST] that LOG-hear[PST] Koku 3.SG-be LOG insult-A
'Kofi said that he heard Koku insulting him.'
(Ewe; Clements 1975: 157)

(2.70) Sigvaldi$_i$ neitaði því, að þetta vœri vilji þjóðarinnar. Að
Sigvaldi deny[PST] it that this to.be[PST] will nation.DET.POSS at
minnsta kosti væri það ekki sinn$_i$ vilji.
least to.be[PST] it NEG REFL.POSS will
'Sigvaldi denied that this was the nation's will. At least it was not his [refl] will [he said].'
(Icelandic; Thráinsson 1991: 58)

(2.71) ... hann$_i$ vildi ikki leypa frá sínari$_i$ ábyrgd, tá ið hann$_i$
3SG.M will[COND] NEG run from REFL.POSS responsibility now that 3.SG.M
var komin soleiðis fyri við Sigrid. Hon hevði meiri krav upp á
to.be[PST] come so for with Sigrid 3SG.F has[PST] more demand up on
seg$_i$ enn hin.
REFL than other.DET
'He would not run from his responsibility now that he had got into this situation with Sigrid.
She had more right to him [refl] than the other [girl].'
(Faroese; Thráinsson 1991: 58)

An early account of logophoric pronouns can be found in Clement's 1975 analysis of Ewe, a Niger-Congo language. He defines logophoric pronouns as pronouns that take a logophoric antecedent, essentially an agent of reported speech or thought that is in an indirect discourse relationship to an anaphor (Dalrymple 1993: 21). Moreover, Kuno (1987) and Culy (1994, 1997) have observed certain instances of logophoric pronouns to include point of view or empathy as a defining characteristic, and it has been proposed that the definition of logophor be extended to include emphatic uses of referential expressions as well as deictic uses (Sells 1987; Reinhart and Reuland 1993).

With respect to verbal reflexive strategies, both Kazenin (2001) and Geniušienė (1987) stress the fact that they are predictably polysemous. In fact, this is such a standard characteristic of verbal reflexives that Geniušienė (1987) immediately introduces the topic in the second paragraph of the introduction to her reflexive typology:

> Indeed, RVs [reflexive verbs] can express an extremely broad range of meanings, including semantic reflexivity (coreference off Agent and Patient), reciprocity, possessivity, anticausativity, modality, etc. Moreover, in many languages the RM is used as a passive and impersonal marker. (Geniušienė 1987: 1)

Kazenin (2001) argues the multi-functional property of verbal reflexive markers derives from their primary recessive function. Unlike nominal reflexive markers, verbal reflexive markers are less

frequently found to indicate emphasis or logophoricity; rather, following Kazenin (2001), a common trait of uncharacteristic functions of verbal reflexive markers is the fact that they are determined by a decrease in the number of core arguments of a verb.

2.3 Conclusions: A Working Definition of the Reflexive

As has been demonstrated repeatedly in the above sections, reflexives are complex, variable, multifaceted elements of grammar transecting the boundaries of syntax and semantics. The primary goal of this chapter has been to provide a survey of both the most defining and the most atypical characteristics of reflexives. The overarching themes of this survey are summarized in table 2.1 below:

Table 2.1: Summary of Reflexive Characteristics

MORPHOLOGICAL FORM CONTINUUM	**Nominal ⇒ Clitic ⇒ Verbal Affix**						
COREFERENCE	**Unchanged Valency**: Similar Identical			**Recessive:** Direct: syntactically and lexically intransitive Indirect: syntactically intransitive, lexically transitive (similar or identical)			
FALTZ'S REFLEXIVE TYPES	Compound and Pronominal			Verbal			
DOMAIN CONSTRAINTS	Coargument Binding Condition Minimal Complete Nucleus Binding Condition Minimal Finite Domain Binding Condition Root S Binding Condition				Not Applicable		
COMMAND	**c-command** **Θ-command** **argument command**				Not Applicable		
Reflexive Marker Functions	Coreference Emphatic Logophoric			Coreference Decausative Passivization			
SCHLADT'S ELEMENTS OF REFLEXIVE ORIGIN	Body Part names	Nominal Sources	Emphatic pronouns	Object personal pronouns	Reciprocation /Return	Reflection	Locative Prepositions
ANTECEDENT CONSTRAINTS	Subject Binding Condition GF Binding Condition Animacy Conditions						

Table 2.1 presents the information covered in this chapter as it is deemed relevant to the task of describing reflexive strategies over a diverse selection of languages for the purposes of this thesis. The table is split according to those topics that depend upon the morphological form of a given language's reflexive strategy and those that are independent of it (Schladt's elements of reflexive origin and antecedent constraints). The far left column lists the different types of characteristics that will be taken into consideration for this project. Semantic, syntactic, and lexical relevance are identified in this column through the use of italics, small caps, and underlining respectively.

The 'morphological form continuum' identifies the three prototypical morphological forms used by reflexives, which are discussed in detail in section 2.2.1.1. Coreference, Faltz's reflexive types, domain constraints, command, and reflexive marker functions have all been observed to be influenced by the morphological form of the reflexive marker. Schladt's elements of reflexive origin and antecedent constraints, on the other hand, are determined independently of the reflexive's morphological form.

Coreference, which takes into account the internal semantic structure of the reflexive marker and the valency of the predicate argument structure is presented as a semantic, lexical, and syntactic topic.[5] The topic is split into two categories: 'unchanged valency', in which the reflexive marker does not change the argument structure of the verb, and 'recessive', in which the reflexive marker decreases the argument structure of the verb. As demonstrated in Table 2.1, verbal affixes demonstrate purely recessive coreference whereas nominal reflexive markers can only occur with unchanged valency; clitics fall between these two types. Taking into account information provided by Jackendoff's Madame Tussaud context, unchanged valency coreference can be further described as 'similar', in which the reflexive need not be identical to its antecedent, or 'identical', in which the reflexive and antecedent must be identical. Reflexive markers with recessive function, unlike

[5] See section 2.2.2.1 for the detailed discussion regarding the function of coreference.

unchanged valency reflexives, result in a change of syntactic and lexical structure. Though the detransitivizing function of a recessive reflexive marker decreases the valency of the verb's argument structure at the level of syntactic content, this is not necessarily the case at the level of lexical content. Thus, recessive reflexive markers can be either direct, in which the reflexive decreases the valency of the verb within both syntactic and lexical structure, or indirect, in which the lexical structure maintains a reflexive argument that is unrealized in syntactic structure. Moreover, an indirect recessive reflexive marker can be further described as similar or identical according to the same criteria that are applied to unchanged valency reflexive markers.

Binding theory has long served as a reference point for theoretical forays into the nature of anaphoric relations. Anti-taxonomic in its focus on a strict interpretation of the function of coreference of nominal arguments and semantic homogeneity over morphological form and semantic heterogeneity, the theory has generated a vast amount of good insight into reflexive strategies both as they appear to follow the conditions of binding theory and as they diverge from assumed universals. This work in many ways serves as a foil to Binding Theory's interpretation of reflexive constructions according to the syntactic and semantic constraints acting on a semantically invariant catalogue of nominal types. As has already been discussed briefly in the previous chapter, reflexive markers seem to have a fundamental relationship with the verb in reflexive constructions and detailed consideration of this correlation is conspicuously absent in a majority of the research on this topic, the works of Reinhart and Reuland (1993), Reuland (2001, 2000), Lidz (2001a, 2001b) providing notable exceptions. As it is hypothesized that aspects of the relationship between the verb and its reflexive argument determine the manner in which both express meaning within a clause, an understanding of the many ways in which reflexive strategies can express meaning is critical to this research. Therefore, the present working definition of the reflexive has bearings in Geniušienė's taxonomic approach to reflexive research. In particular, it is assumed here that reflexives are polysemous and

that, though the work does attempt to identify universal patterns according to the factors that determine the manner in which reflexives behave within argument structure, they are best described as a heterogeneous set of semantic and syntactic types. Ultimately, for the present purposes of identifying a data set of reflexive strategies the working definition of a reflexive closely follows Geniušienė's broad definition of reflexive markers as:

> [...] an element of the verb (affix, ending, etc.) or its environment (particle, pronoun, etc.) which has (or once had) a reflexive meaning (of coreference of two semantic roles) as its only or one of many functions. (Geniušienė 1987: 25)

With this in mind, for each of the languages to be studied in the ensuing chapters a profile will be drawn up making careful note of semantic and syntactic factors. It is hoped that patterns observed from profiles of several typologically distinct languages might aid in understanding the subtle ways in which reflexive strategies and verbs can combine to create different types of meaning within argument structure. Table 2.2 provides an example of a profile for English reflexives based on the information presented in this chapter.

Table 2.2: English Reflexive Profile

Language	English	**Reflexive Strategies**	1
COREFERENCE	Unchanged Valency: Similar and Identical	**LEXICAL FUNCTION CONTINUUM**	Nominal
SCHLADT'S ELEMENTS OF REFLEXIVE ORIGIN	Emphatic pronouns	**FALTZ'S REFLEXIVE TYPES**	Reflexive Pronoun
DOMAIN CONSTRAINTS	Minimal Complete Nucleus Binding Condition	**ANTECEDENT CONSTRAINTS**	GF Binding Condition
Reflexive Marker Functions	Coreference Emphatic Logophoric	**Other**	

Chapter 3

Data 1: Fijian

Introduction

A basic assumption within this work is that an understanding of typological differences is necessary to any empirically justified theory of language. Thus, the motivation for the data introduced in this chapter and the next reflects that of Dalrymple (1993), Austin and Bresnan (1996), and Falk (2001), whose opinions concerning the empirical significance of research into typologically distinct languages influenced the development of Lexical Functional Grammar. According to Falk (2001), "The search for linguistic universals must be based on research into typologically different languages." This sentiment echoes an early belief of Chomsky:

> The main task of linguistic theory must be to develop an account of linguistic universals that, on the one hand, will not be falsified by the actual diversity of languages and, on the other, will be sufficiently rich and explicit to account for the rapidity and uniformity of language learning, and the remarkable complexity and range of the generative grammars that are the product of language learning.
> (Chomsky 1965: 27-28)

Yet, as has been demonstrated in Chapter 2, many key weaknesses of transformational approaches to anaphoric binding are typological problems resulting from insufficient attention to real variation within the world's languages. It is assumed here that to properly understand constraints on anaphoric binding we need to have a certain awareness of the possible components of reflexive meaning. Essentially, a theory of cross-linguistically invariant syntactic phenomena is only as strong as the data it has to support it. With this in mind, this chapter and the following chapter explore the characteristics of reflexive constructions over five different languages.

The Fijian language has, for a long time, been believed to exhibit no dedicated system of reflexive marking (Schütz 1985; Dixon 1988; Büring 2005). This chapter takes a close look at syntactically reflexive situations within the Fijian language, arriving at the conclusion, based on the

inferences of Chapter 2, that the language, in fact, demonstrates three distinct reflexive types with distinct binding domains and antecedent requirements labelled according to their morphosyntactic properties as a short reflexive (PRO), which is subject to the Root S binding condition and GF binding condition; a mid reflexive (PRO-gā), subject to the Minimal Complete Nucleus binding condition and the SUBJ binding condition; and a long reflexive (PRO-gā-vakai-PRO), subject to the Coargument binding condition and the SUBJ binding condition. Moreover, verbs within the Fijian language exhibit clear bias with respect to which of these reflexive types are deemed grammatically acceptable in reflexive constructions. These patterns will then be explored in greater depth in the following chapter which looks at four languages with well established, morphological distinct reflexive strategies.

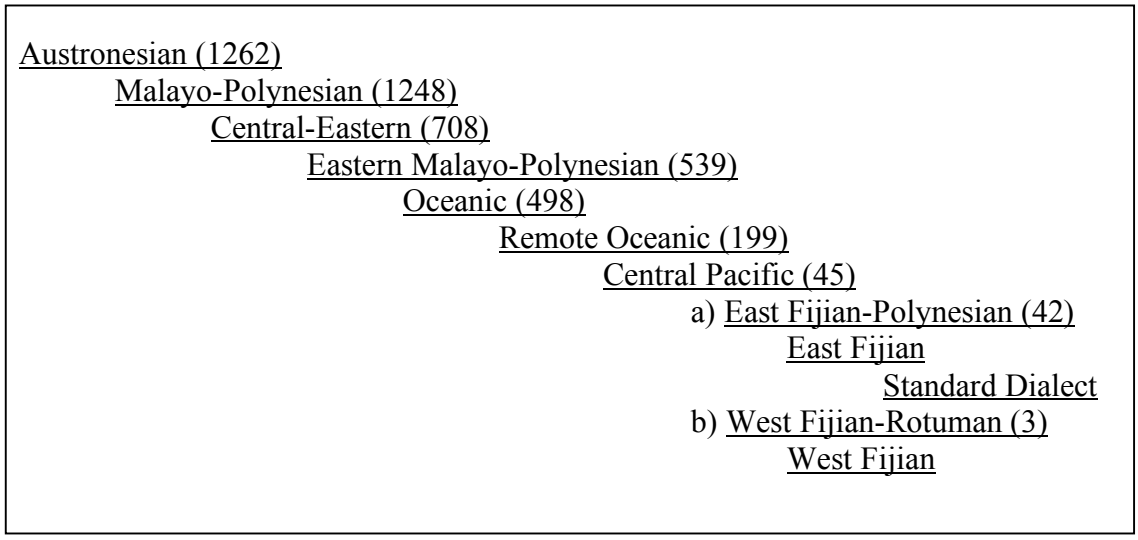
This chapter begins, in section 3.1, with a summary of the defining characteristics of the Fijian language. Section 3.2 follows with a discussion of the data collected through three different research projects on Fijian reflexive constructions carried out over a period of four years from the fall of 2006 to the spring of 2011. The chapter concludes with a summary of the distinct reflexive types observed in Fijian according to the reflexive profiles introduced in Chapter 2.

3.1 Fijian Language

An Austronesian language, Fijian is specifically a member of the Eastern Malayo-Polynesian subfamily and Oceanic genus of South Pacific languages. With over 550,000 speakers, it is recognized as the largest of the Oceanic languages (Lynch et al. 2002). However, there are an estimated three hundred distinct dialects currently in use in the Fiji Islands, creating such linguistic diversity that the language spoken in the far west and that spoken in the far east of the dialect chain are mutually unintelligible and frequently described as two distinct languages: East Fijian and West Fijian (Pawley and Sayaba 1971; Geraghty 1983: 278). Standard Fijian, a variant of the Bauan dialect of East Fijian, serves as a lingua franca for native speakers and, excluding the highly stylized

Old High Fijian which was developed by nineteenth century missionaries working on Bible translations and is still used in religious texts, is the predominant written form of the Fijian language.

Figure 3.1: The Austronesian Language Family



Source: Gordon (2005) www.ethnologue.com/show_family.asp?subid=92035

3.1.1 Orthography

The 19th century missionary David Cargill, a linguist with a background in classical languages but acquainted with the structure of the Maori language of New Zealand and fluent in Tongan, established the Fijian orthography. Within this system the Fijian alphabet is composed of five vowels (A, E, I, O, U), fourteen consonants (B, D, G, K, M, N, Q, T, V), and two semi-vowels (W, Y), (Milner 1956). The orthography is based, as much as possible, on a one-to-one correspondence between sound and symbol, and, though the correspondence between vowel phonemes and alphabetical characters is straightforward, the consonants demonstrate some idiosyncrasies. Cargill's codification includes the use of single letters to represent prenasalised voiced consonantal phonemes, 'c' for the voiced interdental fricative, and 'g' for the velar nasal as shown in Table 3.1 below (Geraghty 1984; Schütz 1985; Mangubhai and Mugler 2003).

Table 3.1: Fijian Orthography – Consonants and their Respective Phonemes

B, b = [mb]	C, c = [ð]	D, d = [nd]	F, f = [f]	G, g = [ŋ]	J, j = [X]
K, k = [k]	L, l = [l]	M, m = [m]	N, n = [n]	P, p = [p]	Q, q = [ŋg]
R, r = [r]	S, s = [s]	T, t = [t]	V, v = [ß]	W, w = [w]	Y, y = [j]

Cargill's letter to the General Secretary, 18 June 1839, clearly expresses his reasoning behind this system:

> The combination of consonantal sounds, though not confined to the dialect of Feejee, is nevertheless of more frequent occurrence in it than in any of the other dialects. These sounds are those of *ng*, *ngk*, *mb*, *nd*, and *nj*. The nasal sound of *ng* is common to most of the dialects, but I do not know any compound sounds in any of them which correspond with the Feejeean sounds of *ngk*, *mb*, *nd*, and *ng*. Each of these consonants does not of itself form a distinct independent sound, but the united effect of each cluster of consonants is one compound sound. Therefore the sound of each combination of consonants must be expressed by one letter; as *q* to express the sound of *ngk*; *b* that of *mb*, *d* that of *nd*, and *j* that of *nj*. We at first wrote two consonants where these compound sounds occur, but the natives could not pronounce the two consonants without inserting a vowel between them. We therefore substituted one consonant for the two, & the natives were quite delighted with the improvement, and joyfully exclaimed, 'You have just now known the nature of our language; we are just now able to read the books which you have written.' (Schütz 1985: 21)

According to modern linguists of Fijian, such as R.M.W. Dixon and Paul Geraghty, a fault of the orthography is its failure to differentiate between long and short vowels, which are the distinguishing factor for many minimal pairs in the Fijian language. For example: *dredre* [ndre:ndre:] with two long mid-back vowels means 'difficult' whereas *dredre* [ndrendre] terminating in a short mid-back vowel means 'to laugh'. There is currently no established form for discriminating long and short vowels and most mainstream Fijian publications do not distinguish between them; linguists, however, have applied a variety of methods ranging from double vowels (Dixon 1988) to macrons (Geraghty 1983, 1984; Schütz 1985). The macron, *drēdrē* 'difficult', has been adopted as the marker of long vowels for this dissertation.

3.1.2 Typology

Fijian is an agglutinating language. Many Fijian words are composed of a core lexical root combined with a variety of different affixes. A number of roots can function as either a verb or a noun depending upon the affix applied to them. For example, the root *sele* without any affix is equivalent to the intransitive verb 'cut'. A suffix ending in either *–a* or *–i* (*-a* for a third person singular object and *–i* for everything else) applied to the verb gives it a transitive form, whereas the prefix *i-* transforms the verb into a noun, 'knife':

(3.1) a. E=sele.
3SG.SBJ=cut
'He/she cuts.'

b. E_i=sele-ta na dalo na $marama_i$.
3SG.SBJ=cut-TR DET taro DET woman
'The woman slices the taro.'

c. Na i sele.
DET NMLZ knife
'The knife.'

Table 3.2 lists some of the more common affixes and their actions.

Table 3.2: Common Standard Fijian Affixes

SUFFIX	ACTION	EXAMPLE
i-	derives a noun from a verb	*sele* (cut, IV) → *i-sele* (knife)
vei-	derives a collective sense of the term to which it is applied.	*gauna* (time) → *vei-gauna* (every time, any time)
vaka-	a) nouns: may derive an adverb, verb, or new noun b) adjectives: forms verbs or, in a limited number of cases, adverbs c) numbers: forms the adverb "# times" d) verbs: causative	a) *kolī* (dog) → *vaka-kolī* (own a dog) b) *balavu* (long) → *vaka-balavu* (be long, or do lengthily) c) *rua* (two) → *vaka-rua* (two times) d) *vuli* (learn) → *vaka-vuli* (teach)
- ~a	derives a transitive verb (TR) with a third person singular object from an intransitive verb (INTR) (~ = the preceding phoneme in the suffix varies depending on the root)	*rai* (see, look at, IV) → *rai-ca* (see, look at something or someone 3SG.TR)
- ~i	derives a transitive verb from an intransitive verb	*rai* (see, look at, iv) → *rai-ci* (see, look at something or someone, TR)

In addition to lexical roots, Fijian incorporates a large variety of "function items" (Dixon 1988: 25). These include prepositions, articles, demonstratives, conjunctions, tense and aspect markers, and a number of different modifiers. Function items neither act as affixes nor take affixes of their own. Each, rather, serves as a separate grammatical word within an utterance. Some of the more common function items are listed in Table 3.3.

Table 3.3: Common Standard Fijian Function Items

FUNCTION ITEM	GRAMMATICAL CLASSIFICATION	APPLICATION
e ('to, at, concerning') *mai* ('from, at') *vei* ('from, at')	preposition	Any post-predicate NP that does not function as a subject or a direct object must be introduced by one of these.
kei ('together with')	preposition	Joins constituents within an NP. The first constituent can be omitted if it is fully specified by the subject pronoun or the 3rd person singular subject clitic.[1]
baleta/i ('concerning')	preposition	Links two NPs – similar to *kei*.
ā (past tense) *na* (future tense) *sā* (aspect: contrast present moment with an earlier moment) *sa* (aspect: contrast present moment with a later moment)[2]	tense-aspect	Often only marked once, near the beginning of a narrative, and omitted from later clauses. Tense and aspect markers can be used concurrently with the past tense *ā* preceeding the aspect marker (*ā sa*) and the future tense *na* following the aspect marker (*sa a*).
o (proper article) *na* (common article)	determiner	The proper article precedes proper nouns and is dropped following a preposition; the common article precedes common nouns and is retained following a preposition.
qai ('and then')	discourse marker	Marks the sequence of events in a narration.
tū ('permanently') *tiko* ('continuous')	post-head modifier	These function items can act as either a lexical root (similar to *sele* 'cut' in (3.1)) or as a post-head predicate modifier. As post-head modifiers they describe the temporal duration of the predicate head they modify.
tale ('again, another)'	post-head modifier	Generally denotes either repetition of an activity or the inclusion of an additional participant within an activity. This post-head modifier can also be combined with the emphatic *gā* (*tale-gā*) to mean 'again, another, also'.
sara ('emphatic: very; (go) right on; immediately')	post-head modifier	Has a wide functional range, the meaning depends on the type of predicate head it is modifying.
gā ('emphatic: particularly; only; just; still')	post-head modifier	Focus attention on the particular activity referred to by the predicate.

[1] For more information see Dixon (1988: 30, 157).

[2] Due to the fact that participants did not distinguish between *sa* and *sā* in the data and since such a distinction has little relevance to the data in discussion within this work, instances of this aspect marker will be presented with the short vowel, *sa*, and glossed as ASP 'aspect'. This decision is further influenced by the observation that *sā* is rarely used in Standard Fijian (Dixon 1988: 69-70).

The emphatic post-head modifiers *gā* and *sara* are of particular interest here, and the temporal post-head modifiers *tale*, *tiko*, and *tū* to a slightly lesser extent, for the role they will be shown to play in the construction of a Fijian reflexive form.

There are two primary types of clause in the Fijian language according to Dixon (1988): an 'equational clause' composed of two noun phrases and a 'predicate clause' in which all constituents, excepting the predicate, are optional. Schütz (1985) also makes note of these two types of clause, describing them as sentences that have a verb phrase as their principal component and sentences that consist of two juxtaposed noun phrases. Both authors agree that the verb phrase, or predicate, clause is considerably more common.

A predicate must have a head, which is most often, but not necessarily, a verb. The initial element in the predicate is a pronoun, or 'marker' according to Schütz, which serves as the subject of the clause. Predicates with a transitive verb can also include a pronominal reference to the object of the utterance. These clauses can then be expanded by one or more NPs, which co-refer with the subject and object pronouns, but this is not obligatory. The order of possible predicate constituents is listed in Figure 3.2 below.

Figure 3.2: Predicate Composition (all components are recognized as unique lexical entities)

Predicate: pronominal subject marker > tense-aspect marker > discourse marker > pre-head modifier > head > pronoun, personal name or place name as object > adverb > post-head modifier > demonstrative, etc > adverb.

(Dixon 1988: 35)

Sentences (3.2) - (3.6) provide examples of intransitive and transitive predicate clause sentences with the optional noun phrases in square brackets.

(3.2) a. Au$_i$ lako [o yau]$_i$.
1SG.SBJ go DET 1SG.CARD
'I am going.'

b. Era$_i$ lako [e walu na gone lalai oqō]$_i$.
3PL.SBJ go SBJ eight DET child small here
'These eight little children are going.'
(Dixon 1988: 33)[3]

(3.3) a. Au lako-va
1SG.SBJ go-TR.3SG.OBJ
'I am going for him/her/it.'
b. Au$_i$ lako-va [na gone]$_j$.
1SG.SBJ go-TR.3SG.OBJ DET child
'I am going for the child'

(3.4) a. Au$_i$ rai [o yau]$_i$.
1SG.SBJ see DET 1SG.CARD
'I am looking'
b. E$_i$=rai [na gone]$_i$.
3SG.SBJ=see DET child
'The child is looking.'

(3.5) a. Au rai-ca
1SG.SBJ see-TR.3SG.OBJ
'I see him/her/it'
(Dixon 1988: 34)
b. E$_i$=rai-ca$_j$ [na gone]$_{i/j}$
3SG.SBJ=look-TR.3SG.OBJ DET child
'He/she/it sees the child' or 'the child sees him/her/it'
(Dixon 1988: 35)
c. E$_i$=rai-ca$_j$ [na gone]$_{i/j}$ [na cauravou]$_{i/j}$.
3SG.SBJ=see-TR.3SG.OBJ DET child DET youth
'the youth sees the child" or "the child sees the youth'
(Dixon 1988: 35)

(3.6) a. E$_i$=rai-ci ira$_j$ [na gone]$_{i/j}$.
3SG.SBJ=see-TR 3PL.OBJ DET child
'He/she/it sees the children.' or 'the child sees them'
b. E$_i$=rai-ci ira$_j$ [na gone]$_{i/j}$ [na cauravou]$_{i/j}$.
3SG.SBJ=see-TR 3PL.OBJ DET child DET youth
'the youth sees the children' or 'the child sees the youths'

Sentences (3.2) and (3.4) demonstrate intransitive predicate argument structure, which is expressed by the root form of a given verb. Transitive verbs, on the other hand, are almost always

[3] All examples from Dixon (1988) have been changed from the Boumā dialect of the Fijian language to the Standard Fijian dialect.

marked with the transitive suffix *–i* or the marked third person transitive suffix *–a* (Table 3.2 above).[4] A transitive verb requires an object marker, which must occur in the predicate immediately following the verb; this requirement is filled by the third person transitive suffix *–a* when the object is a third person singular NP. Once an object pronoun, (3.6), or the third person singular transitive suffix, (3.3) and (3.5), has filled the object requirement, the clause is considered grammatically complete. However, like the intransitive, the subject and object pronouns of a transitive verb can be expanded by the inclusion of one or more NPs. There is no compulsory order for these optional subject and object noun phrases, though when two optional NPs are present the most common interpretation is that the object will come before the subject. For example, sentence (3.5b), which includes the optional NP *na gone* 'the child', is equally read as either 'He/she/it sees the child' or as 'the child sees him/her/it.' Sentence (3.5c), with the two optional noun phrases *na gone* 'the child' and *na cauravou* 'the youth', permits two readings, but the 'the youth sees the child' interpretation is preferred over the 'the child sees the youth' interpretation. This type of ambiguity is common in the Fijian language. According to Dixon, contextual clues and discourse construction make real ambiguity or confusion rare (Dixon 1988: 35).

Noun phrases are less clearly defined than the predicate clause. Subject clitics, common nouns, proper nouns, pronouns, verbs, and adjectives can all act as the head of a noun phrase, resulting in four main types. Though two noun phrases can stand alone as an equational clause (3.7), most noun phrases follow a predicate either as an expansion to an obligatory pronominal subject or object within a predicate clause or as the object of a preposition.

(3.7) E=batabata na vanua.
3SG.SBJ=cold DET land
'The land is cold.'

[4] Though a third person singular object can be indicated with the *–a* transitive suffix, all other objects in a transitive construction are indicated by the *–i* transitive suffix and a separate NP.

Noun phrases usually begin with a determiner, though the proper determiner is dropped when a proper noun follows a preposition. The determiner *na*, which is roughly equivalent to the English definite article 'the', is most often used for common nouns, while the proper determiner *o* is used with pronouns and the names of people and places. The structures of the four primary types of simple noun phrase are described in greater detail in Figure 3.3.

Figure 3.3: Four Types of Fijian Noun Phrase

a) **head = common noun:** 3sg clitic > common determiner > *mataqali* 'kind of' > possessor pronoun > common noun (HEAD) > lexical modifier (including ADJ) > post-head grammatical modifier > adverb > demonstrative
b) **head = proper noun (person or place):** proper determiner > name (HEAD) > lexical modifier (rare)
c) **head = pronoun:** proper determiner > cardinal pronoun (HEAD) > grammatical modifier
(Dixon 1988: 112-113)
d) **head = verb or adj (nominalisation):** common determiner > subject of predicate clause as possessor > predicate clause (predicate maintains HEAD status)
(Dixon 1988: 130)

Fijian pronominals play a key role within the structure and function of both predicate clauses and noun phrases. As will be explored in the next section, the Fijian language exhibits a large and varied array of pronominal forms, resulting in a rich anaphoric system of cross-reference.

3.1.3 Fijian Pronouns

Unmarked for gender, Fijian pronouns have four values for the number feature and mark a distinction in non-singular first person pronouns between those that include the addressee (inclusive) and those that do not (exclusive). The four numbers are singular (one participant), dual (two), paucal (a few), and plural (many). A further analysis of Fijian pronominal function leads to one final partitioning of pronouns into five different forms according to the role they play in an utterance. Dixon titles these forms cardinal form (CARD), subject form (SBJ), object form (OBJ), possessive suffix (POSS), and possessive pronouns (POSS). Cardinal form is most often seen when a pronoun occurs at the head of

an NP (3.8). Unless it follows a preposition, such as *vei* in (3.9), this pronoun is most often preceded by the proper determiner *o*.

(3.8) Era$_i$ sa lako **o** **ira$_i$**.
3PL.SBJ ASP go DET 3PL.CARD
'They are going.'

(3.9) Au$_i$ ā soli-a na niu **vei** **ira$_j$**.
1SG.SUBJ PST give-TR.3SG.OBJ DET coconut to 3PL.CARD
'I gave the coconut to them.'

(3.10) O$_i$ ā biu-ti **ira$_i$**.
2SG.SUBJ PST leave-TR 3PL.OBJ
'You left them'
(Dixon: 53)

The subject form is used when the pronoun is the linearly first constituent of a predicate, such as *era* and *au* in Dixon's examples shown above. The object form, on the other hand, is only seen after the *–i*-final form of a transitive verbal suffix (Table 3.2) as demonstrated by *ira* in (3.10). The possessive forms are quite similar: the possessive pronouns are essentially the possessive suffix bound to one of three classifier morphemes: *no-*, *ke-,* or *me-*. The possessive suffix itself is applied to nouns such as body-part and kin terms. These suffixes are restricted to representing second, third, and first person singular pronouns. First person non-singular possessives are represented by the addition of the possessive suffix *–i* to the bound noun, which is then followed by the cardinal first person non-singular pronoun as a separate word. This is identical to the manner in which possessives are formed with proper nouns. The following four tables, based on Dixon's (1988) layout, elegantly illustrate the complicated categorization of Fijian pronouns:

Table 3.4: Singular Pronouns in the Standard Fijian Dialect

SINGULAR	1	2	3
subject	au, -u	o	e
object	au	iko	koya
cardinal	yau	iko	koya
suffix	-qu	-mu	-na
possessor 1	noqu	nomu	nona
2	kequ	kemu	kena
3	mequ	memu	mena

Table 3.5: Dual Pronouns in the Standard Fijian Dialect

DUAL	1 inc	1 exc	2	3
subject	(e)daru	keirau	(o)drau	(e)rau
object	kedaru	keirau	kemudrau	rau
cardinal	kedaru	keirau	kemudrau	(i)rau
suffix	-daru	i keirau	-mudrau	-drau
poss 1	nodaru	neirau	nomudrau	nodrau
poss 2	kedaru	keirau	kemudrau	kedrau
poss 3	kedaru	keirau	memudrau	medrau

Table 3.6: Paucal Pronouns in the Standard Fijian Dialect

PAUCAL	1 inc	1 exc	2	3
subject	(e)datou	keitou	(o)mudou	(e)ratou
object	kedatou	keitou	kemudou	iratou
cardinal	kedatou	keitou	kemudou	(i)ratou
suffix	-datou	i keitou	-mudou	-dratou
poss 1	nodatou	neitou	nomudou	nodratou
poss 2	kedatou	keitou	kemudou	kedratou
poss 3	medatou	meitou	memudou	medratou

Table 3.7: Plural Pronouns in the Standard Fijian Dialect

PLURAL	1 inc	1 exc	2	3
subject	(e)da	keimami	(o)(mu)ni	(e)ra
object	keda	keimami	kemuni	ira
cardinal	keda	keimami	kemuni	(i)ra
suffix	-da	i keimami	-muni	-dra
poss 1	noda	neimami	nomuni	nodra
poss 2	keda	keimami	kemuni	kedra
poss 3	meda	meimami	memuni	medra

3.1.4 The Fijian Reflexive

Two pilot studies and a concentrated, long-term research project with a dedicated focus on reflexive forms in the Fijian language were carried out to arrive at the conclusions proposed here that Fijian exhibits a variety of reflexive constructions which follow three specific prototypes: short (PRO), mid (PRO-gā), and long (PRO-gā vakai-PRO).

To date, very little research has been conducted on the phenomenon of reflexive marking in Austronesian languages, and much of what has been done describes many of the Austronesian

languages as lacking a dedicated reflexive marker. For instance, Lichtenberk (2000) claims that several Oceanic languages "have morphological markers used to encode reciprocal and certain other situations, but not reflexive situations," (Lichtenberk 2000: 31). Likewise, Dukes (1996) puts forward this argument specifically for the Tongan language and Duranti (1985), Shore (1982**),** and Mosel (1991) make similar claims for Samoan. With respect to the Fijian language, the absence of a reflexive form has been reiterated many times over. Büring (2005), following Keenen (1988), states outright, "Fijian (Oceanic, Austronesian) has no reflexives at all," (Büring 2005: 79). Similarly, according to Dixon (1988),

> There is no mark of a 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)

Other authors of Fijian language texts including Schütz (1985), Milner (1956), and Capell (1941), do not cover the topic at all, effectively refuting its existence. In fact, until recently, there have been only two other mentions of the Fijian reflexive. The first is by the nineteenth century American ethnologist Horatio Hale, who served as the philologist for the United States Exploring Expedition from 1838-1842. Responding to the observation that a Fijian sentence often exhibits two entities that can qualify as a subject, demonstrated in (3.11) below, he suggests that in certain occurrences the second subject is acting as a reflexive.

(3.11) Au_i sa lako o yau_i.
1SG.SBJ ASP go DET 1SG.CARD
Hale: I go, myself.
Schütz: As for me, I go.
(Schütz 1985: 86)

A very similar interpretation of the Fijian reflexive is Hazlewood's (1872) suggestion that the proper article might be used to suggest a reflexive interpretation of a Fijian pronoun:

> The forms in Fijian which appear to answer to reflexive pronouns are the personal pronouns preceded by their article.... koi koya. (Hazlewood 1872: 28)

Hazlewood's reflexive pronoun is, in effect, more an identifying feature of an intransitive verb than a unique reflexive construction. As discussed in section 3.1.2, the subject of an intransitive predicate can be expanded by a noun phrase preceded by either the general article *na* or the proper article *(k)o* (3.2).[5] In fact, contemporary Fijian scholars attribute both of these suggested reflexive constructions to ordinary Fijian syntax:

> A subject NP may have a (cardinal) pronoun as head, and is then included mostly for emphasis (the pronominal subject within the predicate *cannot* be omitted, no matter what is included in the post-predicate NP):
>
> *au lako* [*o yau*] "*I* am going"
>
> *era lako* [*o ira*] "*they* are going"
>
> (Dixon 1988: 33)

Recently, Moyse-Faurie (2008) has put forward the argument, concurrent with the research for this work, that Oceanic languages do exhibit previously unrecognized "grammatical encoding of middle, reflexive and reciprocal situations" (2008: 105). In her work she also mentions some of the patterns of reflexive marking that will be explored in the ensuing sections; however, her primary focus remains dedicated to the Polynesian language group.

3.2 Research

Data concerning the reflexive form in Fijian was collected over a period of four years through three separate research endeavours.

Evidence of reflexive constructions in Fijian was initially established through a small-scale research project carried out in the spring of 2006. This was followed by a pilot study in 2008 that further verified the three prototypical Fijian reflexive constructions and confirmed distinct patterns of usage influenced by both person and verb selection. Building upon these findings, a third, large-scale research project was carried out between the spring of 2009 and the spring of 2011.

[5] The proper article can be realized as either *ko* or *o*, with *ko* recognized as the more formal (and more archaic) of the two.

The design considerations of, and results gathered from, these three projects are presented below.

3.2.1 Data Set 1

The introductory research on Fijian reflexives carried out in 2006 comprises two parts. Initially, three native Fijian speakers were asked to translate a series of four stories and ten sentences from English to the standard Fijian dialect.[6] The participants were asked only to translate the material as part of a project on the Fijian language and were not told that the project focussed on the reflexive form in particular. However, all ten of the sentences incorporated a reflexive pronoun, as did each of the four stories.[7] The entire project was conducted online through e-mail correspondence, resulting in data presented in an exclusively written format.

The results found both evidence of a previously unrecorded reflexive pronoun and a distinct pattern of usage dependent upon the corresponding verb. In particular, reflexive objects referring to the subject of the transitive verb *digitaki*, 'to choose' in stories about an upcoming election were unique in that they were immediately followed by the emphatic post-head modifier *gā* (3.12). However, pronouns in other traditionally reflexive positions did not continue this trend (3.13). Following from the contexts in which they were observed, these two different patterns are here described as "election sentences" which correspond to a potential dedicated reflexive construction and "mirror sentences" in which no distinguishing mark of a reflexive, other than the general unmarked pronominal form, is noted:

(3.12) ELECTION SENTENCES
a. O Josese$_i$ ā digi-taki **koya$_i$** **gā**.
DET Josese PST choose-TR 3SG.OBJ MODIF.emphatic
'Josese voted for himself.'

[6] Originally from Suva, Fiji, the participants were residing at the military barracks in Abingdon, England at the time of research.
[7] For the complete data set see section I of Appendix A.

b. “Dara$_{k,j}$ sa na dui digi-taki **kedaru$_{k,j}$ gā**,”
1DU.INCL.SBJ ASP DET each choose-TR 1DU.INCL.OBJ MODIF.emphatic
ā kaya o Marika$_j$ vei Josese$_k$.
PST say DET Marika to Josese
‘“We shall vote for ourselves,” Marika told Josese.’

c. E$_i$=vana-i[8] **koya$_i$ gā vakai koya$_i$**.
3SG.SBJ=shoot-TR 3SG.OBJ MODIF.emphatic according.to 3SG.OBJ
‘He shot himself.’

(3.13) MIRROR SENTENCES

a. E=dua na i taba ni maina$_i$ e$_i$=vaka-rai-ci
3SG.SBJ=one DET NMLZ photo of mayna.bird 3SG.SUBJ=CAUS-see-TR
koya$_i$ tiko na-i iloilo.
3SG.OBJ MODIF.continuous DET-NMLZ mirror
‘There was one picture of a bird, it was looking at itself in a mirror.’

b. O au$_i$ sa dan-i **au$_i$** na iloilo.
DET 1SG.SBJ ASP see-TR 1SG.OBJ DET mirror
‘I saw myself in the mirror.’

When asked about this phenomenon in the election sentences, the primary Fijian contact responded “you know, it’s like yourself in English” (Mela Katonivuluku, p.c.). Upon further questioning regarding the mirror sentences she reasoned that the modifier *gā* was not employed because the context of the sentence made the situation clear and did not need any further clarification.

The data from this preliminary inquiry demonstrated nothing akin to either Hazlewood’s or Hale’s (section 3.1.3) proposed reflexive constructions. Rather, it suggests that there are two, and possibly three, configurations for expressing reflexive meaning in Standard Fijian: the unmarked pronoun observed in mirror sentences, ‘PRO’ (3,13a, b); the pronoun marked with *gā* in election sentences, ‘PRO-gā’ (3.12a,b); and the additional *koya gā vakai koya* marked pronoun observed in sentence (3.12c) ‘He shot himself’, ‘PRO-gā vakai-PRO’. Since there appears to be little overt syntactic difference, as all these forms share the grammatical function of direct object within the

[8] [sic]; both Capell (1941) and Dixon (1988) realize the transitive form of *vana* ‘to shoot’ as *vanā*, recognizing the long vowel as the transitive marker. The respondents involved in these research projects, however, consistently translated it as *vanai*. This observation is further supported by Geraghty (1976).

coargument domain, semantics seems to play a determining role in specifying which form will be used.

This initial data set, however, does not clearly ascertain whether the choice of reflexive is linked to verb meaning or utterance context. For instance, the act of seeing oneself in a mirror might not require a reflexive marker in a limited observer context, but the act of seeing oneself on television creates a greater likelihood for ambiguity, thereby potentially requiring a marked form. Likewise, the data provides very little information on the influence of person. As was discussed in Chapter 2 (2.1.1) and will be demonstrated in Dutch and French in the next chapter (4.2 and 4.3), a number of languages have reflexive types that fall into Heine's category of B-reflexives, namely reflexives that limit the use of distinct reflexive markers to utterances with a third person subject, reflexive arguments for first and second person subjects being represented with simple pronoun forms. The data also tells us very little about the binding constraints of the reflexive forms. Thus, a second series of stories and sentences was designed in order to respond to these questions.

This second part of the preliminary research was again carried out through e-mail correspondence. A single native speaker from the original group of three participants provided the responses. The resulting data consists of a further set of English to Fijian translations comprising three additional stories and a series of ten sentences. A series of Fijian to English translations was also included, containing thirteen sentences in the standard Fijian dialect that the native speaker was asked to translate into English, making note of ungrammatical sentences.[9] The aim of these Fijian to English translations was to test acceptable applications of the three potential Fijian reflexive forms. For example, in sentence (3.14a) the use of the possible reflexive form *koya gā* is identified as 'ungrammatical' by the participant, however *koya gā vakai koya* in sentence (3.14b) is deemed acceptable, resulting in the ensuing translation *Josese did it on his own*:

[9] See section II of Appendix A for the complete data set.

(3.14) a. *O Josese$_i$ ā caka-va* ***koya$_i$*** ***gā.***
DET Josese PST work-TR 3SG.OBJ MODIF.emphatic
(ungrammatical)

b. *O Josese$_i$ ā caka-va* ***koya$_i$*** ***gā*** ***vakai*** ***koya$_i$.***
DET Person PST work-TR 3SG.OBJ MODIF.emphatic according.to 3SG.OBJ
'Josese did it on his own.'

This second set of exploratory data further supports the observations that the selection of the reflexive form is determined primarily by the verb with which it is paired in a reflexive construction, (3.15) and (3.16). However, the use of the emphatic modifier *sara* after the reflexive pronoun *koya* in the 'mirror sentence' (3.15d) suggests that the context of the utterance might also play a role in the acceptability of reflexive marking in addition to demonstrating another potential reflexive form or variation on the PRO-gā reflexive, PRO-sara. The data set also finds that a marked reflexive form can be applied to all pronoun types (3.16).

With respect to binding conditions, the data set suggests that the PRO-gā marked reflexive form follows the SUBJ Binding Condition whereas the unmarked form follows the GF Binding Condition (3.17). It also appears that the unmarked reflexive pronoun is subject to the Root S Binding Condition (3.17a) while the PRO-gā marked reflexive pronoun follows the Minimal Finite Domain Binding Condition, (3.17b)-(3.17d).

(3.15) MIRROR SENTENCES

a. O au$_i$ sa dan-i **au$_i$** na iloilo.
DET 1SG.SBJ ASP see-TR 1SG.OBJ DET mirror
'I saw myself in the mirror.'

b. E=dua na i taba ni maina$_i$ e$_i$=vaka-rai-ci
3SG.SBJ=one DET NMLZ photo of mayna.bird 3SG.SBJ=CAUS-see-TR
koya$_i$ tiko na-i iloilo.
3SG.OBJ MODIF.continuous DET-NMLZ mirror
'There was one picture of a bird, it was looking at itself in a mirror.'

c. O Josese$_i$ ā rai-ci **koya$_i$** e na raitio yaloyalo.
DET Person PST see-TR 3SG.OBJ in DET television
'Josese saw himself on television.'

d. Ni lesu mai ko Jone$_i$ e na sara raitio yaloyalo
REL return from DET Jone concerning DET watch television
vata kei ira na nona i tokani, ā
together with 3PL.CARD DET 3SG.POSS NMLZ companion PST
iro-vi[10] **koya$_i$ sara** e na-i iloilo.
glance-TR 3SG.OBJ MODIF.emphatic in DET-NMLZ mirror
'When Jone returned home after watching television with his friends he looked at himself in the mirror.'

(3.16) ELECTION SENTENCES

a. O Josese$_i$ ā digi-taki **koya$_i$ gā**.
DET Josese PST choose-TR 3SG.OBJ MODIF.emphatic
'Josese voted for himself.'

b. "Iko ā digi-taki ni **iko$_i$ gā vakai iko$_i$**?"
2SG.SBJ PST choose-TR for 2SG.OBJ MODIF.emphatic according.to 2SG.OBJ
'"Did you vote for yourself?"

c. "Io, au$_i$ ā digi-taki **au$_i$ gā vakai au$_i$**
yes 1SG.SBJ PST choose-TR 1SG.OBJ MODIF.emphatic according.to 1SG.OBJ
ka sega ni o Josese$_j$," ā sau-ma ko Josese$_i$.
CONJ NEG for DET Josese PST answer-TR DET Josese
'"Yes, I voted for myself and not Josese," Josese answered.'

d. Au$_i$ vana-i **au$_i$ gā**.
1SG.SBJ shoot-TR 1SG.OBJ MODIF.emphatic
'I shot myself.'

e. Kua ni$_i$[11] vana-i **iko$_i$ vakai iko$_i$**.
do.not 2PL.SBJ shoot-TR 2SG.OBJ according.to 2SG.OBJ
'Don't shoot yourself!'

f. E$_i$=vana-i **koya$_i$ gā vakai koya$_i$**.
3SG.SBJ=shoot-TR 3SG.OBJ MODIF.emphatic according.to 3SG.OBJ
'He shot himself.'

(3.17) a. E$_i$=kaya ko Marika$_i$ vei Jone$_j$ ni nanu-ma o koya$_i$,
3SG.SBJ=say DET Marika to Jone that think-TR DET 3SG.OBJ
ni o Mere$_k$ ā digi-taki **koya$_i$**.
that DET Mere PST choose-TR 3SG.OBJ
'Marika told Jone he thought that Mere voted for himself.'

b. *O Josese ā vosa vei Marika baleti* ***koya gā*** *(Josese)*.[12]
DET Josese PST speak to Marika concerning 3SG.OBJ MODIF.emphatic
'Josese spoke about himself to Marika.'

c. *O Josese ā vosa vei Marika baleti* ***koya gā*** *(Marika)*.
DET Josese PST speak to Marika concerning 3SG.OBJ MODIF.emphatic
'Josese spoke about Marika.'

[10] *Irovi* is a Kadavu dialect variation of the standard Fijian verb *tirovi* 'to glance'.
[11] As with languages such as French, the plural form of the second person pronoun can be used as a singular second person pronoun denoting respect.
[12] Italicized Fijian sentences identify Fijian to English translations.

d. **O Josese ā vosa vei Marika baleti **koya** (Marika).*
DET Josese PST speak to Marika concerning 3SG.OBJ
(ungrammatical)

e. *O Josese ā vosa vei Marika baleti **koya** (Josese).*
DET Josese PST speak to Marika concerning 3SG.OBJ
'Josese spoke to Marika about himself.'

f. *O Josese ā vosa baleti **koya** **gā** vei Marika.*
DET Josese PST speak concerning 3SG.OBJ MODIF.emphatic to Marika
'Josese spoke about himself to Marika.'

g. **O Josese ā vosa baleti **koya** vei Marika.*
DET Josese PST speak concerning 3SG.OBJ to Marika
(ungrammatical)

Due to the fact that several synonyms for the Fijian equivalent of 'to see' are used as the head verb in the sentences, it is difficult to reach a definite conclusion concerning the extent to which the semantics of the head verb determines the reflexive form from the sentences shown in (3.15). Sentences (3.15a) and (3.15c), both which use a variation of the verb *raica* 'to see', would suggest that context plays a minor role in influencing the reflexive form due to the fact that both the relatively closed context of seeing oneself in a mirror and the much more open context of seeing oneself on television both result in an unmarked pronoun. The use of *koya sara* in (3.15d) following the verb *irovi* 'to look at quickly/glance', however, might be taken to suggest that a marked pronoun is acceptable in certain contexts but this observation could equally be attributed to the different verb form.

Likewise, though the sentences in (3.16) do demonstrate that a reflexive marker can be applied to all pronominal object forms, the marker used does not appear to be consistent in all circumstances. This is made particularly clear by a comparison of (3.16d) and (3.16f). Whereas the third person singular object pronoun in (3.16f) requires the extended marker PRO-gā vakai-PRO to be considered grammatical, it is perfectly acceptable for the first person singular object pronoun in (3.16d) to employ the simple PRO-gā form. Also, as demonstrated in (3.16b) and (3.16e), all of the

translations involving the second person singular object in a reflexive construction use a variation of the extended marked form, PRO-(gā)-vakai-PRO.[13]

This initial investigation into Fijian reflexives suggests that the Standard Fijian language has three primary reflexive types in the form of marked, PRO-gā and pro-gā-vakai-PRO, and unmarked, PRO, pronouns. These three types are hereafter refered to as mid, long, and short respectively according to their morphosyntax. Mirror ((3.12), (3.15)) and election sentences ((3.13), (3.16)) have been used to describe the two different contextual predicate environments selecting for these distinct reflexive forms. Sentences that fall under the 'election sentence' category, which employs the marked reflexive form, are further distinguished by the choice of modifier that acts as the reflexive marker and whether that modifier takes the mid PRO-gā form or the long PRO-gā vakai-PRO form. According to this data set, the choice of reflexive marker appears to be primarily dependent on the lexical meaning of the corresponding verb. These initial findings are summarized in Table 3.8 below:

Table 3.8: Summary of Data Set 1

REFLEXIVE TYPE	VERBS	NOTE
PRO (*short*)	*dani* 'see' (3.12b).; (3.14a) *vakaraici* 'inspect' (3.12a); (3.14b) *raici* 'see' (3.14c) *irovi* 'glance' (3.15d) *vosa baleti* 'speak about' (3.17f)	1) The short reflexive type appears to follow the GF Antecedent Binding Condition (3.17) and the Root S Domain Binding Condition (3.17a).
PRO-gā (*mid*)	*digitaki* 'vote' (3.11a); (3.11b) *vanai* 'shoot' (3.15d)	1) The mid reflexive type appears to follow the SUBJ Antecedent Binding Condition (3.17) and the Minimal Finite Domain Binding Condition (3.17b)-(3.17d). 2) The reflexive construction *koya sara*, using the empahtic marker *sara* (Table 3.3) has been observed as a possible variation of the mid reflexive type (3.15d).
PRO-gā-vakai-PRO (*long*)	*vanai* 'shoot' (3.11c); (3.15f) *digitaki* 'vote' (3.15b) *cakava* 'work' (3.13b)	1) At this point, the binding conditions that the long reflexive type is subject to are unclear.

[13] The extended marked form, PRO-(gā)-vakai-PRO, of the Fijian reflexive demonstrates a fair amount of variation within the data. In particular, the emphatic marker *gā* appears to be optional and the marker *vakai*, 'according to', can also be realized as *vataki* and *vakataki*.

3.2.2 Data Set 2

In 2008 a second set of data was collected as a pilot study for the Fijian reflexive research project that was carried out between 2009 and 2011. Building upon the results of the previous 2006 project, this work further verifies the existence of three prototypical Fijian reflexive constructions and refines the information on the manner in which these reflexive types are employed in the language. As a preliminary version of the 2009-2011 investigation, much of the setup for this research was an early model of the later project design described in detail in section 3.2.3.

The data was collected through a set of six experimental Fijian syntax surveys, distributed online to a small group of native Fijian speakers living in Fiji, the Netherlands, and England.[14] Three primary goals influenced the composition of these surveys: the expansion of the list of verbs that do and do not use a reflexive marker in order to clarify the divide between mirror and election sentences; the determination of the role person plays in reflexive marker selection; and the identification of the unique constraints on subjects and objects as antecedents of a Fijian reflexive.

The surveys consisted of three separate sections: a rating scale section, in which participants were asked to rate a collection of sentences according to linguistic acceptability; a matrix of choices section, in which participants completed a series of sentences by selecting all possible answers that apply; and a translation section, in which participants were asked to translate seven sentences and two stories into both Standard Fijian and their own native dialect.[15] Following Cowart (1997), in order to avoid the risk of participants working toward a preconceived desired outcome, an average of thirty-five percent of the questions focused on reflexive situations. Likewise, repetition was employed across the three sections in order to determine whether the different formats of the individual sections influenced the responses. The surveys were designed to include the following information:

[14] Ethical approval for this project was obtained from the Social Sciences and Humanities Inter-divisional Research Ethics Committee in June of 2008 and a pilot project for this research was undertaken between the months of June and August.
[15] See Appendix B for the results of the sentence translations.

1) A selection of verbs that are traditionally interpreted as inherently reflexive, self-directed, or other-directed;

2) Comparative deletion constructions, such as 'Jone defended himself better than Isoa defended him', which might shed some light on restrictions for strict and sloppy interpretations

3) Coordinate NPs, such as 'The chief invited (both) Mere and himself for tea', and

4) Statue sentences based on Jackendoff (1992) that might provide some insight into the semantic composition of the different reflexive forms.

This pilot study proved enlightening both in terms of the knowledge gained from the data collected on Fijian reflexives and in terms of areas within the project design in need of future improvement. Eleven participants, between the ages of eighteen and fifty, took part in the project. Of these, six individuals completed all three sections, two completed all but the story translations, one finished only the rating scale and matrix of choices sections, and two completed only the rating scale section.

The results from the matrix of choices section were the least dependable. Questions within this section tried to cover too many options (3.18), ultimately leading to confusion and sloppy responses.

(3.18) Kerei moni vakatakilakilataki kece na i digidigi o cei vakadodonutaka na veivosa tiko oqori ere:

Nona nana ko Salote vinakata o Josese me tokona/tokoni _____

(.) koya koya ga koya ga vakai koya

(*nana):
(*Salote):
(*Josese):
Comments:

Please mark all the choices that best complete the following sentences:

Salote's mother wants Paul to take care of _____

(.) her/him herself/himself NA

*(*mother):*
*(*Salote):*
*(*Josese):*
Comments:

Equally, information on the role person plays in reflexive selection was incomplete due to an overambitious effort to collect data on a large number of distinct verbs. The absence of a controlled environment also weakened the results since several of the surveys came back with identical answers and/or identical handwriting, suggesting that they had been completed either as a group effort or multiple times by a single individual. These problems were addressed in the design of the 2009-2011 project, which will be discussed in further detail in section 3.2.3. Disregarding the problems stemming from the lack of a controlled setting, neither the rating scale nor the translation sections demonstrated any serious problems inherent to their design. Both, in fact, provided some interesting information on the Fijian reflexives. Yet, though it resulted in some of the most useful data, the translation section was slightly less successful than the rating scale section due to the fact that several of the pilot study participants failed to respond to the questions.

Due to the design problems and limited number of participants, the results of this pilot study are fairly inconclusive. The data from the translations does confirm the existence of the three prototypical reflexive types and offers some interesting insight into the idea, briefly discussed in Chapter 1 and further pursued in Chapter 4, that self-directed and other-directed verbs do have an influence upon the choice of reflexive type. This is illustrated in sentences in (3.19) through (3.22) below:

(3.19) SELF-ORIENTED: Jone shaved himself.

a. E_i toro-i $koya_i$ gā o $Jone_i$. (4)
3SG.SBJ shave-TR 3SG.OBJ MODIF.emphasis DET Jone

b. O $Jone_i$ e_i toro-i $koya_i$. (1)
DET Jone 3SG.SBJ shave-TR 3SG.OBJ

c. O $Jone_i$ ma[16] toro $koya_i$ $nona_i$ ulu (*unknown dialect*) (1)
DET Jone PST shave 3SG.SBJ 3SG.POSS head

[16] According to Capell (1941), *ma* is a marker of past tense observed in modern dialects on the islands of Kadavu and Vanua Levu.

(3.20) SELF-ORIENTED: Kalara washes herself before she makes breakfast.

a. E_i dau-sī~sili rawa o $Kalara_i$ ni bera ni dau-vaka-rau-taka
3SG.SBJ often-bathe can DET Kalara before often-CAUS-prepare-TR
na katalau.
DET breakfast

b. E_i dau-sī~sili e liu ko $Kalara_i$ ni bera ni vaka-rau i katalau.
3SG.SBJ often-bathe before DET Kalara before CAUS-prepare NMLZ breakfast

c. $Kalara_i$ dau-vulu~vulu ni bera ni caka tī.
Kalara often-wash.hands before make tea

d. O $Kalara_i$ e_i sava-ti $koya_i$ ni sebera na-i katalau.
DET Kalara 3SG.SBJ wash-TR 3SG.OBJ before DET-NMLZ breakfast

e. $Kalara_i$ sava-ta rawa-ta na liga-na ni bera ni katalau
Kalara wash-TR achieve-TR DET hands-3SG.POSS before breakfast

(3.21) OTHER-ORIENTED: Paul killed himself.

a. E_i vaka-mate-i $koya_i$ gā vakataki $koya_i$ o $Josese_i$.
3SG.SBJ CAUS-die-TR 3SG.OBJ MODIF.emphatic with 3SG.OBJ DET Josese

b. E_i vakamatei $koya_i$ gā ko $Josese_i$.
3SG.SBJ CAUS-die-TR 3SG.OBJ MODIF.emphatic DET Josese

(3.22) OTHER-ORIENTED: Why do you hate yourself?
Na cava o_i sē-vaki iko_i kina?
DET why 2SG.SBJ drive.off-TR 2SG.OBJ ADV.thereby

These sentences list the prevalent patterns with respect to the sentence translations; the number to the right of the Fijian sentence in (3.19) corresponds to the number of translations that follow the given structure; since the examples in (3.20) – (3.22) only had one translation each they are not numbered. All of these examples are translations into Standard Fijian except for sentence (3.19c), which was translated into a regional dialect. Unfortunately, the participant providing the information in (3.19c) failed to offer any specific information regarding the dialect used.

Of particular interest with respect to the sentences using traditionally self-directed verbs is the fact that the majority of translations for (3.19), 'shave', use the mid reflexive *koya-gā* (3.19a) rather than the short reflexive *koya* (3.19b). Sentences in (3.20) which use the traditionally self-oriented verb for 'wash', on the other hand, tend to avoid the object argument altogether. This would suggest that the subcategorization of Fijian verbs according to reflexive selection may not be determined primarily by their directedness. To return to the data in section 3.2.1, mirror sentences using the verb

raica, 'to see' ((3.13) and (3.15)) consistently use the short reflexive pronoun. Thinking in terms of reflexive action, 'to see' is generally not a specifically self-directed activity whereas the act of shaving is generally carried out upon the individual doing the shaving.

One possible explanation for the use of the marked reflexive in (3.19) could result from the format of the translation. The participants were asked to translate the sentence 'Jone shaved himself' and not 'Jone shaved.' In English, however, 'to shave' is generally syntactically intransitive when used reflexively. An individual is much more likely to say 'I shaved' than 'I shaved myself'. The inclusion of the reflexive object suggests either an emphatic or a contrastive interpretation. A direct translation of this sentence might, thus, result in the marked form that assumes an emphatic or contrastive meaning.

This possibility is further supported by early conversations with the primary advisor for questions on Fijian usage during the preparation of the surveys. The process of designing the surveys involved considerable collaboration with a native speaker of Fijian.[17] According to this advisor, the most natural reflexive use of the verb *toroya*, 'to shave', does see it used as an intransitive verb as is demonstrated in (3.23a) below:

(3.23) TO SHAVE

a. O Samu toro.
DET Samu shave
'Samu shaves.'

b. O Samu_i toro-i $\text{koya}_{i/j}$.
DET Samu shave-TR 3SG.OBJ
'Samu shaves him/himself.' (Samu or somebody else)

c. O Samu_i toro-i koya_i gā.
DET Samu shave-TR 3SG.OBJ MODIF.emphatic
'Samu shaves (himself).' (Preferred)

d. O Samu_i toro-i koya_i gā vakai koya_i.
DET Samu shave-TR 3SG.OBJ MODIF.emphatic according.to 3SG.OBJ
'Samu shaves himself.' (Emphatic)

e. Au_i toro-i au_i.
1SG.SBJ shave-TR 1SG.OBJ
'I shave myself.'

[17] Reijeli Qalikaono, stationed in Abingdon, UK in 2008.

f. Au$_i$ toro-i au gā.
1SG.SBJ shave-TR 1SG.OBJ MODIF.emphatic
'I shave myself' (Emphatic)

g. *Au$_i$ toro-i au$_i$ gā vakai au$_i$.
1SG.SBJ shave-TR 1SG.OBJ MODIF.emphatic according.to 1SG.OBJ

(3.24) TO SHAVE 2
In the morning when her husband shaves himself, Cocagi washes each of the children.
E na mataka lailai ni toro~toro o wati-na o Cocagi ā
in DET morning when shave DET spouse-3SG.POSS DET Cocagi PST
vaka-sili-mi eratou na gone.
CAUS-wash-TR 3.PAUC.OBJ DET child

According to the language advisor, the use of the short reflexive pronoun is generally assumed to refer to an object other than the subject doing the shaving (3.23b). The mid marked reflexive pronoun on the third person, *koya gā*, as was already observed in (3.19a). above, remains the preferred reflexive marker (3.23c). However, she argues that the mid marked reflexive on the first person pronoun contributes an emphatic reading (3.23f) to the utterance that is absent in the third person. Rather, an emphatic reading is added to the third person reflexive pronoun with the use of the long marked reflexive pronoun, *koya gā vakai koya* (3.23d). She claims that this long reflexive marking, however, is forbidden on the first person reflexive pronoun when used with the verb *toroya*, 'to shave', (3.23g). Lastly, the translation provided by the language advisor for a story concerning a family's daily bathing habits, (3.24), provides even more support in favour of *toroya* being used intransitively in reflexive constructions.

Another interesting result found within the data for traditionally self-directed verbs, (3.19) and (3.20), is the use of body parts for the translations. In sentence (3.19c) the regional translation refers to Jone's head, *nona ulu*, rather than Jone as a whole. The is particularly interesting as the noun used is *ulu* 'head' rather than *mata* 'face'. This is also found in (3.20e) in which Kalara is logically described as washing her hands, *na ligana*, rather than her entire body.

The data for the traditionally other-directed verbs does more clearly support the hypothesis that verbs describing actions that are generally carried out upon others rather than the self are more

likely to have a marked form of the pronoun as the reflexive. As shown in (3.21) and (3.22), each of the reflexive objects used for the sentence translations carries reflexive marking. For the verb *vakamatea*, 'to kill', both the mid *koya gā* and long *koya gā vakai koya* forms are represented. Though this project resulted in no further dependable translation data of the English verb 'to kill', the primary language advisor did offer some further insight based upon possible constructions incorporating the Fijian verb *labata*, 'to murder':

(3.25) TO MURDER:

a. O Isoa$_i$ ā laba-ti koya$_{j/*i}$.
DET Isoa PST murder-TR 3SG.OBJ
'Isoa murdered him.' (Another person, anyone)

b. O Isoa$_i$ ā laba-ti koya$_{j/*i}$ gā.
DET Isoa PST murder-TR 3SG.OBJ MODIF.emphatic
'Isoa murdered him.' (One specific person)

c. O Isoa$_i$ ā laba-ti koya$_i$ gā vakai koya$_i$.
DET Isoa PST murder-TR 3SG.OBJ MODIF.emphatic according.to 3SG.OBJ
'Isoa murdered himself.'

d. *Au$_i$ ā laba-ti au$_i$.
1SG.SBJ PST murder-TR 1SG.OBJ

e. Au ā labati au gā.
1SG.SBJ PST murder-TR 1SG.SBJ MODIF.emphatic
'I murdered myself.'

f. *Au$_i$ ā laba-ti au gā vakai au$_i$.
1SG.SBJ PST murder-TR 1SG.OBJ MODIF.emphatic according.to 1SG.OBJ

According to the language advisor, only the long *koya gā vakai koya* marked reflexive is acceptable for a third person reflexive reading of *labata*, 'to murder'. Both the short pronoun, *koya* (3.25b), and the mid marked pronoun, *koya gā* (3.25c), suggest that the object is someone other than the individual committing the murder. These two pronominal forms differ, however, with respect to focus and emphasis. Whereas the simple pronoun can refer freely to any individual, the marked pronoun adds selective focus, emphatically identifying one specific individual. This is an interesting observation in that it suggests that overlap between pronominals and anaphors extends beyond the shortest reflexive form. The emphatic *gā* marker appears to lose its reflexive meaning in favour of its original emphatic sense in these instances (Table 3.3). This will be explored in further detail in section 3.3. Lastly, as

was observed in the shaving sentences in (3.23) above, the first person singular pronoun again differs from the third person pronoun in terms of reflexive marking. As (3.25d) and (3.25f) show, neither the short pronoun, *au*, nor the long marked pronoun, *au gā vakai au*, are acceptable according to the language advisor. Rather, only the mid marked pronoun, *au gā*, can be used with *labata*.

Due to the very limited translation data collected from this project, it is difficult to say much about reflexive constructions involving the traditionally other-oriented verb *cata*, 'to hate'. The single translation presented in (3.22) does, however, present another possible variation on the simplex marked reflexive pronoun in the form of *iko kina*. Early data offered by the primary language advisor provides more insight into constructions involving the more typical reflexive marking:

(3.26) TO HATE:

a. O Marika$_i$ cā-ti koya$_{j/*i}$ gā.
DET Marika hates-TR 3SG.OBJ MODIF.emphatic
'Marika hates him.' (somebody else - selecting one out of many)

b. O Marika$_i$ cā-ti koya$_i$ gā vakai koya$_i$.
DET Marika hates-TR 3SG.OBJ MODIF.emphatic according.to 3SG.OBJ
'Marika hates himself.'

c. O Marika$_i$ cā-ti koya$_{j/*i}$.
DET Marika hates-TR 3SG.OBJ
'Marika hates him.' (just hates that one person, must be nearby)

d. Au$_i$ cā-ti au$_i$ gā.
1SG.SBJ hate-TR 1SG.OBJ MODIF.emphatic
'I hate myself.'

e. Au$_i$ cā-ti au$_i$ gā vakai au$_i$.
1SG.SBJ hate-TR 1SG.OBJ MODIF.emphatic according.to 1SG.OBJ
'I am hating myself.' (at this moment, maybe not later)

f. ??Au$_i$ cā-ti au$_i$.
1SG.SBJ hate-TR 1SG.OBJ
'I hate me.'

Once again the data from the primary language advisor for this project suggests an emphatic, pronominal usage for the simplex marked third person pronoun *koya gā*. As was the case with *lambata*, 'to murder', only the long marked third person pronoun, *koya gā vakai koya*, is interpreted as having a reflexive meaning. Unlike the language advisor data provided for first person reflexive constructions involving the verb *lambata*, however, the corresponding data for *cāta*, 'to hate' finds all

three prototypical forms of the reflexive pronoun acceptable to some degree. Of the three reflexive types, the short pronominal reflexive, *au*, is the least favoured. According to the language advisor, constructions like (3.26f) 'sound weird'. Likewise, though she claims that both the mid marked first person pronoun, *au gā*, and the long marked first person pronoun, *au gā vakai au*, are equally acceptable, the language advisor claims there is a subtle difference in meaning between the two. The mid marked form is the preferred reflexive form, suggesting nothing more than coreference with the antecedent (3.26d). Use of the complex marked form, on the other hand, adds a continuous element to the verb tense. Thus, sentence (3.26e) more naturally reads 'I am hating myself' rather than 'I hate myself'. This is, however, the only observed instance of such an effect in the data. Due to the limited data and the fact that this information comes from a single participant, more research needs to be carried out in order to determine the frequency and patterns of occurrence related to this observation.

Lastly, conversations with the primary language advisor provided information on the translation of the English inherent reflexive 'behave' that was not obtained from the survey project. Her insight into the reflexive use of the verb *valavala*, 'behave', is presented in (3.27) below:

(3.27) Inherently reflexive: *valavala* 'behave'

a. *O Siteri vala~vala koya/ koya gā/ koya
DET Siteri behave 3SG.OBJ 3SG.OBJ MODIF.emphatic 3SG.OBJ
gā vakai koya.
MODIF.emphatic according.to 3SG.OBJ

b. Vala~vala ko Siteri.
behave DET Siteri
'Siteri behaves.'

c. Vala~vala cā/ vinaka ko Siteri.
behave bad good DET Siteri
'Siteri behaves badly/well.'

d. O Siteri vala~vala.
DET Siteri behave
'Siteri behaves.'

e. Iko vala~vala.
2SG.SBJ behave
'You behave.'

f. Au vala~vala.
1SG.SBJ behave
'I behave.'

g. Tiko vaka-mālua.
remain ADJ-slow
'Behave yourself.'

According to the language advisor, *valavala* is an intransitive verb and any form of overt reflexive marking is forbidden. To date, no inherent reflexive verbs have been identified in Fijian.

In addition to information on reflexive types and verb focus, the translations also offered limited insight into comparative deletion constructions. Following Sells et al. (1987) it was hoped that the comparative deletion data would provide information on the semantic transitivity of Fijian refleixve constructions. In order to obtain this information participants were asked to translate both sloppy and strict realizations of a comparative deletion sentence into Fijian. The data from these translations is presented in (3.28) and (3.29) below:

(3.28) SLOPPY: Jo defended himself better than Samu defended himself.
Jo taqo-maki koya vaka-vinaka mai vei Samu.
Jo defend-TR 3SG.OBJ ADV-good towards Samu

(3.29) STRICT: Jo defended himself better than Samu defended him.
Jo taqo-maki koya vaka-vinaka mai vei Samu.
Jo defend-TR 3SG.OBJ ADV-good towards Samu

Unfortunately, the results presented here represent the intuitions of only a single participant so their validity is difficult to determine at this point and will be explored in greater detail in the next section. Interestingly, however, translations of the sloppy and the strict sentences were the same and only employed the short unmarked pronoun as the reflexive. This data, therefore, suggests that reflexive constructions that incorporate the short third person reflexive pronoun are semantically transitive as both (3.28) and (3.29) result in identical translations.

Overall, the second data set confirms the existence of the three distinct reflexive types within the Fijian language, identifies emphatic patterns of usage that result in some ambiguity between anaphoric and pronominal uses of the mid PRO-gā reflexive type, demonstrates distinct influences of

both the verb and person on reflexive selection, and suggests a semantically transitive status for the short PRO reflexive type. These results are summarized with respect to person in Table 3.9 below.

Table 3.9: Summary of Data Set 2

VERB	SHORT PRO	MID PRO-gā	LONG PRO-gā-vakai-PRO	NOTE
toroya (to shave)	1st: Reflexive (3.23e) 2nd: No data 3rd: Reflexive and pronominal (3.19b), (3.23b)	1st: Emphatic reflexive 2nd: No data 3rd: Reflexive	1st: Forbidden (3.23g) 2nd: No data 3rd: Emphatic reflexive (3.23d)	Intransitive form of the verb carries a reflexive meaning. (3.23a), (3.24)
sīsili (to bathe)	No data	No data	No data	Intransitive form of the verb carries a reflexive meaning. (3.20a), (3.20b)
savata (to wash)	1st: No data 2nd: No data 3rd: Reflexive (3.20d)	No data	No data	Verb with third person transitive suffix can be interpreted as reflexive without additional marking. (3.20e)
vakamatei (to kill)	No data	1st: No data 2nd: No data 3rd: Reflexive (3.21b)	1st: No data 2nd: No data 3rd: Reflexive (3.21c)	
sēvaki (to drive off, hate)	No data	1st: No data 2nd: Reflexive - *iko kina* (3.22) 3rd: No data	No data	The reflexive constructions *iko kina* is observed as a possible variation on the mid reflexive type. (3.22)
cāta (to hate)	1st: Odd (3.26f) 2nd: No data 3rd: Pronominal (3.26c)	1st: Reflexive (3.26d) 2nd: No data 3rd: Pronominal with contrastive focus	1st: Reflexive with a sense of 'at this point in time'. (3.26e) 2nd: No data 3rd: Reflexive (3.26b)	
labata (to murder)	1st: Forbidden (3.25d) 2nd: No data 3rd: Pronominal (3.25a)	1st: Reflexive (3.25e) 2nd: No data 3rd: Pronominal with contrastive focus.	1st: Forbidden (3.25f) 2nd: No data 3rd: Reflexive (3.25c)	
valavala (to behave)	No data	No data	No data	The verb *valavala* 'to behave' is used intransitively. (3.27)
Comparative Deletion	1st: No data 2nd: No data 3rd: Reflexive carries both strict and sloppy readings. (3.28), (3.29)	No data	No data	It appears that only the short PRO form of the reflexive is readily used in comparative deletion constructions. (3.28), (3.29)

3.2.3 Data Set 3

Between October 2010 and March 2011, information on Fijian reflexives was gathered through six controlled, five-part, online language surveys. These surveys were distributed to eighty-five native Fijian speakers currently living in Fiji. Participants ranged in age from the 10-18 year old group to the 51-60 year old age group, with the majority of the participants in the 19-30 age group (Table 3.10). Men constituted 58% of the participant body and women, the remaining 42%. All participants were native speakers of Fijian and the majority were bilingual in Fijian and English. Every participant had lived in Fiji for at least ten years.[18]

Table 3.10: Participant Age

AGE	10-18	19-30	31-40	41-50	51-60
% OF PARTICIPANTS	13%	65%	8%	12%	2%

The primary aim of this investigation was to provide statistical confirmation of the distinct reflexive constructions within the Fijian language and to clearly identify consistent patterns of usage regarding these constructions. As discussed above, the two earlier projects identified three prototypical reflexive constructions with unique patterns of usage influenced by verb selection and, in certain instances, person.

The surveys were distributed in a controlled setting overseen by a postdoctoral student at the University of the South Pacific.[19] Eleven verbs and the three recognized reflexive constructions were designated the research variables for the project. Five of the surveys were designed with a specific focus on two verbs, ultimately resulting in a complete set of data for ten of the eleven verbs. The sixth survey was formulated to explore binding conditions through constructions involving the verb *vosa*, 'to speak'.

[18] Ethical approval for the project was obtained from the Social Sciences and Humanities Inter-divisional Research Ethics Committee in June 2008.
[19] Mika Sela, Teaching Assistant at the University of the South Pacific.

The verbs were selected according to both patterns observed in the earlier Fijian studies and semantic considerations taken from patterns of reflexive selection in languages with more than one reflexive type, which will be discussed in greater detail in Chapter 4. These eleven verbs are listed in Table 3.11 below:

Table 3.11: Research Design - Verbs

FIJIAN	ENGLISH
toroi	to shave
vakasilimi	to wash
digitaki	to vote
vakamatei	to kill
raici	to see
rogoci	to hear
ilovi	to glance at
vanai	to shoot
lomalomani	to love
cāti	to hate
vosa	to talk

As the mirror/election dichotomy of section 3.2.1 illustrates, verbs in reflexive constructions appear to influence the choice of reflexive marking in Fijian. The directedness of the verb, expressed as inherently reflexive, self-directed, and other-directed reflexive/verb constructions seems to have an impact on reflexive selection in languages with more than one reflexive type. This was discussed briefly in Chapter 1 and will be explored in much greater detail in Chapter 4. The eleven verbs were, therefore, chosen to represent a range of self-directed and other-directed.

Reflexive usage in Fijian was explored according to native speaker intuitions expressed through four different types of survey methods: rating scale, multiple choice, picture description, and translation of sentences and stories. As discussed in section 3.2.2, the rating scale and translation methods had been previously used to good effect in the pilot study. Again, following Cowart (1997), redundancy was intentionally built into the surveys in order to identify inconsistencies between the method of data collection and the nature of a participant's response. The target verbs were also

incorporated in different sections of different surveys in order to further account for design influences.

As discussed in section 3.2.2, in certain instances person appears to have an effect upon the choice of reflexive construction for a given utterance ((3.23) and (3.25)). Thus, the multiple choice and rating scale sections were designed to provide a complete set of information for the usage of two verbs with respect to first person, second person, and third person contexts. The translation sections of the survey then sought translations for those verbs of interest that had not already been explored in the multiple choice and rating scale sections of a given survey. Translations incorporating comparative deletion, causation, coordination, and domain were also included. A selection of filler sentences were repeated in each section of each survey for control purposes. A few intentionally ungrammatical filler sentences were also included in the multiple choice and rating scale sections of every survey to serve as a further design control.

Each survey consisted of forty rating scale questions, twenty multiple-choice questions, fifteen sentence translations, and a single picture description and story translation. Data was also collected on the linguistic and social background of the participants. Sentences and paragraphs used for the translations were written in English and participants were encouraged to write their responses in both Standard Fijian and in their native Fijian dialect, resulting in a corpus that takes note of regional linguistic differences.[20] All other questions and information was presented in Standard Fijian. English translations were provided for the instructions at the start of each section.[21]

As mentioned earlier, a postdoctoral student at the University of the South Pacific in Fiji's capital city, Suva, served as the local project administrator. He was responsible for administrating the surveys in a controlled environment (which was necessary in order to avoid group work and multiple

[20] The selection of reflexive types remained consistent regardless of dialect used. Due to this observation and the fact that several of the participants only provided translations in their native dialect, counts for data analysis incorporated the dialect data as well as the Standard Fijian data.
[21] These surveys and an English description of their layout can be found in section I of Appendix C.

responses by a single participant), answering any questions participants might have regarding the surveys or particular sections within the surveys, and distributing wristbands and chocolate to thank participants for their involvement in the project. The results of this project and their implications are summarized below.

3.2.3.1 Binding Conditions

Data from the sentence translation section of the surveys confirms the observation arising from the first data set (section 3.2.1) that the marked mid, PRO-gā, reflexive type in Fijian follows the SUBJ Binding Condition antecedent constraint. The unmarked reflexive, on the other hand, appears to follow the GF Binding Condition. This is demonstrated in (3.30) and (3.31).

(3.30) **Isoa** spoke to Kalara about **himself**.

a. O Isoa$_i$ e$_i$=ā vosa vei Kalara$_j$ baleti **koya$_i$** **gā**.
DET Isoa 3SG.SBJ=PST speak to Kalara about 3SG.OBJ MODIF.emphatic

b. O Isoa$_i$ e$_i$=talanoa-taki **koya$_i$** **gā** vei Kalara$_j$.
DET Isoa 3SG.SBJ=tell.stories-TR 3SG.OBJ MODIF.emphatic to Kalara

c. E$_i$=ka talanoa-taki **koya$_i$** vei Kalara$_j$ o Isoa$_i$.
3SG.SBJ=PST tell.stories-TR 3SG.OBJ to Kalara DET Isoa

d. E$_i$=ā vosa o Isoa$_i$ vei Kalara$_j$ baleti **koya$_i$**.
3SG.SBJ=PST speak DET Isoa to Kalara about 3SG.OBJ

(3.31) Isoa spoke to **Kalara** about **herself**.

a. O Isoa$_i$ qai vosa vei Kalara$_i$ baleti **koya$_j$**.
DET Isoa then speak to Kalara about 3SG.OBJ

b. E=vosa o Isoa$_i$ vei **Kalara$_j$** **baleti** **Kalara$_j$**.
3SG.SBJ=speak DET Isoa to Kalara about Kalara

Sixteen translations were collected for both sentence (3.30) and sentence (3.31). None of the translations of (3.31) used the PRO-gā marked reflexive whereas eleven of the sixteen translations of (3.30) made use of it.[22] Sentences (3.30a) and (3.30b) are representative of these eleven translations. Of the remaining five, four translations resembled (3.30d) and one translation, (3.30c), included the

[22] See section II of Appendix C for the complete data set.

extended subject NP, *o Isoa*, at the end of a sentence beginning with the third person pronominal clitic. The unmarked reflexive construction illustrated in sentence (3.30c) was also observed as a translation for sentence (3.31) as (3.31a) demonstrates. The unmarked reflexive pronoun was the only reflexive pronoun observed for translations of sentence (3.31), with six of the sixteen translations incorporating this reflexive type. The remaining ten sentences did not use a reflexive pronoun at all, opting instead for repetition of the proper noun, *Kalara*, (3.31b).

A chi-square test, carried out to determine the significance of these results, found a significant correlation between grammatical function and reflexive type at $p < .025$.[23]

Table 3.12: Antecedent Constraints

THIRD PERSON SINGULAR	REFLEXIVE TYPE		
	Short (PRO)	*Mid* (PRO-gā)	*Long* (PRO-gā-vakai-PRO)
Subject	5 (31%)	11 (69%)	0
Object	6 (100%)	0	0
			sig. at p < .025

Thus, while the unmarked pronoun can corefer with both the subject and object in extended clause constructions, coreference of the PRO-gā marked reflexive pronoun is limited to the subject.

The data also found that the PRO-gā marked form of the reflexive follows the Minimal Complete Nucleus Binding Condition. As already demonstrated in example (3.30), the PRO-gā reflexive is not limited to the coargument binding domain. Sentences (3.32) and (3.33) demonstrate that it is, however, limited to the minimal complete nucleus.

(3.32) **Josese** requires that Kata's parents support **himself**.

a. E_i=vinaka-ta o $Josese_i$ me rau_j qara-vi **koya**$_i$ na
3SG.SBJ=want-TR DET Josese should 3DU.SBJ look.after-TR 3SG.OBJ DET
$tubutubu_j$ nei $Kata_k$.
parents POSS Kata

[23] Only data that made use of a pronoun for the reflexive object was used for this test. The data resembling (3.31b) was not included.

b. Ā gadre-va o Josese$_i$ me rau$_j$ vuke-i **koya**$_i$ na tubutubu$_j$
PST desire-TR DET Josese should 3DU.SBJ help-TR 3SG.OBJ DET parents
nei Kata$_k$.
POSS Kata

c. E$_i$=tālei-taka o Josese$_i$ me rau$_j$ toko-ni **koya**$_i$ na
3SG.SBJ=like-TR DET Josese should 3DU.SBJ support-TR 3SG.OBJ DET
tubutubu$_j$ nei Kata$_k$.
parents POSS Kata

(3.33) Kata's parents require that **Josese** support **himself**.

a. Rau$_i$ vinaka-ta na tubutubu$_i$ nei Kata$_j$ me sa na qara-vi
3DU.SBJ want-TR DET parents POSS Kata should ASP DET look.after-TR
koya$_k$ vataki koya$_k$ o Josese$_k$.
3SG.OBJ with 3SG.OBJ DET Josese

b. Rau$_i$ gadre-va na-i tubutubu$_i$ nei Kata$_j$ me sa na
3DU.SBJ desire-TR DET-NMLZ parents POSS Kata should ASP DET
qara-vi **koya$_k$ gā vakai koya$_k$** o Josese$_k$.
look.after-TR 3SG.OBJ MODIF.emphatic according.to 3SG.OBJ DET Josese

c. Na-i tubutubu$_i$ nei Kata$_j$ e$_i$=gadre-va me qara-vi
DET-NMLZ parents POSS Kata 3SG.SBJ=desire-TR should look.after-TR
koya$_k$ gā o Josese$_k$.
3SG.OBJ MODIF.emphatic DET Josese

Fourteen translations were collected for both sentence (3.32) and sentence **(**3.33). All fourteen of the translations collected for (3.32) used the unmarked pronoun to refer to the long distance subject *Josese* regardless of the selection of the verb immediately preceding the reflexive. None of the fourteen translations collected for sentence (3.33), on the other hand, made use of the unmarked reflexive pronoun to refer to *Josese* when he was presented as the subject of the subordinate clause; rather, nine of the translations used the PRO-gā marked form (3.33c) and five of the translations used a variation of the PRO-gā-vakai-PRO marked form (3.33a) and (3.33b).

A chi-square test found this correlation between binding domain and reflexive marker to be significant at $p < .001$.

Table 3.13: Domain Constraints

THIRD PERSON SINGULAR	REFLEXIVE TYPE		
	Short (PRO)	*Mid* (PRO-gā)	*Long* (PRO-gā-vakai-PRO)
Coargument	0	9 (64%)	5 (36%)
Root S	14 (100%)	0	0
			sig. at p < .001

Due to the fact that none of the translations of sentences (3.30) and (3.31) made use of the PRO-gā-vakai-PRO marked reflexive in the embedded clause, it is assumed here that the long reflexive type differs from the mid reflexive type in following the Coargument Binding Condition rather than the Minimal Complete Nucleus Binding Condition while resembling the mid reflexive type in following the SUBJ Binding Condition. More research, however, will need to be carried out in order to confirm this assumption. Following these results, the antecedent and domain conditions for the three prototypical Fijian reflexive types are summarized in Table 3.14:

Table 3.14: Summary of Binding Constraints

REFLEXIVE TYPE	ANTECEDENT CONDITION	DOMAIN CONDITION
short (PRO)	GF Binding Condition	Root S Binding Condition
mid (PRO-gā)	SUBJ Binding Condition	Minimal Complete Nucleus Binding Condition
long (PRO-gā-vakai-PRO)	SUBJ Binding Condition	Coargument Binding Condition

3.2.3.2 Trends

Gaining a clear understanding of the relationship between verbs and their reflexive objects proved to be less straightforward than the earlier research implied, though clear patterns of reflexive type preference by different verbs are apparent in the data. Section 3.2.3.3 presents the statistical results arising from the rating scale and sentence translations sections of the surveys. This section presents the overall trends observed in context through the picture descriptions and story translations.

The data gathered from the picture descriptions clearly support the patterns of apparent reflexive marker selection criteria available to different verbs observed in the previous two research

projects. Each of the six surveys incorporated one of two illustrations that were designed to elicit responses that included either the verb *digitaki*, 'to vote', or verbs of personal hygiene in reflexive constructions. These two images, with a response representative of the data set collected, are presented below.

Figure 3.4: Miss Hibiscus

(3.34) Miss Hibiscus 1

O Kalara$_i$, Mere$_j$ kei Siteri$_k$ eratou$_{i,j,k}$ ā lewena na veisisivi levu
DET Kalara, Mere and Siteri 3PAUC.SBJ PST participants.of DET competition big
ni Adi Sēnitoa, se Hibiscus, ena yabaki sa oti. Eratou$_{i,j,k}$ yalewa rai~rai
of Miss Hibiscus or Hibiscus in.the year ASP done 3PAUC.SBJ woman appear
vinaka taucoko ia na gauna sa caka kina na veidigidigi o Mere$_j$
good all but DET time ASP do ADV.thereby DET election DET Mere
e$_j$=digi **koya$_j$ gā**, o Kalara$_i$ talegā e$_i$=digi **koya$_i$**
3SG.SBJ=vote 3SG.OBJ MODIF.emphatic DET Kalara also 3SG.SBJ=vote 3SG.OBJ
gā ia o Siteri$_k$ e$_k$=qai digi-taki Mere$_j$. Ka mani taura
MODIF.empahtic but DET Siteri 3SG.SBJ=then vote-TR Mere PST after.all take-TR
na cōcōvi ni Adi Senitoa o Mere$_j$.
DET prize associated.with Miss Hibiscus DET Mere

'Kalara, Mere and Siteri were the primary participants in the competition for Miss Senitoa or 'hibiscus' last year. They were all beautiful women, but when the election was held Mere voted for herself, Kalara also voted for herself but Siteri voted for Mere. After all, the prize for Miss Hibiscus was taken by Mere.'

(3.35) Miss Hibiscus 2

O Kalara$_i$, Siteri$_j$ kei Mere$_k$ ā via curu-ma na soqo ni
DET Kalara Siteri and Mere PST want.to enter-TR DET gather associated.with
veisivisivi ni Adi Senitoa. Ni caka na veidigidigi
competition associated.with Miss Hibiscus 2PL.SBJ do DET election
e=a dua levu kai kei Kalara$_i$ ka rua na kei Mere$_k$ mani
3SG.SBJ=PST one big point POSS Kalara and two DET point Mere after.all
wini-taka kina na Adi Senitoa.
win-TR ADV.thereby DET Miss Hibiscus

'Kalara, Siterei and Mere had wanted to enter the gathering for the Miss Hibiscus competition. The election was held. There was one point for Kalara and two for Mere, thus Mere won the Miss Hibiscus.'

Figure 3.5: Mere and Jone

(3.36) Mere and Jone 1

O Jone$_i$ e=dau tei painapiu. Na yakavi sa **toro~toro**
DET Jone 3SG.SBJ=often plant pineapple DET evening ASP shave
sara o koya$_i$ baleta ni$_j$ ā vatubu kumi$_j$
MODIF.emphatic DET 3SG.OBJ because 2PL.SBJ PST increase.growth beard
tū. ia o Mere$_k$ na watina e$_k$=lako tū i fish
MODIF.permanence and DET Mere DET spouse 3SG.SBJ=go MODIF.permanence to qoli.
lesu mai o Mere$_k$ sa qai sili me rau$_{i,k}$ lai sota
come back DET Mere ASP then bathe should 3DU.SBJ go meet
sara i vale ni kana.
MODIF.emphatic in house of eat

'Jone farms pineapples. That evening he shaves himself because he has grown a beard. And Mere his wife goes fishing. On her return Mere then bathes so that they can go to the restaurant.'

(3.37) Mere and Jone 2

a. Oti mai na tei~tei lako sara i sīsili ka tiro-vi **koya$_i$**
done at DET farm go MODIF.emphatic in bathe and look.at-TR 3SG.OBJ
ena ilo~ilo me toro-a na kumi-na$_i$.
in.the mirror should shave-TR DET beard-POSS
'After his time at the farm, he goes to wash and look at himself in the mirror that he may shave off his beard.'

b. Ena dua na mataka sa tiro-vi **koya$_i$** ko Jone$_i$ ena iloilo,
in.the one DET morning ASP look.at-TR 3SG.OBJ DET Jone in.the mirror
ena gauna e$_j$=sili tiko kina o Mere$_j$.
in.the time 3SG.SBJ=bathe MODIF.continuous ADV.thereby DET Mere
'One morning Jone looks at himself in the mirror, the same time Mere bathes.'

(3.38) Mere and Jone 3

a. O rau$_{i,j}$ sa qai mai sili, o Jone$_i$ sa lei toro-i
DET 3DU.OBJ ASP then come bathe DET Jone ASP go shave-TR
koya$_i$ gā, o Mere$_j$ sa lei sili...
3SG.OBJ MODIF.emphatic DET Mere ASP go bathe
'They then go bathe, Jone goes to shave himself, Mere goes to bathe.'

b. Ni$_{i,j}$ yaco mai nodratou$_{i,j}$ ko Mere$_i$ a mani va-sili-mi
2PL.SBJ arrive to.here 3PAUC.POSS DET Mere PST after.all CAUS-bathe-TR
koya$_i$ sara sa dua na kā na kena$_i$ boi vinaka.
3SG.OBJ MODIF.emphatic ASP one DET thing DET 2SG.POSS smell good
'On her arrival at their [home] Mere finally washes herself, something that gives her a good smell.'

c. O Jone$_i$ sa lei toro-i koya$_i$, o Mere sa lei sili.
DET Jone ASP go shave-TR 3SG.OBJ DET Mere ASP go bathe
'Jone goes to shave himself, Mere goes to bathe.'

(3.39) Mere and Jone 4

a. Oti gā yā, o rau$_{i,j}$ sa lei vaka-rau, o Jone$_i$
done MODIF.emphatic that DET 3DU.SBJ ASP go ADJ-prepare DET Jone
e$_i$=toro-i **koya$_i$ vataki koya$_i$**, o Mere$_j$ sa lei sili.
3SG.SBJ=shave=TR 3SG.OBJ with 3SG.SBJ DET Mere ASP go bathe
'After that, they go get ready, Jone shaves himself, Mere bathes.'

In total, forty 'Mere and Jone' stories and fifteen 'Miss Hibiscus' stories were collected from the project.[24] Of these, two of the 'Mere and Jone' stories used a marked form of the third person pronoun in reflexive constructions involving personal hygiene and all but three of the 'Miss Hibiscus' stories included the PRO-gā marked reflexive pronoun (3.34). The three 'Miss Hibiscus' stories that

[24] The complete set of data collected from these illustrations can be found in section IV of Appendix C.

did not include the marked pronoun were written in such a manner that they did not include any reflexive constructions and, thus, had no need for a reflexive pronoun, marked or unmarked; sentence (3.35) above provides an example of this.

The verbs of personal hygiene involving bathing and shaving in the 'Mere and Jone' stories were often used intransitively at the level of c-structure. Out of forty collected stories, only six used transitive verbs for shave or wash with a corresponding reflexive pronoun. Often constructions involving variations on the intransitive form of the verb *toroya* 'to shave' included the optional expanded NP form of the intransitive (3.36) whereas this was much less common in the constructions involving the verb *sīsili* 'to wash' (3.36). Likewise, reflexive pronouns were primarily found in reflexive constructions incorporating the transitive form of the verb *toroya* 'to shave'. The majority of these, four of the six, used the unmarked reflexive pronoun *koya* (3.38c). Only one story was found that used the PRO-gā marked pronoun in a transitive reflexive construction. Interestingly, in this story the reflexive constructions for both the verb *toroya* and the verb *sīsili* used a marked reflexive pronoun; this was *koya-gā* in the shaving context and *koya sara* in the bathing context (3.38). One story, equally, was found to use the long marked reflexive form PRO-gā-vakai-PRO within the shaving context (3.39).

Patterns of reflexive selection were somewhat less clearly apparent within the story translations. Data was collected for translations of six different stories with each survey incorporating one of the six. Each story was designed to include several different reflexive contexts within a particular theme: reflections (3.40**)**, art (3.41**)**, photography (3.42), television and radio (3.43), defense (3.44), and death (3.48). These stories, and examples of the data arising from their translations are presented below and the complete data set for each story is included in section III of Appendix C.

(3.40) The Mirror: There is a big mirror in Mere's grandmother's house. Mere likes to look at herself in the mirror. Sometimes she dresses herself in funny clothes and makes funny faces in the mirror. Mere has a younger sister. Sometimes she dresses her in funny clothes too. Mere's sister is frightened of the mirror. Once she saw Mere in the mirror and not herself. "I saw you in the mirror before you saw yourself," she told Mere.

a. E_i=dau tālei-taka o $Mere_i$ na titiro.
3SG.SBJ=often like-TR DET Mere DET look.at.reflection
'Mere likes to look at herself in the mirror.'

b. $Mere_i$ dau tālei-taka na rai-ci **koya$_i$** na ilo~ilo.
Mere often like-TR DET see-TR 3SG.OBJ DET mirror
'Mere likes to look at herself in the mirror.'

c. O $Mere_i$ dau vaka-rai-ci **koya gā** vana i
DET Mere often CAUS-see-TR 3SG.OBJ MODIF.emphatic with.the NMLZ
ilo~ilo.
mirror
'Mere likes to look at herself in the mirror.'

d. E_i=dau veisulu-taki **koya$_i$ gā** vaka-lasā,
3SG.SBJ=often change.clothes-TR 3SG.OBJ MODIF.emphatic CAUS-amuse.TR
qai dau cakava e sō na i matalasa mai vana ilo~ilo.
then often do-TR some DET NMLZ face.amusing from with.the mirror
'Sometimes she dresses herself in funny clothes and makes funny faces in the mirror.'

e. Dua na siga e_i=ā rai-ca na i taba kei $Mere_j$ ena ilo~ilo
one DET day 3SG.SBJ=PST see-TR DET NMLZ image with Mere in.the mirror
ka sega ni rai-ci **koya$_i$** rawa.
and NEG see-TR 3SG.OBJ to.be.able
'Once she saw Mere in the mirror and not herself.'

f. Dua na guana o $koya_i$ rai-ci $Mere_j$ i na ilo~ilo sebera ni rai-ci
one DET time DET 3SG.SBJ see-TR Mere NMLZ DET mirror before see-TR
koya$_i$ vataki koya$_i$ gā. "Au_i rai-ci iko_j i
3SG.OBJ with 3SG.OBJ MODIF.emphatic 1SG.SBJ see-TR 2SG.OBJ NMLZ
lui, sebera ni o rai-ci **iko$_j$ vataki iko$_j$**."
precede before DET see-TR 2SG.OBJ with 2SG.OBJ
'Once she saw Mere in the mirror before she saw herself. "I saw you in the mirror before you saw yourself."'

g. "Au_i ā rai-ci iko_j ena ilo~ilo ni bera $nomu_j$ rai-ci
1SG.SBJ PST see-TR 2SG.OBJ in.the mirror before 2SG.POSS see-TR
iko$_j$" tuku-na o $koya_i$ vei $Mere_j$.
2SG.OBJ tell-TR DET 3SG.CARD to Mere
'"I saw you in the mirror before you saw yourself," she told Mere.'

Ten participants completed the translation work for the mirror story. Many of the translations were written in such a manner that reflexive marking was not used for the first half of the story. For example, as demonstrated in (3.40a), the noun *titiro*, 'reflection', is used instead of the original phrase 'look at herself in the mirror'. In other translations the sentence is skipped altogether. When a

reflexive construction is used, the choice of reflexive marker varies quite considerably from translation to translation. As (3.40b) – (3.40g) illustrate, the short unmarked pronoun, the mid marked PRO-gā, and variations of the long PRO-ā-vakai- PRO reflexive types were all used with fairly equal frequency within the translations. This suggests that reflexive marking on the verb *raici*, 'to see', is not as strictly limited to unmarked pronouns as the earlier data sets suggest. The results from the sentence translations and rating scaled sections of the survey provide further evidence for this observation as will be discussed in the following section (3.2.3.3).

The craft room story in (3.41) was written to take into account reflexive markings regarding representations of the self with the intention of developing an understanding of the coreferential range of the Fijian reflexive types. Of particular interest is the statue sentence inspired by Jackendoff (1992) near the end of the story.

(3.41) The Craft Room: Welcome to the craft room. Here we can do many projects. Some people like to do handicrafts. They help themselves to the pandanus leaves and yarn. Other people like to take photographs. If you come here often you might see a picture of yourself hanging on the wall. The man sitting in the corner next to the mirror is Jone. He likes to draw. Right now he is drawing a picture of himself. He is looking at himself in the mirror to help with the drawing. Would you like to draw a picture of yourself? I tried to draw a picture of myself once but I did not like it so I threw it away. Instead of drawing I like to make statues. On the shelf you can see a statue I made of myself. I used to keep my statue near the front door but I did not like seeing myself standing there every time I entered the room. Anyway, make yourself at home. You are welcome here anytime.

a. Kē o_i lako mai kē vawasoma o_i na rawa ni
here 2SG.SBJ come here often 2SG.SBJ DET to.be.able to
rai-ca$_j$ na **kemu$_i$** i taba ni na lili toka i
see-TR.3SG.OBJ DET 2SG.POSS NMLZ picture that DET hang continuance at
lalaga.
freely
'If you come here often you might see a picture of yourself hanging on the wall.'

b. Na gauna sara gā qō e_i=droini-taki
DET time MODIF.emphatic MODIF.emphatic here 3SG.SBJ=draw-TR
koya$_i$ tiko gā.
3SG.OBJ MODIF.continuous MODIF.emphatic
'Right now he is drawing a picture of himself.'

c. E_i=droini-taki **koya$_i$** **sara** **tiko**
3SG.SBJ=draw-TR 3SG.OBJ MODIF.emphatic MODIF.continuous
gā na gauna qō.
MODIF.emphatic DET time here
'Right now he is drawing a picture of himself.'

d. O toro-vi **koya$_i$** tiko ena ilo~ilo me rawa ni
DET approach-TR 3SG.OBJ MODIF.continuous in.the mirror should be.able to
droini-taki **koya$_i$** vaka-vinaka.
draw-TR 3SG.OBJ ADV-well
'He is looking at himself in the mirror to help with the drawing.'

e. E_i=rai-ci **koya$_i$** tiko i na ilo~ilo me vuke-i
3SG.SBJ=see-TR 3SG.OBJ MODIF.continuous in DET mirror should help-TR
koya$_i$ e na $nona_i$ droini.
3SG.OBJ in DET 3SG.POSS drawing
'He is looking at himself in the mirror to help with the drawing.'

f. O_i via tovole-a mo_i droini-taki **iko$_i$**
2SG.SBJ want.to try-TR should[2SG.SBJ] draw-TR 2SG.OBJ
gā?
MODIF.emphatic
Would you like to draw a picture of yourself?

g. O_i via droini-taki **iko$_i$** **gā** **vakai** **iko$_i$**?
2SG.SBJ want.to draw-TR 2SG.OBJ MODIF.emphatic according.to 2SG.OBJ
Would you like to draw a picture of yourself?

h. Au_i ā tovole-a me-u_i droini-taki **au$_i$** **gā** ia
1SG.SBJ PST try-TR let-1SG.SBJ draw-TR 1SG.OBJ MODIF.emphatic but
au ā sega ni tālei-taka...
1SG.SBJ PST NEG like-TR.3SG.OBJ
'I tried to draw draw a picture of myself once but I did not like it...'

i. Au_i ā droini-taki **au$_i$** **gā** **vakai** **au$_i$** ia
1SG.SBJ PST draw-TR 1SG.OBJ MODIF.emphatic according.to 1SG.OBJ but
au_i sega ni mani talei-taka au_i ā qai viritaka laivi.
1SG.SBJ NEG after.all like-TR 1SG.SBJ PST then throw-TR away
'I tried to draw a picture of myself once but I did not like it so I threw it away.'"

j. Au_i ā dau biu-ta tiko na **kequ** matakau i na
1SG.SBJ PST often put-TR MODIF.continuous DET 1SG.POSS statue in DET
yasa ni kātuba, ia au_i sega ni dau talei-taka me-u_i rai-ci
place of door but 1SG.SBJ NEG often like-TR should-1SG.SBJ see-TR
au$_i$ **tiko** **gā** ena vei-gauna au_i dau
1SG.OBJ MODIF.continuous MODIF.emphatic in.the PL-time 1SG.SBJ often
curu mai kina i loma ni rumu.
enter from ADV.thereby in middle POSS room
'I used to keep my statue near the front door but I did not like seeing myself standing there every time I entered the room.'

k. Au$_i$ ā dau maroro-ya tū na vatakarakara e
1SG.SBJ PST often take.care.of-TR MODIF.permanently DET statue in
yasa-na kātuba iliu ia au$_i$ ā sega ni talei-taka na rai-ca na
place-POSS door before but 1SG.SBJ PST NEG like-TR DET see-TR DET
kequ$_i$ i vatakarakara na vei-gauna au$_i$ curu mai
3SG.POSS NMLZ statue DET PL-time 1SG.SBJ enter from
kina iliu.
ADV.thereby before
'I used to keep my statue near the front door but I did not like seeing myself standing there every time I entered the room.'

Only three participants provided translations of the craft room story. Interestingly, all of the translations were fairly consistent in using a marked pronoun in reflexive constructions involving the verb *droinitaka* 'to draw' (3.41b,c,f,g,h,i). The unmarked reflexive pronoun, however, also appears to be acceptable in certain contexts involving the verb *droinitaka* as (3.41d) demonstrates. The use of the reflexive construction *droinitaki koya* (3.41d) follows an earlier use of *e droinitaki koya tiko gā* (3.41b) in the same translation. Unlike many of the translations in the mirror story discussed above, none of the translations involving the reflection context used a marked form of the reflexive as (3.41d) and (3.41e) demonstrate. Reflexive contexts involving photographic representation avoided the need for marking altogether with the use of the possessive third person pronoun *kemu* (3.41a). The possessive first person pronoun was, equally, used in several instances with respect to the statue context (3.41j). One translation, however, did use a marked form of the first person singular pronoun *au tiko gā* to refer to the speaker's statue self (3.41k). This would suggest that the PRO-gā marked form of the reflexive might have a certain degree of referential flexibility. However, further research and much more data on statue contexts in Fijian is needed before the referential range of the different reflexive types can be clearly determined.

The photographer story also explores reflexive marking on representations of the self. This story was designed to determine whether participants marked reflexive contexts involving a photographic representation of the self differently from those involving a reflection in a mirror.

(3.42) The Photographer: Jone is a farmer and a photographer. He grows pineapples and taro on his farm. In his free time Jone likes to take pictures of people, places, and animals. Many of his friends ask Jone to photograph them and their homes. Everyone wants a picture of himself to send to friends. Kalara has two of Jone's photos of her. Jone has three of his photographs of himself. Melika has one of Jone's pictures. Melika has a sister named Tulia. One day she saw a picture of herself with her and asked Jone if she could keep it. Recently Jone took a picture of Waisale Serevi and now everybody wants the picture of him.

a. O $ira_{i,j,k,l}$ kece qō era vinaka-ta esō na **$kedra_{i,j,k}$** i taba
DET 3PL.CARD all here 3PL.SBJ want-TR some DET 3PL.POSS NMLZ photo
me rawa ni vakau vei ira na nodra i tokani.
should be.able to CAUS-take to $3PL.CARD_{i,j,k,l}$ DET 3PL.POSS NMLZ friends
'Everyone wants a picture of himself to send to friends.'

b. O $Jone_i$ e_i=tiko vuā e tolu na **$kena_i$** **i**
DET Jone 3SG.SBJ=MODIF.permanence to.him three DET 3SG.POSS NMLZ
taba gā o $koya_i$.
photo MODIF.emphatic DET 3SG.OBJ
'Jone has three of his photographs of himself.'

c. O $Jone_i$ e tolu na **kena** i taba vataki **$koya_i$**
DET Jone three DET 3SG.POSS NMLZ photo with 3SG.OBJ
gā.
MODIF.emphatic
'Jone has three of his photographs of himself.'

d. O $Jone_i$ e tolu na **$nona_i$** i taba baleti **$koya_i$**
DET Jone three DET 3SG.POSS NMLZ photo concerning 3SG.OBJ
gā.
MODIF.emphatic
'Jone has three of his photographs of himself.'

e. Dua na siga e=ā rai-ca o $koya_i$ e dua na **$kedrau_{i,j}$** i
one DET day 3SG.SBJ=PST see-TR DET 3SG.CARD one DET 3DU.POSS NMLZ
taba vaka veitaci-ni a qai kere-a vei Jone me maroro-ya.
photo with sister-POSS PST then ask-TR to Jone should take.care.of-TR
'One day she saw a picture of herself with her and asked Jone if she could keep it.'

Five translations of the photographer story were collected from the project. The majority of these translations used the possessive marker observed in (3.41a) from the craft room story to mark the reflexive in contexts involving a photographic image of the subject (3.42a) and (3.42b). This was the case for all of the reflexive contexts in the story except for translations of the sentence *Jone has three of his photographs of himself*. Two different strategies were observed for these translations. Three of the participants added the emphatic marker *gā* after the noun *i taba* 'photograph'; in these instances, the noun was preceded by a possessive pronoun (3.42b). The other two participants used both a

possessive marker before the noun *i taba* followed by the marked, PRO-gā, reflexive form incorporated within a prepositional phrase after the noun, (3.42c) and (3.42d).

The television story is the last of the stories to explore different types of representations of the self. This story was designed to determine if reflexive constructions involving seeing and hearing were influenced by the context as was discussed in section 3.2.1.

(3.43) The Television: Josese has been interviewed on television. After the interview he went out with his friends Jone, Marika, Ualita, and Kalara. They watched him on the television. Josese saw himself on the television. He was very happy. "Did you like seeing yourself on the television?" Kalara asked him. "I liked seeing myself on television very much," he told her. Kalara knew he would be happy because it was himself he had seen on the television. Two days ago she had heard herself speaking with a friend on the radio and enjoyed it very much. When Josese returned home after watching television with his friends he looked at himself in the mirror. "I sure look good," he told himself as he waved goodbye to his friends.

a. E_i=ā sara-vi **koya$_i$** **tale** **gā** ko
3SG.SBJ=PST watch-TR 3SG.OBJ MODIF.inclusion MODIF.emphatic DET
Josese$_i$ ena retio yaloyalo.
Josese in.the television
'Josese saw himself on the television.'

b. O_i ā tālei-taka beka ni_i ko ā rai-ci **iko$_i$**
2SG.SBJ PST like perhaps 2PL.SBJ DET PST see-TR 2SG.OBJ
tū ena raitio yaloyalo?
MODIF.permanence in.the television
'Did you like seeing yourself on the television?'

c. O_i tālei-taka na rai-ci **iko$_i$** ena retio yaloyalo?
2SG.SBJ like-TR DET see-TR 2SG.OBJ in.the television
'Did you like seeing yourself on the television?'

d. O_i tālei-taka na **nomu$_i$** sara-vi **iko$_i$** **tale**
2SG.SBJ like-TR DET 2SG.POSS watch-TR 2SG.OBJ MODIF.inclusion
tiko Josese$_i$?
MODIF.permanence Josese
'Did you like seeing yourself on the television?'

e. Au_i ā tālei-taka vaka-levu **noqu$_i$** ā rai-ci **au$_i$** ena
1SG.SBJ PST like-TR ADV-greatly 1SG.POSS PST see-TR 1SG.OBJ in.the
raitio yaloyalo.
television
'I liked seeing myself on the television very much.'

f. Io au_i tālei-taka na sara-vi **au$_i$** **tale**
yes 1SG.SBJ like-TR DET watch-TR 1SG.OBJ MODIF.inclusion
tiko.
MODIF.permanence
'I liked seeing myself on the television very much.'

g. Au$_i$ tālei-taka na rai-ci **au$_i$** ena retio yaloyalo.
1SG.SBJ like-TR DET see-TR 1SG.OBJ in.the television
'I liked seeing myself on the television very much.'

h. E$_i$=kila$_i$ ko Kalara$_i$ ni tālei-taka$_j$ sara
3SG.SBJ=know.3SG.SBJ DET Kalara that like-TR.3SG.OBJ MODIF.emphatic
vaka-levu baleta ni sara-vi **koya$_j$** **gā** ena
ADV-greatly because that watch-TR 3SG.OBJ MODIF.emphatic in.the
retio yaloyalo.
television
'Kalara knew he would be happy because he saw himself on the television.'

i. E$_i$=kila o Kalara$_i$ ni ā mārau-taka$_j$
3SG.SBJ=know-TR.3SG.OBJ DET Kalara that PST be.pleased-TR.3SG.OBJ
vaka-levu ni ā rai-ci **koya$_j$** ena ratio yaloyalo o Josese$_j$.
ADV-greatly that PST see-TR 3SG.OBJ in.the television DET Josese
'Kalara knew he would be happy because he saw himself on the television.'

j. Kila vinaka sara tū gā o
know well MODIF.emphatic MODIF.permanence MODIF.emphatic DET
Kalara$_i$ ni tālei-taka$_j$ o Josese$_j$ na **nona$_j$** sara-vi$_j$ **koya$_j$**.
Kalara that like-TR.3SG.SBJ DET Josese DET 3SG.POSS watch-TR 3SG.OBJ
'Kalara knew he would be happy because he saw himself on the television.'

k. ...e rua na siga lai vaka-rogo-ci **koya$_i$** **tale**
two DET day away CAUS-hear-TR 3SG.OBJ MODIF.inclusion
tiko o Kalara$_i$ ena retio...
MODIF.permanence DET Kalara in.the radio
'...two days ago she had heard herself speaking on the radio...'

l. ...e$_i$=ā lai tiro-vi **koya$_i$** ena ilo~ilo. "Au$_i$ sa
3SG.SBJ=PST away look.at-TR 3SG.OBJ in.the mirror 1SG.SBJ ASP
rui rai~rai vinaka dina" e$_i$=ā tuku-na$_i$ lo
exceedingly appearance good truly 3SG.SBJ=PST tell-TR.3SG.OBJ quietly
gā **vakai** **koya$_i$**...
MODIF.emphatic according.to 3SG.OBJ
'...he looked at himself in the mirror. "I sure look good" he told himself...'

m. Nona$_i$ qai lesu e vale o Josese$_i$, iro-vi **koya$_i$** ena ilo~ilo
3SG.POSS then return to house DET Josese glance-TR 3SG.OBJ in.the mirror
ka kaya "Au$_i$ sa rai~rai vinaka dina."
PST say 1SG.SBJ ASP appearance good truly
'When Josese returned home he looked at himself in the mirror. "I sure look good" he told himself.'

Three participants provided translations for the television story and each translation demonstrated enough variation in its realization of reflexive constructions that it was difficult to identify any clear trends. As was the case with the mirror story, the preferred reflexive marker for translations of seeing oneself was the short PRO form (3.43c,g,e,i,j,l,m). Overall, there was only one occurrence of both the prototypical long reflexive type, PRO-gā-vakai-PRO, (3.43l) and the

prototypical mid, PRO-gā, reflexive type (3.43h). The long reflexive was used in a context unrelated to the act of seeing oneself; rather, it followed the verb *tukuna* 'to tell' in a translation of the phrase *he told himself*. Unexpectedly, several of the translations did demonstrate marking on the reflexive pronoun, but these markers differed from the emphatic modifiers *gā* and *sara* generally observed in reflexive constructions. Rather, the 'continuous' post-head modifier *tiko* and the 'repetitive' post-head modifier *tale* were employed in reflexive translations of contexts involving watching oneself on television or hearing oneself on the radio (3.43d,f,k) and the implications of this will be discussed shortly. Another unusual reflexive pronoun modifier was the 'permanence' post-head modifier *tū* (3.43b). Possessive pronouns were also employed fairly frequently in the translations of the television story (3.43d,e,j).

It is worth noting that the manner in which the self is portrayed does influence the choice of reflexive type. Photographic representations of the self (3.42) primarily use the possessive pronoun, reflections of the self demonstrate regular use of all three of the prototypical reflexive types (3.40), the act of drawing the self demonstrates a marked preference for the long, PRO-gā-vakai-PRO reflexive type (3.41), and filmed or recorded representations of the self result in previously unnoticed reflexive constructions involving post-head modifiers that carry a 'moment in time' element (3.43). In part, these differences might be influenced by the sentence structure. The reflexive pronoun in sentences involving photographs in (3.42) is generally located in a prepositional phrase, *everyone wants a picture of himself*, which facilitates the use of the possessive pronoun. All of the examples involving drawings in (3.41), however, could be read as incorporating the reflexive as direct object, *drawing a picture of himself = drawing himself*. Whereas the photographs tend to be presented as nouns in the translations, drawing is presented as a verb with a reflexive object. With this in mind, it is predicted that a translation of an utterance such as, *Fred gave me a drawing of myself*, would follow the pattern observed in (3.42) and make use of the possessive pronoun rather than a reflexive object of a

preposition. The mirror context, on the other hand, is perhaps not as readily able to conform to the possessive reflexive marking since a reflection is not truly a distinct object separate from and able to be possessed by the viewer. Likewise, the image of the self in the television context is equally difficult to possess (though the event of watching oneself on the television can be possessed as (3.43d), (3.43e), and (3.43j) illustrate). The distinct 'moment in time' marking on the reflexive constructions in the television and radio contexts is particularly interesting. Unlike a reflection of the self in a mirror, recordings of the self on television and the radio do portray a distinct and limited moment of the past that is not readily available in most other reflexive contexts which might explain the time specific marking observed in (3.43).

The wild pig story was written to encourage comparative deletion constructions that might provide more information on the semantic transitivity of the reflexive constructions.

(3.44) The Wild Pig: One day Salote and Josese were walking in the forest. As they walked Josese began to sing a song to himself. "Why are you singing to yourself?" Salote asked him. "I am singing to myself because I have been told there are wild pigs in this forest. I hope they will hear me singing and stay away from us," he answered. "Wow," said Salote, "Do you think you could defend yourself from a wild pig? I don't think I could defend myself very well." "I would try to defend us both," Josese said, "but I think it would be very difficult." Just then a wild pig did come out of the forest. Salote was very frightened and ran away. Josese defended himself better than Salote defended herself. That night Josese had wild pig for dinner.

a. Nodrau$_{i,j}$ taubale tiko sa qai lagasere cake mai o
3DU.POSS walk MODIF.permanence ASP then sing upwards at DET
Josese$_i$.
Josese
'As they walked Josese began to sing a song to himself.'

b. Rau$_{i,j}$ taubale tiko o Josese$_i$ sa tekivu lagasere
3.DU.SBJ walk MODIF.permanence DET Josese ASP begin sing
tiko vei **koya$_i$**.
MODIF.permanence to 3SG.CARD
As they walked Josese began to sing a song to himself.

c. Baleta cava o lagasere tiko vei **iko$_i$**?
why DET sing MODIF.permanence to 2SG.CARD
'Why are you singing to yourself?'

d. Au_i lagasere tiko baleta e=dau tuku-ni na
1SG.SBJ sing MODIF.permanence because 3SG.SBJ=often tell-TR DET
$vuaka_j$ kila e_j=tiko e loma ni vei-kau.
pig wild 3SG.SBJ=stay in inside of PL-tree
'I am singing to myself because I have been told there are wild pigs in this forest.'

e. O_i nanu-ma ni o na rawa ni taqo-maki **iko_i** vei
2SG.SBJ think-TR that DET FUT be.able to take.care.of-TR 2SG.OBJ from
dua na vuaka ni vei-kau?
one DET pig POSS PL-tree
'Do you think you could defend yourself from a wild pig?

f. Au_i sega ni vakabauta ni-u_i na rawa ni
1SG.SBJ NEG CAUS-believe-TR that-1SG.SBJ DET be.able to
taqo-maki **au_i** **sara** vaka-vinaka.
take.care.of-TR 1SG.OBJ MODIF.emphatic ADV-well.
'I don't think I could defend myself very well.'

g. Au_i kila au_i na sega ni rawa ni taqo-maki **au_i**.
1SG.SBJ know 1SG.SBJ DET NEG be.able to take.care.of-TR 1SG.OBJ
'I don't think I could defend myself very well.'

h. O $Josese_i$ e_i=taqo-maki **$koya_i$** va-vinaka sara
DET Josese 3SG.SBJ=take.care.of-TR 3SG.OBJ ADV-well MODIF.emphatic
mai vei $Salote_j$.
from Salote
'Josese defended himself better than Salote defended herself.'

Five participants provided translations to the wild pig story. There was very little difference in the translations of the reflexive constructions within the story for each of the participants. In particular, four of the five participants provided a comparative deletion interpretation of the sentence 'Josese defended himself better than Salote defended herself.' The fifth participant did not complete the translation and, thus, did not provide any data for this construction. All four of these responses were quite similar to the one presented in (3.44h). This follows the data discussed in the previous section (3.2.2.2) suggesting that the unmarked reflexive pronoun *koya* can have both a strict and sloppy interpretation and, thus, can be semantically transitive. Overall, only one of the reflexive constructions provided in the wild pig story included a marked pronoun in a reflexive construction. Sentence (3.44f) uses the first person singular pronoun *au* marked with the emphatic post-head modifier *sara*.

Data from the sentence translations support the observation that the short reflexive pronoun is semantically transitive.

(3.45) Jone defended himself better than Kalara.

a. E_i=vinaka cake nona$_i$ tataqo-maki **koya$_i$** o Jone$_i$ 9
3SG.SBJ=good more 3SG.POSS take.care.of-TR 3SG.OBJ DET Jone
mai vei Kalara$_j$.
from Kalara.

b. O Jone$_i$ e_i=taqo-maki **koya$_i$** vaka-vinaka cake 4
DET Jone 3SG.SBJ=take.care.of-TR 3SG.OBJ ADV-well more
mai vei Kalara$_j$.
from Kalara

(3.46) Josese defended himself better than Isoa defended him.

a. E_i=vinaka cake na nona$_i$ tataqo-maki **koya$_i$** o 5
3SG.SBJ=good more DET 3SG.POSS take.care.of-TR 3SG.OBJ DET
Josese$_i$ mai vei Isoa$_j$.
Josese from Isoa

b. O Josese$_i$ e_i=taqo-maki **koya$_i$** vinaka cake mai vei 7
DET Josese 3SG.SBJ=take.care.of-TR 3SG.OBJ good more from
Isoa$_j$.
Isoa

c. E_i=taqo-maki **koya$_i$** vaka-vinaka cake o Josese$_i$ 2
3SG.SBJ=take.care.of-TR 3SG.OBJ ADV-well more DET Josese
mai vei Isoa$_j$.
from Isoa

(3.47) Josese defended himself better than Kalara defended herself.

a. O Josese$_i$ e_i=taqo-maki **koya$_i$** vaka-vinaka cake 12
DET Josese 3SG.SBJ=take.care.of-TR 3SG.OBJ ADV-well more
sara mai vei Kalara$_j$.
MODIF.emphatic from Kalara

b. Nona$_i$ taqo-maki **koya$_i$** o Josese$_i$ e_i=vinaka cake 1
3SG.POSS take.care.of-TR 3SG.OBJ DET Josese 3SG.SBJ=good more
mai na tataqo-maki nei Kalara$_j$
from DET take.care.of-TR POSS Kalara

Lastly, the villain story was written to gather information on the use of reflexive marking in contexts that involving the act of committing suicide.

(3.48) The Villain: Paul Bucket was a super-hero. He worked hard to save the world from evil. Everybody loved him. Paul Bucket's greatest enemy was The Villain. Paul believed The Villain wanted to kill him. The Villain was very good at disguising himself. His favorite disguise was to make himself look like an old, one-eyed man. He loved himself in that disguise because nobody could recognize him in it. He couldn't even recognize himself. One day the police found the dead body of an old, one-eyed man and a note that said "I killed myself" pinned to the body. The police believed that The Villain had killed himself so that no one would be able to catch him. "You bad man," the police said, "You killed yourself before we could catch you." Paul Bucket did not believe The Villain had killed himself. He believed The Villain would return one day.

a. O vilani$_i$ e$_i$=dau matai na veiveisautaka na **kena$_i$ i**
DET villain 3SG.SBJ=often clever DET disguise DET 3SG.POSS NMLZ
rairai.
appearance
'The Villain was very good at disguising himself.'

b. Au$_i$ ā vaka-mate-i **au$_i$**.
1SG.SBJ PST CAUS-die-TR 1SG.OBJ
'I killed myself.'

c. Au$_i$ vaka-mate-i **au$_i$ vakai au$_i$ gā**.
1SG.SBJ CAUS-die-TR 1SG.OBJ according.to 1SG.OBJ MODIF.emphatic
'I killed myself.'

d. Ratou$_{j,k,l}$ va-bau-ta na ovisa$_{j,k,l}$ ni o Vilani$_i$ e$_i$=ā
3PAUC.SBJ CAUS-believe-TR DET police that DET villain 3SG.SBJ=PST
va-mate-i **koya$_i$ gā vakataki koya$_i$…**
CAUS-die-TR 3SG.OBJ MODIF.emphatic with 3SG.OBJ
'The police believed that The Villain had killed himself...'

e. O ira$_{j,k,l}$ na ovisa$_{j,k,l}$ sa ra$_{j,k,l}$ nanu-ma sara ni sa
DET 3SG.CARD DET police ASP 3PL.SBJ think-TR MODIF.emphatic that ASP
mate **ko koya$_i$**,
dead DET 3SG.OBJ
'The police believed that The Villain was dead...'

f. O$_i$ ā vaka-mate-i **iko$_i$ gā** me keitou$_{j,k,l}$
2SG.SBJ PST CAUS-die-TR 2SG.OBJ MODIF.emphatic should 1EXCL.PAUC.SBJ
kua ni tobo-ki iko$_i$ rawa.
prohibit that catch-TR 2SG.OBJ be.able
'You killed yourself before we could catch you.'

g. Iko$_i$ vaka-mate-i **iko$_i$** sebera ni keitou$_{j,k,l}$ tobo-ki iko$_i$.
2SG.SBJ CAUS-die-TR 2SG.OBJ before 1EXCL.PAUC.SBJ catch-TR 2SG.OBJ
'You killed yourself before we could catch you.'

h. Sega ni va-bau-ta o Josese Vokete$_i$ ni ā va-mate-i **koya$_j$**
NEG CAUS-believe-TR DET Josese Bucket that PST CAUS-die-TR 3SG.OBJ
gā vakai koya$_j$ o vilani$_j$.
MODIF.emphatic according.to 3SG.OBJ DET villain.
'Paul Bucket did not believe The Villain had killed himself.'

i. O Paul Bucket$_i$ e$_i$=sega ni vaka-bau-ti koya$_j$ ni sa
DET Paul Bucket 3SG.SBJ=NEG CAUS-believe-TR 3SG.SBJ that ASP
vaka-mate-i **koya$_j$ gā.**
CAUS-die-TR 3SG.OBJ MODIF.emphatic
'Paul Bucket did not believe The Villain had killed himself.'

Only three participants provided translations of the villain story. These translations hinted at interesting effects person has on the selection of reflexive marking in constructions involving the verb *vakamatei*, 'to kill'. For the most part, constructions that incorporated the third person singular pronoun required a marked form of the reflexive (3.48d,h,i). The only exception to this was found in in (3.48e) in which the intransitive verb *mate*, 'to die', is followed by a proper noun article and an unmarked pronoun. This is an example of the expanded intransitive structure described in section 3.1.1 (3.2) and translates roughly as *the villain is dead* though in (3.48e) it has been written as a translation of the utterance *The police believed that The Villain had killed himself*. It is included here since it resembles Hazlewood's (1872) description of reflexive pronouns (section 3.1.4). Translations that incorporated first and second person reflexive constructions differed in that the short PRO reflexive type was used in several instances (3.48b,g). Marked forms of the reflexive were also observed for the first and second person reflexive constructions – the long PRO-gā-vakai-PRO reflexive type was used in first person (3.48c) and the mid PRO-gā reflexive type was used in second person (3.48f).

Table 3.15 summarizes the trends observed from the illustration and story data discussed in this section.

Table 3.15: Trends – Illustrations and Story Translations

VERB	SHORT PRO	MID PRO-gā	LONG PRO-gā-vakai-PRO	NOTE
digitaka (to vote)		3rd: Reflexive (3.34)		The responses collected all use the mid reflexive type. (3.34), (3.35)
toroya (to shave)		3rd: (3.38a)	3rd: (3.39a)	Most participants use the intransitive form of the verb. (3.36)
sīsili (to bathe)				All participants use the intransitive form of the verb. (3.37a), (3.37b), (3.38a), (3.39a)
vakasilima (to wash all over)		3rd: *koya sara* (3.38b)		Most participants use the intransitive form of the verb.
tirovi (to glance at)	3rd: (3.37a), (3.37b), (3.43m)	3rd: *koya tiko* (3.41d)		The short reflexive type is preferred.
titiro (N: reflection)				Most translations of *seeing oneself in the mirror* use intransitive verbs and nouns like *titiro*, 'reflection'. (3.40a)
raica (to look at, see)	1st: TV (3.43e), (3.43g), (3.43i) 2nd: MIRROR (3.40g) 2nd: TV (3.43c) 3rd: MIRROR (3.40b), (3.40e) 3rd: TV (3.43i)	1st: No Data 2nd: TV - *iko tū* (3.43b) 3rd: MIRROR – *koya tiko* (3.41e)	1st: STATUE – *au tiko gā* (3.41j) 2nd: MIRROR (3.40f) 2nd: TV – *iko tale tiko* (3.43d) 3rd: MIRROR (3.40f)	Translations of *seeing oneself in a photograph* use possessive pronouns and nouns. (3.41a)
vakaraica (watch, inspect)		3rd: MIRROR (3.40c)		The only instance of *vakaraica* is observed in the mirror context. The verb *sarava* 'to watch' is preferred in the television translations.
veisulutaka (to dress)		3rd: (3.40d)		Verbs such as *vakaisulu*, 'put on clothes' with the corresponding adverb *vakalasa*, 'amusing', and *darava*, 'put on', with the object *isulu*, 'clothes', were preferred over the verb *veisulutaka* with a reflexive object.
droinitaka (to draw)	1st: No Data 2nd: No Data 3rd: (3.41d)	1st: (3.41g) 2nd: (3.41f) 3rd: No Data	1st: (3.41h) 2nd: (3.41g) 3rd: *koya tiko gā* (3.41b) 3rd: *koya sara tiko gā* (3.41c)	The long reflexive type is preferred.
vukei (to help)	3rd: (3.41e)			Only one translation incorporating the verb *vukei* is observed in the data.
sarava (to watch)	1st: No Data 2nd: No Data 3rd: TV (3.43j)	1st: No Data 2nd: No Data 3rd: TV (3.43h)	1st: TV – *au tale tiko* (3.43f) 3rd: TV – *koya tale gā* (3.43)d.	As mentioned above, *sarava* is the preferred verb for translations of 'to watch' in the television context.
vakarogoca (to hear)			3rd: RADIO – *koya tale tiko* (3.43k)	*Vakarogoca* is the causative form of *rogoca* which, though the preferred verb form in the translation, does not incorporate a reflexive argument.
vakamatei (to kill)	1st: (3.48b) 2nd: (3.48g) 3rd: No Data	1st: No Data 2nd: (3.48f) 3rd: (3.48i)	1st: (3.48c) 2nd: No Data 3rd: (3.48d), (3.48h)	The reflexive arguments of *vakamatei* are generally marked. The third person, in particular, did not appear in the data as a short reflexive.

3.3.2.3 Verb Groups

This section presents statistical analysis of the data gathered in the rating scale and translation sections of the survey. Chi-square tests were employed in order to identify significant correlations between reflexive markers and different verbs and to determine the significance of the influence of person on reflexive marker selection.

Overall, the data from the sentence translations demonstrate a significant correlation between reflexive marking and the verb for Fijian reflexive constructions regardless of person. Tables 3.16 – 3.18 and Figures 3.6 – 3.8 summarize these results.

Table 3.16: Translation Data – 1st Person

First Person Singular	Reflexive Type		
	Short	*Mid*	*Long*
see	13 (57%)	6 (43%)	0
hear	7 (50%)	7 (50%)	0
shave	2 (11%)	13 (72%)	3 (16%)
wash	14 (74%)	1 (5%)	4 (21%)
hate	17 (74%)	3 (13%)	3 (13%)
love	24 (83%)	5 (17%)	0
shoot	3 (18%)	6 (35%)	8 (47%)
kill	5 (28%)	13 (72%)	0
vote	5 (20%)	17 (68%)	3 (12%)
			sig. at p < .001

Figure 3.6: Translation Data – 1st Person

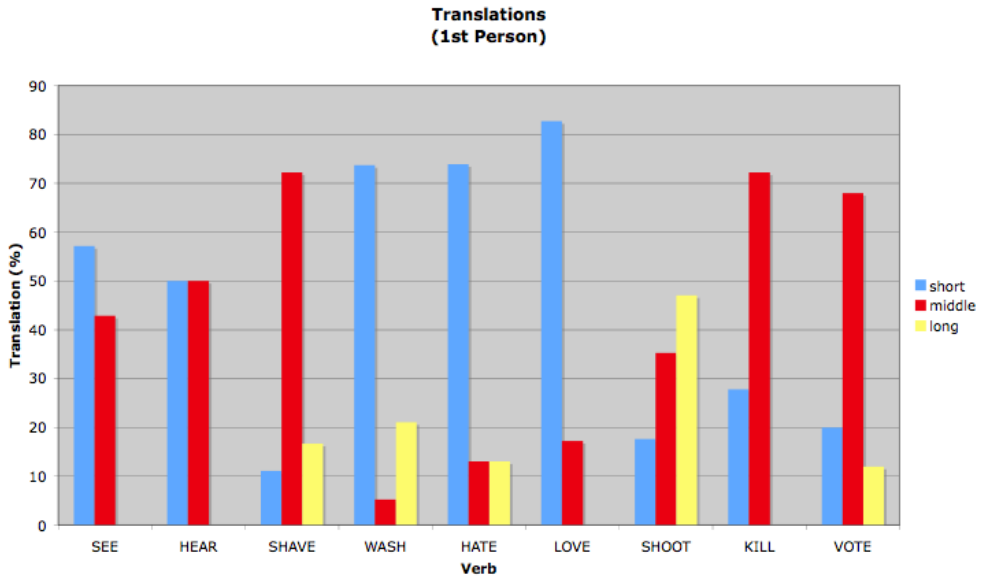


Table 3.17: Translation Data – 2nd Person

SECOND PERSON SINGULAR	REFLEXIVE TYPE		
	Short	*Mid*	*Long*
see	8 (53%)	7 (47%)	0
hear	7 (50%)	7 (50%)	0
shave	11 (52%)	1 (5%)	9 (43%)
wash	6 (50%)	3 (25%)	3 (25%)
hate	17 (100%)	0	0
love	11 (69%)	4 (25%)	1 (6%)
shoot	5 (23%)	4 (18%)	13 (59%)
kill	3 (21%)	10 (71%)	1 (7%)
vote	3 (17%)	15 (83%)	0
			sig. at p < .001

Figure 3.7: Translation Data – 2nd Person

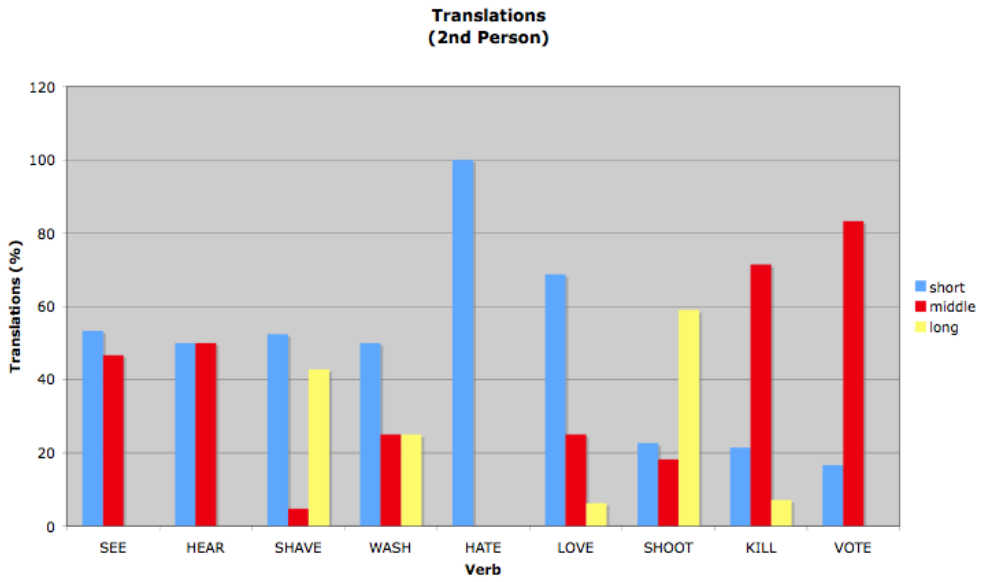
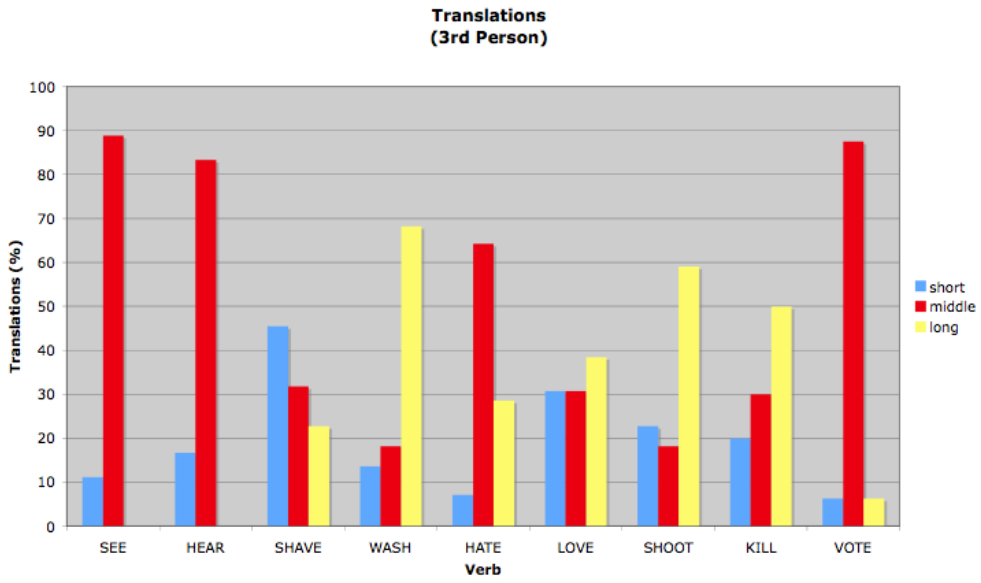


Table 3.18: Translation Data – 3rd Person

THIRD PERSON SINGULAR	REFLEXIVE TYPE		
	Short	*Mid*	*Long*
see	2 (11%)	16 (89%)	0 (0%)
hear	3 (17%)	15 (83%)	0 (0%)
shave	10 (45%)	7 (32%)	5 (23%)
wash	3 (14%)	4 (18%)	15 (68%)
hate	1 (7%)	9 (64%)	4 (29%)
love	4 (31%)	4 (31%)	5 (38%)
shoot	5 (23%)	4 (18%)	13 (59%)
kill	4 (20%)	5 (30%)	10 (50%)
vote	1 (6%)	14 (88%)	1 (6%)
			sig. at p < .001

Figure 3.8: Translation Data – 3rd Person



The results from the rating scale section, on the other hand, demonstrate a significant correlation between verb and reflexive type only in contexts involving the third person reflexive pronoun. The rating scale section allowed participants to describe a reflexive construction as *totoka* 'good', *dodonu* 'okay', or *rogorogocā* 'bad'. The resulting data was then analyzed as follows: a point was counted for each *totoka* rating and half a point was counted for each *dodonu* rating while a point was subtracted for each *rogorogocā* rating. Thus, the third person singular unmarked reflexive pronoun for the verb *raici* 'to see' had a final score of 6.5 calculated from a score of *totoka* 4, *dodonu* 7, and *rogorogocā* 1 (4+3.5-1). The results of the rating scale data are presented in Tables 3.19 – 3.21 and Figures 3.9 – 3.11:

Table 3.19: Rating Scale Data – 1st Person

First Person Singular	Reflexive Type		
	Short	*Mid*	*Long*
raici (to see)	8 (29%)	9 (32%)	11 (39%)
tirovi (to glance at)	9.5 (32%)	11 (36%)	9.5 (32%)
rogoci (to hear)	9 (32%)	10.5 (38%)	8.5 (30%)
toroi (to shave)	11 (32%)	12.5 (36%)	11 (32%)
vakasilimi (to wash)	11 (30%)	13 (35%)	13 (35%)
cati (to hate)	6 (24%)	10.5 (43%)	8 (33%)
lomani (to love)	9 (39%)	8 (35%)	6 (26%)
vanai (to shoot)	6 (21%)	12.5 (43%)	10.5 (36%)
vakamatei (to kill)	12.5 (30%)	14.5 (35%)	14.5 (35%)
digitaki (to vote)	12.5 (30%)	15 (35%)	15 (35%)
			not significant

Figure 3.9: Rating Scale Data – 1st Person

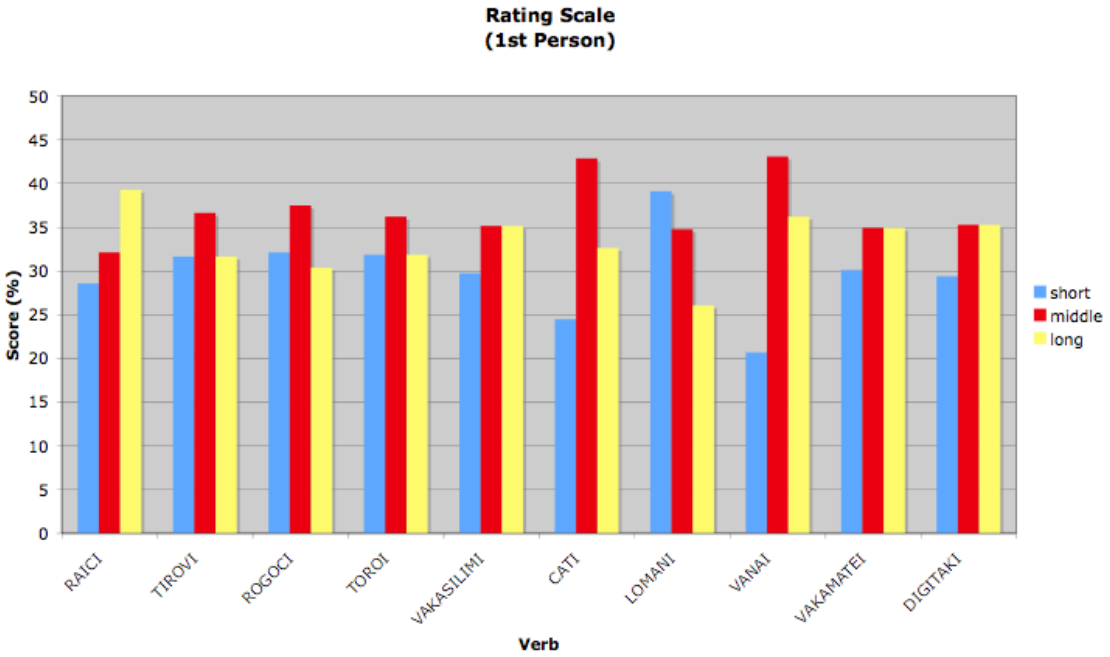


Table 3.20: Rating Scale Data – 2nd Person

SECOND PERSON SINGULAR	REFLEXIVE TYPE		
	Short	*Mid*	*Long*
raici (to see)	7.5 (27%)	10.5 (38%)	9.5 (35%)
tirovi (to glance at)	7.5 (27%)	9.5 (34%)	11 (39%)
rogoci (to hear)	8 (31%)	9 (34.5%)	9 (34.5%)
toroi (to shave)	8 (24%)	12 (36%)	13 (40%)
vakasilimi (to wash)	10 (30%)	10.5 (31%)	13 (39%)
cati (to hate)	8 (39%)	6 (29%)	6.5 (32%)
lomani (to love)	5.5 (18%)	13.5 (45%)	11 (37%)
vanai (to shoot)	5 (19%)	10.5 (40%)	10.5 (40%)
vakamatei (to kill)	8.5 (23%)	14 (38%)	14 (38%)
digitaki (to vote)	11 (29%)	14 (37%)	12.5 (33%)
			not significant

Figure 3.10: Rating Scale Data – 2nd Person

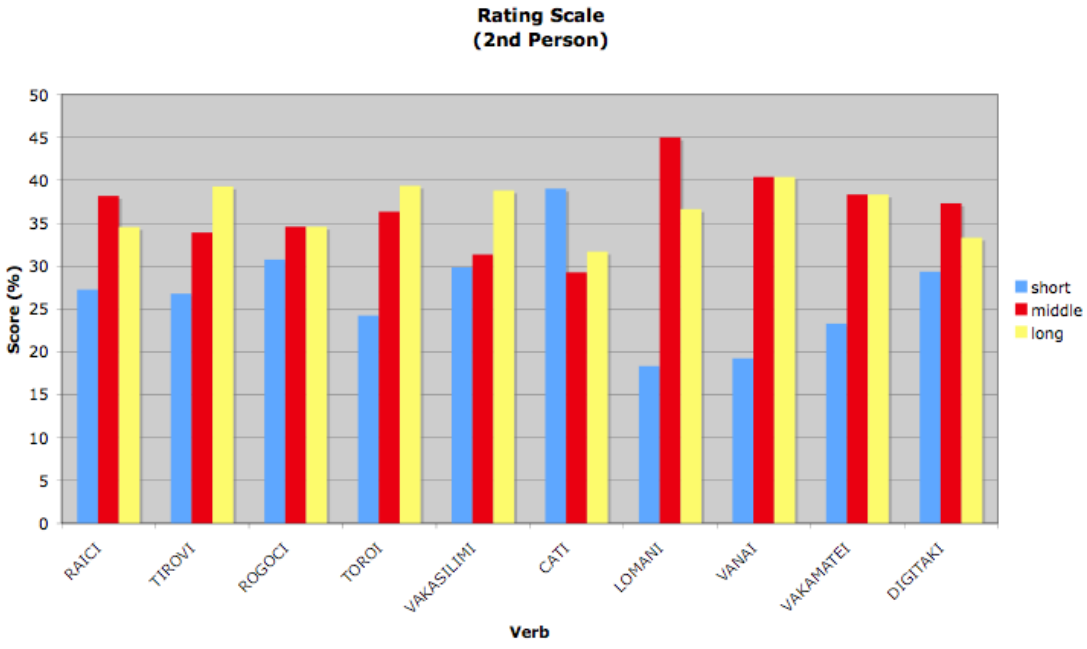
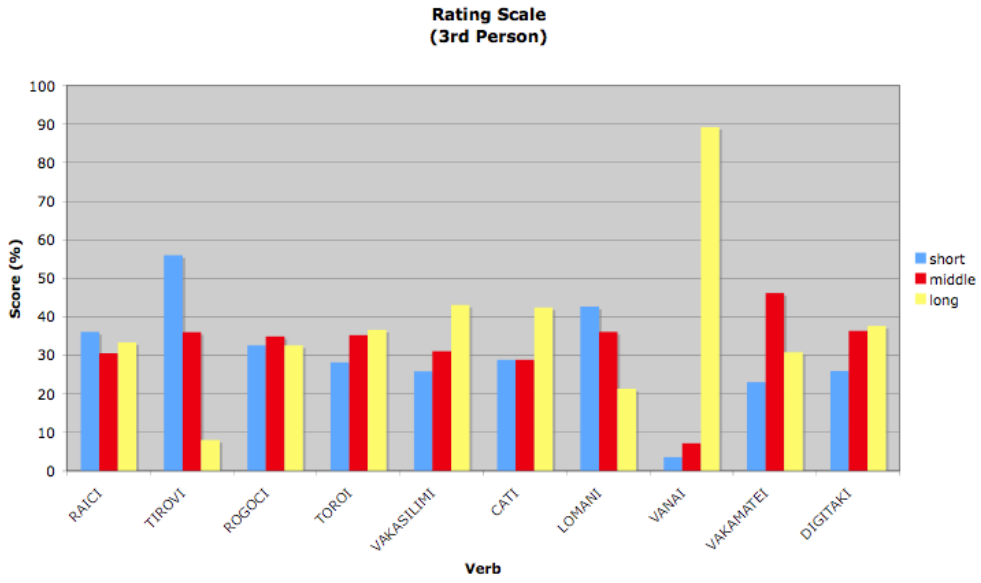


Table 3.21: Rating Scale Data -3rd Person

THIRD PERSON SINGULAR	REFLEXIVE TYPE		
	Short	*Mid*	*Long*
raici (to see)	6.5 (36%)	5.5 (31%)	6 (33%)
tirovi (to glance at)	7 (56%)	4.5 (36%)	1 (8%)
rogoci (to hear)	7 (32.5%)	7.5 (35%)	7 (32.5%)
toroi (to shave)	10 (28%)	12.5 (35%)	13 (37%)
vakasilimi (to wash)	7.5 (26%)	9 (31%)	12.5 (43%)
cati (to hate)	8.5 (29%)	8.5 (29%)	12.5 (42%)
lomani (to love)	13 (43%)	11 (36%)	6.5 (21%)
vanai (to shoot)	0.5 (4%)	1 (7%)	12.5 (89%)
vakamatei (to kill)	7.5 (23%)	15 (46%)	10 (31%)
digitaki (to vote)	10 (26%)	14 (36%)	14.5 (38%)
			sig. at p < .050

Figure 3.11: Rating Scale Data -3rd Person



A correlation between the selection of reflexive type and person was also found for several of the verbs studied. Five of the verbs from the translation data (*see*, *shave*, *wash*, *hate*, *love*, and *kill*) and one of the verbs from the rating scale data (*vanai* 'to shoot') were found to have a significant correlation between person and reflexive type. These results are summarized in Table 3.22.

Table 3.22: Correlation Between Person and Reflexive Type for Selected Verbs

VERB	1ST PERSON	2ND PERSON	3RD PERSON	P-VALUE
shave	short: 2 (11%) mid: 13 (72%) long: 3 (16%)	short: 11 (52%) mid: 1 (5%) long: 9 (43%)	short: 10 (45%) mid: 7 (32%) long: 5 (23%)	$p < .001$
	MID	SHORT/LONG	SHORT/MID	
wash	short: 14 (74%) mid: 1 (5%) long: 4 (21%)	short: 6 (50%) mid: 3 (25%) long: 3 (25%)	short: 3 (14%) mid: 4 (18%) long: 15 (68%)	$p < .005$
	SHORT	SHORT	LONG	
hate	short: 17 (74%) mid: 3 (13%) long: 3 (13%)	short: 17 (100%) mid: 0 long: 0	short: 0 mid: 9 (69%) long: 4 (31%)	$p < .001$
	SHORT	SHORT	MID	
love	short: 24 (83%) mid: 5 (17%) long: 0	short: 11 (69%) mid: 4 (25%) long: 1 (6%)	short: 4 (31%) mid: 4 (31%) long: 5 (38%)	$p < .005$
	SHORT	SHORT	SHORT/MID/LONG	
kill	short: 5 (28%) mid: 13 (72%) long: 0	short: 3 (21%) mid: 10 (71%) long: 1 (7%)	short: 4 (20%) mid: 6 (30%) long: 10 (50%)	$p < .005$
	MID	MID	LONG	
vanai 'to shoot'	short: 6 (21%) mid: 12.5 (43%) long: 10.5 (36%)	short: 5 (19%) mid: 10.5 (40%) long: 10.5 (40%)	short: 0.5 (4%) mid: 1 (7%) long: 12.5 (89%)	$p < .025$
	MID/LONG	MID/LONG	LONG	

Lastly chi-square tests were preformed on different verb sets within the translation data (Tables 3.16 – 3.18, Figures 3.6 – 3.8) in order to determine distinct groups of verbs that shared patterns of reflexive type selection. The results of these tests are presented in Table 3.23 below.

Table 3.23: Distinct Reflexive/Verb Groups

PERSON	GROUP 1	GROUP 2	GROUP 3	GROUP 4	GROUP 5	GROUP 6
1st	**see** **hear** love	wash hate	kill vote shave			shoot
2nd	**see** **hear**	wash love	kill vote	shave	hate	
3rd	**see** **hear** vote	wash love shoot kill		shave	hate	shoot

These results demonstrate that the patterning between reflexive markers and verbs in the Fijian language is less clearly defined than was originally assumed from the 'mirror' and 'election' sentences of the early data sets described in sections 3.2.1 and 3.2.2. The consistent significant pairing of translations involving the verbs *raica* 'to see' and *rogoca* 'to hear' is of particular interest here for reasons of coreference. Of all the verbs studied in these six surveys, 'see' and 'hear' are unique in that reflexive constructions that incorporate them generally involve a portrayal of the self (reflection, recording, image) rather than the actual self of the antecedent. In effect, these verbs create an environment in which the reflexive object is not coreferentially identical to the antecedent. This is not the case for any of the other verbs in Table 3.23.

3.3 Summary and Conclusions

The research and resulting data presented in sections 3.2.1-3.2.3 clearly identifies a dedicated system of reflexive marking within the Fijian language. Fijian reflexive markers fall into three distinct types: short, mid, and long. The prototypical realizations of these three types can be described respectively

as the short unmarked PRO, mid marked PRO-gā, and long marked PRO-gā-vakai-PRO. Variations on the mid and long reflexive types have been observed in the data and are summarized in Table 3.24:

Table 3.24: Fijian Reflexive Types

REFLEXIVE TYPE	VARIANTS	DESCRIPTION	EXAMPLE
PRO	NA	NA	NA
PRO-gā	PRO-sara	*sara* is an emphatic post-head modifier that carries a sense of immediacy PERSON: 3rd	(3.38b) *vakasilima* 'to wash all over' (3.15d) *irovi* 'to glance at' (dialect)
	PRO-tiko	*tiko* is post-head modifier meaning 'continuous' PERSON: 3rd	(3.41e) *raica* 'to see' (3.41d) *tirovi* 'to glance at'
	PRO-tū	*tū* is a post-head modifier meaning 'permanently' PERSON: 2nd	(3.43b) *raica* 'to see'
	PRO-kina	*kina* is a post-head modifier meaning 'thereby' PERSON: 2nd	(3.22) *sēvaki* 'to hate'
PRO-(gā)-vakai-PRO	PRO-tale-tiko	*tale* and *tiko* are post-head modifiers meaning 'again' and 'continuous' respectively. PERSON: 1st, 2nd	(3.43f) *sarava* 'to watch' (3.43d) *raica* 'to see'
	PRO-tale-gā	a combination of *tale* 'again' and *gā* 'emphatic' PERSON: 2nd	(3.43d) *sarava* 'to watch'
	PRO-tiko-gā	a combination of *tiko* 'continuous' and *gā* 'emphatic' PERSON: 1st, 3rd	(3.41b) *droinitaki* 'to draw' (3.41j) *raica* 'to see' (STATUE)
	PRO-sara-tiko-gā	a combination of *sara* 'emphatic', *tiko* 'continuous', and *gā* 'emphatic'	(3.41c) *droinitaka* 'to draw'

As discussed in sections 3.2.1 and 3.2.3, the data suggests that the three reflexives are distinct types with unique binding conditions. Tables 3.25, 3.26, and 3.27 provide a detailed description of each reflexive type.

Table 3.25: Fijian Reflexive Profile - Short

Language	Fijian	**Reflexive Strategies**	3
Strategy	SHORT	PRO	
Coreference	Unchanged valency: Similar and Identical	**Lexical Function Continuum**	Nominal
Schladt's Elements of Reflexive Origin	Nominal sources	**Faltz's**	Reflexive Pronoun
Domain Constraints	Root S Binding Condition	**Antecedent Constraints**	GF Binding Condition
Reflexive Marker Functions	Coreference	**Other**	

Table 3.26: Fijian Reflexive Profile - Mid

Language	Fijian	**Reflexive Strategies**	3
Strategy	MID	PRO-gā	
Coreference	Unchanged valency: Similar and Identical	**Lexical Function Continuum**	Nominal
Schladt's Elements of Reflexive Origin	Nominal sources, emphatic pronouns	**Faltz's**	Reflexive Pronoun
Domain Constraints	Minimal Complete Nucleus Binding Condition	**Antecedent Constraints**	SUBJ Binding Condition
Reflexive Marker Functions	Coreference Emphatic	**Other**	Possible other realizations include: PRO-*sara,* PRO-*tiko,* PRO-*tū,* PRO-*kina*

Table 3.27: Fijian Reflexive Profile - Long

Language	Fijian	**Reflexive Strategies**	3
Strategy	LONG	PRO-*gā*-*vakai*-PRO	
Coreference	Unchanged valency: Identical	**Lexical Function Continuum**	Nominal
Schladt's Elements of Reflexive Origin	Nominal sources, emphatic pronouns	**Faltz's**	Reflexive Pronoun
Domain Constraints	Coargument Binding Condition	**Antecedent Constraints**	SUBJ Binding Condition
Reflexive Marker Functions	Coreference	**Other**	Possible other realizations include: PRO-*tale-tiko,* PRO-*tale-gā,* PRO-*tiko-gā,* PRO-*sara-tiko-gā*

Chapter 4

Data 2: Language Survey

Introduction

As a study of a language originally believed to exhibit no dedicated reflexive marker, the investigation into the three Fijian reflexive types presented in the previous chapter is limited by the absence of prior research and research design constraints. Moreover, as Chapter 2 makes clear, great variety pervades reflexive form and function cross-linguistically. An investigation into the unique reflexive constructions of a number of specific languages provides greater insight into both the various ways in which reflexives can be expressed and the common features within this variation.

With respect to their realization in phrase structure, reflexive forms can be described according to three different general types: noun phrases, clitics, and morphological markers. In some instances the reflexive strategy involves more than one of these types. The Dravidian language, Kannada, for instance has a reflexive construction that incorporates both a nominal (*tann-annu*) and a morphological marker (*-koND*):

(4.1) hari tann-annu hogaL-i-koND-a.
Hari self-ACC praise-PP-REFL.PST-3SG.M
'Hari praised himself.'
(Kannada; Lidz 2003: 106)

This chapter, therefore, takes a critical look at four different languages with well-recognized and researched reflexive paradigms selected in order to represent each of these overarching reflexive types. English and Dutch both provide examples of languages that use a noun phrase for reflexive constructions with English presenting a single reflexive noun phrase type, unlike Dutch which has two. French provides an example of a language whose primary reflexive type is a clitic. Lastly, Russian represents languages that use verbal affixes for reflexive constructions. Except for English, each of these languages exhibits more than one reflexive type; and, in most of these languages

(including English), the corresponding verb form appears to have an impact upon the resulting reflexive construction, as was observed in the previous chapter for Fijian. Each of the ensuing sections presents data exploring the reflexive types and conditions pertaining to the use and interpretation of these types for each of the four languages of interest. The chapter concludes with a comprehensive summary of the comparable and distinguishing patterns exhibited by each of these languages.

4.1 English: A Single Nominal Reflexive Marker

English is a primarily analytic West Germanic language. Unmarked word order is SVO and verbs can exhibit limited number agreement with the subject. Both tense and number are morphemic markers on the verb. Verbs can be strictly transitive, strictly intransitive, or ambitransitive. The term 'middle' has been applied to English constructions in which a non-agentive argument is found in the subject position in conjunction with an adverb or reflexive in the object position. This is demonstrated in (4.2) below:

(4.2) English middles
a. Bureaucrats bribe easily.
b. The car sells itself.

Data from English reflexives has served as the basis upon which Chomsky's Binding Theory and many of its successors have been founded. As discussed earlier, within Binding Theory, English is described as having a single set of reflexive markers that are in complementary distribution with a single set of pronominals and constrained within a limited binding domain defined by c-command and precedence. This primary English reflexive paradigm is presented in Table 4.1 below:

Table 4.1: English Reflexive

	1st Person	2nd Person	3rd Person
Singular	myself	yourself	himself/herself
Plural	ourselves	yourselves	themselves

Following the principles of Lexical Functional Grammar and Dalrymple's (1993) constraint based approach to domain and antecedent binding conditions, English reflexives are described as subject to the GF Binding Condition and the Minimal Complete Nucleus Binding Condition.

A positive domain condition, the Minimal Complete Nucleus Binding Condition defines the domain in which the English reflexive may occur. This condition states that the English reflexive must be bound to an element that is found within the minimal complete nucleus that contains the reflexive marker (Dalrymple 1993, 2001; Falk 2001). The minimal complete nucleus is defined as "the smallest f-structure that contains both the anaphor and a SUBJ function" (Dalrymple 2001: 281). The GF Binding Condition, a positive antecedent condition, equally requires that the anaphor is bound by an antecedent but does not place restrictions on the grammatical function of the antecedent. Thus, though the English reflexive must be bound in a finite domain that contains a SUBJ function, the antecedent of the reflexive need not be the element that carries this function. In addition to these two syntactic constraints, English binding requirements are also determined by a semantic antecedency relation.

Instances in which the English reflexive marker is not found in its binding domain, such as those in (4.3) below, can be attributed to functions of the reflexive marker that do not immediately pertain to the marking of coreference between the reflexive and its antecedent and are thus not subject to the domain and antecedent conditions described in this section.

(4.3) [Harry] was still having trouble with the Shield Charm, though. This was supposed to cast a temporary, invisible wall around himself that deflected minor curses. (Rowling 2000: 529)

In (4.3) the reflexive, acting as a logophor, does not follow the Minimal Complete Nucleus Binding Condition since it refers to an antecedent outside of the minimal complete nucleus that contains both the reflexive and a SUBJ. Further examples such as this, in which functions other than coreference are demonstrated by the English reflexive marker, will be explored in section 4.1.2. The semantic and

syntactic effects of the interactions between distinct verbs and the English reflexive marker do not appear to influence these binding conditions.

Geniušienė, who, as discussed earlier, interprets reflexive constructions in terms of reflexive verbs (RVs), describes the system of English RVs as "probably the least developed RV system among the modern Indo-European languages," (Geniušienė 1987: 179). Sells, Zaenen and Zec (1987), on the other hand, in their tripartite description of reflexive constructions, describe English reflexives as transitive at all three levels of their description. This is illustrated in (4.4) below:

(4.4) English reflexives:

	'transitive'	'intransitive'
lexical structure	SUBJ-OBJ	SUBJ only
constituent structure	object NP	no object NP
semantic structure	open predicate	closed predicate

(Sells, Zaenen and Zec 1987: 176)

Both Geniušienė and Sells et al. focus on English reflexives within the same limited syntactic context. Sells et al. very clearly state that their investigation is limited to "reflexive constructions which alternate with transitive non-reflexive constructions" (1987: 169). Likewise, Geniušienė restricts the scope of her RVs to only those constructions comprised of a verb and the argument filling its object position:

> In this chapter, the term **reflexives**, or **reflexive verbs** (RV) is applied to units like *wash oneself*, *express oneself*, *behave oneself*, *manifest oneself (itself)*, *pull oneself (together)*, i.e. verbs with the prepositionless non-emphatic element *oneself* (*myself, yourself, himself, itself,* etc.) which is further referred to as the **reflexive marker** (RM). (Geniušienė 1987: 180)

However, according to Sells et al., English reflexives are described as homogeneously 'open predicate', which validates their interpretation of English reflexives as fully transitive. Geniušienė, on the other hand, describes English reflexives as undoubtedly semantically heterogeneous:

> it is perhaps worth noting that the semantic heterogeneity of English RVs is a recognized fact, and a number of semantic RV types have been investigated (cf. Lakoff 1970: 38-40; Helke 1973; Dušková 1976: 32-89; Ovčinnikova 1962; Cantrall 1974: 46-47; Herbert 1975). (Geniušienė 1987: 179)

This difference must be interpreted with attention to Sells et al. and Geniušienė's respective approaches to both the study of the English reflexive and their interpretation of semantic information. Sells et al., for instance, are very clear in restricting their interpretation of reflexive constructions to only those that denote a "semantically reflexive relation" (1987: 172). This restricts the semantic scope of the reflexive marker to only those constructions in which two arguments of a particular verb are referring to the same entity. Moreover, they make careful note of their avoidance of "potential problems posed by 'inherent' reflexives" in English (Sells et al. 1987: 177, n6). Geniušienė's interpretation of the reflexive, on the other hand, is far more general; her designation of "reflexive verbs" (RV) applies to all verbs that incorporate a reflexive marker regardless of its resulting interpretation within the construction. This, therefore, includes reflexives as decausitivizers, emphatics, logophors, and middles, in addition to markers of coreference.

As was discussed in Chapter 2, this thesis takes into account all occurrences of reflexive markers including reflexives located outside of the immediate argument structure of the verb and reflexives demonstrating functions other than coreference. With this in mind, the profile of the English reflexive, used to exemplify reflexive profiles in the previous chapter, is presented again in Table 4.2:

Table 4.2: English Reflexive Profile

Language	English	**Reflexive Strategies**	1
Coreference	Unchanged Valency: Similar and Identical	**Lexical Function Continuum**	Nominal
Schladt's Elements of Reflexive Origin	Emphatic pronouns	**Faltz's Categories of Reflexive Types**	Reflexive Pronoun
Domain Constraints	Minimal Complete Nucleus Binding Condition	**Antecedent Constraints**	GF Binding Condition
Reflexive Marker Functions	Coreference Emphatic Logophoric Middle	**Other**	

This section further explores the unique characteristics of reflexive markers and verbs in English reflexive constructions.

4.1.1 English: Subcategorization of reflexive constructions

Though binding theory and many of its successors treat English reflexives as a homogeneous set, several linguists have identified distinct subtypes relating to the interaction between a reflexive and its verb (Kruisinga 1932; Geniušienė 1987; Büring 2005; Haspelmath 2008).

Where different reflexive types are recognized, two distinct approaches to the classification of these types have been proposed: the directed verb approach (Haspelmath 2008; Büring 2005) and the semantic fusion approach (Geniušienė 1987). Both directed verb and semantic fusion interpretations identify three distinct subsets of English reflexive constructions. As was already discussed in Chapters 1 and 3, subcategorization in the directed verb interpretation is determined by the coreferential nature of the action described by the verb. To reiterate, the three subsets are inherent reflexives (also known as 'obligatorily reflexive verbs'), self-directed reflexives (or 'optionally reflexive verbs'), and other-directed reflexives (or 'non-reflexive verbs'). Geniušienė's semantic fusion approach, on the other hand, subcategorizes reflexive constructions according to the lexical independence of the verb and its corresponding reflexive argument. The three subsets within the

semantic fusion interpretation are reflexives with the maximum degree of semantic fusion, reflexives with intermediate degree of semantic fusion, and reflexives with zero degree of semantic fusion. Though there is some overlap between the subsets in these two methods, they ultimately identify very different characteristics relating to the interaction between a reflexive and its verb. In particular, a semantic fusion interpretation assumes both the verb and the reflexive contribute to the final interpretation of the reflexive construction while the directed verb approach assumes the verb, alone, acts as the determining factor in reflexive selection and interpretation within the English language. Examples of these two different systems are presented in (4.5) and (4.6) below and will be discussed in greater detail in the following sections:

(4.5) Directed Verb

a.	*Inherent reflexive*:	John perjured himself/*him.
b.	*Self-directed reflexive*:	John washed (himself)/him.[1]
c.	*Other-directed reflexive*:	John blames himself/him.

(4.6) Semantic Fusion

a.	*Maximum degree*:	John pulled himself/*him together.
b.	*Intermediate degree*:	John threw himself/him onto the chair.
c.	*Zero degree*:	John blames himself/him.

The differences between subcategorizing reflexive constructions according to semantic fusion of the verb and the reflexive marker or according to the semantic focus of the verb taking part in a reflexive construction are particularly pertinent to identifying the distinct semantic and syntactic nature of English reflexive/verb interactions. Due to the fact that the language has only one reflexive type it is often assumed, as is claimed by Sells et al. in section 4.1, that the realization of English reflexive constructions are syntactically and semantically homogeneous. Patterns of reflexive binding identified by these two distinct systems of subcategorization will demonstrate that reflexive constructions in English can differ considerably with respect to transitivity, lexical fusion, and reflexive coreference.

[1] The parentheses in this example indicate the fact that the action of the verb is interpreted as self-directed regardless of the presence or absence of the reflexive pronoun.

4.1.1.1 English: Semantic Fusion Subcategorization

According to Geniušienė, English reflexive constructions follow a continuum of semantic types that can be subcategorized into three prototypical categories of semantic fusion. These different subsets are described in detail below according to their "degrees of semantic fusion":

(4.7) Degrees of Semantic Fusion
- A) *Zero degree of semantic fusion*: units in which both components retain their original meaning
- B) *Intermediate degree of semantic fusion*: units whose meaning is not a simple sum of the meanings of the components but is nevertheless motivated by the latter
- C) *Maximum degree of semantic fusion*: units whose meaning is not immediately recoverable from the meaning of the components.

(Geniušienė 1987: 182)

Reflexive constructions with zero degree of semantic fusion are comparable to Quirk et al.'s (1972) optionally reflexive and non-reflexive verbs (Geniušienė 1987: 182). In English, the subgroup consists of transitive and ambitransitive verbs that can take a variety of noun phrases, including the reflexive, in the object argument position. According to Geniušienė, the only constraints placed upon the NP in the object argument are that the nouns used are typically human and that the reflexive must denote absolute coreference with the subject. Thus, the group includes verbs such as *dress*, *love*, *see*, and *blame* (Geniušienė 1987: 183). Meaning in these constructions is realized as the interaction of individual components or free word combinations:

> The meaning of these and similar units is the sum of meanings of the components, the reflexive pronoun retaining its own meaning.
> (Geniušienė 1987: 182)

However, as will be shown in examples of directed verb approaches to reflexive verb subcategorization, many of her examples of zero degree reflexive constructions do not necessarily exhibit absolute subject coreference when used in Jackendoff's Madame Tussaud contexts or comparative deletion contexts (section 4.1.1.2).

Geniušienė suggests that tests involving coordinate object arguments provide a good means of identifying reflexives with zero degree of semantic fusion. This is demonstrated in (4.8):

(4.8) Coordinate objects:
- a. John blames himself and Mary.
- b. John sees himself and Mary in the mirror.
- c. John dresses himself and Mary.
- d. John considers himself and Mary fortunate.
- e. *John behaves himself and Mary.
- f. ?John threw himself and Mary onto the couch.

Sentences (4.8a)-(4.8d), unlike the inherent reflexive construction (4.8e) or Geniušienė's intermediate degree of semantic fusion construction (4.8f), permit a coordinate reflexive object. Geniušienė claims that this is due to the fact that the nouns and verbs in (4.8a) are independent words whereas those in (4.8e) are not. Further tests for zero semantic fusion proposed by Geniušienė include the predicative and indirect object constructions presented below (Geniušienė 1987: 183):

(4.9) Predicative 1
- a. John considers himself a fool.
- b. John counts himself fortunate.
- c. John considers himself a fool and so does Fred.

(4.10) Predicative 2
- a. *John behaves himself fortunate.
- b. *John dresses himself a clown.
- c. *John blames himself guilty.

(4.11) Indirect object 1
- a. John bought himself a book.
- b. John bought a book for himself.
- c. John gave himself a present.
- d. John gave a present to himself.

(4.12) Indirect object 2
- a. John threw himself into the chair.
- b. *John threw into the chair himself.
- c. John behaves himself for Fred.
- d. *John behaves Fred for himself.
- e. Sally saw herself in the mirror.
- f. *Sally saw in the mirror herself.
- g. John blames himself for the mess.
- h. ?John blames the mess on himself.

The sentences presented in (4.9) and (4.10) introduce examples of constructions that incorporate an adjectival predicative of the object. As the sentences in (4.10) illustrate, not all reflexive constructions allow this predication. According to Geniušienė, the distinguishing factor between the sentences in (4.9), which permit an adjectival predicative of the object, and those in (4.10), which do not, is again due to her observation that those reflexive constructions in (4.9) are comprised of independent words, "free word-combinations" (1987: 183). This is also her argument for the acceptability and flexibility of the ditransitive reflexive constructions in (4.12).

However, as is demonstrated by (4.10b), (4.10c), and (4.12e) – (4.12h), the predicative test and indirect object tests reject several reflexive/verb constructions that are supported by the coordinate object test illustrated in (4.8) and generally assumed by Geniušienė to be notable examples of reflexives with zero degree of semantic fusion. Ultimately, it appears that Geniušienė's predicative and indirect object tests are limited to identifying a small set of reflexive constructions that exhibit zero degree of semantic fusion.

Reflexives with intermediate degree of semantic fusion differ from those with zero degree of semantic fusion in that the meaning of the reflexive is integrated with the meaning of the verb. Reflexives of this type, according to Geniušienė, rather than express coreference, are responsible for a change in the verb meaning:

> Its function is to mark a change in the semantic component structure of the verb and a variety of attendant changes in the diathesis. (Geniušienė 1987: 183)

Examples of verbs involved in intermediate degree reflexive constructions include *show*, and *throw* as illustrated below:

(4.13) a. John threw the book onto the chair.
b. John threw himself onto the chair
c. John dropped onto the chair.
d. John showed Sally to the door.
e. John showed himself to the door.
f. John left.

Geniušienė claims that the reflexive pronoun in intermediate degree of semantic fusion constructions acts as a detransitivizer, marking semantic detransitivization rather than coreference. She further suggests that this results in the verb functioning as an "autocausative", a class of verbs that undergo a thematic role shift from 'Agent-Patient' to 'Actor' with the addition of a reflexive direct object (Geniušienė 1987: 184, 196). With this in mind, neither the verb nor the reflexive completely retain their original meaning in an intermediate degree reflexive construction and, differentiating them from zero degree semantic fusion reflexives, the reflexive and the verb are not semantically independent. The subcategory of inherent reflexive verbs that will be described in the following section fall into this category (4.14), as do 'absolute reflexives', described by Lees and Klima (1963: 25) as reflexive constructions that can only behave as regular transitive verb constructions if the direct object position is filled by an inanimate noun phrase (4.15):

(4.14) a. Mary behaves herself.
b. *Mary behaves John.
c. *Mary behaves herself and John.

(4.15) a. John expresses emotions.
b. John expresses himself.
c. *John expresses Mary.
d. *John expresses himself/emotions and Mary.
e. *John expresses himself and emotions.
(Geniušienė 1987: 184)

Intermediate degree of semantic fusion reflexive constructions differ from maximum degree of semantic fusion constructions in that the verbs and reflexive markers that make up the reflexive construction still retain a degree of their individual lexical meaning. Reflexive constructions with maximum degree of semantic fusion, described by Geniušienė as "idiomatic phraseological units" (1987: 185), retain none of the original meaning of their distinct lexical items:

> The units in question differ from reflexive phrases that are free word-combinations in their idiomatic (frequently metaphorical) nature and from regular RVs of the second type [intermediate degree of semantic fusion] [...], both in their idiomaticity and non-recoverability of meaning from that of the components. (Geniušienė 1987: 185)

Maximum degree of semantic fusion reflexive constructions can only be understood idiomatically. Though many of the verbs that are used in these constructions can be employed transitively with non-reflexive NP arguments, the meaning of the ensuing utterance differs considerably from that which results when the same verb incorporates a reflexive argument. Examples of these reflexive constructions are presented in (4.16), (4.17), and (4.18):

(4.16) a. Sally pulled herself together.
b. ?Sally pulled Jane together.
c. Sally pulled herself and Jane together.

(4.17) a. John conducted himself poorly last night.
b. John conducted the orchestra poorly last night.
c. *John conducted himself and the orchestra poorly last night.

(4.18) a. John went to India to find himself.
b. John went to India to find Mary.
c. ?John went to India to find himself and Mary.

Like intermediate degree of semantic fusion reflexive constructions, maximum degree reflexive constructions involve a recognizable change in the meaning of the verb. In these cases the meaning of the reflexive has fused completely with that of the verb so that the two combined create the overall action carried out by the subject.

For instance, in (4.16a), *pulled herself together* is synonymous with 'gained control of her feelings'. The use of *pull* and a non-reflexive NP argument in (4.16b), however, results in a very different interpretation due to the fact that each of the lexical items retains its independent lexical meaning. In (4.16b) the situation described is one in which Sally literally pulls Jane together, as one might do with a collapsible push up toy that is pulled together with string. Likewise, the coordinate argument example in (4.16c) also results in a very different interpretation of the reflexive construction. In this case, *pull NP together* suggests the bringing together of two separate bodies, as might be the case if Sally pulled herself and Jane together for a hug. The examples in (4.17) and (4.18) also demonstrate this inherent shift in meaning. In (4.17a), *conducted himself* is interpreted as

'behave' whereas it is taken to mean 'control or manage' in (4.17b). Likewise, *found himself* in (4.18a) involves an act of self-discovery that is absent in (4.18b) and (4.18c). These maximum degree reflexive constructions are comparable to certain forms of reflexive verbs in Dutch, French, and Russian, which will be demonstrated in the ensuing sections.

Table 4.3 summarizes the three types of reflexive constructions covered in this section. In particular, the semantic fusion interpretation of reflexive constructions identifies two interesting characteristics of English reflexive/verb interactions: reflexive constructions vary according to the degree of semantic fusion between the verb and the reflexive and both the verb and the reflexive marker contribute to the overall interpretation of the reflexive construction.

Table 4.3: Semantic Fusion Subcategories of Reflexive Constructions

Type	Description	Example
ZERO DEGREE OF SEMANTIC FUSION	The verb and reflexive marker are independent lexical items.	*blame*: 1) John blames himself. 2) John blames Mary.
INTERMEDIATE DEGREE OF SEMANTIC FUSION	The verb and reflexive marker combine for a detransitivizing effect. Neither the verb nor the reflexive completely retain their original lexical meaning.	*throw*: 1) John threw himself onto the chair. 2) John threw Mary onto the chair.
MAXIMUM DEGREE OF SEMANTIC FUSION	The verb and reflexive marker are idiomatically fused.	*pulled* NP *together*: 1) John pulled himself together. 2) John pulled Mary together.

Section 4.1.1.2 next explores the directed verb approach to subcategorizing reflexive constructions. Though these two approaches recognize very different characteristics of English reflexive constructions, the semantic effects identified in Geniušienė's categories of semantic fusion will be shown to aid in explaining subtle differences within the directed verb subcategories.

4.1.1.2 English: Directed Verb Subcategorization

Whereas semantic fusion identifies reflexive types according to the semantic results of the interaction between the verb and the reflexive marker with specific attention to the effects reflexive markers can have upon the verb, the directed verb approach pays particular attention to the effect the verb can have upon the semantic and syntactic realization of the reflexive marker. As mentioned several times previously, directed verb subcategorization interprets reflexive constructions as self-directed, other-directed, or inherently reflexive.

Examples of prototypical English self-directed and other-directed reflexive constructions can be found in Haspelmath (2008) and Büring (2005). Haspelmath (2008) refers to self-directed and other-directed reflexive constructions as 'introverted verbs' and 'extroverted verbs' respectively. Included in his category of introverted verbs are the verbs *wash*, *shave*, *dress*, and *defend*. Verbs such as *kill*, *hate*, *criticize*, *see*, and *attack* are, likewise, presented as typical extroverted verbs (Haspelmath 2008: 44). Though the previous chapter did not find directedness to play a significant role in the subcategorization of verb groups according to reflexive marking in Fijian, many languages with more than one reflexive type do appear to distinguish between these two types of verbs by limiting the reflexive type with which they can interact. In English, the most basic distinction between a self-directed and other-directed verb is observed at the level of constituent structure. A defining characteristic of self-directed verbs in English is their ability to remain semantically transitive whilst syntactically intransitive as illustrated in (4.19) below. Other-directed verbs, alternatively, must have a reflexive marker in the constituent structure in order to be interpreted as reflexive. Other-directed reflexive constructions are, therefore, the prototypical reflexives described by Sells et al. (1987) and illustrated in (4.4) above.

As mentioned earlier, self-directed reflexive constructions have been described as having the ability to be syntactically intransitive while remaining semantically transitive (Büring 2005). To

apply the Sells et al. (1987) framework again, this description is presented in (4.19) with the dashed lines representing their ambitransitive status at the level of constituent structure:

(4.19) Self-directed reflexive constructions in English

	'transitive'	'intransitive'
lexical structure	SUBJ-OBJ	SUBJ only
constituent structure	object NP	no object NP
semantic structure	open predicate	closed predicate

It will be demonstrated shortly that this description is imperfect since reflexive constructions classed as other-directed also demonstrate different requirements at the level of semantic structure.

Since they are recognized as maintaining a reflexive interpretation with or without the reflexive marker, ambitransitivity is a necessary characteristic of self-directed reflexive verbs. This is demonstrated in (4.20) below:

(4.20) Self-directed reflexive constructions
- a. John shaved himself.
- b. John shaved.
- c. John washed himself.
- d. John washed.
- e. John dressed himself.
- f. John dressed.

Verbs described as self-directed do not necessarily behave in an identical fashion. This will also be shown to be the case with inherently reflexive verbs shortly. As demonstrated in (4.21), some self-directed verbs appear to be more strictly syntactically intransitive than others with respect to reflexive marking:

(4.21) Self-directed reflexive constructions 2
- a. John washed himself.
- b. ?John bathed himself.
- c. ??John showered himself.

Though the verb *wash* can be combined with the reflexive quite naturally, the combination of *bathe* and a reflexive sounds slightly awkward and the reflexive argument of *shower* simply sounds wrong. In particular, the combination of *bathe* and the reflexive suggest a contrastive focus; as illustrated in (4.22), the sentence sounds more natural in a contrastive or coordinate context:

(4.22) a. John bathed himself but not the dog.
b. John bathed himself and the dog.

The verb *shower*, on the other hand, is interesting in that that the presence of any type of direct object slightly changes its interpretation. In this respect it exhibits characteristics of Geniušienė's intermediate degree of semantic fusion reflexive constructions. Whereas the reflexive in (4.21c) does not work very well, replacing the reflexive with a non-coreferential noun phrase, as in (4.23a) below, still sounds odd and suggests a slightly different interpretation of *shower* than is found in (4.23d):

(4.23) a. ?John showered the dog.
b. John showered the dog with praise.
c. John showered himself with champagne.
d. John showered.

While (4.23d) describes a situation in which the subject washes himself in a shower, (4.23a) feels incomplete and sounds much better when combined with a prepositional phrase that describes what John used in showering the dog. The same is true in regards to the reflexive object as is shown in example (4.23c). Essentially, the verb *shower* appears to be a fully syntactically intransitive self-directed verb that experiences a slight shift in meaning when used in a transitive context regardless of whether the object of the transitive form is a reflexive pronoun.

As mentioned above, the semantic transitivity of self-directed reflexive constructions is also open to question. Though it will be demonstrated shortly in the Madame Tussaud examples, (4.33) – (4.35), that self-directed reflexives resemble other-directed reflexive constructions in not restricting coreferential scope with respect to the antecedent, the semantic transitivity of self-directed reflexive constructions is less clear. Previously mentioned in Chapter 1 and applied to Fijian in Chapter 3,

Sells et al. (1987) use the comparative deletion test to identify transitivity at the semantic level of linguistic structure. They claim that reflexive constructions permitting both a strict and sloppy reading in comparative deletion constructions are found to be transitive at the level of semantic structure; those that only allow a sloppy reading are labelled semantically intransitive. Following these guidelines, Sells et al. find English reflexive constructions to be semantically transitive. This is demonstrated in (4.24) below.

(4.24) Semantically transitive construction
- a. John defends himself better than Peter.
- b. John defends himself better than Peter defends him. strict
- c. John defends himself better than Peter defends himself. sloppy

However, as the sentences in (4.25) – (4.28) demonstrate, this 'semantically transitive' classification does not appear to readily apply to self-directed verbs.

Self-directed Reflexives: Semantic transitivity of the verb

(4.25) *shave*
- a. Walt shaves himself better than Fred.
  - i) Walt shaves himself better than Fred shaves himself.
  - ii) ?*Walt shaves himself better than Fred shaves him.[2]
  - iii) Walt shaves himself better than he shaves Fred.
- b. Walt shaves better than Fred.
  - i) Walt shaves himself better than Fred shaves himself.
  - ii) *Walt shaves himself better than Fred shaves him.
  - iii) *Walt shaves himself better than he shaves Fred.
  - iii) Walt is easier to shave than Fred.
- c. Walt shaves himself more often than Fred.
  - i) Walt shaves himself more often than Fred shaves himself.
  - ii) ?*Walt shaves himself more often than Fred shaves him.
  - iii) Walt shaves himself more often than he shaves Fred.
- d. Walt shaves more often than Fred.
  - i) Walt shaves himself more often than Fred shaves himself.
  - ii) *Walt shaves himself more often than Fred shaves him.
  - iii) *Walt shaves himself more often than he shaves Fred.

[2] Though the native speakers questioned for this data did not arrive at this interpretation in the context here presented, changing the context slightly by replacing *Fred* with *the barber* resulted in the interpretations (4.25a.ii) and (4.25c.ii).

(4.26) *wash*

a. Walt washes himself better than Fred.
   i) Walt washes himself better than Fred washes himself.
   ii) ?Walt washes himself better than Fred washes him.
   iii) Walt washes himself better than he washes Fred.

b. Walt washes better than Fred.
   i) Walt washes [something] better than Fred washes [something].
   ii) Walt is more easily cleaned than Fred.
   iii) *Walt washes himself better than Fred washes himself.
   iv) *Walt washes himself better than Fred washes him.
   v) *Walt washes himself better than he washes Fred.

c. Walt washes himself more often than Fred.
   i) Walt washes himself more often than Fred washes himself.
   ii) ?Walt washes himself more often than Fred washes him.
   iii) Walt washes himself more often than he washes Fred.

d. Walt washes more often than Fred.
   i) Walt washes [something] more often than Fred washes[something]
   ii) Walt washes himself more often than Fred washes himself.
   iii) *Walt washes himself more often than Fred washes him.
   iv) *Walt washes himself more often than he washes Fred.

(4.27) *bathe*

a. ?Walt bathes himself better than Fred.
   i) Walt bathes himself better than Fred bathes himself.
   ii) *Walt bathes himself better than Fred bathes him.
   iii) Walt bathes himself better than he bathes Fred.

b. ?Walt bathes better than Fred.
   i) Walt bathes himself better than Fred bathes himself.
   ii) *Walt bathes himself better than Fred bathes him.
   iii) *Walt bathes himself better than he bathes Fred.

c. Walt bathes himself more often than Fred.
   i) Walt bathes himself more often than Fred bathes himself.
   ii) *Walt bathes himself more often than Fred bathes him.
   iii) Walt bathes himself more often than he bathes Fred.

d. Walt bathes more often than Fred.
   i) Walt bathes himself more often than Fred bathes himself.
   ii) *Walt bathes himself more often than Fred bathes him.
   iii) *Walt bathes himself more often than he bathes Fred.

(4.28) *shower*

a. ?Walt showers himself better than Fred.
   i) ?Walt showers himself better than Fred showers himself.
   ii) *Walt showers himself better than Fred showers him.
   iii) ?Walt showers himself better than he showers Fred.

b. ?Walt showers better than Fred.
   i) ?Walt showers himself better than Fred showers himself.
   ii) *Walt showers himself better than Fred showers him.
   iii) *Walt showers himself better than he showers Fred.

c. ?Walt showers himself more often than Fred.
   i) Walt showers himself more often than Fred showers himself.
   ii) *Walt showers himself more often than Fred showers him.
   iii) Walt showers himself more often than he showers Fred.

d. Walt showers more often than Fred.
   i) Walt showers himself more often than Fred showers himself.
   ii) *Walt showers more often than Fred showers him.
   iii) *Walt showers himself more often than he showers Fred.

e. Walt showers himself with praise more often than Fred.
   i) Walt showers himself with praise more often than Fred showers himself with praise.
   ii) ?Walt showers himself with praise more often than Fred showers him with praise.
   iii) Walt showers himself with praise more often than he showers Fred with praise.

Of particular interest in the above examples is the fact that all four self-directed verbs are consistent in presenting an intransitive, sloppy reading in the absence of an overt reflexive marker. It appears that an intransitive constituent structure in English also results in an intransitive semantic structure. Likewise, even with an overt reflexive argument, none of the above verbs readily permits the strict reading that would suggest an open, transitive semantic structure. In fact, based on conversations with native speakers, *wash* is the only verb that appears to slightly allow such an interpretation as demonstrated in (4.26a) and (4.26c); and, in these instances, the strict interpretation is the least natural. The verb *wash* also differs from the other verbs in the above examples in that it does not convey a reflexive interpretation in the absence of the reflexive marker in the sentence involving the adverb phrase *better than*, (4.26b). Interestingly, the reflexive interpretation is present in the absence of the reflexive marker when the complement is the adverb phrase *more often* as demonstrated in (4.26d). The verb *shower* equally demonstrates a grammatical preference for the adverb phrase *more*

often. As demonstrated in (4.28a) and (4.28b), the use of the adverb phrase *better than* results in an unnatural reading.

Though the self-directed reflexive constructions generally disallow a strict reading in comparative deletion contexts, they consistently result in an object comparison reading when the reflexive marker is present in the construction ((4.25a), (4.25c), (4.26a), (4.26c), (4.27a), (4.27c), (4.28c), (4.28e)). According to Sells et al. (1987), an object comparison interpretation is a possible interpretation with lexically transitive verbs in some languages:

> This interpretation is unavailable in languages where the verb form is lexically intransitive, such as Finnish, but it is available in languages where the verb is lexically transitive, such as Japanese or English. (Sells et al. 1987: 222)

The object comparison interpretation, thus, provides a convenient test of lexical transitivity for English. Moreover, according to the object comparison test, lexical transitivity, like Sells et al.'s (1997) semantic component of linguistic structure, appears to be variable within English.

(4.29) self-directed
- a. John bathes himself better than Fred.
- b. John bathes himself better than he bathes Fred.

(4.30) other-directed
- a. John hates himself more than Fred.
- b. John hates himself more than he hates Fred.

(4.31) inherent reflexive
- a. John behaves himself better than Fred.
- b. *John behaves himself better than he behaves Fred.

Unlike the reflexive constructions comprising the self-directed verb *bathe* and the other-directed verb *hate*, the reflexive construction incorporating the inherently reflexive verb *behave* is lexically intransitive.

Inherent reflexives are the opposite of self-directed reflexives according to Büring (2005: 22). For the most part, linguists are agreed that inherent reflexives can be defined as a distinct subset of reflexive constructions (Sells, Zaenen and Zec 1987; Geniušienė 1987; Levin 1993). Inherent

reflexives in English are frequently described as syntactically transitive and semantically intransitive or, to borrow from the framework of Sells et al. (1987), as transitive at the level of constituent structure and lexical structure and intransitive at the level of semantic structure. This is illustrated in (4.32) below:

(4.32) Inherent reflexives in English

	'transitive'	'intransitive'
lexical structure	SUBJ-OBJ	SUBJ only
constituent structure	object NP	no object NP
semantic structure	open predicate	closed predicate

It will be demonstrated here that this description is inaccurate. Though those reflexive constructions classed as inherent reflexives, as a group, appear to be semantically intransitive according to the strict/sloppy designations of the comparative deletion test, they have not been found to behave uniformly with respect to constituent structure or lexical structure. As has already been demonstrated in (4.31), some inherently reflexive verbs such as *behave* are also lexically intransitive (in fact, since it is an ambitransitive verb, *behave* can present itself as fully intransitive within the Sells et al. framework) whereas others do keep to the pattern described in (4.32).

The semantically transitive designation for English of Sells et al. (1987), which was previously demonstrated to be inaccurate with respect to other-directed reflexive constructions, equally does not appear to apply to inherent reflexive constructions. This is demonstrated in (4.33) and (4.34). It is worth reiterating, however, that Sells et al. (1987) deliberately choose to avoid considering these inherently reflexive constructions.

(4.33) Semantically intransitive construction 1
- a. John behaves himself better than Peter.
- b. *John behaves himself better than Peter behaves him.
- c. John behaves himself better than Peter behaves himself.

(4.34) Semantically intransitive construction 2
a. John perjures himself more than Peter.
b. *John perjures himself more than Peter perjures him.
c. John perjures himself more than Peter perjures himself.

Sentences (4.33) – (4.34) demonstrate that inherent reflexive constructions cannot permit a strict interpretation of the primary verb phrase as shown by the ungrammaticality of the resulting clause. This implies that, unlike the semantically transitive reflexive constructions described by Sells et al. (1987), inherent reflexive constructions must be semantically intransitive. It should be noted here, however, that Sells et al. (1987) employ the comparative deletion test as an inquiry into the semantic characteristics of the reflexive form across a selection of distinct languages without taking into account the manner in which different verbs behave within the structure. Cross-linguistically, certain reflexive types within certain languages, as will be demonstrated in the upcoming sections, do not permit a strict reading of the test sentence (4.24a) from Sells et al., and, therefore, are deemed invariably semantically intransitive. However, as the sentences in (4.24) – (4.28) and (4.33) – (4.34) demonstrate that the English reflexive can be realized as either semantically transitive or semantically intransitive depending upon the verb, it is arguable that the verb, rather than the language, determines the semantic transitivity of a reflexive construction.

Tests involving Jackendoff's (1992) Madame Tussaud context and Reuland's (2001) Baron Münchhausen sentences further demonstrate the semantic differentiation of inherent reflexive constructions. As was discussed in Chapter 2 and marginally implemented in Chapter 3, Madame Tussaud and Münchhausen sentences are good tests of the semantic interpretation of a given language's reflexive marker. Instead of providing insight into semantic transitivity, these tests explore the semantic range of coreference between a reflexive and its antecedent as permitted by the verb. This is something that is not addressed in Sells et al. (1987) or Geniušienė (1987). Here, as mentioned briefly in Chapter 1, it is put forward that the Madame Tussaud and Münchhausen contexts aid in determining whether the coreference permitted by the reflexive marker is strictly

related to the antecedent, (x,x), or more flexibly related to an approximation of the antecedent, (x, f(x)) or (x,y). This is an argument that will be addressed in greater detail in Chapter 5, but it is worth reiterating that this work differs from that of many linguists, including Reuland (2001) and Lidz (2001a,b), in recognizing a tripartite rather than bipartite differentiation of internal reflexive semantic structure. In English these sentences tend to demonstrate that the reflexive marker permits a fairly flexible interpretation of its object of coreference. However, when the reflexive is part of an inherent reflexive construction, the coreference becomes necessarily strict. This is illustrated in (4.35) below:

(4.35) Jackendoff's Madame Tussaud context

The other day I was strolling through the wax museum with Ringo Starr, and we came upon the statues of the Beatles, and...

a. ...All of a sudden I accidentally stumbled and fell on Ringo.
b. ... All of a sudden Ringo started undressing himself.
c. ... All of a sudden Ringo stumbled and fell on himself.
d. ...All of a sudden I accidentally bumped into the statues, and *Ringo toppled over and fell on himself.

(Jackendoff 1992: 4-5)

e. For the most part Ringo behaved himself.

The three reflexive sentences in (4.35) demonstrate three distinct interpretations of the reflexive, each of which is dependent upon the interaction of the verb and its reflexive argument. The reflexive pronoun *himself* in sentence (4.35b) can apply to either Ringo the man or Ringo the statue. The same reflexive pronoun in sentence (4.35c), however, is limited to the non-coreferential reference with Ringo the statue. This is further supported in the ungrammatical sentence (4.35d) in which the reflexive pronoun referring to Ringo the person cannot refer to the inanimate antecedent Ringo the statue.

Generally, the flexible interpretation of the reflexive, as demonstrated in (4.35b), holds in Madame Tussaud sentences. Ringo can shave, bathe, admire, talk to, hit, shoot, see, vote for, prefer, even taste himself, and an interpretation in which the reflexive pronoun might refer to the statue Ringo as well as the human Ringo is perfectly acceptable. Examples of sentences similar to (4.35c)

are likewise not difficult to determine. For instance, Ringo can sit on himself or fall on himself only when it is the person Ringo doing the action upon the statue. The limiting factor in these situations appears to be one of animacy: the inanimate Ringo statue cannot voluntarily act; equally, Ringo the person cannot easily fall or sit upon his own body. In opposition to these sentences which generally permit a flexible interpretation of the reflexive, sentences involving inherent reflexive constructions, such as (4.35e), demand a restricted interpretation of the reflexive as identical to the antecedent in order to be deemed grammatical. As was the case with the comparative deletion examples, in these situations the verb again appears to be limiting the referential capability of the reflexive.

Unlike inherent reflexive constructions, self-directed and other-directed reflexive verbs cannot be differentiated through their participation in Madame Tussaud sentences. The sentences in (4.36) – (4.38) illustrate the fact that both types of reflexive constructions can result in a flexible interpretation of the reflexive:

(4.36) a. Ringo washed himself.
b. Ringo shaved himself.

(4.37) a. Ringo hated himself.
b. Ringo shot himself.

(4.38) a. Ringo pushed himself.
b. Ringo attacked himself.

The reflexive object of the self-directed verbs *wash* and *shave* in (4.36) can be interpreted as either Ringo the man or Ringo the statue. This is equally the case for the other-directed verbs *hate* and *shoot* in example (4.37). This suggests that other and self-directed verbs have little impact on the semantic range of the English reflexive.

As mentioned earlier, in addition to their unique situation with respect to most transitive and ambitransitive verbs within the English language, inherently reflexive verbs as a group also demonstrate noticeable intergroup differences. Up to this point, the verb *behave* has been employed as the model for inherent reflexive constructions. However, when compared to the larger class of

inherent reflexive verbs, *behave* tends to be the odd one out as regards the manner in which these verbs interact with their reflexive objects.

Levin (1993) identifies the class of inherently reflexive verbs as one group of a selection of verb types that exhibit 'special' diathesis alternations. Examples of Levin's inherent reflexives are presented in (4.39) below:

(4.39) Inherently reflexive verbs:
absent, acquit, assert, avail, bear, behave, bestir, betake, bethink, better, buy, camouflage, carry, check, collect, comport, compose, conduct, contain, content, defend, demean, disgrace, disport, efface, embroil, endear, enjoy, ensconce, excel, exert, fancy, find, help, ingratiate, insinuate, intoxicate, intrude, inure, justify, lower, martyr, nerve, outdo, overreach, perjure, plight, pride, profess, prostrate, redeem, relieve, resign, revenge, steel, sun, unbosom, vindicate, worm
(Levin 1993: 107)

Levin defines these verbs as verbs that "obligatorily take the reflexive pronoun as object" (Levin 1993: 107). Interestingly, as Levin herself recognizes, not all of these verbs necessarily share the same argument structure requirements. The verb *behave*, for instance, is comparable to the self-oriented reflexive constructions in that it does not require a reflexive marker in order to be considered both reflexive and grammatical. This is the only verb in Levin's list to permit the null reflexive reading. As is demonstrated briefly in (4.40) – (4.43), the other verbs in Levin's list require a reflexive object.

(4.40) behave
a. John behaved himself.
b. John behaved himself badly.
c. John behaved.
d. John behaved badly.

(4.41) perjure
a. John perjured himself.
b. ?John perjured himself badly.
c. *John perjured.
d. *John perjured badly.

(4.42) disgrace
a. John disgraced himself.
b. ?John disgraced himself badly.
c. *John disgraced.
d. *John disgraced badly.

(4.43) endear
a. John endeared himself.
b. *John endeared himself badly.
c. *John endeared.
d. *John endeared badly.

Another assumption concerning inherent reflexive constructions is the belief that they do not permit non-reflexive NPs to fill the object argument position. Yet this, too, is not necessarily the case. Interestingly, several of Levin's obligatorily reflexive object verbs can take an object argument other than the reflexive pronoun. Though these verbs can be used in conjunction with non-reflexive arguments, their meaning in these constructions differs considerably from the meaning they present when paired with a reflexive argument. This is illustrated in (4.44) – (4.47) below:

(4.44) a. John bore himself well through the trauma.
b. John bore the load without complaint.

(4.45) a. John conducted himself very well considering the circumstances.
b. John conducted the surveys while on holiday.
c. John conducted the orchestra.

(4.46) a. John contained himself despite his excitement.
b. John contained his excitement
c. BP contained the leak after a great deal of time and effort.

(4.47) a. John redeemed himself after much hard work.
b. John redeemed the coupon for a sizeable discount.

In short, the interaction between the verb and reflexive in this subclass of inherent reflexive constructions results in a reanalysis of the primary meaning of the verb which brings to mind the intermediate degree of semantic fusion subcategory discussed in section 4.1.1.1. Ultimately, an interpretation of reflexive constructions in English benefits from the recognition of insights obtained from both the focus and the fusion approaches to reflexive subcategorization.

Following a similar pattern to these obligatorily reflexive object verbs, which can occur with non-reflexive objects in conjunction with a shift in meaning, is Levin's class of 'Reflexive verbs of appearance' (Levin 1992: 259) presented in (4.48) below:

(4.48) Reflexive verbs of appearance:
assert, declare, define, express, form, intrude, manifest, offer, pose, present, proffer, recommend, shape, show, suggest
(Levin 1992: 259)

Recognized separately by Geniušienė (1987) and Poutsma (1904), according to Levin, these verbs "describe the appearance of an entity on the scene" through the obligatory use of a reflexive pronoun as the object argument. In many ways these "verbs of appearance" behave in a similar manner to inherent reflexives:

(4.49) a. I recommend Bill.
b. Bill recommended himself.

(4.50) a. A solution presented itself.
b. John presented a solution.

Taking all of this into account, it does appear that inherent reflexives are a linguistically valid group distinguishable from prototypical English reflexive constructions at the level of semantic representation. However, those reflexive constructions that can be classed as inherent reflexives are not, in themselves, a homogenous set. Within the category of inherent reflexives three distinct subsets, in particular, are readily identifiable: prototypical inherent reflexives in which a reflexive pronoun must be present for the verb to be used grammatically, ambitransitive inherent reflexives in which the reflexive pronoun is optional despite the fact that it is the only acceptable argument in these constructions, and transitive inherent reflexives in which a regular transitive verb that can select from a variety of NP object arguments experiences a shift in meaning when paired with a reflexive argument. These three types are presented in Table 4.4:

Table 4.4: Possible Subtypes of Inherent Reflexives

Type	Description	Example
PROTOTYPICAL (OR INTRANSITIVE)	A reflexive pronoun must be present for a verb to be used grammatically	Pride: John prided himself upon his ability to speak Italian.
AMBITRANSITIVE	An optional reflexive pronoun is the only acceptable argument	Behave: 1) Happily, the children behaved themselves at the party. 2) Happily, the children behaved at the party.
TRANSITIVE	A regular transitive verb that can select from a variety of NP object arguments experiences a shift in lexical meaning when paired with a reflexive argument	Bore: 1) Felix bore himself as best he could through the examination. 2) Felix bore the load up the mountain.

It appears that in both prototypical and ambitransitive reflexive constructions the determining factor for the realization of inherently reflexive constructions within English is the verb with which the reflexive marker is paired. Essentially, inherently reflexive verbs appear to limit the referential power of the reflexive marker. However, though transitive inherent reflexive constructions also demonstrate this reduced reference effect, the reflexive, itself, also seems to play an important role in shifting the core meaning of the verb. This topic will be explored further in upcoming sections to determine if the presence of more than one reflexive type influences the subtle interactions between reflexive markers and their corresponding verbs.

Overall, in English the directed verb approach to reflexive subcategorization identifies both syntactic and semantic patterns within reflexive constructions. Other-directed reflexives are the prototypical reflexives described by Sells et al. (1987) which are transitive at all levels of linguistic structure as illustrated in Figure (4.4). Self-directed reflexive constructions, on the other hand, incorporate ambitransitive verbs that have a reflexive interpretation regardless of the overt realization of a reflexive argument. As a result, these constructions can be intransitive at the level of constituent structure. However, they differ according to the acceptability of overt reflexive arguments as

demonstrated by the verbs *wash*, *bathe*, and *shower* in the examples in (4.21). Likewise, the semantic status of self-directed reflexive constructions is variable. In the absence of an overt reflexive argument these reflexive constructions are consistently intransitive at the semantic level of linguistic representation. Equally, most of these constructions maintain this semantic intransitivity when they do incorporate an overt reflexive argument, the use of the reflexive with the verb *wash* proving to be the main exception (4.25-4.28). Inherent reflexives are also found to be intransitive at the semantic component of linguistic structure. Self-directed reflexive constructions differ, as a group, from inherent reflexives, however, in that they permit a fair deal of flexibility with respect to coreference as demonstrated by the Madame Tussaud examples in (4.35-4.38). Inherent reflexive constructions do not permit this coreferential flexibility. Moreover, applications of the object comparison test of lexical transitivity finds that a number of the reflexive constructions designated as inherent reflexives can be described as lexically intransitive. This differs from the transitive status observed with prototypically self-directed and other-directed verbs. Inherent reflexives do, though, demonstrate different requirements with respect to constituent structure as demonstrated in Table 4.4 above.

4.1.2 English: Functions other than Coreference

In addition to indicating coreference between the subject and object arguments of a verb, the English reflexive can be used emphatically, logophorically, and in the creation of middles. These different functions of the English reflexive are illustrated in (4.51) below:

(4.51) Other functions

a.	*Emphatic*	I myself put it there.
b.	*Logophoric*	I know well the story about himself that Chris loves to tell.
c.	*Middle*	This car sells itself.

According to linguists such as Faltz (1985), Schladt (2000), and van Gelderen (2000), the emphatic uses of the reflexive marker can be traced back to the original function of the morpheme *self* as a marker of emphasis in Old and Middle English that gradually, through processes of

grammaticalisation, acquired its current separate semantic identity as a reflexive pronoun. The emphatic function of the reflexive marker can be determined by its location in constituent structure and is, for the most part, not influenced by the verb. This is demonstrated in (4.52) below:

(4.52) a. I myself ate all of the food.
b. You yourself shaved off your beard.
c. John himself behaved quite well at the party.

Regardless of whether the verb is self-directed, other-directed, or inherently reflexive, the emphatic can be used in an utterance with no change to its function of adding emphasis to the subject. Coordination involving emphatic marking does, however, tease out a possible inconsistency relating to inherent reflexive verbs as illustrated in (4.53) below:

(4.53) a. The first arose because even though I, myself, and the women I was involved with, called ourselves feminist, I wasn't really clear what we were doing about it. (BNC: CF4 71)
b. The Asian youth told officers he had not been involved in the alleged attack, but that he, himself, and his friends had been set upon by a gang. (BNC K35 305)
c. There seemed no point when the whole place might be on the point of closing, and she, herself, and Steve in prison. (BNC: K8V 2316)
d. I told the whole news team yesterday, William, Paul, Lucy, Gorgeous, Abby, Alex, and you youself, Oxford will win. (BNC: KRT 5174)
e. ?I, myself, and John behaved well at the party.

Sentences (4.53a) – (4.53d), taken from the British National Corpus (BNC), demonstrate that the emphatic can be used in coordinate constructions. However, according to native speakers, this pattern does not readily extend to utterances involving an inherently reflexive verb such as *behave*, (4.53e). Interestingly, in all of these cases, the NP in the coordinate construction marked with the emphatic pronoun is listed first. In fact, no examples were observed in the BNC in which this was not the case. In examples such as (4.53a), this results in the nonstandard ordering of first person before third person which would suggest that emphatic marking in coordinate constructions might be linked to discourse considerations that involve fronting such as topic or focus.

Closely related to the emphatic function of the reflexive marker, and often grouped in the same category (Ahn 2008), is the use of the English reflexive marker as a synonym for 'alone'. This 'alone' function of the reflexive marker is here designated the 'delimiting emphatic function' and the previously described emphatic function, the 'general emphatic function'. Unlike the general emphatic, the delimiting emphatic cannot be used as a complement to predicates incorporating an inherent reflexive construction. This is demonstrated in (4.54) below:

(4.54) a. I ate all of the food by myself.
b. I showered by myself.
c. I shaved by myself.
d. *I behaved by myself.

As was shown in (4.54), the delimiting emphatic is generally found in a prepositional phrase that is headed with the preposition *by*. However, as demonstrated in (4.55) below, the preposition is not required when the predicate has an overt object argument:

(4.55) a. I ate all of the food myself. *delimiting emphatic*
b. I ate myself. *reflexive*
c. *I ate myself myself.

When the reflexive marker follows an unrelated noun phrase, as is the case with the object *the food* in (4.55a), it carries the delimiting emphatic meaning. However, this function is replaced by the coreferential reflexive function in the absence of another object argument as demonstrated in (4.55b). Likewise, the delimiting reflexive cannot be used to add emphasis to reflexive objects as demonstrated in (4.55c).

These emphatic functions available to the English reflexive marker have not, to date, been the subject of much research and, thus, pose an interesting subject for future investigation that extends beyond the scope of this dissertation. The use of the English reflexive marker in middle constructions, on the other hand, has been the subject of a fair amount of recent research (Keyser and Roeper 1984; Fagan 1988; Fellbaum and Zribi-Hertz 1989; Zribi-Hertz 1993; Chung 2003).

Unlike English reflexive markers with an emphatic function, reflexive markers employed in middle constructions are found in the immediate argument structure of the predicate and, thus, share a domain with reflexive markers of coreference. A type of grammatical voice, the English middle is generally described as falling between active and passive voices since the subject contains both agent-like and patient-like characteristics. There is a fair amount of overlap between ergatives and middles and often the two terms have been used interchangeably, though Keyser and Roeper (1984) and Fagan (1988) provide differing approaches to distinguishing the two. Here, as the focus is on the interaction between the verb and the reflexive marker, these distinguishing features will not be entered into further as the arguments surrounding their unique characteristics are outside the scope of this dissertation.

According to Chung (2003), the English reflexive marker can be employed in two distinct types of constructions that have traditionally been interpreted as middles (Fellbaum 1989). These two constructions differ with respect to stress, meaning, and verb category. Examples are presented in (4.56) and (4.57) below:

(4.56) Middle 1: Event without external cause (Chung 2003: 463)
- a. The gears on my new bike shift themselves
- b. The Corvette could practically drive itself.
- c. Straightforward in principle, although highly complex in technical detail, the majority of today's desk-top fax machines rarely seek to sell themselves with seductive design.

(4.57) Middle 2: Appearance of some entity (Chung 2003: 463)
- a. The most appropriate name for the series that suggests itself to me is 'Keewatin', the Indian name for the North-west,...
- b. Wherever a spark fell ... a little fire promptly declared itself.
- c. But they also explore psychology's boundaries: an important focus for a discipline so determined to define itself rigorously.
- d. This doubt may manifest itself in the wish to delay the decision.
- e. Malignant melanoma can show itself by a change in the look of a skin mole.

In all of these examples the antecedent carries the thematic role of Patient rather than Agent; however, the meaning provided by the reflexive marked constructions in the examples shown in

(4.56) is generally taken to be "the event described by the verb takes place without any external cause" while that in the examples in (4.57**)** is interpreted as the "appearance or presentation of some entity" (Chung 2003: 464). Though it is outside of the scope of this work, it is worth mentioning that the stress pattern is also different in these two types of middle constructions: in (4.56) the stress is on the reflexive marker whereas it is located on the verb in (4.57). Lastly, and most relevant to this work, is Chung's observation that the two types of reflexive middle constructions use different classes of verbs based on Levin's (1993) categorization. According to Chung, the Middle 1 constructions, (4.56), incorporate a verb that is a member of Levin's (1993) class of 'virtual reflexive alternation' and the Middle 2 constructions, (4.57), incorporate verbs classed as 'reflexive verbs of appearance', which were already mentioned in section 4.1.1.2 with respect to inherent reflexive constructions.

Lastly, as mentioned earlier, English reflexive pronouns that are found outside of the domain requirements discussed in section 4.1 are often classed as logophoric. Though their application in theories of anaphoric binding varies, logophors are generally regarded as relating to discourse structure with the function of indicating the perspective of their referents:

> A logophoric pronoun is one that occurs in reported speech or thought (see Banfield 1982) to refer back to the minimal subject of consciousness, that is, the person whose speech or thoughts are being reported. (Zribi-Hertz 1993: 585)

The primary constraint on logophoric pronouns is that of 'point-of-view'. This is demonstrated in (4.58) below:

(4.58) a. John$_i$ was going to get even with Mary. That picture of himself$_i$ in the paper would really annoy her, as would the other stunts he had planned.
b. *Mary was taken aback by the publicity John$_i$ was receiving. That picture of himself$_i$ in the paper had really annoyed her, and there was not much she could do about it.
(Pollard and Sag 1992: 274)

As the location of the reflexive is identical in both (4.58a) and (4.58b), it is the discourse structure set up in the preceding sentence in each example that determines the grammaticality of the reflexive marked construction. The reflexive *himself* with a reference to *John* can only be used in a context in

which John's is the dominant viewpoint. As the perspective in (4.58b) is that of Mary the long distance reflexive cannot refer to John.

Example (4.58) demonstrates instances in which the use of the reflexive marker is grammatically acceptable outside of its domain constraint. Instances in which the English reflexive marker can be used without following the antecedent constraint have also been observed and, equally, attributed to the logophoric function. Examples of these are presented in (4.59) –(4.62) below:

(4.59) a. Physicists like yourself are a godsend.
b. *A famous physicist has just looked for yourself.

(4.60) a. She gave both Brenda and myself a dirty look.
b. *She gave myself a dirty look.

(4.61) a. It angered him that she ... tried to attract a man like himself.
b. *It angered him that she tried to attract himself.

(4.62) a. Max boasted that the queen invited Lucie and himself for a drink.
b. *Max boasted that the queen invited himself for a drink.
(Reuland and Everaert 2006: 276)

In each of these examples the reflexive marker is present within the immediate predicate argument structure. However, though the reflexive is located within the predicate argument structure, it does not stand alone as a predicate argument. For instance, in (4.59a), the phrase *physicists like yourself*, not *physicists* or *yourself* alone, carries the subject function for the sentence. A similar structure, *a man like himself*, acts as the object of *attract* in (4.61a). Likewise, the object arguments in (4.60a) and (4.62a) are coordinate structures. As demonstrated in (4.62b), the reflexive outside of a coordinate argument is not an acceptable argument of *invited*.

Ultimately, as a discourse function, the logophoric function of English reflexive markers is not influenced by the interaction between verbs and reflexive arguments and, thus, like the emphatic function discussed previously, lies outside of the scope of this dissertation.

4.1.3 English: Summary

From the data presented here it appears that the English reflexive can be combined variously with transitive, ambitransitive, and intransitive verbs to unique effect depending upon the verb. In particular, though the domain and antecedent constraints remain consistent, reflexive constructions have been found to vary with respect to semantic transitivity, coreferential flexibility, and lexical transitivity. This is illustrated in Table 4.5 below:

Table 4.5: English - Coreferential Function

SYNTACTIC TRANSITIVITY (c-structure)	**SEMANTIC TRANSITIVITY (comparative deletion)**	**COREFERENCE (Madame Tussaud)**	**LEXICAL TRANSITIVITY (object comparison)**	**EXAMPLE**
Transitive	***Transitive***	(x,y)	***Transitive***	shoot
	Intransitive	(x,x)	***Intransitive***	perjure
	Intransitive	(x,x)	***Transitive***	disgrace
Ambitransitive	***Intransitive***	(x,y)	***Transitve***	bathe
	Intransitive	(x,x)	***Intransitive***	behave
	Transitive	(x,y)	***Transitive***	eat
Intransitive	***Intransitive***	(x,x)	***Transitive***	shower

The table describes coreferential reflexives in terms of patterns between their realization at c-structure, the semantic effects of transitivity and coreference, and lexical transitivity. This suggests that neither the tripartite description of Sells et al. (1987) nor the subcategorization of verb types according to semantic focus fully captures the subtleties of reflexive binding in English, particularly at the semantic level.

The English data presented in this section has also found the reflexive marker to contribute to other aspects of verb meaning that do not relate to coreference. Table 4.6 below summarizes these functions in which the verb/reflexive marker relationship influences non-coreferential functions.

Table 4.6: English - Other Functions

FUNCTION	DESCRIPTION	EXAMPLE
Inherent Reflexive	Some transitive inherent reflexive constructions can occur with non-reflexive objects resulting in a shift in meaning on the verb.	1) John conducted himself well. 2) Fred conducted the orchestra.
Fusion	Reflexive/verb constructions vary according to degrees of semantic fusion. Reflexive constructions with intermediate degree and maximum degree of semantic fusion behave more like complex lexical items than independent verbs and reflexive arguments.	1) John threw himself into the chair 2) Sally pulled herself together.
MiddleFunction	The antecedent carries the thematic role of Patient rather than agent. The resulting interpretation of the middle construction depends upon the verb class.	1) This Corvette could practically drive itself. 2) Dora shouted herself hoarse.

As they are not influenced by interaction between the predicate and its reflexive argument, the emphatic and logophoric functions of the English reflexive marker are not included in this table. The effects of the inherent reflexive marker, intermediate and maximum degree semantic fusion, and the middle function, on the other hand, have been found to be linked to the interaction of a reflexive marker and its verb.

Since the English language has only a single reflexive type, the different semantic requirements that it fulfills in different predicate environments are not readily apparent in language structure. Like Fijian, the rest of the languages explored in this chapter have several reflexive strategies. As will be shown in the following sections, the different patterns of semantic transitivity and coreference observed with respect to English can be applied to an understanding as to why certain reflexive strategies are preferred in langauges in which overlap between domain requirements result in the grammatical acceptability of more than one reflexive type.

4.2 Dutch: Multiple Nominal Reflexive Markers

Similar to German and Icelandic, Dutch is an SOV, verb-second (V2) West Germanic language. Unmarked word order is verb-final except in main clauses where the auxiliary verb appears in second position.

According to histories of Dutch, the language has been gradually shifting from a highly inflected, synthetic language to a primarily analytic language. For instance, according to Weerman (2003), Middle Dutch employed four cases, demonstrated in (4.63) below, whereas Modern Dutch makes use of only one (4.64):

(4.63) Middle Dutch – 'the man'
- a. NOMINATIVE die man
- b. GENITIVE dies mans
- c. DATIVE dien manne
- d. ACCUSATIVE dien man

(4.64) Modern Dutch – 'the man'
- a. CASE de man

(Weerman 2003: 2)

Weerman (2003) claims that the paradigm of personal pronouns is the exception to this deflexion, serving as a vestigial reminder of an earlier synthetic system. Within the Dutch pronominal system 'nominative' and 'accusative' cases have been preserved to distinguish subjects and objects. 'Genitive' case, too, has been preserved in the form of the possessive pronoun. This is very similar to other West-Germanic languages, including English.

Likewise, Dutch originally incorporated three genders: masculine, feminine, and neuter. However, over time, the masculine and feminine have combined to form the common gender resulting in a simple dichotomy between common gender nouns, which require the determiner 'de', and neuter nouns, requiring the determiner 'het' (4.65):

(4.65) Modern Dutch Genders
- a. NEUTER het boek 'the book'
- b. COMMON de stoel 'the chair'

(Renier 1941: 3)

Stress is also a consideration in the realization of Dutch pronominal and anaphoric markers. Dutch pronouns exhibit a distinction between strong, or stressed, and weak, or unstressed, pronouns. This is particularly applicable to focus and emphasis. For instance, if the pronoun is emphasized in a sentence, the strong form of the pronoun is preferred, and the weak form is preferred for instances lacking emphasis. Weak pronouns have generally been found to be more frequently used than their strong counterparts.

As is the case with English, Dutch verbs are marked for tense and number, demonstrating subject agreement with respect to number. Transitivity appears to be slightly less flexible in Dutch than in English, with most verbs being clearly classed as either transitive or intransitive. Ambitransitive verbs are rare.

Dutch has frequently served as a model for languages with two nominal reflexives. Featured in a large number of works on anaphoric binding (Everaert 1980, 1986; Bartlett and Suber 1987; Reinhart and Reuland 1993; Koster 1994; Veraart 1996; Rooryck and Wyngaerd 1998, 1999; Reuland 2001), the language's two distinct reflexive types, known variously as SE and SELF, simplex and complex, or near and pure, are regularly a topic of interest. Of particular relevance to this work is the use of Dutch in Reinhart and Reuland (1993), Lidz (2001), and Reuland (2001) to advance the argument for reflexive marking on the verb, as discussed previously in Chapters 1 and 2. The two Dutch reflexive paradigms are presented in Tables 4.7 and 4.8 below. These two reflexive types will henceforth be referred to as complex and simplex and glossed as REFL_1 and REFL_2 respectively.

Table 4.7: Dutch Simplex Reflexive (REFL_2)

	1st Person	2nd Person	2nd Person Formal	3rd Person
Singular	me	je	zich	zich
Plural	ons	je	zich	zich

Table 4.8: Dutch Complex Reflexive (REFL_1)

	1st Person	2nd Person	2nd Person Formal	3rd Person
Singular	mezelf	jezelf	zichzelf	zichzelf
Plural	onzelf	jezelf	zichzelf	zichzelf

Though they do distinguish person, unlike English neither of the Dutch reflexive types incorporates gender. Likewise, for both types the only form to contain information on number is the first person reflexive form.

Though there is a large area of overlap, the Dutch simplex and complex reflexives exhibit distinct domain and antecedent requirements. The Dutch complex reflexive demonstrates a similar domain to that of the English reflexive marker and, like the English reflexive, is subject to the Minimal Complete Nucleus Binding Condition and the GF Binding Condition. The Dutch simplex reflexive, on the other hand, can occur in both local and long distance binding domains as it follows the Root S Binding Condition. Moreover, unlike the Dutch complex reflexive, the simplex reflexive follows the Subject Binding Condition and must be bound to a subject antecedent. The simplex and complex reflexives also exhibit distinct antecedency requirements. In particular, the antecedent of the simplex reflexive must be animate whereas the complex reflexive can refer to either an animate or an inanimate antecedent.

The Dutch simplex reflexive form falls into Heine's (2005) category of 'B-reflexives', mentioned previously in Chapter 2, in that the first and second person reflexive markers are identical to their respective pronominal forms. The third person reflexive form, alone, is distinguishable from the third person pronoun.

> *B-reflexive*: First and second person pronouns are used reflexively while third person pronouns are "anti-reflexive," that is, they cannot be used as reflexive markers. (Heine 2005: 207)

Heine claims that this is fairly common and examples of B-reflexives can be found in many of the Romance and Germanic languages. In fact, the reflexive clitic and simplex nominal reflexive in French can also be categorized as B-reflexives as will be shown in section 4.3. The complex reflexive, however, does not follow this pattern and all persons demonstrate a unique reflexive form.

According to Sells et al. (1987), the Dutch reflexives represent two different systems of transitivity. The complex reflexive can be described as a fully transitive reflexive and it follows the same structural diagram as English (4.4). The simplex reflexive, on the other hand, is described by Sells et al. (1987: 180) as a mixed "Transitive-Analytic-Closed" system of reflexive marking. This is illustrated in (4.66):

(4.66) Dutch simplex reflexive:

	'transitive'	'intransitive'
lexical structure	SUBJ-OBJ	SUBJ only
constituent structure	object NP	no object NP
semantic structure	open predicate	closed predicate

The critical difference between the two reflexive types can be found at the level of semantic structure. As a closed predicate, Dutch simplex reflexives do not contribute any new semantic information to the construction. The Dutch complex reflexives demonstrate much more referential freedom as will be observed in the following sections. Of particular interest is the manner in which these two reflexive types interact with different verbs. The reflexive profile Tables 4.9 and 4.10 summarize the two primary Dutch reflexive types.

Table 4.9: Dutch Reflexive Profile - Complex

Language	Dutch	**Reflexive Strategies**	2
Strategy	COMPLEX	PRO-zelf	
Coreference	Unchanged valency: Similar and Identical	**Lexical Function Continuum**	Nominal
Schladt's Elements of Reflexive Origin	Nominal sources	**Faltz's**	Compound
Domain Constraints	Minimal Complete Nucleus Binding Condition	**Antecedent Constraints**	GF Binding Condition
Reflexive Marker Functions	Coreference Emphatic	**Other**	

Table 4.10: Dutch Reflexive Profile - Simplex

Language	Dutch	**Reflexive Strategies**	2
Strategy	SIMPLEX	PRO	
Coreference	Unchanged valency: Identical	**Lexical Function Continuum**	Nominal
Schladt's Elements of Reflexive Origin	Object personal pronouns	**Faltz's**	Pronominal
Domain Constraints	Root S Binding Condition	**Antecedent Constraints**	Subject Binding Condition
Reflexive Marker Functions	Coreference Middle Self+action reflexive verbs	**Other**	Cannot be topicalised, stressed, or conjoined

The following subsections explore the unique semantic and syntactic requirements upon these two nominal reflexive types in Dutch and the verbs with which they can be used. For instance, Dutch has a distinct category of reflexive verbs, which require a simplex reflexive in the direct object argument position. Likewise, the simplex and complex reflexives differ considerably with respect to stress, topicalization, and coordination.

4.2.1 Dutch: The Semantics of Simplex and Complex Reflexives

As is to be expected considering their differing semantic statuses within Sells et al.'s (1987) tripartite model ((4.66) and (4.4)), a critical distinction between the Dutch simplex and complex reflexives is found in their coreferential properties. When put to the Madame Tussaud and Baron Münchhausen tests, which, as discussed in section 4.1.1.2, explore the limits of referential scope, the two reflexive types exhibit very different behaviour. The complex reflexive permits much greater coreferential flexibility than the simplex reflexive. This is illustrated in the sentences presented in (4.67) – (4.69):

(4.67) Statue Sentences 1: Ringo walked into Madame Tussaud's and saw a statue of himself wearing a beard...

a. Ringo$_i$ scheert zich$_{i/*s}$.
Ringo shave[PRS] REFL$_2$
'Ringo shaves himself (Ringo, *statue).'

b. Ringo$_i$ scheert zichzelf$_{i/s}$.
Ringo shave[PRS] REFL$_1$
'Ringo shaves himself (Ringo or statue).'

(Lidz 2001b:128)

(4.68) Statue Sentences 2: Marie is famous and walked into Madame Tussaud's. She looked in a mirror and...

a. Ze$_i$ zag zich$_{i/*s}$ in een griezelige hoek staan
3SG.F.SBJ see[PST] REFL$_2$ in a creepy corner stand
'She saw herself (reflection, *statue) standing in a creepy corner.'

b. Ze$_i$ zag zichzelf$_{i/s}$ in een griezelige hoek staan
3SG.F.SBJ see[PST] RELF$_1$ in a creepy corner stand
'She saw herself (reflection or statue) standing in a creepy corner.'

(Reuland 2001: 483)

(4.69) Statue Sentences 3: Mirrors and Videotape

a. Freddy$_i$ zag zichzelf$_i$/zich$_i$ in de spiegel.
Freddy see[PST] REFL$_1$ REFL$_2$ in DET mirror
'Freddy saw himself in the mirror.'

b. Freddy$_i$ zag zichzelf/?zich op de video-opname.
Freddy see[PST] REFL$_1$ REFL$_2$ on DET videotape
'Freddy saw himself on the videotape.'

(Rooryck and Vanden Wyngaerd 1999: 622)

As shown in sentences (4.67a) and (4.67b), the simplex reflexive *zich* can only refer directly to the antecedent. The complex reflexive, on the other hand, does not require absolute coreference with its antecedent; the reflexive *zichzelf* can be interpreted as referring to either Ringo the person or Ringo the statue.

The sentences in (4.68a) and (4.68b) introduce an interesting variation upon this idea of restricted and flexible reflexive coreference. The verb *zag* ('saw') can employ both the complex and the simplex reflexive type with slightly different interpretations. When used with the complex reflexive, *zichzelf*, the reflexive can be taken to refer to the antecedent either in the form of a reflection or in the form of some other depiction of the subject, such as a statue. The simplex reflexive, on the other hand, equally demonstrates a certain degree of approximation. While unable to

refer to a separate entity such as a statue, *zich* can be interpreted as referring to a reflection or photographic representation of the subject.

As will be discussed in Chapter 5, not all languages appear to permit even this degree of semantic flexibility with respect to their reflexive markers. In fact, even for the Dutch simplex reflexive, the representation of the subject whilst applicable to reflections and photographs is not equally applicable to videocassette representations (4.69). According to Roorcyck and Vanden Wyngaerd (1999), the complex reflexive type is strongly preferred in these contexts. Likewise, according to input from a native speaker of Dutch,[3] person appears to play a determining role in the acceptability of the simplex reflexive in reflection contexts such as those exemplified in (4.68a) and (4.69a). It has been suggested that the use of the first and second person simplex reflexives, *me* and *je*,'sound weird' and 'are not possible' in contexts in which the reflexive marker does not directly refer to the antecedent:

(4.70) a. *Ik_i zag me_i in de spiegel.
1SG.SBJ see[PST] 1SG.OBJ in DET mirror
b. Ik_i zag mezelf$_i$ in de spiegel.
1SG.SBJ see[PST] $REFL_1$ in DET mirror
'I saw myself in the mirror.'

(4.71) a. *Je_i zag je_i in de spiegel.
2SG.SBJ see[PST] 2SG.OBJ in DET mirror
b. Je_i zag jezelf in de spiegel.
2SG.SBJ see[PST] $REFL_1$ in DET mirror
'You saw yourself in the mirror.'

This is quite interesting as it suggests that not only may the coreferential range of a reflexive type vary according to distinct verbs, but that it can also vary within a reflexive type in a single verb environment. It appears that the referential range of the Dutch simplex reflexive is split according to person when paired with certain verbs. Moreover, it is worth noting that this split is neatly linked to the Dutch simplex reflexive marker's status as a B-type reflexive (Heine 2005). Whereas the

[3] Gwenda Simons, Research Associate in Psychology at the University of Oxford; Oxford, UK.

coreferentially limited, (x,x), first and second person reflexive markers are identical to their pronominal counterparts, the slightly more coreferentially flexible third person reflexive marker, (x,f(x)), is a distinct lexical item.

These subtle differences tease out the tripartite distinction alluded to in the previous section and summarized in Chapter 1. Table 4.11 outlines the three semantic types and the corresponding tests used to identify them. As mentioned earlier, Chapter 5 will discuss the realization and theoretical implications of these three semantic types in greater detail.

Table 4.11: Reflexive Coreferential Range and Corresponding Tests

(x,x)	Jackendoff Test (statue reading forbidden) Mirror Test (reflection forbidden)
(x,f(x))	Mirror Test (reflection permitted)
(x,y)	Jackendoff Test (statue reading permitted)

The Münchhausen sentences in (4.72) further illustrate the semantic differences between the Dutch complex and simplex reflexives.

(4.72) Münchhausen context/ Doppelgänger effect:

a. De baron$_i$ trok zich$_i$ uit het moeras.
DET baron pull[PST] REFL$_2$ out of.the swamp
'The baron pulled himself out of the swamp.' (by grabbing a branch of a tree hanging over him)

b. De baron$_i$ trok zichzelf$_i$ uit het moeras.
DET baron pull[PST] REFL$_2$ out of.the swamp
'The baron pulled himself out of the swamp.' (by his hair)

(Reuland 2001: 483; Rooryck and Wyngaerd 1999: 617)

c. Op het gemaskerd bal konden Sally$_i$ en Freddy$_j$ zichzelf$_{i,j}$/*zich$_{i,j}$
at DET masquerade ball could Sally and Freddy REFL$_1$ REFL$_2$
zien zonder spiegel.
see[PRS] without mirror
'At the masquerade, Sally and Freddy could see themselves without a mirror.'

d. Dorian Gray$_i$ zag zichzelf$_i$/*zich$_i$ op het schilderij zoals hij
Dorian Gray see[PST] REFL$_1$ REFL$_2$ on DET painting as 3SG.M
werkelijk was.
really to.be[PST]
'Dorian Gray saw himself on the picture as he really was.'

(Rooryck and Wyngaerd 1999: 621)

In the Münchhausen context ((4.72a) and (4.72b)) the different reflexive types lead to different interpretations of the event being described. When the simplex reflexive is employed, as in (4.72a), the sentence is understood to mean that Baron Münchhausen pulled himself out of the swamp with outside assistance such as a branch or a rope. If the complex reflexive is used, however, as is the case in the Baron Münchhausen story, the interpretation that the Baron pulled himself out of the swamp by using himself, in the form of his hair, becomes the likely interpretation.

According to Rooryck and Wyngaerd (1999), such an interpretation involves the 'Doppelgänger effect' in which the participant is both the actor and the functional item of the action**.** The Doppelgänger effect is further demonstrated in (4.72c), which describes a situation in which the two participants at the masquerade dressed as each other: "Sally dressed as Freddy, and Freddy as Sally," (Rooryck and Wyngaerd 1999: 1). It is due to this contrived situation that Freddy and Sally are able to see themselves without the aid of a mirror. Since the Doppelgänger reading is the only interpretation possible for this sentence, the simplex reflexive cannot be used. A similar situation is found in Oscar Wilde's story Dorian Gray. When Dorian Gray is presented with his portrait, the context only permits the use of the complex reflexive since the image he is shown is quite different from the self that is observing it.

Lastly, the sentences in (4.73) demonstrate that these distinguishing semantic characteristics for the simplex and complex reflexives are not restricted to the minimal clause.

(4.73)

a. Reagan$_i$ zag de man op zich$_{i/*s}$ schieten
   Reagan see[PST] DET man at $REFL_2$ shoot
   'Reagan saw the man shoot at him.' (Reagan the man, not statue)

b. Reagan$_i$ zag de man op zichzelf$_{i/s}$ schieten
   Reagan see[PST] DET man at $REFL_1$ shoot
   'Reagan saw the man shoot at him.' (Reagan the man, Reagan the statue)

(Lidz 2001: 131)

In (4.73a) and (4.73b) the reflexive marker is a prepositional object in a non-finite subordinate clause. However, the simplex reflexive, *zich*, is still referentially limited to describing only Reagan the man,

(4.73a) and not, as the complex reflexive permits, (4.70b), a representation of Reagan. Moreover, the simplex reflexive in (4.73a) can only be interpreted as referring to the subject *Reagan* and not the subject of the prepositional phrase, *de man*. The complex reflexive, on the other hand, can be read as referring to either of the subjects in the utterance, but is more readily interpreted as referring to the subject of its minimal finite clause, *de man*.

The semantic differences between the Dutch simplex and complex reflexives can be further observed within the context of comparative deletion sentences. As with English, Sells et al. (1987) employ the comparative deletion test on the simplex reflexive type to prove that it is semantically intransitive. This is demonstrated in (4.74):

(4.74) a. Zij verdedigde zich beter dan Peter.
3SG.F.SBJ defend[PST] $REFL_2$ better than Peter
She defended herself better than Peter.
b. *Zij verdedigde zich beter dan hem.
3SG.F.SBJ defend[PST] $REFL_2$ better than 3SG.M.OBJ
She defended herself better than him (acc).
(Sells, Zaenen, and Zec 1987: 182)

Like English pronouns, Dutch pronouns carry case marking. According to Sells et al., whilst the nominative case (glossed as SBJ) would result in the sloppy reading 'She defended herself better than Peter defended himself', the use of the accusative case (glossed as OBJ) in sentence (4.74b) only permits the strict, object comparison, interpretation 'She defended herself better than Peter defended her,' (Sells et al. 1987: 182-183). Since (4.74b) is ungrammatical with *zich*, the simplex reflexive is interpreted as a closed predicate.

The Dutch reflexive types also differ with respect to coordination. As is demonstrated in sentence in (4.75), the Dutch simplex reflexive cannot occur in a coordinate construction:

(4.75) *Zij verdedigde zich en haar vrienden.
3SG.F.SBJ defend[PST] $REFL_2$ and 3.SG.F.POSS friend[PL]
'She defended herself and her friends.'
(Sells, Zaenen, and Zec 1987: 183).

This is not the case, however, when the complex pronoun *zichzelf* is used, as sentences (4.76) and (4.77) illustrate.

(4.76) Zij verdedigde zichzelf en haar$_i$ vrienden.
3SG.F.SBJ defend[PST] REFL$_1$ and 3.SG.F.POSS friend[PL]
'She defended herself and her friends.'
(Sells, Zaenen and Zec 1987: 183)

(4.77) a. Zij verdedigde zich beter dan Peter.
3SG.F.SBJ defend[PST] REFL$_2$ better than Peter
'She defended herself better than Peter defended himself'
*'She defended herself better than Peter defended her.'
b. Zij verdedigde zichzelf beter dan Peter.
3SG.F.SBJ defend[PST] REFL$_1$ better than Peter
'She defended herself better than Peter defended himself'
'She defended herself better than Peter defended her'
(Lidz 2001b: 136)

Sentence (4.76) demonstrates that the complex reflexive can occur as part of a coordinate object unlike the simplex reflexive in (4.75). Likewise, sentences (4.77a) and (4.77b) show that, unlike the simplex reflexive *zich*, the complex reflexive can support both strict and sloppy interpretations of the comparative deletion sentences.

According to Sells et al., the best test of lexical transitivity for Dutch reflexive constructions is the impersonal passive (Sells et al. 1987: 183). In Dutch, all intransitive unergative verbs can undergo the impersonal passive alternation (4.78). This construction is forbidden, however, for transitive verbs (4.79). The fact that the impersonal passive is equally disallowed for reflexive constructions involving both of the Dutch reflexive types suggests that both reflexive types can be incorporated into lexically transitive constructions, neither acting as a detransitivizer.

(4.78) a. Er were meegezongen.
there to.be[PST] sing[PRS.PRF]
'It was by the whole village sung.'
b. Er werd hard gelachen.
there to.be[PST] much laugh[PRS.PRF]
'There was much laughter.'

(4.79) a. *Er werd door Jan de brief geschreven.
there to.be[PST] by John DET letter write[PRS.PRF]

(4.80) a. *Er werd zich goed verdedigd.
there to.be[PST] $REFL_2$ well defend[PRS.PRF]
b. *Er werd zichzelf goed verdedigd.
there to.be[PST] $REFL_1$ well defend[PRS.PRF]
(Sells et al. 1987: 183; Gwenda Simons, p.c.)

Lastly, another subtle semantic difference between the two reflexive types in Dutch, unrelated to semantic scope, concerns the degree of volition contributed by the subject with respect to the action. As is demonstrated in (4.81) below, the complex reflexive contributes an element of volition that is lacking in the simplex reflexive constructions.

(4.81) a. $Freddy_i$ sneed $zich_i$.
Freddy cut[PRS] $REFL_2$
'Freddy cut himself.' [-volitional]
b. Freddy sneed zichzelf.
Freddy cut[PRS] $REFL_1$
'Freddy cut himself' [+volitional]
(Rooryck and Vanden Wyngaerd 1998: 363)

Sentence (4.81a), which uses the simplex reflexive, could be read as 'Freddy *accidentally* cut himself' whereas sentence (4.81b), with the complex reflexive, is more readily interpreted as 'Freddy *intentionally* cut himself.' This suggests that the choice of reflexive marker can influence the meaning of the verb.

Following the approach of Sells et al. (1987), in conjunction with the data from the Jackendoff/ Münchhausen sentences, the Dutch simplex reflexive very clearly appears to be semantically intransitive and the complex reflexive semantically transitive. However, this does not necessarily entail that the simplex reflexive functions as a detransitivizer as the test of lexical transitivity in (4.80) demonstrates. The functional characteristics of these two Dutch reflexives along with further inquiry into the manner in which these two reflexive types interact with a variety of Dutch verbs will be further pursued in the following section.

4.2.2 Dutch: Reflexive Verbs and Directed Verb Categories

As was already touched upon in section 4.2.1, self-directed and other-directed verbs have been long recognized within Dutch grammar. In fact, as will be further observed in section 4.4 which covers Russian, many languages with more than one reflexive type provide compelling evidence for the directed verb approach to verb oriented reflexive subtypes. This section explores the directed verb categories with respect to the concept of Dutch reflexive verbs and their converse, verbs that can only mark coreference with the complex reflexive form.

Discussed in most Dutch grammars (Stern 1984; Fehringer 1999; Donaldson 1997), Dutch reflexive verbs are verbs that must incorporate the simplex reflexive in the object argument position in order to be considered grammatically acceptable. Though several of these verbs are semantically comparable to the English self-directed verbs, these reflexive/verb combinations more closely resemble inherent reflexives in English in that they are generally described as syntactically transitive and semantically intransitive (see (4.66)). Essentially, only reflexive pronouns can be used as the object argument of these verbs. Unlike the English self-directed verbs, the reflexive object must be overtly present when used with these Dutch reflexive verbs:

> In English it is understood that the subject is acting upon itself; in Dutch this must be expressed through the reflexive pronoun. [...] omission of the reflexive pronoun would leave the sentence grammatically incomplete and potentially ambiguous.
> (Stern 1984: 67)

This is demonstrated in (4.82) and (4.83) below:

(4.82) English Self-Directed Reflexives
a. He washed himself.
b. He washed.

(4.83) Dutch Reflexive Verbs
a. Hij_i wast $zich_i$/ $zichzelf_i$.
3SG.M.SBJ wash[PST] $REFL_2$ $REFL_1$
'He washed himself.'
b. *Hij wast.
3SG.M.SBJ wash[PST]
(Haspelmath 2008: 44)

Dutch grammarians (Shetter 1994; Donaldson 1997) have found instances of Dutch reflexive verbs to be much more prevalent in the Dutch language than inherent reflexives or self-directed reflexives appear to be in English. Table 4.12 lists Dutch reflexive verbs collected from a selection of Dutch grammars (Renier 1941; Stern 1984; Donaldson 1997; Quist and Strik 2003). This table identifies a distinction between two particular types of reflexive verb, described in Donaldson (1997) as:

> A) those that are always reflexive
> B) those that may be used reflexively but which can also be used as transitive verbs with direct objects
> (Donaldson 1997: 201-202)

Of particular interest is the fact that those verbs that must always be used with a reflexive do not allow the complex reflexive to serve as the object (Donaldson 1997: 203). The complex reflexive can, however, be used with those verbs that can be used non-reflexively.

Table 4.12: Dutch Reflexive Verbs: The Simplex Reflexive

ALWAYS REFLEXIVE		CAN BE REFLEXIVE	
zich aanstellen	to show off, carry on	**zich aankleden**	to dress (oneself), get dressed
zich afvragen	to wonder	**zich amuseren**	to amuse, enjoy onself
zich begeven	to proceed, make one's way	**zich aankleden**	to dress oneself
zich bemoeien met	to meddle with	**zich bezighouden met**	to busy oneself with
zich bevinden	to find oneself	**zich ergeren**	to get irritated
zich bewust zijn van	to be aware of	**zich inschrijven**	to enrol
zich gedragen, misdragen	to behave, misbehave	**zich melden**	to report (for duty, sick)
zich generen	to be embarrassed	**zich noemen**	to call oneself
zich haasten	to hurry	**zich omdraaien**	to turn around
zich herinneren	to remember	**zich omkleden**	to change one's clothes
zich herstellen	to recover	**zich opgeven**	to give oneself up
zich indenken	to imagine, visualize	**zich opoffferen voor**	to sacrifice oneself for
zich inspannen	to exert oneself	**zich opstapelen**	to pile up, accumulate
zich in acht nemen voor (nemen = strong)	to be on one's guard against	**zich opwinden**	to get excited
zich onthouden van	to refrain from	**zich overeten**	to overeat
zich schamen voor	to be ashamed of	**zich overgeven**	to surrender
zich uitsloven	to go to trouble (for someone)	**zich scheren (strong)**	to shave
zich verbeelden	to imagine	**zich snijden (strong)**	to cut oneself
zich verdiepen in	to go (deeply) into (a problem/issue)	**zich terugtrekken (strong)**	to retreat, pull back
zich vergissen	to be mistaken	**zich uitkleden**	to undress oneselff, get undressed
zich verhangen	to hang oneself	**zich verbazen**	to be amazed
zich verheugen op	to look forward to	**zich verbergen**	to hide (oneself)
zich verkijken	to make a mistake (in looking at s.t.)	**zich verschuilen**	to hide (oneself)
zich verschrijven	to make a mistake (in writing)	**zich verstoppen**	to hide (oneself)
zich verslapen	to sleep in (by mistake), oversleep	**zich verdedigen**	to defend oneself
zich verslikken	to choke, swallow (wrong way)	**zich verkleden**	to get dressed in fancy dress
zich voordoen	to happen, occur	**zich vervoorloven**	to afford
zich voorstellen	to imagine	**zich vervelen**	to be bored
		zich voelen	to feel
		zich voorbereiden op	to prepare oneself for
		zich voorstellen	to introduce oneself
		zich wassen (strong)	to wash (oneself)
		zich wegen (strong)	to weigh oneself
		zich wijden aan	to devote oneself to

For the most part, the verbs that are always reflexive must not only always have an overt object, that object must be a reflexive. In other words, these verbs cannot occur as regular transitive verbs (Donaldson 1997: 203). There are exceptions to this rule, *herstellen*, *herinneren*, *verdiepen*, and *voorstellen*, for instance, can act as transitive verbs with a non-reflexive object; however, the resulting meaning for each of these differs somewhat from the meaning they bear when used reflexively. This is demonstrated in (4.84) below. In these cases the reflexive constructions resemble the maximum degree of semantic fusion constructions discussed in section 4.1.1.1 with respect to English.

(4.84)

herstellen	to repair	**zich herstellen**	to recover
herinneren	to remind	**zich herinneren**	to remember
verdiepen	to deepen	**zich verdiepen in**	to go (deeply) into
voorstellen	to introduce	**zich voorstellen**	to imagine

This is not the case for the transitive verbs that can be used reflexively. All of these verbs occur as regular transitive verbs with no change in meaning between the reflexive and normal transitive uses; they simply cannot be used intransitively.

Another important pattern that concerns the Dutch reflexive verbs is the acceptable use of the Dutch complex reflexive. To reiterate, this reflexive form cannot be used with the verbs that are always reflexive. It can, though, be used interchangeably with the simplex reflexive marker with the transitive verbs that can be used reflexively. When the complex reflexive is used, however, it contributes an emphatic meaning to the construction. Moreover, there is a further group of verbs that will only permit the complex reflexive to act as the reflexive object. These complex reflexive constructions are listed in Table 4.13 below. Of particular interest is the observation that these are verbs that would not normally be used reflexively.

Table 4.13: Dutch Reflexive Verbs: The Complex Reflexive

zichzelf iets aandoen	to do something (harmful) to oneself
bij zichzelf denken	to think to oneself
zichzelf haten	to hate oneself
alleen met zichzelf rekening houden	to take only oneself into account
zichzelf kennen	to know oneself
in zichzelf lachen	to laugh at oneself
in zichzelf praten	to talk to oneself
over zichzelf praten	to talk about oneself
bij zichzelf zeggen	to say to oneself
zichzelf zien als	to see oneself as
zichzelf zijn	to be oneself
voor zichzelf zorgen	to care for, look after oneself

The sentences in (4.85) and (4.86) provide further examples of these complex reflexive verbs:

(4.85) a. Freddy$_i$ vindt zichzelf$_i$/*zich$_i$ fantastisch.
Freddy consider[PRS] REFL$_1$ REFL$_2$ fantastic
'Freddy considers himself fantastic.'
b. Freddy$_i$ kent zichzelf$_i$/*zich$_i$ niet.
Freddy know[PRS] REFL$_1$ REFL$_2$ NEG
'Freddy does not know himself.'
c. Suzy$_i$ haat/ appreciëert zichzelf$_i$/*zich$_i$.
Suzy hate[PRS] appreciate[PSR] REFL$_1$ REFL$_2$
'Suzy hates/appreciates herself.'
(Rooryck and Vanden Wyngaerd 1999: 629)

(4.86) a. Mathilde$_i$ hield (veel) van *zich$_i$/ zichzelf$_i$.
Mathilde like[PST] (much) of REFL$_2$ REFL$_1$
'Mathilde liked herself (a lot).'
b. Jean$_i$ kent *zich$_i$/ zichzelf$_i$ (goed).
Jean know[PRS] REFL$_1$ REFL$_2$ (well)
'Jean knows himself (well).'
(Rooryck and Vanden Wyngaerd 1999: 629)

In all of these instances the simplex reflexive is forbidden in favour of the complex reflexive form.

Overall, the verbs covered in this section appear to fall into one of three types: intransitive simplex reflexive verbs, transitive simplex reflexive verbs, and transitive complex reflexive verbs. The intransitive simplex reflexive verbs are those described as 'always reflexive' in Table 4.12. The reflexive marker in most of these constructions contributes to the overall meaning of the verb, as was the case with maximum degree of semantic fusion constructions in English, rather than to an object argument position within the argument structure of the verb. Thus, those intransitive simplex

reflexives that can occur without the simplex reflexive marker demonstrate a change in meaning when used without the reflexive as demonstrated in (4.84). These verbs differ from both types of the transitive reflexive verbs in that directed verb categories have nothing to do with the selection of the reflexive marker. An argument can be made, however, for directed verb categories with respect to the simplex and complex transitive verbs. These verbs are similar in that the verb does not undergo a substantial change in meaning if an object other than the preferred reflexive marker fills the object position. The transitive simplex reflexive verbs, however, do demonstrate a marked preference for simplex reflexive arguments whereas the transitive complex reflexive verbs will only permit a complex reflexive argument. To return to the subject of directed verb categories introduced at the opening of this section, it is arguable that those verbs that fall into the transitive complex reflexive category are those that are generally other-directed whereas those that are described as transitive simplex reflexive verbs are generally self-directed. As was the case with English, this will be explored in greater detail in Chapter 5. The three reflexive verb types are summarized in Table 4.14.

Table 4.14: Possible Subtypes of Dutch Reflexive Verbs

Type	Description	Example
INTRANSITIVE SIMPLEX REFLEXIVE VERB	Always reflexive, requires a simplex reflexive marker, reflexive marker is contributes to the meaning of the verb rather than acting as an independent object argument.	*herinnerde zich* (to remember)
TRANSITIVE SIMPLEX REFLEXIVE VERB	Can have arguments other than the reflexive, marked preference for simplex reflexive arguments, verbs tend to be self-directed.	*zich aankleden* (to dress oneself)
TRANSITIVE COMPLEX REFLEXIVE VERB	Can have arguments other than the reflexive, can only use a complex reflexive marker, verbs tend to be other directed.	*zichzelf haten* (to hate oneself)

4.2.3 Dutch: Summary

Though Dutch reflexive constructions do not permit the variation with respect to syntactic transitivity that was observed in English, they do show similar variation with respect to semantic transitivity and coreferential flexibility. The patterns observed with respect to the coreferential function of Dutch reflexive markers are summarized in Table 4.15 below:

Table 4.15: Dutch - Coreferential Function

REFL. TYPE	**SYNTACTIC TRANSITIVITY (c-structure)**	**SEMANTIC TRANSITIVITY (comparative deletion)**	**COREFERENCE (Madame Tussaud)**	**LEXICAL TRANSITIVITY (impersonal passive)**	**PERSON**	**EXAMPLE**
COMPLEX	***Transitive***	***Transitive***	(x,y)	***Transitive***	All	ZICHZELF *haat* 'to hate' (4.85c)
SIMPLEX	***Transitive***	***Intransitive***	(x,x)	***Intransitive***	All	ZICH *gedraagt* 'to behave' Table 4.12
SIMPLEX	***Transitive***	***Intransitive***	(x,f(x))	***Transitive***	3rd	ZICH *zag zich* 'to see' (4.69a)

Due to the fact that Dutch has two reflexive strategies, the distinct transitivity and coreference requirements of certain predicate environments can be overtly observed within the language structure in the form of forbidden contexts for the Dutch simplex reflexive within the minimal complete nucleus.

As was illustrated in subsection 4.2.2, though the complex reflexive can be bound to verbs that generally have a simplex reflexive argument (4.80), the same cannot occur for simplex reflexives in predicate environments that require the complex reflexive ((4.85), (4.86)). The differing degrees of coreferential flexibility for the two reflexive types can be used to explain this discrepancy. Whereas the simplex reflexive is essentially a pure reflexive with limited, strict coreference, (x,x) (or, in the case of the third person form, near coreference (f(x))), the complex reflexive demonstrates a range of coreferential flexibility which includes strict, (x,x), close (f,(x)), and near (x,y) interpretations. Thus,

verbs that do not permit a strict interpretation, where the self must be something slightly different than the antecedent, cannot have a simplex reflexive argument as it does not permit a near reflexive reading. Verbs that do generally have a strict coreferential interpretation, on the other hand, can allow both the complex and the simplex reflexive due to the fact that the complex reflexive also permits the (x,x) interpretation.

4.3 French: Reflexive Clitics

A Romance language, French has SVO word order that shifts to SOV when the object is a pronoun as is demonstrated in (4.87).

(4.87) a. Jean aime les etudients d'Oxford.
Jean like[3SG.PRS] DET.PL student.M.PL of.Oxford
'Jean likes the students of Oxford.'
b. Jean nous aime.
Jean 1PL.OBJ like[3SG.PRS]
'Jean likes us.'

French is primarily an analytic language, though it does have some strong synthetic tendencies. For instance, the French causative is comprised of two verbs, a causative verb *faire* and an infinitive action verb, which behave like a single predicate in similar manner to languages with morphologically marked causatives. This is illustrated in (4.88) below:

(4.88) a. Je ferai manger les gâteaux à Jean.
1SG.SBJ make[1SG.FUT] eat[INF] DET.PL cake.M.PL to Jean
'I shall make Jean eat the cakes.'
b. *Je ferai Jean manger les gâteaux.
1SG.SBJ make[1SG.FUT] Jean eat[INF] DET.PL cake.M.PL
c. *Je ferai les manger à Jean.
1SG.SBJ make[1SG.FUT] 3PL.OBJ eat[INF] to Jean
d. Je ferai manger Jean.
1SG.SBJ make[1SG.FUT] eat[INF] Jean.
(Comrie 1976; Dixon and Aikhenvald 2000)

As is demonstrated in (4.88), the *faire*+action verb combination in the French causative cannot be broken by an NP; rather, in transitive causative constructions the object of the causative must be

presented as an oblique with the preposition *à* (Dixon and Aikhenvald 2000: 35) as illustrated in (4.88a) and in intransitive causative constructions the object of the causative occurs immediately after the infinitive form of the action verb (4.88d). Alencar and Kelling (2005) identify this as a monoclausal causative construction. As will be discussed shortly, these restrictions do not apply to reflexive clitics. Reflexive clitics, rather, must appear between *faire* and the action verb in causative constructions. Biclausal causative constructions are also observed in French in constructions with verbs such as *laisser* ('let, allow') acting as the causative verb. As biclausal causative constructions, these *laisser*+action verb combinations do allow the nominal object to interrupt the causative verb construction as demonstrated in (4.89).

(4.89) a. Je$_i$ laisse le veto$_j$ voir le chien$_k$ manger le biscuit$_l$.
1SG.SBJ let[1.SG.PRS] DET.M vet.M see[INF] DET.M dog.M eat[INF] DET.M biscuit.M
'I let the vet see the dog eat the biscuit.'

b. Je$_i$ le$_j$ laisse le$_k$ voir le$_l$ manger.
1SG.SBJ 3SG.M.OBJ let[1SG.PRS] 3SG.M.OBJ see[INF] 3SG.M.OBJ eat[INF]
'I let him see it eat it.'

(Rowlett 2007: 777)

French has three reflexive types; one takes the form of a clitic and the other two, noun phrases. These are presented in Tables 4.16 and 4.17.

Table 4.16: French Reflexive Clitic

	1st Person	2nd Person	2nd Person Formal	3rd Person
Singular	me, m'	te, t'	vous	se, s'
Plural	nous	vous	vous	se, s'

Table 4.17: French Reflexive Noun Phrases

		1st Person	2nd Person	2nd Person Formal	3rd Person
Singular	simplex	moi	toi	vous	lui, soi, elle
	complex	moi-même	toi-même	vous-même	lui-même, soi-même, elle-même
Plural	simplex	nous	vous	vous	eux, elles
	complex	nous-mêmes	vous-mêmes	vous-mêmes	eux-mêmes, elles-mêmes

The three reflexive paradigms within French represent three of Heine's (2005) six reflexive types. As was the case with Dutch, the reflexive clitic falls into Heine's category of B-reflexives in which the first and second person reflexive markers are identical to their respective object pronoun paradigms extant within the French language. The third person reflexive, alone, is not identical to its corresponding object pronoun. The simplex reflexive noun phrase, on the other hand, is essentially an A-reflexive since all of the reflexive markers of this type, except for the general third person singular marker *soi*, 'one', have identical, corresponding pronominal forms. Lastly, the complex reflexive noun phrase can be described as an AI-reflexive in which the unique reflexive form consists of a personal pronoun and an intensifier. All of the reflexive markers in French, excepting the third person clitic, are marked for number, but only the third person noun phrase reflexives demonstrate gender marking. The third person clitic is unique within the French system in that it is underspecified for both number and gender.

As was repeatedly observed in the Dutch data, semantic considerations appear to be the determining factor concerning whether a simplex or complex reflexive might be grammatically acceptable in an utterance. Moreover, the data from Dutch incorporates several instances in which the two reflexive types were found to be interchangeable with varying effects upon the meaning of

the utterance. This does not appear to be the case with respect to the three French reflexive types. Rather, the deciding factor between the clitic and noun phrase reflexive paradigms in French is primarily syntactic, with the NP reflexives predominantly found in structures that are closed to the clitic (Zribi-Hertz 1995: 341).

The reflexive clitic is subject to the Minimal Complete Nucleus Binding Condition and Subject Binding Condition. Thus, the reflexive clitic must be bound to a subject antecedent in the minimal nucleus containing it and a subject. If the reflexive object is not the immediate argument of the verb, the reflexive clitic cannot be used and one of the two types of reflexive NPs is employed. The two reflexive NPs are both subject to the Root S Binding Condition with respect to domain and their antecedency requirements follow the GF Binding Condition; thus, once syntactic considerations have resulted in a preference for the reflexive NPs, semantic factors appear to play a determining role regarding the selection of the grammatically acceptable reflexive NP.

Reflexive constructions involving a prepositional phrase provide a good example of a structural context in which the French reflexive clitic cannot be used. In these contexts the NP reflexives are put into use. Faltz (1985) uses this fact to substantiate his claim that verbal reflexives evolve from nominal reflexives with the French reflexive clitic exemplifying a transitional reflexive type.

(4.90) a. Jean se voit.
Jean REFL_1 see[3SG.PRS]
'Jean sees himself.'

b. *Jean voit lui(-même).
Jean see[3SG.PRS] $\text{REFL}_2(\text{REFL}_3)$

(4.91) a. *Jean_i se_i parle à Marie.
Jean REFL_1 speak[3SG.PRS] to Marie.

b. Jean_i parle à Marie_j de lui(-même)_i.
Jean speak[3SG.PRS] to Marie of $\text{REFL}_2(\text{REFL}_3)$
'Jean is talking to Marie about himself.'

(Faltz 1985: 53-54)

Regardless of its place in arguments pertaining to grammaticalization, the French clitic does provide a clear example of a reflexive type that is limited in its domain by purely syntactic considerations. While a simple direct object context is one that is easily filled by the reflexive clitic, to the extent that it is not interchangeable with the corresponding reflexive NP as is demonstrated in (4.90), the reflexive clitic cannot be used when the object is a prepositional phrase as is shown in (4.91).

There is long running debate concerning the status of the reflexive clitic and whether it might more appropriately be classified as a verbal affix (Kayne 1975; Roberge 1990; Miller 1992; Miller & Sag 1995; Culbertson 2010). However, certain characteristics of this reflexive marker differ in such a way from uncontested reflexive affixes, like those observed in Russian, as to warrant the designation. In particular, unlike verbal affixes, as will be seen in the Russian examples in section 4.4, verbs paired with the reflexive clitic maintain their status as independent lexical items.

Likewise, there is debate regarding the manner in which French reflexive clitics function as markers of coreference, in particular whether the clitic fills a transitive argument position or, rather, acts as a detransitivizing device marking verbal valence alternation. As mentioned above, French exhibits pronominal object clitics in addition to reflexive clitics, and it is easy to leap to the assumption that they are incorporated into argument structure in a similar manner, namely by filling the object position of a transitive verb. However, as elegantly demonstrated by Reinhart and Siloni (2004: 161), French reflexive clitics are not simply realized as the object of a transitive verb since they can occur in many environments that are closed to pronominal object clitics. For example, as is demonstrated in (4.92) below, transitive verbs are disallowed in the context of expletive insertion in French, which precludes the inclusion of a pronominal object clitic. However the reflexive clitic can still be incorporated in this context:

(4.92) a. Il est arrivé trois filles.
there to.be[2SG.PRS] arrive[M.PST] three girl.PL
'Three girls have arrived.'

b. *Il les$_i$=a dénouncés trois mille
there[2SG] 3PL.OBJ=have[2SG.PRS] denounce[PL.M.PST] three thousand
hommes$_i$ ce mois-ci.
man[PL] DET month-here

c. ?Il s=est dénoncé trois mille hommes ce
there REFL$_I$= to.be[3SG.PRS] denounce[M.PST] three thousand man[PL] DET
mois-ci.
month-here
'Three thousand men denounced themselves this month.'

(Reinhart and Siloni 2004: 161)

Whereas the pronominal object clitic *les* in sentence (4.92b) is forbidden, the reflexive clitic *s'* can be used as is illustrated in (4.92c).

Syntactic differences between pronominal object clitics and reflexive clitics are also observed in causative constructions. This is demonstrated in (4.93) below:

(4.93) a. Je ferai laver Max à Paul.
1SG.SBJ make[1SG.FUT] wash[INF] Max to Paul
'I will make Paul wash Max.'

b. Je$_i$ le$_j$=ferai laver à Paul$_k$.
1SG.SBJ 3SG.OBJ=make[1SG.FUT] wash[INF] to Paul
'I will make Paul wash him.'

c. Je$_i$ ferai se$_j$=laver Paul$_j$.
1SG.SBJ make[1SG.FUT] REFL$_1$=wash[INF] Paul
'I will make Paul wash [himself].'

(Reinhart and Siloni 2004: 162)

d. *Je$_i$ ferai se$_j$=laver à Paul$_j$.
1SG.SBJ make[1SG.FUT] REFL$_1$=wash[INF] to Paul

(Alencar and Kelling 2005: 4)

If the subject of a transitive verb coupled with the causative verb *faire* is a non-clitic pronominal or an R-expression it must be marked with the preposition *à* as demonstrated in (4.93a) and (4.93b), however this is not the case when the reflexive clitic is used. Likewise, as discussed briefly earlier, the reflexive clitic must appear between *faire* and the action verb in the causative construction, (4.93c) and (4.93d). As was illustrated in (4.88c), this is not permitted for pronominals. Examples

such as these suggest that the French reflexive clitic behaves more as a detransitivizing device than an object argument.

Alencar and Kelling (2005), however, provide a convincing argument in favour of a syntactically transitive reading of reflexive clitic constructions in French. Rather than attribute the asymmetry demonstrated in (4.93) to a detransitivizing function of the reflexive clitic, they argue that the differences between reflexive and non-reflexive causative constructions can be ascribed to previously identified binding constraints on the reflexive marker and linking constraints in biclausal causative constructions (Alencar and Kelling 2005: 4). As discussed briefly with respect to causative constructions in French, Alencar and Kelling (2005) recognize two different types of constructions: monoclausal and biclausal causative constructions. With this in mind they argue that *faire*+action verb causatives can be either monoclausal or biclausal. Likewise, as already demonstrated, *laisser*+action verb causatives exemplify biclausal causatives. Examples such as (4.94) and (4.95) below demonstrate the parallels between biclausal *laisser* and biclausal reflexive *faire* constructions:

(4.94) a. Marie$_i$ a laissé Paul$_j$ les$_k$ lire.
Marie have[3SG.PRS] let[3SG.M.PST] Paul 3PL.OBL read[INF]
'Marie let Paul read them.'
b. *Marie les=a laissé Paul lire.
Marie 3PL.OBL=have[3SG.PRS] let[3SG.M.PST] Paul read[INF]
(Alencar and Kelling 2005: 6)

(4.95) a. Je$_i$ ferai se$_j$=laver Paul$_j$.
1SG.SBJ make[1SG.FUT] REFL$_1$=wash[INF] Paul.
'I'll make Paul wash himself.'
b. *Je$_i$ ferai se$_j$=laver à Paul$_j$.
1SG.SBJ make[1SG.FUT] REFL$_1$=wash[INF] to Paul.
(Alencar and Kelling 2005: 4)

Binding constraints on the French reflexive clitic necessitate the biclausal composition for the reflexive *faire*+action verb constructions. In particular, as is presented in Table 4.17 below, the antecedent of the reflexive clitic must be a SUBJ located in its 'Minimal Complete Nucleus' (Alencar and Kelling 2005: 7-8). Thus, a grammatically acceptable reflexive construction requires the

bifurcation of the causative construction. Following Alencar and Kelling (2005), it is assumed here that reflexive clitics act as syntactically transitive arguments in reflexive constructions:

> To sum up, we assume two different constructions for the French verb *faire* 'make'. The first construction is the more monoclausal construction [...], the second is the biclausal construction [...]. The existence of these two different constructions and their interactions with binding and linking constraints explain the observed asymmetries between non-reflexivized and reflexivized verbs and intransitive verbs. We do not have to postulate reflexives to be intransitive in order to explain these data. Besides, the intransitive hypothesis leads to wrong predictions about the behavior of reflexivized transitives and intransitives in causativization. By contrast, the transitivity hypothesis accounts for the observed asymmetry, showing that reflexivized transitives behave like transitives. (Alencar and Kelling 2005: 9)

Tables 4.18, 4.19, and 4.20 provide reflexive profiles for each of the three French reflexive types. This section explores the semantic and syntactic characteristics of French reflexive constructions in greater detail.

Table 4.18: French Reflexive Profile – Clitic

Language	French	**Reflexive Strategies**	3
Strategy	PRIMARY	CLITIC	
Coreference	Unchanged Valency	**Lexical Function Continuum**	Clitic
Schladt's Elements of Reflexive Origin	Unknown	**Faltz's**	Verbal
Domain Constraints	Minimal Complete Nucleus Binding Condition	**Antecedent Constraints**	Subject Binding Condition
Reflexive Marker Functions	Coreference	**Other**	

Table 4.19: French Reflexive Profile – Complex Noun Phrase

Language	French	**Reflexive Strategies**	3
Strategy	SECONDARY COMPLEX	PRO-même	
Coreference	Unchanged valency: Similar and Identical	**Lexical Function Continuum**	Nominal
Schladt's Elements of Reflexive Origin	Nominal sources	**Faltz's**	Compound
Domain Constraints	Root S Binding Condition	**Antecedent Constraints**	GF Binding Condition
Reflexive Marker Functions	Coreference Emphatic Contrastive	**Other**	

Table 4.20: French Reflexive Profile – Simplex Noun Phrase

Language	French	**Reflexive Strategies**	3
Strategy	SECONDARY SIMPLEX	PRO	
Coreference	Unchanged valency: Identical	**Lexical Function Continuum**	Nominal
Schladt's Elements of Reflexive Origin	Object personal pronouns	**Faltz's**	Pronominal
Domain Constraints	Root S Binding Condition	**Antecedent Constraints**	GF Binding Condition
Reflexive Marker Functions	Coreference	**Other**	

Unlike the other languages explored in this chapter, the domain considerations for the three reflexive types in French result in a situation in which there is no competition between the reflexive clitic and the two reflexive NPs for selection in a shared domain. As a result, the reflexive NPs and the reflexive clitic will be discussed separately in sections 4.3.1 and 4.3.2 respectively. Section 4.3.4 will then explore the non-coreferential functions available to French reflexives as the reflexive clitic has been found to serve many functions in addition to coreference. Section 4.3.1 opens the investigation into the characteristics of French reflexives with a summary of all the reflexive types and their interaction in dual reflexive constructions with respect to the reflexive verb.

4.3.1 French: Reflexive Verbs

French, like Dutch, has a distinct category of reflexive verbs, which must incorporate the reflexive clitic in order to be considered grammatically acceptable. These verbs are much more common than appears to be the case for inherent and self-directed verbs in English and tend to be comparable to either English intransitive verbs or English ambitransitive self-oriented verbs. Table 4.21 presents a selection of French reflexive verbs, making a distinction between those that can only be used with a reflexive marker and those that, though usually reflexive, can also be used as transitive verbs with direct objects.

Table 4.21: French Reflexive Verbs

ALWAYS REFLEXIVE		COMMONLY REFLEXIVE	
s'écrier	to exclaim, to cry out	s'amuser	to have fun
s'écrouler	to collapse	s'appeler	to be named
s'éfforcer de	to strive to	s'arrêter de	to stop
s'en aller	to leave, to go away	s'asseoir	to sit
s'enfuir	to flee	se baigner	to bathe, to swim
s'évanouir	to faint	se blesser	to hurt
se fier à	to trust	se bronzer	to tan
se méfier de	to distrust	se brosser	to brush
se moquer de	to make fun of	se brûler	to burn
se soucier de	to care about	se cacher	to hide
se souvenir de	to remember	se casser	to break
		se coiffer	to do one's hair
		se conduire	to behave
		se coucher	to go to bed
		se couper	to cut
		se décider à	to decide
		se demander	to wonder
		se douter de	to suspect
		se dépêcher	to hurry

(Price 2003: 295-297; Offord 2006: 44-49; White 2007: 77-80)

Neither the 'commonly reflexive' nor the 'always reflexive' verbs listed in Table 4.21 permit the substitution of the reflexive clitic with one of the reflexive NPs. Both, however, according to a native speaker of French,[4] do permit the reflexive NP to occur in addition to the reflexive clitic with differing results as demonstrated in (4.96) and (4.97) below.

(4.96) Always Reflexive

a. Fred$_i$ se$_i$=méfie de lui$_i$.
Fred REFL$_1$=distrust[3SG.PRS] of REFL$_2$.3SG.M
'Fred distrusts himself.'

b. Fred$_i$ se$_i$=fie de lui$_i$.
Fred REFL$_1$=trust[3SG.PRS] of REFL$_2$.3SG.M
'Fred trusts himself.'

c. Fred$_i$ se$_i$=moque de lui$_i$.
Fred REFL$_1$=mock[3SG.PRS] of REFL$_2$3SG.M
'Fred makes fun of himself.'

[4] Vincent Viles from Montauroux, France.

(4.97) Commonly Reflexive

a. Fred$_i$ se$_i$=baigne.
Fred REFL$_1$=bathe[3SG.PRS]
'Fred bathes himself.'

b. Fred$_i$ se$_i$=baigne lui-même$_i$.
Fred REFL$_1$=bathe[3SG.PRS] REFL$_3$3SG.M
'Fred washes by himself.'

Of interest is the observation that the 'always reflexive' verbs in French are more readily paired with the simplex reflexive NP whereas those that are 'commonly reflexive' are more readily paired with the complex reflexive NP. Likewise, the interpretation of the nominal reflexive marker in these two types of reflexive verbs differs. When applied to the 'commonly reflexive' reflexive verb constructions (4.97), the complex reflexive NP functions in a similar manner to the delimiting emphatic in English, contributing a sense of solitary action to the reflexive construction. The simplex reflexive NP applied to the 'always reflexive' verbs (4.96), on the other hand, contributes a coreferential argument to the construction that would not be available in the absence of the nominal reflexive. This demonstrates a clear difference in the manner in which the reflexive clitic is incorporated into the two types of reflexive verbs. With respect to the 'always reflexive' verbs, the reflexive clitic is required as an element of the verb meaning. This was the case with the intransitive simplex reflexive verbs in Dutch and, as was observed with the Dutch counterparts, is comparable to maximum degree of semantic fusion constructions in English. The actions described by these 'always reflexive' French verbs involve self-participation. As a result, the reflexive clitic does not provide a coreferential object argument to the construction, thereby leaving the argument position open to be filled by the simplex nominal reflexive marker. Many of the 'commonly reflexive' verbs, on the other hand, are more readily comparable to the self-directed category of reflexive constructions in English in that the actions they convey, such as *se baigner*, 'to bathe', are generally self-oriented. In these constructions the reflexive clitic does fill the object argument position with a coreferential

interpretation. The complex reflexive marker would be redundent in contributing coreferential information and, as a result, rather, functions as a delimiting emphatic.

Unlike the 'always reflexive' verbs, the 'commonly reflexive' verbs can be used without the reflexive clitic, though the absence of the reflexive marker frequently results in a change in the meaning of the verb. This is demonstrated in (4.98) – (4.101) below:

(4.98) a. Je$_i$ m$_i$=appelle Katie.
1SG.SBJ REFL$_1$=call[1SG.PRS] Katie
'I am called Katie.'

b. Je vais appeler Marie ce soir.
1SG.SBJ go[1SG.FUT] call[INF] Marie this night
'I am going to call Mary tonight.'

(4.99) a. Je$_i$ m$_i$=arrête de fumer.
1SG.SBJ REFL$_1$=stop[1SG.PRS] of smoke[INF]
'I am quitting smoking.'

b. J'arrete!
1SG.SBJ.stop[1SG.PRS]
'I'm stopping!'

(4.100) a. Il$_i$ se$_i$=conduit bien.
3SG.M.SBJ REFL$_1$=behave[1SG.PRS] well
He behaves well.

b. Il conduit bien.
3SG.M.SBJ drive[3SG.PRS] well
'He drives well.'

(4.101) a. Je$_i$ m$_i$=amuse avec les chiens$_j$.
1SG.SBJ REFL$_1$=have.fun[1SG.PRS] with DET.PL dog[PL]
'I have fun with the dogs.'

b. J'amuse les chiens.
1SG.SBJ.have.fun[1SG.PRS] DET.PL dog[PL]
'I entertain the dogs.'

This shift in meaning in the absence of the reflexive clitc is not uncommon in French and several verbs whose meaning changes according to whether or not they incorporate a reflexive clitic marker have been identified in addition to those examples from the 'commonly reflexive' verbs in Table 4.21. A sampling of these verbs is listed in (4.102) below:

(4.102)

agir	to act	**s'agir de**	to be a question of
apercevoir	to notice	**s'apercevoir**	to realize
attendre	to wait for	**s'attendre à**	to expect
battre	to beat	**se battre**	to fight
changer	to change	**se changer en**	to change into
demander	to ask	**se demander**	to wonder
douter de	to doubt	**se douter de**	to suspect
occuper	to occupy	**s'occuper de**	to take care of
passer	to spend time	**se passer de**	to do without
servir	to serve	**se servir de**	to use
tromper	to deceive	**se tromper**	to make a mistake

As is demonstrated in (4.102), the change in meaning corresponding to all of these verbs is the result of a reflexive clitic rather than the inclusion of a reflexive noun phrase.

In contrast to the reflexive verbs presented in Table 4.21, French also demonstrates a number of verbs that select for both the reflexive clitic and the complex reflexive NP ('dual reflexive verb') in order to be considered grammatically acceptable. Examples of French dual reflexive verbs are presented in (4.103) and (4.104) below:

(4.103)a. Mathilde s'aimait elle-même.
'Mathilde loved herself.'
b. ???Mathilde s'aimait.

(4.104)a. Jean se connaît lui- même.
'Jean knows himself.'
b. ???Jean se connaît.
(Rooryck and Vanden Wyngaerd 1999: 629)

According to Rooryck and Vanden Wyngaerd (1999), these are similar to the Dutch reflexive verbs that select specifically for the complex reflexive form, *zichzelf*, as illustrated in Table 4.13 and the examples (4.85) and (4.86) in section 4.2.2. Unlike Dutch, however, these verbs cannot be used without the reflexive clitic. Likewise, in addition to incorporating dual reflexive marking, these instances of complex NP reflexive marking in French are improved by the inclusion of an adverb describing degree. Essentially, the inclusion of a degree adverb improves the grammaticality of an utterance comprised only of a regularly dual reflexive verb and a reflexive clitic. A selection of

examples from Rooryck and Vanden Wyngaerd (1999) and Pica and Snyder (1997) are demonstrated in (4.105) - (4.107) below:

(4.105)a. ??Louis$_i$ s$_i$=apprécie.
Louis REFL$_1$=appreciate[3SG.PRS]
b. Louis$_i$ s$_i$=apprécie beaucoup.
Louis REFL$_1$=appreciate[3SG.PRS] a.lot
'Louis appreciates himself (a great deal).'

(4.106)a. ??Mathilde s=aime.
Mathilde REFL$_1$=like[3SG.PRS]
b. Mathilde$_i$ s$_i$=aime bien.
Mathilde REFL$_1$=like[3SG.PRS] well
'Mathilde likes herself (well).'

(4.107)a. ??Jean$_i$ se$_i$=connaît.
Jean REFL=know[3SG.PRS]
b. Jean$_i$ se$_i$=connaît bien.
Jean REFL$_1$=know[3SG.PRS] well
'Jean knows himself (well).'
(Rooryck and Vanden Wyngaerd 1999: 13; Pica and Snyder 1997)

Lastly, reflexive verbs in French can also be subcategorized as essentially reflexive, essentially reciprocal, and idiomatic. This is due to the fact that reciprocal and reflexive clitics are identical in French. The reciprocal verbs tend to be those that are more naturally other oriented, whilst the reflexive verbs are those that tend to be self-directed. These distinctions are demonstrated in Table 4.22:

Table 4.22: Subcategorization of Verbs Incorporating the Reflexive Clitic

REFLEXIVE VERBS		RECIPROCAL VERBS		IDIOMATIC VERBS	
s'asseoir	to sit (down)	s'aimer	to love each other	s'amuser	to have fun
s'appeler	to be called	se détester	to hate each other	se dépêcher	to hurry
s'arrêter	to stop	se disputer	to argue	s'endormir	to fall asleep
se brosser	to brush	s'embrasser	to kiss	s'ennuyer	to be bored
se coucher	to go to bed	se parler	to talk to each other	s'entendre	to get al.ong
s'habiller	to get dressed	se quitter	to leave each other	se fâcher	to get angry
se laver	to wash	se regarder	to look at each other	se marier	to get married
se lever	to get up	se retrouver	to meet each other	se passer	to happen
se promener	to take a walk	se téléphoner	to telephone each other	se reposer	to rest
se réveiller	to wake up			se sentir	to feel
				se souvenir de	to remember
				se taire	to be silent
				se tromper	to make a mistake
				se trouver	to be situated

This subcategorization appears to reflect differences between self-directed, other-directed, and inherently reflexive verbs. However, though the reflexive and idiomatic verbs are fixed in their reflexive clitic interpretation, the reciprocal verbs can equally be interpreted as reflexive given the appropriate context as is demonstrated in (4.108).

(4.108)a. Sally$_i$ s$_i$=est aimée bien.
Sally REFL$_I$=to.be[3SG.PRS] love[3SG.F.PST] well
'Sally loved herself.'

b. John$_i$ et Sally$_j$ se$_{i,j}$=sont aimés bien.
John and Sally REFL$_1$=to.be[3PL.PRS] love[3PL.PST] well
'John and Sally loved each other.'

Overall, the different types of reflexive verbs in French are quite similar to those in Dutch. Like Dutch, French reflexive verbs can be subcategorized into those that are always reflexive marked and those that are commonly reflexive marked but can be used transitively with non-reflexive

arguments. French lacks, however, a subcategory directly synonymous with the transitive complex reflexive verbs of Dutch, those generally other-oriented verbs that can only be marked with a complex reflexive. This is arguably due to the fact that the reflexive clitic is the primary reflexive strategy in French and the reflexive noun phrases are generally used when necessitated by the sentence structure. Of interest, however, is the observation that French does appear to have a category of verbs that are best used with dual reflexive marking. These three different French reflexive verb types are presented in Table 4.23:

Table 4.23: Possible Subtypes of French Reflexive Verbs

Type	Description	Example
INTRANSITIVE REFLEXIVE VERB	Always reflexive, incorporates the clitic reflexive marker, reflexive marker is bound to the meaning of the verb rather than acting as an independent object argument.	*s'évanouir* (to faint)
TRANSITIVE REFLEXIVE VERB	Can have arguments other than the reflexive clitic, verbs tend to be self-directed.	*se baigner* (to bathe, swim)
TRANSITIVE DUAL REFLEXIVE VERB	Sounds best if the verb construction includes both the reflexive clitic and the complex reflexive NP or the reflexive clitic and adverb of degree, verbs tend to be other directed.	*s'aimait* (to love, like)

4.3.2 French: The Reflexive NPs

With respect to syntactic contexts that use the French reflexive noun phrases, the choice between the simplex and complex reflexive NPs appears to be essentially a semantic one. Whereas the simplex reflexive noun phrase serves as the most natural reflexive marker regardless of context in the sentences in (4.110) (Zribi-Hertz 1995: 348), it does not maintain its reflexive status in the sentences

in (4.111). Rather, the complex reflexive noun phrase, *PRO-même*, is the only acceptable reflexive marker in these contexts.

(4.109)a. Pierre$_i$ est fier de lui$_{i/z}$.
Pierre to.be[3SG.PRS] proud of REFL$_2$3SG.M
'Pierre is proud of himself/him.'
b. Pierre$_i$ est fier de lui-même$_{i/*z}$.
Pierre to.be[3SG.PRS] proud of REFL$_3$3SG.M
'Pierre is proud of himself.' (contrastive – himself as opposed to others)

(4.110)a. Pierre$_i$ est hors de lui$_{i/*z}$.
Pierre to.be[3SG.PRS] outside of REFL$_2$3SG.M
'Pierre is mad with anger.'
b. *Pierre$_i$ est hors de lui-même$_i$.
Pierre to.be[3SG.PRS] outside of REFL$_3$3SG.M

(4.111)a. Pierre$_i$ est jaloux de lui$_{*i/z}$.
Pierre to.be[3SG.PRS] jealous of REFL$_2$3SG.M
'Pierre is jealous of him.'
b. Pierre$_i$ est jaloux de lui-même$_{i/*z}$.
Pierre to.be[3SG.PRS] jealous of REFL$_3$3SG.M
'Pierre is jealous of himself.'
(Zribi-Hertz 1995: 348-350)

The syntactic structure of the sentences in (4.109), (4.110), and (4.111) appears to be identical; however, the incorporation and interpretation of the two reflexive noun phrase types is different in each instance, suggesting that the selective processes determining the correct reflexive marker in these situations are semantically motivated by the verb. Zribi-Hertz (1995) argues that this can best be described according to an inherent quality of disjoint reference (DR) present in some verbs. Essentially, verbs that are positively specified for disjoint reference (+DR) naturally take a pronominal reading and, thus, require the complex reflexive NP in order to be interpreted reflexively:

> These data clearly show that the referential indexing of LUI in neutral PPs is not constrained by principle (1b), but by the lexical choice of the predicate which occurs between the pronoun and the subject. Predicates which take a PP complement must be specified in the lexicon with respect to disjoint reference: thus, *être jaloux* is +DR, while *avoir honte* is –DR. (Zribi-Hertz 1995: 348)

This argument resembles Reinhart and Reuland's 'reflexive predicate hypothesis' discussed in greater depth in section 1.4.2 of Chapter 1. To reiterate, Reinhart and Reuland suggest that predicates can be

separated into those that are intrinsically marked reflexive predicates and those that are extrinsically marked. The definitions of these two types are restated below:

(4.112) *Definitions*
a. A predicate is *reflexive* iff (at least) two of its arguments are coindexed
b. A predicate (formed of P) is *reflexive marked* iff either P is lexically reflexive, or one of P's arguments is a SELF anaphor.
(Reinhart and Reuland 1993: 663)

Zribi-Hertz's (1995) -DR verbs are, in many ways, similar to Reinhart and Reuland's lexically reflexive predicates and the same can be said for their +DR verbs with respect to the unmarked predicate.

Zribi-Hertz (1995) provides further evidence in support of her hypothesis by exploring the inclusive and exclusive characteristics of particular verbs. Some, but not all, French verbs permit a reading that includes the subject as part of the group of experiencers in the object position; this is marked as 'i+z' in the examples below:

(4.113)a. Mitterrand$_i$ est jaloux des Français$_{?*i+z/z}$.
Mitterrand to.be[3SG.PRS] jealous of.DET.PL French
'Mitterrand is jealous of the French.'
b. Mitterrand$_i$ bavarade avec les Français$_{?*i+z/z}$.
Mitterrand chat[3SG.PRS] with DET.PL French
'Mitterrand {chats/is chatting} with the French.'
c. Mitterrand$_i$ lutte contre les Francais$_{?*i+z/z}$.
Mitterrand fight[3SG.PRS] against DET.PL French
'Mitterrand {struggles/is struggling} against the French.'
d. Mitterrand$_i$ a besoin des Français$_{?*i/z}$.
Mitterrand have[3SG.PRS] need of.DET.PL French
'Mitterrand has need of the French.'

(4.114)a. Mitterrand$_i$ a honte des Français$_{i+z/z}$.
Mitterrand have[3SG.PRS] shame of.DET.PL French
'Mitterrand is ashamed of the French.'
b. Mitterrand$_i$ est fier des Français$_{i+z/z}$.
Mitterrand to.be[3SG.PRS] proud of.DET.PL French
'Mitterrand is proud of the French.'
c. Mitterrand$_i$ parle souvent des Français$_{i+z/z}$.
Mitterrand speak[3SG.PRS] often of.DET.PL French
'Mitterrand often speaks of the French.'

d. Mitterrand$_i$ travaille pour les Français$_{i+z/z}$.
Mitterand work[3SG.PRS] for DET.PL French
'Mitterand {works/is working} for the French.'
e. Mitterrand$_i$ pense souvent aux Français$_{i+z/z}$.
Mitterrand think[3SG.PRS] often of.DET.PL French
'Mitterrand often thinks of the French.'
(Zribi-Hertz 1995: 348-349)

Those verbs that can include the subject in the object group (4.114) are also those verbs that are described by Zribi-Hertz (1995) as –DR and vice versa. According to these examples, Mitterrand is understood as interacting with a group of French people that do not include him in the sentences presented in (4.113). Thus, Mitterand is jealous of the French, but this jealousy does not extend to his own person. This is not, however, the case for those sentences presented in (4.114). In these instances Mitterrand includes himself in his sentiments and actions. Mitterrand is, therefore, ashamed of himself as a Frenchman along with all other Frenchmen. Many of Zribi-Hertz's inclusive/exclusive patterns also pertain in English and can be argued to be roughly equivalent to self- and other-oriented verbs.

Ultimately, both syntactic and semantic considerations play a determining role in the realization of French reflexive types. The reflexive clitic is the primary form in structures in which the reflexive is the direct object of the verb; however, in reflexive constructions, such as prepositional phrases, in which the utterance has a structure containing a reflexive that is not a direct object of the verb, the reflexive noun phrases are employed. Though their use is initially determined by syntactic factors, the French reflexive noun phrases are subject to semantic factors when it comes to determining which is the most appropriate type for a given reflexive construction. Once again verb focus, or, as interpreted by Zribi-Hertz (1995), disjoint reference, appears to be the determining factor regarding the selection of the grammatically acceptable nominal reflexive type. Like Dutch, the complex nominal reflexive is the preferred type for constructions incorporating generally other-

oriented verbs while the simplex nominal reflexive is the preferred type for generally self-oriented verbs.

4.3.3 French: The Reflexive Clitic

Though the reflexive clitic does not compete with any other reflexive types for selection in immediate object argument constructions, it does demonstrate interesting semantic properties. Rooryck and Vanden Wyngaerd (1999) and Labelle (2008), in particular, disagree upon the semantic flexibility of the reflexive clitic. According to Rooryck and Vanden Wyngaerd (1999), the extended Tussaud reading and the Doppelgänger effect can only be achieved through a complex dual reflexive, comprised of both the reflexive clitic and the complex reflexive noun phrase. This is demonstrated in (4.115) and (4.116) below:

(4.115)a. *Au bal masqué, Freddy$_i$ et Sally$_j$ pouvaient
DET.SG ball masquerade Freddy and Sally can[3PL.PST.IPFV]
se$_{i,j}$=voir sans miroir.
REFL$_1$=see[INF] without mirror

b. Au bal masqué, Freddy$_i$ et Sally$_j$ pouvaient
DET.SG ball masquerade Freddy and Sally can[3PL.PST.IPFV]
se$_{i,j}$=voir eux-mêmes sans miroir.
REFL$_1$=see[INF] REFL$_3$3PL without mirror
'At the masquerade ball, Freddy and Sally could see themselves without a mirror.'

(4.116)a. *Dorian Gray$_i$ se$_i$=voyait dans la peinture$_j$ tel qu'il$_i$
Dorian Gray REFL$_1$=see[3SG.PST] in DET.F.SG painting.F as that.3SG.M
aurait dû être.
have[3SG.COND] must[PST.PTCP] to.be[INF]

b. Dorian Gray$_i$ se$_i$=voyait lui-même dans la peinture$_j$ tel
Dorian Gray REFL$_1$=see[3SG.PST] REFL$_3$3SG.M in DET.F.SG painting.F as
qu'il$_i$ aurait dû être.
that.3SG.M have[3SG.COND] must[PST.PTCP] to.be[INF]
'Dorian Gray saw himself in the painting as he should have been.'
(Rooryck and Vanden Wyngaerd 1999: 621)

They argue that this dual reflexive construction permits near-reflexive interpretations that are comparable to those licensed by the Dutch complex reflexive.

Labelle (2008) disagrees with Rooryck and Vanden Wyngaerd's (1999) complex interpretation, arguing that the reflexive clitic construction, alone, permits the near-reflexive reading, as is demonstrated in (4.117), (4.118), and (4.119) below. Moreover, she claims that the complex dual reflexive construction sounds "quite odd" to her French informant.

(4.117) Luc$_i$ a pu s$_i$=admirer au
Luc have[3SG.PRS] can[SG.M.PST] REFL$_1$=admire[INF] at.DET.SG.M
Musée Tussaud.
Museum.M Tussaud
'Luc was able to admire himself at the Tussaud Museum.'(Luc and statue)

(4.118) Au bal masqué, Freddy$_i$ et Sally$_j$ pouvaient
at.DET.SG.M ball masquerade Freddy and Sally can[3PL.PST.IPFV]
se$_{i,j}$=voir sans miroir.
REFL$_1$=see[INF] without mirror
'At the masquerade ball, Freddy and Sally could see themselves without a mirror.'

(4.119) Dorian Gray$_1$ se$_i$=voyait dans la peinture tel qu'il$_i$
Dorian Gray REFL$_1$=see[3SG.PST] in DET.F.SG painting.F as that.3SG.M
aurait dû être.
have[3SG.COND] must[PST.PTCP] to.be[INF]
'Dorian Gray saw himself in the painting as he should have been.'
(Labelle 2008: 856)

Labelle points out that, with or without the complex noun phrase reflexive *lui-même*, the examples in (4.115)– (4.119) would be ungrammatical without the reflexive clitic, *se*. This supports the argument in favour of an (x,y) interpretation of the coreferential flexibility for the reflexive clitic. However, the French reflexive clitic fails the comparative deletion test employed by Sells et al. (1987) to identify open reflexive predicates. This is illustrated in sentence (4.120) below:

(4.120) Lucie$_i$ se=défend mieux que Luc.
Lucie REFL$_1$=defend[3SG.PRS] better than Luc
a. Lucie defends herself better than Luc defends himself. (sloppy)
b. *Lucie defends Lucie better than Luc defends Lucie. (strict)

The French reflexive clitic construction in (4.120) only permits the sloppy reading resulting in its designation as semantically closed within Sells et al.'s (1987) typology. A correlation between Tussaud/Doppelgänger and comparative deletion contexts is a logical assumption and, as Labelle

points out, Lidz (1997) predicts this. As was discussed in section 4.1.1.2 with respect to English, the Tussaud/ Doppelgänger context can be used to determine the coreferential flexibility of a reflexive marker. The comparative deletion context, on the other hand, determines the semantic transitivity of the reflexive construction. Contexts in which a reflexive marker is semantically transitive but coreferentially intransitive, such as has been observed with respect to the French clitic, run counter to Lidz's (1997) predicted correlation. Labelle, however, argues that the fact that *se* is a reflexive clitic and not an independent reflexive noun phrase permits this divergence. However, as was already observed with respect to several of the self-oriented verbs in English (section 4.1.1.2 and section 4.1.3, Table 4.5), this divergence between comparative deletion and Tussaud/ Doppelgänger contexts is equally permissible when the reflexive marker is a full NP. The implications of this mismatch between semantic transitivity and reflexive flexibility will be explored in greater detail in Chapter 5.

The lexical transitivity of the reflexive clitic can be determined through the application of the accusative adjunct test originally used by Sells et al. (1987) to determine that the Serbo-Croatian reflexive clitic is intransitive (Sells et al. 1987: 196). Labelle (2008) finds that the French reflexive clitic, unlike the Serbo-Croatian clitic, can take an accusative adjunct. This is illustrated in (4.121) and (4.122) below.

(4.121)a. Petar **ga** je prijavio kao **podstanara**.
Petar[NOM] him[ACC] AUX registered as tenant[ACC]
'Petar registered him as a tenant.'
b. Petar je **sebe** prijavio kao **podstanara**.
Petar[NOM] AUX RELF[ACC] registered as tenant[ACC]
'Petar registered himself as tenant.'
c. *Petar **se** prijavio kao **podstanara**.
Petar[NOM] REFL registered as tenant[ACC]
(Serbo-Croatian; Sells et al. 1987: 196)

(4.122)a. Pierre **s'** est inscrit comme **Indépendant** (sur la liste
Pierre $REFL_1$ AUX register[PP] as Independent on DET list
électorale).
electoral
'Pierre registered himself as Independent (on the electoral list).'

b. Pierre **l'** a inscrit comme **Indépendant** (sur la liste
Pierre 3S[ACC] AUX register[PP] as Independent on DET list
électorale).
electoral
'Pierre registered him as Independent (on the electoral list).'
(French; Labelle 2008: 868)

According to the native speaker informant for French, this test can also be applied successfully to the French reflexive NPs.

(4.123)a. Pierre_i est fier de lui_i comme un fils.
Pierre to.be[3SG.PRS] proud of REFL_2 as a son
'Pierre is proud of himself as a son.'
b. Pierre_i est fier de lui-même comme un fils_i.
Pierre to.be[3SG.PRS] proud of REFL_3 as a son
'Pierre is proud of himself as a son.'

All three of the French reflexive markers are, therefore, lexically transitive.

4.3.4 French: Functions other than Coreference

The reflexive clitic and complex reflexive noun phrase both demonstrate functions other than coreference. The reflexive clitic has been found to play a role in voice marking in French, functioning as a marker in middle, anticausative, and medio-passive constructions. Likewise, as already discussed in section 4.3.1, the complex reflexive behaves as a delimiting emphatic when bound within its minimal nucleus. In addition to this delimiting function, the complex reflexive has been found to add a volitional sense when used in certain reflexive clitic marked constructions.

The role the reflexive clitic plays in voice marking is illustrated in (4.124) – (4.126):

(4.124) Middle Voice

a. Une erreur pareille, ça se=paie.
one.F error like.that that REFL$_1$=pay[IMP]
'A mistake like that has to be paid for.

b. Ce livre s=est bien vendu.
this book REFL$_1$=to.be[3SG.PRS] well sell[3SG.M.PST]
'This book sold well.'

c. Ces lunettes se=nettoient facile-ment.
this.PL glasses REFL$_1$=clean[IMP] easy-ADV
'These glasses clean easily.'

(Lyons 1982: 174)

Unlike Dutch or English, in which the reflexive marker is only used in reflexive middle constructions, the French reflexive is used consistently as a middle marker in all middle voice constructions. Equally divergent from Dutch and English is the involvement of the reflexive clitic in anticausative constructions:

(4.125) Anticausative:

a. Il se=brisera beaucoup de verres.
3SG.M REFL$_1$=break[3SG.FUT] many of glass.PL
'Many glasses will break.'

(Alencar and Kelling 2005: 9)

b. La porte s=a ouverte.
DET.F.SG door.F REFL$_1$=have[3SG.PRS] open[SG.F.PST]
'The door opened.'

The anticausative (or decausative) construction is quite similar to the the middle in that it involves the occurrence of an action in the absence of an agent (4.125a) or under the agency of the object that is undergoing the action (4.125b). The medio-passive construction also demonstrates this restricted agency:

(4.126) Medio-passive

a. Il s=en est lavé beaucoup dans ces
3SG.M REFL$_1$=of.them to.be[3SG.PRS] wash[SG.PST] many in these
douches publiques reécemment.
shower.PL public.PL recently
'Many of them were washed in these public showers recently.'
*Many of them washed themselves in these public showers recently.'

(Labelle 2008: 870)

Common to all of these instances of voice alternation is their unaccusative status; in each example, the surface subject of the predicate is the logical object of the verb in active voice (Labelle 2008: 835). Thus, in addition to marking coreference, the French reflexive clitic functions as a marker of unaccusative constructions.

The complex reflexive NP has also been found to contribute information other than coreference to reflexive marked constructions. As demonstrated in (4.127) below, when used in conjunction with a reflexive clitic, PRO-*même* has been found to add a volitional interpretation to the reflexive construction:

(4.127)a. Freddy$_i$ s$_i$=est blessé. [-volitional]
Freddy REFL$_1$=to.be[3SG.PRS] injure[M.SG.PST]
'Freddy hurt himself.'

b. Freddy$_i$ s$_i$=est blessé lui-même$_i$. [+volitional]
Freddy REFL$_1$=to.be[3SG.PRS] injure[M.SG.PST] REFL$_3$3SG.M
'Freddy hurt himself.'

c. Freddy$_i$ s$_i$=est blessé [+volitional]
Freddy REFL$_1$=to.be[3SG.PRS] injure[M.SG.PST]
intentionnellement.
intentionally
'Freddy hurt himself on purpose.'

(Rooryck and Vanden Wyngaerd 1999: 619)

The reflexive construction in (4.127a) is described by Rooryck and Vanden Wyngaerd (1999) as utilizing an "unaccusative argument frame" which results in the nonagentive reading. The incorporation of *lui-même* in the object position as is demonstrated in (4.127b), however, changes the construction into a transitive argument structure and, thereby, contributes a volitional reading to the sentence which mimics that obtained by adding the adverb *intentionnellement* ('intentionally') to the simple reflexive construction observed in (4.127c). Thus, sentence (4.127a) simply claims that Freddy hurt himself whereas both (4.127b) and (4.127c) assert that Freddy played an active and purposeful part in hurting himself.

The interpretation changes slightly in constructions that involve a verb that cannot have a transitive argument frame as is demonstrated in (4.128).

(4.128)a. Freddy$_i$ est tombé lui-même$_i$.
Freddy to.be[3SG.PRS] fall[M.SG.PST] REFL$_3$3SG.M
'Freddy, himself, fell.
b. Contre toute attente, il s=est évanoui
against all expectation 3SG.M REFL$_1$=to.be[3SG.PRS] faint
lui-même.
REFL$_2$3SG.M
'Against expectations, he, himself, fainted'
(Rooryck and Vanden Wyngaerd 1999: 619)

In these instances the use of the French NP reflexive *lui-même* emphasizes the fact that the action was done by the subject and no one else, thus acting as a delimiting emphatic. This delimiting function is further exemplified in (4.129) below:

(4.129)Complex Reflexive NP: Delimiting Emphatic
a. Je préparerai moi-même le diner, ne t=inquiète
1SG prepare[1SG.FUT] REFL$_3$1SG DET.M dinner.M NEG 2SG.OBJ=worry[IMP]
pas.
NEG
'I will prepare the dinner by myself, don't you worry.'
b. Geneviève décidera elle-même.
Geneviève decide[3SG.FUT] REFL$_3$3SG.F
Geneviève will decide by herself.
('Les Parapluies de Cherbourg' 1964)

This is also evidenced in negative constructions:

(130) a. Jean-Pierre ne se=rase pas.
Jean-Pierre NEG REFL$_1$=shave[3SG.PRS] NEG
'Jean-Pierre does not shave.'
b. Jean-Pierre ne se=rase pas lui-même.
Jean-Pierre NEG REFL$_1$=shave[3SG.PRS] NEG REFL$_2$3SG.M
'Jean-Pierre does not shave himself.'
(Rooryck and Vanden Wyngaerd 1999: 626)

The addition of the complex reflexive shifts the interpretation of the sentence from a statement that Jean-Pierre does not shave, to the suggestion that Jean-Pierre is shaved but the act itself is done by someone other than Jean-Pierre. According to Rooryck and Vanden Wyngaerd this represents a duplication of one person in two roles with the negation applying to only one of those roles.

4.3.5 French: Summary

French differs from the other languages explored in this thesis in that, though it has three reflexive strategies, there is no domain overlap amongst reflexive types within the smallest, coargument, binding domain. Though the French reflexive NPs can be present in this domain, their function is secondary to and influenced by that of the reflexive clitic. The function of the reflexive clitic in the marking of coreference is particularly interesting in that, though it is consistently found to be semantically intransitive according to the comparative deletion test, it demonstrates quite flexible coreference. Except for their differing domain requirements, the nominal reflexive markers, on the other hand, are similar to the simplex and complex reflexive markers observed in Dutch. This is illustrated in Table 4.24 below:

Table 4.24: French - Coreferential Function

REFLEXIVE TYPE	**SYNTACTIC TRANSITIVITY (c-structure)**	**SEMANTIC TRANSITIVITY (comparative deletion)**	**COREFERENCE (Madame Tussaud)**	**LEXICAL TRANSITIVITY (accusative adjunct)**	**EXAMPLE**
CLIITC	***Transitive***	***Intransitive***	(x,y)	***Transitive***	SE *admirer* 'admire' (4.117)
COMPLEX NP	***Transitive***	***Transitive***	(x,y)	***Transitive***	LUI-MÊME *être jaloux* 'to be jealous' (4.111)
SIMPLEX NP	***Transitive***	***Intransitive***	(x,x)	***Transitive***	LUI *être fier* 'to be proud' (4.109)

French also differs from English with in regards to the non-coreferential functions of the reflexive clitic marker. The reflexive clitic has been observed to play a key role in the realization of certain types of grammatical voice. In particular, the reflexive clitic is incorporated in constructions in which the logical object argument of the predicate acts as the surface subject. This is the case in middle, anticausative, and medio-passive voice constructions. Moreover, in addition to its role in grammatical voice, the French reflexive clitic has also been found to influence the verb meaning in

reflexive verb constructions. In this respect it is quite similar to the Dutch simplex reflexive and reflexive constructions with maximum degree of semantic fusion in English.

The French complex reflexive NP also demonstrates non-coreferential functions similar to those observed in Dutch and English. Volition and delimiting emphasis are both functions that can be contributed by the complex reflexive.

Table 4.25: French - Other Functions

FUNCTION	DESCRIPTION	REFLEXIVE TYPE	EXAMPLE
Volition	When used in conjunction with a reflexive clitic, the French complex NP reflexive contributes a volitional reading to a reflexive construction.	COMPLEX NP	(4.127)
Emphasis	The French complex NP reflexive can be added to intransitive verbs to add emphasis to the utterance.	COMPLEX NP	(4.128) (4.129) (4.130)
Reflexive Verb	When paired with some verbs the French reflexive clitic changes the meaning of the verb instead of marking coreference with an antecedent. This is similar to constructions with maximum degree of semantic fusion in English.	CLITIC	(4.98) (4.99) (4.100) (4.101)
Middle	When paired with certain verbs the reflexive clitic serves as a marker of middle voice.	CLITIC	(4.124)
Anticausative	When paired with certain verbs the reflexive clitic serves as a marker of anticausative voice.	CLITIC	(4.125)
Medio-passive	When paired with certain verbs the reflexive clitic serves as a marker of medio-passive voice.	CLITIC	(4.126)

4.4 Russian: Reflexive Morphemes

Russian is the most widely spoken of the Slavic languages. Unmarked word order is generally SVO; however, since it is a synthetic language, there is a great deal of flexibility in this regard and any ordering of the subject, verb, and object is permissible.

Russian has two distinct reflexive forms: the reflexive personal pronoun *sebja* and the reflexive affix -*sja*. Despite their different lexical statuses, *sebja* and –*sja* are found in many ways to be quite similar.

In some respects the reflexive pronoun *sebja* and reflexive affix -*sja* might be comparable to the simplex and complex reflexives described previously in regards to Dutch. Unlike the French reflexive paradigm, in which the nominal reflexive form is used only in phrase structures that do not permit the reflexive clitic, the Russian and Dutch reflexive markers appear to be fairly interchangeable as a direct argument of the verb, (4.131) – (4.133). As was discussed with respect to Dutch in sections 4.2.1 and 4.2.2 and will be pursued with respect to Russian in section 4.4.1, semantic concerns seem to be the determining factor in these cases.

(4.131)a. Mal'cik moet sebja.[5]
boy-NOM wash[3SG.PRS] $REFL_1$.ACC
'The boy is washing himself'
b. Mal'cik moet-sja.
boy-NOM wash[3SG.PRS]-$REFL_2$
'The boy is washing (himself).'
(Russian; Ahn 2006: 1)

(4.132)a. Hij_i wast $zich_i$.
3SG.M wash[PST] $REFL_2$
'He washed himself.'
b. Hij_i wast $zichzelf_i$.
3SG.M wash[PST] $REFL_1$
'He washed himself.'
(Dutch; Rooryck and Vanden Wyngaerd 1998: 365)

[5] Examples in Russian are transliterated from the Cyrillic alphabet into the Latin alphabet in order to facilitate glossing and make the examples accessible to a larger, non-Russian speaking, audience.

(4.133)a. Jean se=lave.
Jean REFL$_1$=wash[3SG.PRS]
'Jean washes (himself).'
b. *Jean lave lui-même.
Jean wash[3SG.PRS] REFL$_3$
(French)

In the sentences presented in (4.131) both *sebja* and *-sja* express coreference within their predicate argument structures. The two, however, are not entirely synonymous. The reflexive types differ in terms of contrastive focus. Sentence (4.131a), which uses the nominal reflexive *sebja*, expresses a certain emphasis on the patient that is absent when the reflexive morpheme *-sja* is used, (4.131b). In other words, the reflexive pronoun, *sebja*, in sentence (4.131a) carries a contrastive focus that is lacking in reflexive affix *-sja*. (4.131b). In (4.131a) it is made clear that the boy is washing himself and no one else, whilst (4.131b) simply presents the situation that the boy is washing himself (Ahn 2006: 1). This difference in contrastive focus between the Russian nominal and the morphological reflexives will be explored in further detail in section 4.4.1.

With respect to animacy constraints, though all Russian reflexives more naturally refer to animate entities, this is not a grammatical requirement and, thus, animacy need not be included as a binding constraint in Russian. Likewise, neither *sebja* nor *-sja* encompasses information detailing grammatical person, number, or gender. *Sebja*, however, does incorporate case marking for all cases except the Nominative. In fact the nominal reflexive is grammatically forbidden to occur as a Nominative. This reflects the antecedency requirements of the reflexive markers discussed in the previous sections. The case-marking paradigm for *sebja* is presented in Table 4.26 below:

Table 4.26: Case-Marking Paradigm for *Sebja*

Nominative	Accusative	Genitive	Locative/Prep	Dative	Instrumental
FORBIDDEN	sebja	sebja	sebje/sebe	sebje/sebe	soboj

(Bailyn 1992: 309; Rappaport 1986)

Though the reflexive affix -*sja* does not show variable case marking, it does have two different realizations: -*sja* and the allomorph –*s'*, which is used when the affix follows a vowel. As a verbal affix, -*sja* can only occur at the end of the verb it modifies (Klenin 1975: 189) and –*sja* is, therefore, subject to the Coargument Binding Condition. Many accounts present the reflexive affix as a detransitivising element, which demonstrates different functions depending upon the verb to which it is bound (Townsend 1967; Ahn 2006):

> In fact, it cannot be said that verbs in –*sja* share any general property other than intransitivity. It is possible to isolate certain categories of verbs in –*sja*: "true" reflexives, reciprocals, passives, and certain others [...], but a very large number display no special feature other than intransitivity and may be called simple "general *sja*-verbs." (Townsend 1967: 196)

The functions other than coreference available to the reflexive affix –*sja* will be explored in greater detail in section 4.4.2.

Kazenin (2001) employs the Russian reflexive affix as a prototypical example of a direct reflexive. As discussed in Chapter 2, this is a reflexive that marks the coreference between an agent and a patient:[6]

> The syntactic classification of reflexives reflects the syntactic positions of the participant deleted under coreference and of the antecedent. The type of reflexive in which the Agent is coreferential with the Patient is called **direct**.
> (Kazenin 2001: 918)

According to Kazenin, due to their prevalence, indirect reflexives (those that allow coreference with a participant that is not the patient) have received a great deal of attention in the literature on reflexive binding. The affix –*sja*, in true direct reflexive form, is restricted to situations of agent/patient coreference. It cannot be used when the referent is any other type of participant, as is demonstrated in (4.134) and (4.135):

[6] Though Haspelmath has recognized macro-roles, (Haspelmath 2004), here he is using 'agent' and 'patient' as regular thematic roles.

(4.134) Ivan$_i$ odel-sja$_i$ v pal'to
Ivan dress[3SG.PST]-REFL$_2$ in coat
'Ivan (Agent) dressed himself (Patient) in the coat.'

(4.135)a. *Ivan$_i$ kupil-sja$_i$ pal'to
Ivan buy[3SG.PST]-REFL$_2$ coat
b. Ivan$_i$ kupil sebe$_i$ pal'to.
Ivan buy[3SG.PST] REFL$_1$ coat
'Ivan (Agent) bought a coat for himself (Benefactive).'
(Kazenin 2001: 918)

As is shown in sentence (4.134), the subject and reflexive object carry the semantic roles of agent and patient respectively, thereby permitting the use of the Russian reflexive affix, *-sja*. However, as is demonstrated in (4.135a), when the object carries a role other than patient (in this case, benefactive) the reflexive affix is forbidden. The nominal reflexive marker is preferred in these instances, (4.135b).

The reflexive pronoun *sebja* is an indirect reflexive and, as a result, the participant that it represents does not need to be a patient. *Sebja* does, however, demonstrate specific subject antecedence requirements that are not shared by the reflexive affix. Described as a simplex anaphor (Branco and Marrafa 1996: 27), *sebja* has been a subject of particular interest since it provides proof that not all simplex anaphors participate in long-distance binding (Progovac 1992; Xue et al. 1994; Branco and Marrafa 1996). In fact, the binding domain of *sebja* is comparable, but not identical, to that of the English reflexives. Unlike English, *sebja* can be bound outside of an infinitive clause making it subject to the Minimal Finite Domain Binding Condition. This difference in domain is neatly illustrated in Table 4.27 from Bailyn (1992):

Table 4.27: Binding Domain

	embedded clause		
language	indicative	subjunctive	infinitive
English	-	-	-
Russian	-	-	+
Icelandic	-	+	+
Chinese	+	+	+

(Bailyn 1992: 308)

The examples in (4.136) below further illustrate the binding domain of the Russian reflexive pronoun:

(4.136)a. Ivan$_i$ sprosil Boris-a$_j$ o sebe$_{i/*j}$.
Ivan.NOM ask[3SG.PST] Boris-ACC about REFL$_1$.LOC
'Ivan asked Boris about himself (Ivan).'
b. Ivan$_i$ obešča Boris$_j$-u govorit' o sebe$_{i/*j}$.
Ivan.NOM promise[3SG.PST] Boris-DAT talk[INF] about REFL$_1$.LOC
'Ivan promised Boris to talk about himself (Ivan).'
c. Ivan$_i$ prikazal Boris$_j$-u govorit' o sebe$_{i/j}$.
Ivan.NOM order[3SG.PST] Boris-DAT talk[INF] about REFL$_1$.LOC
'Ivan ordered Boris to talk about himself (Ivan or Boris).'
(Bailyn 1992: 311)

The antecedent requirements of the Russian reflexive pronoun also differ from English since *sebja* can only refer to an antecedent that is the subject of the clause (Klenin 1975: 188; Fedorova and Yanovich 2006: 115). This is illustrated in (4.137) below:

(4.137)a. Petja$_i$ skazal, sto Vasja$_j$ uvidel sebja$_{*i/j}$.
Petja.NOM tell[3SG.PST] that Vasja.NOM see[3SG.PST] REFL$_1$.ACC
'According to Petja, Vasja saw himself.'
b. Petja$_i$ pokaxal Vasje$_j$ sebja$_{i/*j}$.
Petja.NOM show[3SG.PST] Vasja.DAT REFL$_1$.NOM
'Petja showed himself to Vasja.'
c. Petja$_i$ poprosil Vasju$_j$ [PRO$_j$ nalit' sebe$_{i/j}$ caju].
Petja.NOM ask[3SG.PST] Vasja.DAT PRO pour[INF] REFL$_1$.ACC tea.
'Petja asked Vasja to pour him/himself tea.'
(Fedorova and Yanovich 2006: 115)

Sentences (4.137a) and (4.137b) demonstrate the fact that the antecedent must be a subject with Nominative case. Likewise, as is illustrated by (4.137c), when a reflexive construction with *sebja* includes an infinitival complement the reflexive marker can be bound to either the subject of the non-finite clause (*Vasja* in sentence (4.137c)) or the subject of the finite clause that contains the non-finite clause (*Petja* in sentence (4.137c)) (Klenin 1975: 188).

Tables 4.28 and 4.29 present reflexive profiles for the two Russian reflexive types that will be explored in greater detail in this section.

Table 4.28: Russian Reflexive Profile – Noun Phrase

Language	Russian	**Reflexive Strategies**	2
Strategy	NP		
Coreference	Unchanged Valency	**Lexical Function Continuum**	Nominal
Schladt's Elements of Reflexive Origin	Nominal Source	**Faltz's**	Pronominal
Domain Constraints	Minimal Finite Domain Binding Condition	**Antecedent Constraints**	Subject Binding Condition
Reflexive Marker Functions	Coreference	**Other**	Can contribute contrastive focus to a reflexive construction.

Table 4.29: Russian Reflexive Profile - Affix

Language	Russian	**Reflexive Strategies**	2
Strategy	AFFIX		
Coreference	Recessive	**Lexical Function Continuum**	Verbal affix
Schladt's Elements of Reflexive Origin	Nominal Source	**Faltz's**	Verbal
Domain Constraints	Coargument Binding Condition	**Antecedent Constraints**	GF Binding Condition
Reflexive Marker Functions	Coreference Passive Middle Detransitivizer Intensifier	**Other**	

4.4.1 Russian: *Sebja* vs *–sja*

As was illustrated in the previous section (4.131)-(4.133), though the Russian reflexive markers are morphologically distinct and the reflexive affix, like the French clitic, is limited to the minimal nucleus containing it, Russian more closely resembles Dutch in that the different reflexive types can be used interchangeably within this limited domain. Thus, within the coargument binding domain, differences in reflexive selection point to lexical considerations related to the interaction between the verb and its reflexive argument. In particular, the reflexive pronoun and affix have been found to differ with respect to contrastive emphasis, coordination, the semantic focus of the verb, semantic

transitivity, and coreferential range. This section explores each of these topics in greater detail.

As was mentioned in the introduction to this section, a subtle semantic difference between *sebja* and *-sja* is that of contrastive emphasis. This was first discussed with respect to the sentences in (4.131). The distinction is shown more clearly in (4.138) and (4.139):

(4.138)a. Mal'cik$_i$ moet ne sobaku, a sebja.
boy.NOM wash[3SG.PRS] NEG dog.ACC but REFL$_1$.ACC
'The boy is washing not a dog, but himself.'
b. *Mal'cik moet ne sobaku, a moet-sja.
boy.NOM wash[3SG.PRS] NEG dog.ACC but wash[3SG.PRS]-REFL$_2$
(Ahn 2006: 2)

(4.139)a. zasciscat' sebja
defend[3SG.PRS] REFL$_1$
'defend oneself'
b. zasciscat'-sja
defend[3SG.PRS]-REFL$_2$
'defend oneself'
c. Ja$_i$ zasciscaju sebja$_i$, a ne vas$_j$.
1SG defend[1SG.PRS] REFL$_1$ and NEG 2SG
'I am defending myself and not you.'
d. *Ja zasciscaju-s', a ne vas.
1SG defend[1SG.PRS]-REFL$_2$ and NEG 2SG
(Townsend 1967: 198)

While *sebja* can be used in the contrastive sentence (4.138a), the same is not permissible for the affix *-sja* as (4.138b) demonstrates. Likewise, as is shown in sentences (4.139a) and (4.139b), both *–sja* and *sebja* can occur with the verb *zasciscat*, to defend, with the same interpretation of reflexively defending oneself. However, when used contrastively as shown in (4.139c) and (4.139d), only (4.139c), which employs the nominal reflexive *sebja*, is considered grammatical.

In addition to the contrastive focus distinction between the nominal and morphological reflexive markers in Russian, the two reflexive types also differ with respect to coordination. As was found to be the case with the reflexive clitic, *se*, in French and the simplex reflexive, *zich*, in Dutch, the reflexive affix in Russian cannot be used as part of a coordinate object. The Russian reflexive

pronoun, on the other hand, can be incorporated into coordinate objects. This is illustrated in (4.140) below:

(4.140)a. On zasciscaet sebja i drugix protiv ix obščix vragov.
3SG defend[3SG.PRS] $REFL_1$ and others against 3PL.POSS general enemy.PL
'He protects himself and others against their general enemies.'
b. *On zaščiščaet-sja i drugix protiv ix obščix vragov
3SG defend[3SG.PRS]-$REFL_2$ and others against 3PL.POSS general vragov
enemy.PL
(Klenin 1975: 189)

The status of *–sja* as having a detransitivizing function readily explains the ungrammaticality of coordinate objects of predicates marked with the reflexive affix. This also accounts for the semantic differences between *sebja* and *–sja*.

With respect to semantic transitivity, *sebja* can be described as generally semantically transitive whereas *–sja* is semantically intransitive (Klenin 1979; Lidz 1999). The differences between the two are illustrated in the comparative deletion sentences below:

(4.141)a. Ivan zashchischal-sja lachshe chem Petr.
Ivan defend[3SG.PST]-$REFL_2$ better than Peter
i. 'Ivan defended himself better than Peter defended himself.'
ii. *'Ivan defended himself better than Peter defended him.'
b. Ivan zashchischal sebja lachshe chem Petr.
Ivan defend[3SG.PST] $REFL_1$ better than Peter
i. 'Ivan defended himself better than Peter defended himself.'
ii. 'Ivan defended himself better than Peter defended him.'
(Lidz 2001c: 239-240)

As demonstrated in (4.141a), *sebja* permits both the strict and sloppy readings of the sentence whereas in (4.141b) the use of the affix, *-sja*, allows only the sloppy interpretation.

Likewise, as a detransitivizer, *-sja* does not permit any variation with respect to its coreference with the antecedent. When used in the Madame Tussaud context, *-sja* must always have the semantic interpretation (x,x) while *sebja* can permit an (x,y) interpretation:

(4.142)Jackendoff's Madame Tussaud context:
On a vist to the wax museum Boris Yeltsin saw a statue of himself and ....

a. Yeltsin$_i$ zastrelil-sja$_i$.
Yeltsin shoot[3SG.PST]-REFL$_2$
'Yeltsin shot himself.' (Yeltsin, *statue)

b. Yeltsin$_i$ zastrelil sebja.
Yeltsin shoot[3SG.PST] REFL$_1$
'Yeltsin shot himself.' (Yeltsin, statue)

(Lidz 2001c: 239)

Whereas *sebja* can be interpreted as either Yeltsin the man or Yeltsin the statue in (4.142b), the affix *–sja* can only be interpreted as Yeltsin the man, (4.142a).

In addition to these instances in which both the nominal and morphological reflexive markers share a domain with subtle differences in meaning and interpretation, there are also several cases within the coargument binding domain in which the two reflexive types are not interchangeable. Some verbs, such as *ljubit* 'to love' and *vidit* 'to see' cannot employ the reflexive affix as demonstrated in (4.143) and (4.144) below:

(4.143)a. On$_i$ ljubit sebja$_i$.
3SG love[3SG.PRS] REFL$_1$
'He loves himself.'

b. *On ljubit-sja.
3SG love[3SG.PRS]=REFL$_2$

(4.144)a. On$_i$ vidit sebja$_i$.
3SG see[3SG.PRS] REFL$_1$
'He sees himself.'

b. *On vidit-sja.
3SG see[3SG.PRS]-REFL$_2$

(Townsend 1967: 198)

According to Haspelmath (2008: 40-41) this is due to the semantic focus of the verb. Self-directed verbs can incorporate the reflexive affix whereas other-directed verbs can only use the nominal reflexive marker. This might also be due to the strict coreference required by the reflexive affix as a result of its function as a detransitivizer. Since the reflexive affix removes an argument from the predicate argument structure rather than contributes an argument bound to an element of lexical meaning in the antecedent, it cannot bear any reference that is not identical to the antecedent. As was

already discussed with respect to Dutch in section 4.2.1, verbs that translate as 'to see' in English require imperfect coreference since it is impossible to fully see oneself as a whole without the aid of a mirror or some form of photographic, cinematic, or artistic reproduction.

There are also several cases in which the use of *sebja* or *-sja* results in a clearly different meaning for the corresponding verb, as is demonstrated in (4.145) below:

(4.145)a. Oni schitaet sebja$_i$ horoshim soldatom.
3SG consider[3SG.PRS] REFL$_1$ good soldier
'He considers himself a good soldier.'
b. On$_i$ schitaet-sja horoshim soldatom.
3SG consider-is good soldier
'He is considered a good soldier.'
(Townsend 1967: 198)

In these instances the use of the reflexive affix, *-sja*, closely resembles the use of the simplex reflexive, *zich*, in Dutch and the reflexive clitic, *se*, in French within the category of verbs that must always be reflexive.

4.4.2 Russian: The Many Functions of *–sja*

To a greater extent than any of the reflexive types discussed in this chapter, the Russian reflexive affix *-sja* can convey information other than coreference:

> The SJA verb expresses reflexive meaning, but reflexive meaning is not the only meaning that SJA expresses. The reflexive meaning, from semantic and etymological points of view, is a prototypical meaning expressed by SJA in Russian. (Ahn 2006: 2)

In fact, according to Townsend (1967), most verbs that incorporate the affix do not impart the defining reflexive condition of coreference. Whereas the previous section explored instances in which the application of *-sja* does exhibit a generally coreferential meaning, this section examines those instances where the combination of a particular verb and the Russian reflexive affix result in non-prototypically reflexive meanings.

Most Russian linguists agree that the primary defining characteristic of -*sja* is its function as a detransitivizer (Townsend 1967; Ahn 2006).

> Vinogradov (1947: 630) asserts that the general function of SJA is to eliminate transitivity and to strengthen intransitivity, but the meaning of SJA depends largely upon the lexical meaning of the verb to which the SJA is attached. (Ahn 2006: 2)

Moreover, it is generally agreed that the manner in which the *–sja* affix is interpreted and the resulting meaning of its corresponding verb is determined on a case by case basis according to the meaning of the verb with which the affix is incorporated (Townsend 1967). Townsend (1967) suggests that the non-coreferential functions of *–sja* can be divided into several distinct categories: general (*-sja* verbs that do not have a corresponding, non-*sja*, form), reflexive, reciprocal, middle, intensifier, and passive. In addition to these, the affix *–sja* plays a role in the realization of the anticausative voice. This section will explore the middle, anticausative, passive, general, and intensifier functions in greater detail.

To an even greater extent than the French reflexive clitic, the Russian reflexive affix appears to play a determining role in the realization of grammatical voice. Like the French clitic, the reflexive affix is used to mark middle and anticausative voice. Unlike the French clitic, passive voice is also designated with the Russian reflexive affix. Examples of these different voice realizations are presented in (4.146) – (4.148) below, with the reflexive affix marked in bold type and glossed according to its voice function:

(4.146) Middle Voice

a. Sobaka kusaet-**sja**.
dog bite-MID
'The dog bites/is a biter.'

b. Eti plat'ja ne rvut-**sja**.
DET dress.PL NEG tear-MID.
'These dresses don't tear.'

(Townsend 1967: 198)

(4.147) Anticausative Voice

a. Dver' otkryvala-**s'**.
door open[3SG.PST]-ANTIC
'The door opened.'

b. U Ivana slomali-**s'** ochki.
POSS John break[3PL.PST]-ANTIC glasses.PL
'John's glasses broke.'

(4.148) Passive Voice

a. Dom stroi-l-**sja** ded-om.
house[NOM] build-PST-PAS grandfather-INS
'The house was being built by the grandfather.'

(Geniušienė 1987: 9)

In addition to its function as a marker of voice alternations, the Russian reflexive affix has also been observed to have a general effect upon verb meaning. Townsend (1967) calls this lexical function the 'general' *–sja* function. This interaction between the reflexive affix and a particular verb is quite similar to the verb/reflexive interactions observed in 'always reflexive' verbs in French and Dutch and the maximum degree of semantic fusion constructions in English. Examples of these verbs with their non-*sja* marked equivalents are provided in (4.149) and (4.150). Though the reflexive affix is glossed as $REFL_2$ in these examples it is worth reiterating that it does not contribute a coreferential interpretation to the utterances.

(4.149) a. Ona slušaet mat'.
3SG listen[3SG.PRS] mother
'She listens to her mother.'

b. Ona slušaet-sja materi.
3SG obey-$REFL_2$ mother
'She obeys her mother.'

(4.150) a. Sodaty zanimaût gorod.
soldier.PL occupy[3PL.PRS] city
'The soldiers are occupying the city.'

b. Sodaty zanimaût-sja russkim âzykom.
soldier.PL study[3PL.PRS.CONT]-$REFL_2$ Russian language
'The soldiers are studying Russian.'

(Townsend 1967: 197)

As demonstrated in (4.149), the meaning of the verb *slušaet* is 'listen' when it is used without the reflexive affix, (4.149a), and 'obey' when it is used with the reflexive affix, -*sja*. Likewise, the verb

zanimaût is ‘occupy’ when used without the reflexive affix (4.150a) and ‘study’ when used with the reflexive affix (4.150b).

Townsend's 'general' category also includes verbs that always incorporate the reflexive affix with no corresponding unmarked form; these can include both transitive and intransitive verbs, as illustrated in Table 4.30 below:

Table 4.30: General *–sja* Verbs

ALWAYS MARKED WITH -*SJA*	
bojat’sja	fear, be afraid of
smejat’sja	laugh (at)
ostat’sja/ostavat’sja	remain

(Townsend 1967: 196-197)

Lastly, the reflexive affix has been observed to have an intensifying effect within certain verb constructions. Townsend describes this function as contributing a sense of speaker involvement within the action, suggesting that the *–sja* affix has a modal role in these constructions:

> Compared with the corresponding non-*sja*-verbs with a neutral meaning, these *sja*-verbs often reflect the personal involvement of the speaker in the effect his action will have. This concern with result suggests that *–sja* has a modal role, in effect, the expression of purpose. (Townsend 1967: 198-199)

Examples of these verbs and their subtle change in meaning when marked with the *–sja* affix are presented below:

(4.151)a. plakat
‘cry, weep’
b. plakat'sja
‘cry, complain (for the purpose of attracting attention or sympathy)’

(4.152)a. (po)prosit’
‘ask’
b. (po)prosit’sja
‘ask (for permission to do something or be accepted somewhere – a more specific meaning with more emphasis on purpose)’

(Townsend 1967: 199)

4.4.3 Russian: Summary

The Russian language provides the only example of a reflexive marker with a detransitivizing function in this thesis. Due to its status as a detransitivizer, the Russian reflexive affix is the most restricted of the reflexive strategies explored here in terms of coreferential flexibility and semantic transitivity. Since it removes an object argument from the predicate argument structure, the reflexive clitic can only be used with verbs that allow for strict coreference with the antecedent. The nominal reflexive, on the other hand, demonstrates the flexible coreference also observed in the Dutch complex reflexive and the English reflexive marker. Table 4.31 summarizes these differences.

Table 4.31: Russian - Coreferential Function

REFLEXIVE TYPE	**SYNTACTIC TRANSITIVITY (c-structure)**	**SEMANTIC TRANSITIVITY (comparative deletion)**	**COREFERENCE (Madame Tussaud)**	**LEXICAL TRANSITIVITY**	**EXAMPLE**
NOMINAL	***Transitive***	***Transitive***	(x,y)	***Transitive***	SEBJA (4.141), (4.142), (4.143), (4.144)
AFFIX	***Intransitive***	***Intransitive***	(x,x)	***Transitive***	-SJA (4.141), (4.142), (4.145)

Equally due to its status as a detransitivizer, the Russian reflexive affix has also been found to play a role in many functions in addition to the marking of coreference. The designation of certain types of grammatical voice, in particular, has been found to incorporate the reflexive affix. Likewise, the reflexive affix resembles the French reflexive clitic and the Dutch simplex reflexive in its use in the derivation of certain verb meanings. Discussed under Townsend's title of 'general function', it is presented in the following table as 'reflexive verb' to reflect its relatedness to the other languages in this chapter.

Table 4.32: Russian - Other Functions

FUNCTION	DESCRIPTION	REFLEXIVE TYPE	EXAMPLE
Contrastive	In reflexive constructions where both the Russian reflexive affix and the Russian reflexive NP function as markers of coreference, the Russian reflexive NP has been found to contribute contrastive emphasis to the construction.	NOMINAL	(4.138a)
Middle Voice	When paired with some verbs the Russian reflexive affix acts as a marker of middle voice.	AFFIX	(4.146)
Anticausative Voice	When paiered with some verbs the Russian relfexive affix acts as a marker of anticausative voice.	AFFIX	(4.147)
Passive Voice	When paried with some verbs the Russian reflexive affix functions as a marker of passive voice.	AFFIX	(4.145)
Reflexive Verb	When paired with some verbs the Russian reflexive affix changes the meaning of the verb instead of marking coreference with an antecedent.	AFFIX	(4.149), (4.150), Table 4.30
Intensifier	When paired with some verbs the Russian reflexive affix has an intensifying effect.	AFFIX	(4.151), (4.152)

4.5 Conclusions: Cross-linguistic Patterns of Verb and Reflexive Interaction

The data presented in this chapter demonstrate that there is a linguistically relevant relationship between the reflexive and the verb in reflexive constructions that is generally absent from research into reflexive constructions. The four languages investigated in this chapter were selected to cover the full morphological range available to systems of reflexive marking, and the data that has emerged from this study has found some intriguing patterns. Tables 4.33 and 4.34, loosely following the tripartite approach of Sells et al. (1987), summarize all of the realizations available to each of the reflexive types discussed in this chapter according to syntactic, lexical, and semantic transitivity. In Table 4.33, **T** and **I** indicate 'transitive' and 'intransitive' respectively, and ∅ represents the null argument observed with certain self-directed verbs in English. In Table 4.34, **M**, **D**, and **P** refer to voice, corresponding to to 'middle voice', 'decausative', and 'passive' respectively. Differing slightly from Sells et al. (1987), an additional column has been added to include coreference in Table 4.33. It is assumed here that instances of maximum degree of semantic fusion and intransitive reflexive verbs result in an intransitive lexical structure since the reflexive contributes to the meaning of the verb instead of providing a second lexical argument. A more detailed summary of the data presented in this chapter and the previous chapter is presented in Table 5.2 of Chapter 5.

Table 4.33: Summary of Coreferential Function

LANGUAGE	REFLEXIVE TYPE	SYNTACTIC TRANSITIVITY		LEXICAL TRANSITIVITY		SEMANTIC TRANSITIVITY		COREFERENCE		
		T	**I**	**T**	**I**	**T**	**I**	**(x,x)**	**(x,f(x))**	**(x,y)**
English	NP	✓		✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
	∅		✓		✓		✓	✓		
Dutch	NP (complex)	✓		✓		✓		✓	✓	✓
	NP (simplex)	✓		✓	✓		✓	✓	✓ (3rd person)	
French	clitic	✓		✓	✓		✓	✓	✓	✓
	NP (complex)	✓		✓		✓		✓	✓	✓
	NP (simplex)	✓		✓			✓	✓		
Russian	NP	✓		✓		✓		✓	✓	✓
	affix		✓	✓	✓		✓	✓		

Table 4.34: Summary of Non-Coreferential Function

Language and Reflexive Type	Voice			Delimiting Emphatic	Volition	Contrastive Focus	Reflexive Verb
	M	D	P				
English	✓			✓			
Dutch Simplex							✓
Dutch Complex					✓	✓	
French Clitic	✓	✓					✓
French Complex NP				✓	✓	✓	
French Simplex NP							
Russian Affix	✓	✓	✓				✓
Russian NP						✓	

The formal description and theoretical implications of these patterns will be explored in the following chapter.

Chapter 5

Theoretical Analysis

Introduction

The data discussed in the preceding chapters clearly establish correlations between the use of certain reflexive types within a given language and their corresponding verbs in reflexive constructions that are not addressed by many approaches to anaphoric binding. Proceeding from the observations and data covered in this work, the following three arguments are put forward:

1) The verb plays a determining role in reflexive selection:
   a. In languages with multiple reflexive strategies the verb can select for a reflexive strategy according to the referential range of the reflexive type and the semantic transitivity of the verb.
   b. In languages with a single reflexive strategy the verb can influence the referential range of a reflexive with respect to its antecedent.
2) Reflexive constructions are determined over four different components of linguistic representation: c-structure, f-structure, lexical structure, and semantic structure.
3) Languages with multiple reflexive strategies can be described as two overlapping but different types: those that are primarily syntactically motivated and those that are primarily semantically motivated.

Related to, and stemming from these arguments, the following assumptions will be made:

1) Binding constraints are lexically specified.
2) Reflexive requirements are lexically specified by the verb.
3) Anaphoric binding conditions are both syntactically and semantically determined.

The central hypothesis within this work follows from Dalrymple's (1993) argument that antecedent requirements are lexically specified by reflexive types. Building upon the observation in Chapters 3 and 4 that not all reflexive types interact with all corresponding verbs in a uniform manner, it is proposed here that reflexive requirements are equally lexically specified by the verb. This chapter investigates this hypothesis in greater detail, examining the evidence in favour of such an approach and exploring the selection constraints available to verbs in reflexive constructions.

The identification of the patterns resulting from these interactions between verbs and reflexive markers and their formalization within linguistic structure are the key aims of this chapter. Section 5.1 provides an analysis of the data with specific attention to the syntactic, semantic, and lexical components of linguistic structure. Section 5.2 then presents the observations of section 5.1 within the formal functional and structural representations of Lexical Functional Grammar. Section 5.3 concludes the chapter with a summary of the information covered.

5.1 Analysis: Four Components of Linguistic Structure

Theories of anaphoric binding have traditionally been concerned with nominal types. Essentially, regardless of whether the approach has been one of invariant universal constraints, language-by-language parameterization, or lexically specified antecedent requirements, the antecedent and the anaphor have been repeatedly recognized as the most important elements within a reflexive construction. Few of these nominal approaches take into account the effect verbs appear to have upon the distribution patterns of reflexives. However, instances in which reflexive constructions demonstrate identical syntactic environments but result in different requirements on the reflexive are observed repeatedly within the data presented in Chapters 3 and 4. Essentially, reflexive constructions appear to differ from verb to verb within a language. This is illustrated below:

(5.1) a. Oscar$_i$ haat zichzelf$_{i/*j}$/*zich/ hem$_{*i/j}$.
Oscar hate[PRS] REFL$_1$ REFL$_2$ 3SG.M
'Oscar hates himself.'

b. Oscar$_i$ gedraagt zich$_{i/*j}$/*zichzelf/*hem.
Oscar behave[PRS] REFL$_2$ REFL$_1$ 3SG.M
'Oscar behaves himself.'
(Dutch; Reuland 2001:451)

c. Max$_i$ wast zich$_{i/*j}$/zichzelf$_{i/*j}$/hem$_{*i/j}$.
Max wash[PRS] REFL$_2$ REFL$_1$ 3SG.M
Max washes SE/SELF
(Dutch; Reinhart and Reuland 1993: 666)

(5.2) a. The gingerbread man$_i$ ate (him$_{*i/j}$/himself$_i$/∅$_{*i/?j/intrans}$).
b. Sally$_i$ bathed (her$_{/*i/j}$ /herself$_i$/∅ $_{i/*j/*intrans}$).
c. Sally$_i$ showered (?her$_{*i/j}$/??herself$_i$/∅$_{i/*j/*intrans}$) (with praise).[1]
d. Jessica$_i$ behaved (herself$_i$/*her/∅$_{i/*j/*intrans}$) at the party last night.

The verbs in the Dutch sentences in (5.1) are all used transitively and, thus, do not result in differing syntactic environments. All three sentences share the f-structure illustrated in (5.3) below:

(5.3) *haat* 'hate', *wast* 'wast', *gedraadgt* 'behave'

$$\begin{bmatrix} \text{PRED} & \text{'verb } \langle \text{SUBJ, OBJ} \rangle \text{'} \\ \text{SUBJ} & [\text{PRED } \text{'R-EXPRESSION'}\ ] \\ \text{OBJ} & \begin{bmatrix} \text{PRED} & \text{'PRO'} \\ \text{PRONTYPE} & \text{REFL} \end{bmatrix} \end{bmatrix}$$

Likewise, the lexical forms (Bresnan 1982) of the Dutch verbs presented in (5.1) are identical:

(5.4) *haat* 'to hate', *wast* 'to wash', *gedraadgt* 'behave'
a. *verb* ((SUBJ), (OBJ))

As the verbs in these sentences are all transitive, they require both a subject and an object; however, the direct objects that the Dutch sentences permit in (5.1) are realized differently for each of the verbs illustrated. Dutch is a language with two reflexive types and it is on the selection of the acceptable reflexive type, in particular, that these sentences differ. Unlike the verb *wast*, 'to wash', which can be paired with either of the two Dutch reflexive types, the verbs *haat*, 'to hate', and *gedraagt*, 'to behave', can only be paired with one of the two available reflexive types. Moreover, *gedraagt* and *haat* require opposite reflexive types: the verb *haat* requires the complex reflexive whilst the verb *gedraagt* can only be used with the simple reflexive *zich*.

[1] Though perhaps slightly more acceptable than 'Sally showered herself', 'Sally showered her' is still quite odd. The preferred non-coreferential construction involves using *shower* as a noun, 'Sally gave her a shower.'

The English sentences in (5.2) demonstrate similar patterns. Unlike Dutch, English has only one reflexive type. Moreover, many verbs that would be realized as transitive in Dutch are ambitransitive in English. This is the case with the sentences in (5.2); each of the verbs can be realized as either transitive or intransitive. With respect to their functional structure, the transitive realization of the verbs in the sentences in (5.2), except for *shower* in (5.2c), result in the f-structure illustrated in (5.5) below. The f-structure in (5.6) illustrates the intransitive realization of all of the verbs in (5.2).

(5.5) TRANSITIVE: *eat, bathe, behave*, ??*shower*

$$\begin{bmatrix} \text{PRED} & \text{'verb } \langle \text{SUBJ, OBJ} \rangle \text{'} \\ \text{SUBJ} & [\text{PRED } \text{'R-EXPRESSION'}] \\ \text{OBJ} & \begin{bmatrix} \text{PRED} & \text{'PRO'} \\ \text{PRONTYPE} & \text{REFL} \end{bmatrix} \end{bmatrix}$$

(5.6) INTRANSITIVE: *eat, bathe, behave, shower*

$$\begin{bmatrix} \text{PRED} & \text{'verb } \langle \text{SUBJ} \rangle \text{'} \\ \text{SUBJ} & [\text{PRED } \text{'R-EXPRESSION'}] \end{bmatrix}$$

The transitive f-structure of the verb *shower* differs slightly from that in (5.5) in that *shower* is most naturally used as either an intransitive verb or a transitive verb with a mandatory oblique complement, simple transitive constructions of the verb being quite unusual. The ditransitive f-structure of a reflexive construction incorporating the verb *shower* is illustrated below:

(5.7) Sally showered herself with praise.

$$\begin{bmatrix} \text{PRED} & \text{`SHOWER } \langle \text{SUBJ, OBJ, OBL}_{\text{INSTR}} \rangle \text{'} \\ \text{SUBJ} & [\text{PRED `SALLY'}] \\ \text{OBJ} & \begin{bmatrix} \text{PRED} & \text{`PRO'} \\ \text{PRONTYPE} & \text{REFL} \end{bmatrix} \\ \text{OBL}_{\text{INSTR}} & \begin{bmatrix} \text{PRED} & \text{`PRAISE'} \end{bmatrix} \end{bmatrix}$$

The English verbs *eat, bathe*, and *behave* also share the same lexical form, illustrated in (5.8); and, *shower* demonstrates the lexical form in (5.9).

(5.8) *eat*, *bathe*, *behave*
- a. *verb* ((SUBJ), ∅)
- b. *verb* ((SUBJ), (OBJ))

(5.9) *shower*
- a. *shower* ((SUBJ), ∅)
- b. *shower* ((SUBJ), (OBJ), (OBL))
- c. *shower* ?((SUBJ), (OBJ))

All of the English verbs in (5.2) can be used ambitransitively; however, both their interpretation in the absence of a direct object, (∅), and the direct objects that they permit when it is realized differ considerably from verb to verb. In the absence of a direct object, *behave*, *shower*, and *bathe* all result in a reflexive reading; yet this is not the case for the verb *eat* which, rather, carries the interpretation that the object eaten was something other than the subject doing the eating. Despite their similarities in an intransitive argument structure, the realization of a reflexive direct object is quite different for *behave*, *shower*, and *bathe*. *Shower*, in particular, demonstrates a distinct lexical form from the other verbs, evidencing a preference for an oblique complement as well as an object argument ((5.7), (5.9)) rather than the monotransitive argument structure of *eat*, *bathe*, and *behave* ((5.5), (5.8)). Whereas

pronominals and R-expressions can be used with the verb *shower* in a transitive argument structure, the structure feels slightly contrived. Likewise, the use of a reflexive as a direct object of *shower* is noticeably awkward and its use in natural language is limited primarily to situations involving focus or emphasis. This is the opposite of the situation preferred by the verb *behave* in English and *gedraagt*, 'to behave', in Dutch where the reflexive object is the only direct object that can be used with the verb. The verb *bathe*, on the other hand, like *eat* can incorporate any type of NP as a direct object when used with a transitive argument structure.

Examples such as (5.1) and (5.2) clearly indicate that the verb plays a determining role in reflexive selection. Tables 5.1 and 5.2 summarize the patterns that emerged from the reflexive constructions observed in Chapters 3 and 4.

Table 5.1: Key to Table 5.2

Component of Linguistic Structure		**Types**	**Test**
SYNTAX	C(ONSTITUENT)-STRUCTURE	+REFL = reflexive type acceptable -REFL = reflexive type forbidden +OTHER = non reflexive object argument acceptable -OTHER = non reflexive object argument forbidden +∅ = lexical argument unrealized in the syntax	Utterance composition
	F(UNCTIONAL)-STRUCTURE	**T** = Transitive **A** = Ambitransitive **I** = Intransitive	Utterance composition
LEXICON	L(EXICAL)-STRUCTURE	**(ARG1)** = Intransitive **(ARG1, ARG 2)**=Transitive	Comparative Deletion: *Test used for English in this work; a transitive lexical-structure permits an object comparison interpretation that is forbidden if the lexical-structure is intransitive* Impersonal Passive: *Test used for Dutch in this work; a transitive lexical-structure forbids the impersonal passive alternation that is permitted for intransitive unergative verbs* Accusative Adjunct: *Test used for French in this work; a transitive lexical-structure can take an accusative adjunct, this is forbidden if the lexical-structure is intransitive*
SEMANTICS	VERB	**(X,Y)** = Transitive **(X,X)** = Intransitive	Comparative Deletion: *intransitive semantic structure only peremits a sloppy interpretation; transitive semantic structure permits both a strict and a sloppy interpretation*
	REFLEXIVE	**(x)** = intransitive **(x,x)** = strict **(x,f(x))** = close **(x,y)** = near	Madame Tussaud Statue Context: *reflexives with (x,x) and (x,f(x)) internal semantic structures do not permit a statue interpretation* Mirror Context: *reflexives with an (x,x) semantic structure cannot be used in mirror contexts* intransitive: *the intransitive form occurs in cases in which the verb in the reflexive construction is lexically intransitive, taking a single argument; as a result, the semantic content of the reflexive is not registered – this is illustrated in example (5.37) in section 5.3 of this chapter*

Table 5.2: Summary of Data

LANGUAGE	SYNTAX				LEXICON		SEMANTICS						E.G.
	C-STRUCTURE	F-STRUCTURE			L-STRUCTURE		VERB		REFLEXIVE				
		T	A	I	(ARG1,ARG2)	(ARG1)	T	I	(x,x)	(x,f(x))	(x,y)	(x)	
ENGLISH REFL: himself	+REFL, +OTHER	✓			✓		✓		✓	✓	✓		blame
	+REFL, -OTHER	✓				✓		✓				✓	perjure
	+REFL, +OTHER, +∅		✓		✓		✓		✓	✓	✓		eat
	+REFL, +OTHER, +∅		✓		✓			✓	✓	✓	✓		shave
	+REFL, -OTHER, +∅		✓			✓		✓				✓	behave
	??REFL, ?OTHER, +∅			✓	✓			✓	✓				shower
DUTCH REFL1: zichzelf	+REFL1, +OTHER	✓			✓		✓		✓	✓	✓		*scheert* 'shave'
	+REFL2, +OTHER	✓			✓			✓	✓	✓			*scheert* 'shave'
REFL2: zich[2]	+REFL1, -REFL2 +OTHER	✓			✓		✓		✓	✓	✓		*haat* 'hate'
	-REFL1, +REFL2 -OTHER	✓				✓		✓				✓	*gedraagt* 'behave'
FRENCH REFL1: clitic –se	+REFL1, +OTHER	✓			✓			✓	✓	✓	✓		*baigner* 'bathe'
	+REFL1, -OTHER	✓				✓		✓				✓	*évanouir* 'faint'
REFL2: lui-même	+REFL1&REFL2 +OTHER	✓			✓			✓	✓	?	?		*aimer* 'like'
REFL3: lui	+REFL2, +OTHER	✓			✓			✓	✓	✓	✓		*être fier* 'proud'
	+REFL3, +OTHER	✓			✓			✓	✓				*être fier* 'proud'
	+REFL2, -REFL3 +OTHER	✓			✓			✓	✓	✓	✓		*être jaloux* 'jealous'
	-REFL2, +REFL3 +OTHER	✓			✓			✓	✓				*être hors* 'mad with anger'[3]
RUSSIAN REFL1: affix –sja	+REFL1, +OTHER			✓	✓			✓	✓				*zastrelil* 'shot'
	+REFL2, +OTHER	✓			✓		✓		✓	✓	✓		*zastrelil* 'shot'
REFL2: sebja	-REFL1, +REFL2 +OTHER	✓			✓		✓		✓	✓	✓		*ljubit* 'loves'
FIJIAN[4] REFL1: koya	+REFL1, +OTHER	✓			✓		?	?	?	?	?		*tirovi* 'to glance'
REFL2: koya ga	+REFL2, +OTHER	✓			✓		?	?	?	?	?		*digitaka* 'to vote'
REFL3:koya ga vakai koya	+REFL3, +OTHER	✓			✓		?	?	?	?	?		*vakamatei* 'to kill'

[2] The (x,f(x)) semantic reflexive reading is only available to the third person simplex reflexive; the first and second person simplex reflexives only permit the (x,x) interpretation.

[3] This is an idiomatic reading, the direct translation is 'to be outside of'. See example (4.113) in section 4.3.2 of Chapter 4 for more information.

[4] More research needs to be carried out in order to be able to accurately complete the semantic information for Fijian reflexives.

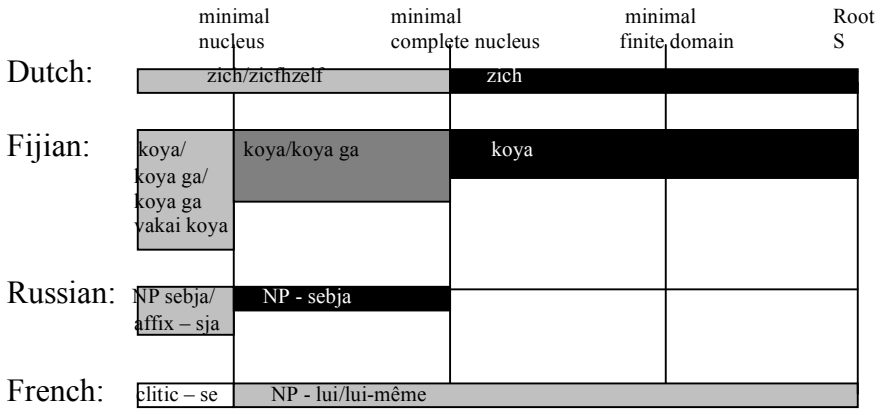
Overall, the data suggests that the selective interaction between verbs and reflexive forms occurs at four components of linguistic structure: syntactic structure (c-structure and f-structure), semantic structure, and lexical structure. This follows the three-tiered approach of Sells et al. (1987); however the focus on the verb finds a need for a more expressive formalization than is offered by their bipartite system of 'transitive' and 'intransitive' characteristics. In particular, selective interactions between the verb and reflexive need to take into account the differing semantic requirements of verbs and their reflexive markers separately in order to elucidate how a reflexive marker can be both semantically intransitive but coreferentially open to a flexible (x,y) interpretation as is the case in English and French. Equally, the syntactic and lexical components of linguistic structure should take into account characteristics of ambitransitive and ditransitive constructions in addition to transitive and intransitive constructions. This section explores each of these components in detail.

5.1.1 Syntax

As has been well covered within the literature, regardless of language or morphological form, reflexives are subject to syntactic domain constraints. Likewise, in languages with more than one reflexive type, such as Fijian, Dutch, French, and Russian, domain constraints can be used to differentiate the types. However, most languages with more than one reflexive type exhibit an overlap in domain with the result that, within this area of overlap, the syntax predicts free variation and, thus, reflexive type selection cannot be explained according to syntactic criteria. Dutch, for instance, has two reflexive types. The complex reflexive, *zichzelf*, is subject to the Minimal Complete Nucleus Binding Condition and the simplex reflexive, *zich*, follows the Root S Binding Condition. The Root S Binding Condition, however, incorporates the domain covered by the Minimal Complete Nucleus Binding Condition with the result that the Dutch simplex reflexive fully shares its binding domain with the complex reflexive.

Of the languages explored in this work, French most clearly demonstrates syntactic restrictions upon reflexive selection. Unlike the reflexive types of the other languages summarized in Table 5.2, the French reflexive clitic is the only reflexive type, excepting English which has just a single reflexive strategy, that does not share a binding domain with the other reflexive types found in the French language. Whereas the reflexive clitic must be present in all reflexive constructions that incorporate a direct object regardless of the requirements on the other possible object arguments, it is forbidden in all reflexive constructions comprising a prepositional object.[5] Likewise, the other two reflexive types observed in the French language cannot be used interchangeably with the clitic in the minimal complete nucleus. No such syntactic limitations are observed with respect to the other languages in this work. Dutch, Fijian, and Russian all demonstrate overlap in their domain requirements, resulting in a grammatical grey area where syntactic restrictions permit the binding of more than one reflexive type. This is illustrated in Figure 5.1:

Figure 5.1: Syntactic Domain Overlap for Languages with Multiple Reflexive Types



The grey boxes in Figure 5.1 illustrate areas where the binding domains of reflexive types overlap. Thus the two reflexive types observed in Dutch share a binding domain within the minimal complete

[5] It should be noted that French also has a dative reflexive clitic form that is used for indirect objects. The dative reflexive clitic is identical to the general reflexive marker on all persons excepting the third person singular and plural markers where *lui* (3SG) and *leur* (3PL) replace the general reflexive clitic *se*.

nucleus and the three reflexive types proposed for Fijian share the minimal nucleus domain. The black boxes identify reflexive types that share a smaller domain but are the only type available in a larger domain. The white box encompassing the French reflexive clitic recognizes it as the only reflexive type observed in this work that does not share the smaller domain with other, longer-distance, reflexives in the same language. Figure 5.1 illustrates the fact that, while domain considerations can be used to good effect to determine reflexive selection in domains where only one reflexive form is possible, they provide very little information regarding reflexive selection in domains in which more than one form is possible. Moreover, taking into account only syntactic considerations, the acceptability of multiple reflexive types within the smaller domains could easily lead to the conclusion that the reflexive types limited to these more restricted domains are superfluous, especially in languages such as Dutch and Fijian, where they share the same antecedent requirements within the minimal domain.[6] As will be discussed in great detail in section 5.1.2, the determining factors that readily account for the redundancy in these instances are primarily semantic.

Thus, multiple reflexive languages can be subdivided into two categories: those like French, which demonstrate a primarily syntactic basis for reflexive selection and those like Dutch, which appear to have a strong semantic basis for reflexive selection in areas of syntactic overlap. Furthermore, as is again demonstrated by French, a language can exhibit both semantic and syntactic selection criteria.

Reflexive marker selection in French, unlike Dutch, is determined by syntactic factors within its smallest binding domain as well as its extended binding domain. However, semantic considerations do still have a considerable bearing upon the final structure and are not limited only to the reflexive NPs. This was illustrated in examples of dual reflexive constructions in section 4.3.1 of Chapter 4, repeated in (5.10) and (5.11) below:

[6] For the Dutch antecedent requirements see Tables 4.9 and 4.10 in section 4.2 of Chapter 4. For the Fijian antecedent requirements see Tables 3.24 and 3.25 in section 3.3 of Chapter 3.

(5.10) a. Mathilde$_i$ se$_i$ lave.
Mathilde REFL$_1$ wash[3SG.PRS]
'Mathilde washes herself.'
b. *Mathilde$_i$ lave lui-même$_i$.
Mathilde wash[3SG.PRS] REFL$_3$

(5.11) a. Mathilde$_i$ se$_i$ connaît lui-même$_i$.
Mathilde REFL$_1$ know[3SG.PRS] REFL$_3$
'Mathilde knows herself.'
b. ???Mathilde$_i$ se$_i$ connaît.
Mathilde REFL$_1$ know[3SG.PRS]
c. *Mathilde$_i$ connaît lui-même$_i$.
Mathilde know[3SG.PRS] REFL$_3$
(Rooryck and Vanden Wyngaerd 1999: 629)

Though all direct object reflexives in French must be realized with the reflexive clitic, not all direct object reflexive constructions have the same requirements. The sentences in (5.10) and (5.11) have identical phrase structure but different reflexive requirements.

Semantic constraints lexically specified by the verb, consequently, appear to play a deciding role in the final realization of reflexive constructions. Section 5.1.2 explores the semantic characteristics of both reflexives and verbs in greater detail.

5.1.2 Semantics

The observation that reflexives exhibit distinct semantic requirements has been well recorded within the literature on anaphoric binding.

> Anaphoric binding relations are semantic in nature, having to do with coreference between a pronoun and its antecedent. (Dalrymple 1993: 278)

However, many theories fail to take into account several of the subtleties of these semantic requirements. Moreover, with respect to the semantic component of linguistic representation, most theories of anaphoric binding and formalizations of reflexive constructions focus upon the relationship between a reflexive marker and its antecedent. For instance, indexing, which is an original component of Chomsky's (1986) Binding Theory, provides only very limited semantic

information linking a reflexive marker to its antecedent and is primarily suited to distinguishing anaphors from pronominals. With respect to reflexive constructions, it does not recognize the subtle semantic interactions that can occur as have been observed through the comparative deletion and Madame Tussaud tests used in Chapters 3 and 4. Likewise, whilst Higginbotham's (1983, 1985) dependency arrows elegantly address limitations of indices, particularly with respect to asymmetric dependencies and split antecedency, they, equally, do not provide insight into the selective properties of verbs within overlapping reflexive type binding domains. Though restricting the semantic description of a reflexive construction to the antecedent and the reflexive marker, as has been the convention, does, to a certain extent, elucidate distinct patterns for pronominals and anaphors, it fails to account for certain selective considerations that are the direct result of semantic interactions between the reflexive marker and the verb.

Ultimately, it is here argued, the primary semantic contribution of the antecedent in reflexive constructions can be relegated to Grimshaw's (2005) linguistically inert class of semantic content.

> The aspect of meaning that distinguishes *write* from *draw*, or *melt* from *freeze* is of no linguistic significance and plays no role in the grammatical system of the language. It is, like the difference between *cat* and *dog*, *geographer* and *philosopher*, *concept* and *word*, a difference, perhaps even an important difference, but not a linguistic one. (Grimshaw 2005: 76)

Though person and gender of the antecedent can influence the realization of the form of a reflexive type, as in the selection of *mezelf* over *zichzelf* for a first person antecedent or *himself* over *herself* for a male antecedent, such considerations do not impact the selection of reflexive type. For instance, neither person nor gender influences the selection of the Dutch simplex reflexive *zich* over the Dutch complex reflexive *zichzelf*. Animacy considerations and the grammatical function of antecedents have, however, been found to play a role in the selection of reflexive types; but antecedents, in and of themselves, do not appear to contribute to the reflexive construction any information that influences

syntactic structure, reflexive type selection, or the internal semantic structure of the reflexive. This is demonstrated with respect to Dutch in examples (5.12) – (5.14) below:

(5.12) *haat* 'hate'

a. De jongen$_i$ haat zichzelf$_{i/*j}$/*zich.
DET boy hate[PRS] REFL$_1$ REFL$_2$
'The boy hates himself.'

b. De vrouw$_i$ haat zichzelf$_{i/*j}$/*zich.
DET woman hate[PRS] REFL$_1$ REFL$_2$
'The woman hates herself.'

c. De appel$_i$ haat zichzelf$_{i/*j}$/*zich.
DET apple hate[PRS] REFL$_1$ REFL$_2$
'The apple hates itself.'

d. De universiteit van Oxford$_i$ haat zichzelf$_{i/*j}$/*zich.
DET university of Oxford hate[PRS] REFL$_1$ REFL$_2$
'The University of Oxford hates itself.'

(5.13) *gedraagt* 'behave'

a. De jongen$_i$ gedraagt zich$_{i/*j}$/*zichzelf.
DET boy behave[PRS] REFL$_2$ REFL$_1$
'The boy behaves himself.'

b. De vrouw$_i$ gedraagt zich$_{i/*j}$/*zichzelf.
DET woman behave[PRS] REFL$_2$ REFL$_1$
'The woman behaves herself.'

c. De appel$_i$ gedraagt zich$_{i/*j}$/*zichzelf.
DET apple behave[PRS] REFL$_1$ REFL$_2$
'The apple behaves itself.'

d. De universiteit van Oxford$_i$ gedraagt zich$_{i/*j}$/*zichzelf.
DET university of Oxford behave[PRS] REFL$_2$ REFL$_1$
'The University of Oxford behaves itself.'

(5.14) *waast* 'wash'

a. De jongen$_i$ wast zich$_{i/*j}$/zichzelf$_{i/*j}$.
DET boy wash[PRS] REFL$_2$ REFL$_1$
'The boy washes himself.'

b. De vrouw$_i$ wast zich$_{i/*j}$/zichzelf$_{i/*j}$.
DET woman wash[PRS] REFL$_2$ REFL$_1$
'The woman washes herself.'

c. De appel$_i$ wast zich$_{i/*j}$/zichzelf$_{i/*j}$.
DET apple wash[PRS] REFL$_2$ REFL$_1$
'The apple washes itself.'

d. De universiteit van Oxford$_i$ wast zich$_{i/*j}$/zichzelf$_{i/*j}$.
DET university of Oxford wash[PRS] REFL$_2$ REFL$_1$
'The University of Oxford washes iteself.'

Making use of the same verbs discussed in the Dutch examples (5.1) in section 5.1, (5.12) – (5.14) show that the selection of reflexive type remains consistent regardless of the semantic content of the antecedent. In effect, the information that is relayed through Chomsky's (1986) indices and Higginbotham's (1983) arrows does not contribute to the linguistic structure or choice of grammatically acceptable reflexive type within a reflexive construction. Rather, as will be explored in greater detail in the following sections, the internal semantic structure of reflexive markers and the external semantic requirements of different verbs play the determining role in reflexive selection within the semantic component of linguistic representation.

Semantic transitivity, which can be determined through comparative deletion constructions, and coreferential flexibility, identifiable through Jackendoff's (1992) Madame Tussaud contexts, have been recognized and used in identifying semantic characteristics of reflexive markers. Sells et al. (1987), for instance, identify semantic transitivity, determined through comparative deletion constructions, as the defining characteristic within their interpretation of the semantic structure component of linguistic representation. As discussed in the previous chapters, Lidz (2001a) uses the Madame Tussaud context to put forward an argument subdividing reflexive types into 'near' and 'pure' reflexives according to coreferential flexibility, 'pure' reflexives having an (x,x) semantic relationship with the antecedent and near reflexive having an (x,f(x)) relationship. However, when the two tests are used concurrently to describe the semantic characteristics of reflexive constructions, as is the case in Lidz (2001b) and Labelle (2008), interesting inconsistencies arise.

Lidz (2001b) uses data from Madame Tussaud contexts and comparative deletion constructions incorporating reflexives in the Dravidian language Kannada to suggest that there is a correlation between semantic transitivity and coreferential flexibility (Lidz 2001b: 135). He argues that this is the result of a pronominal-like function available to near-reflexive anaphors (those that

license statue readings in the Madame Tussaud context) within the semantic component of linguistic structure. Essentially, according to Lidz (2001b),

> [...] in the syntax the near-reflexive anaphors behave like anaphors, but in the semantics they behave like pronominals. (Lidz 2001b: 135)

Arising from this argument, Lidz predicts that pure-reflexives (x,x) can provide only sloppy readings in comparative deletion constructions; near-reflexives, on the other hand, provide both strict and sloppy readings (Lidz 2001b: 135). Labelle (2008), however, finds data in French that contradict this prediction. The French reflexive clitic, *se*, has been found to behave as a close-reflexive (x,f(x))[7] in Madame Tussaud contexts, but only permits a sloppy reading in comparative deletion constructions (Labelle 2008: 859). In other words, the French reflexive clitic is semantically intransitive but coreferentially transitive. According to Labelle, this interesting semantic situation results from the morphosyntactic characteristics unique to the reflexive clitic that differentiate it from reflexive NPs like the English reflexive pronoun *himself*:

> I suggest that this is because *se* is not an independent anaphoric pronoun like *himself*, but a Voice head introducing '$\lambda P \lambda x \lambda e[P(e, f(x))$ and Agent $(e, x)]$' in the interpretation. We get the near-reflexive reading, but we still expect only sloppy identity to be possible. (Labelle 2008: 859)

The data collected in Chapter 4 is at odds with Labelle's argument. As is illustrated in Table 5.2, the reflexive NP in English has been found to combine an intransitive, sloppy, semantic structure with a near-reflexive reading of the reflexive when paired with certain verbs such as *wash* and *shave*. This has equally been observed with respect to the third person form of the simplex, *zich*, reflexive NP in Dutch. It is, thus, argued here that these results reflect the result of interactions between two different elements, the verb and the reflexive marker, within the semantic component of linguistic structure.

The comparative deletion test of semantic transitivity is, in effect, a test of the semantic characteristics of predicate argument structure. The Madame Tussaud test of coreferential flexibility,

[7] Or, as will be argued here in a refined tripartite classification of reflexive internal semantic structure, a 'near' (x,y) reflexive.

on the other hand, is a test of the internal semantic structure of reflexive markers. Added to this is the mirror test which is used in Chapters 3 and 4 to differentiate two different types of reflexives adopted in this work, close (x,f(x)) and near (x,y), that do not fall into Lidz's category of pure (x,x) reflexives. The following two sections explore the semantic effects of reflexive semantic structure and the semantic structure of the verb respectively, taking into account the results of these tests observed in the previous chapters.

5.1.2.1 The Reflexive: Coreference

The internal semantic structure of reflexive markers generally plays a comparatively minor role to that of constituent structure in many theories of anaphoric binding. However, the data presented in Chapters 3 and 4 shows that this theoretical approach is inadequate, suggesting that the semantic structure of reflexive markers can have a deciding effect upon the resulting reflexive constructions. As was demonstrated in the previous chapters, Jackendoff's (1992) Madame Tussaud context and mirror contexts, which involve representations of the self such as reflections and recordings, provide effective tests for determining the coreferential properties of different reflexive types within different reflexive constructions. Effectively, the manner in which distinct verbs license or disallow the use of different reflexive strategies can illuminate slight differences in the internal semantic structure of unique reflexive types. As was observed in Chapter 2, reflexives are not necessarily coreferentially equal; some reflexives can be more coreferential than others.

Following the work of Jackendoff (1992) and taking into account the variation in reflexive constructions observed in Chapters 3 and 4, it has been assumed within this dissertation that reflexives as a group have a semantic range extending from strict coreference to quite loose associations with an antecedent. Essentially, coreference can be imposed as either a strict relation between a reflexive and its antecedent, or, more flexibly realized as a relation between a reflexive

marker and an approximation of its antecedent. Differing slightly from Lidz's (2001a., 2001b.) near- and pure-reflexives, the data from Chapters 3 and 4 indicate that there are potentially three referentially distinct internal semantic structures delineating increasing levels of referential freedom that are accessible to reflexive markers. They are here designated 'strict', 'close', and 'near'. Table 5.3 provides a description of these three types.

Table 5.3: Internal Semantic Structures Available to Reflexive Types

STRICT	(x,x)	Very strict, can only refer directly to the antecedent.
CLOSE *Mirror test*	(x,f(x))	Strict, can refer to the antecedent or to a very close approximation such as a reflection or a recording.
NEAR *Madame Tussaud test*	(x,y)	Sloppy, can refer to the antecedent or a near approximation of the antecedent such as a statue, painting, or look-alike.

The sentences in (5.15) – (5.17), repeated from Chapter 4, provide examples of reflexive types that represent each of these structures:

(5.15) Strict: Russian Reflexive Affix
a. Yeltsin$_i$ zastrelil-sja$_i$.
Yeltsin shoot[3SG.PST]-REFL$_2$
'Yeltsin shot himself.' (Yeltsin, *statue)
(Lidz 2001c: 239)
b. *On vidit-sja.
3SG see[3SG.PRS]-REFL$_2$
(*reflection)
(Townsend 1967: 198)

(5.16) Close: Dutch 3rd Person Simplex Reflexive
a. Ringo$_i$ scheert zich$_{i/*s}$.
Ringo shave[PRS] REFL$_2$
'Ringo shaves himself (Ringo, *statue).'
(Lidz 2001b: 128)
b. Freddy$_i$ zag zich$_i$ in de spiegel
Freddy see[PST] REFL$_2$ in DET mirror
'Freddy saw himself in the mirror.' (reflection of self)
(Rooryck and Vanden Wyngaerd 1999: 6)

(5.17) Near: Dutch Complex Reflexive

a. Ringo$_i$ scheert zichzelf$_{i/s}$.
Ringo shave[PRS] REFL$_1$
'Ringo shaves himself (Ringo or statue).'
(Lidz 2001b: 128)

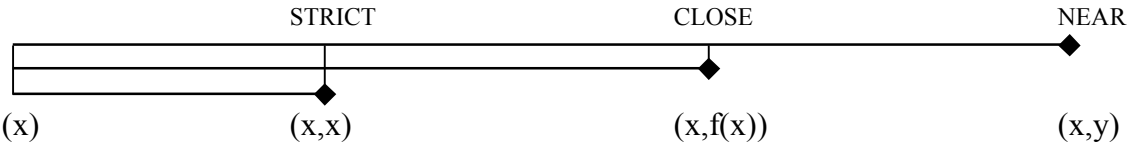
b. Dorian Gray$_i$ zag zichzelf$_i$ op het schilderij zoals hij werkelijk was.
Dorian Gray see[PST] REFL$_1$ on DET painting as 3SG.M really to.be[PST]
'Dorian Gray saw himself on the picture as he really was.'
(Rooryck and Wyngaerd 1999: 621)

The sentences in (5.15) demonstrate that the Russian reflexive affix, *-sja*, can only directly refer to the antecedent. The semantic structure is strictly (x,x). The Dutch third person simplex reflexive, *zich*, however, demonstrates some coreferential flexibility, as is illustrated in (5.16b) where the reflexive pronoun is used to refer to a reflection of the antecedent.[8] However, as is shown in (5.16a), it cannot be used in statue contexts. Thus, the internal semantic structure of the Dutch third person simplex reflexive can be described as (x,f(x)). The Dutch complex reflexive, *zichzelf*, on the other hand, can readily be used in Madame Tussaud statue contexts (5.17a) and in Münchhausen contexts (5.17b) which suggest that its internal structure is (x,y).

These three distinct semantic structures, taken as a whole, can be interpreted as describing the complete referential range available to the class of reflexive markers. This range is hereafter referred to as the reflexive 'coreferential domain'. The partitioning of the referential range encompassed by the coreferential domain is one-sided due to the fact that the different types take into account increased referential flexibility without effecting a decrease in referential accuracy. With this in mind, the prediction can be made that reflexives that are acceptable in statue sentences will also be acceptable in mirror sentences. Thus, the Dutch complex reflexive encompasses the close and strict readings in addition to the near interpretation. This range is illustrated in Figure 5.2:

[8] The Dutch simplex reflexive, a B-reflexive (Heine 2005), is interesting in that only the third person form demonstrates the close semantic structure. The first and second forms are limited to a strict semantic structure in reflexive constructions. See section 4.2.1 of Chapter 4 for more discussion.

Figure 5.2: Coreferential Domain of Reflexive Markers



The data presented in Chapter 4 suggests that most languages provide a means of expressing the entire coreferential domain. Fijian speakers, however, as discussed in section 3.2.3.2 of Chapter 3, try to avoid using a reflexive pronoun in statue contexts, instead making use of possessive pronouns and direct reference to an entity's status as a statue.

With the exception of the Dutch simplex reflexive in (5.16), in which the close reflexive reading appears to be limited to the third person - the first and second person demonstrating only a strict internal structure, the internal structures of all of the reflexive types in (5.15) – (5.17) are fixed regardless of context. Each of the languages described in the examples above, however, has more than one reflexive type. The complex reflexive, *zichzelf*, as demonstrated in (5.17) provides the near reading that is unavailable to the Dutch simplex reflexive, *zich*. Likewise, as demonstrated in Table 5.2, the Russian reflexive NP, *sebja*, has a near reflexive reading that encompasses both the near (x,y) and close (x,f(x)) readings unavailable to the reflexive affix, -*sja*. These differences in internal semantic structure play an important role in the selection of reflexive types where overlap means syntactic domain conditions are ambiguous (Figure 5.1). As demonstrated in (5.15b), the Russian verb *vidit*, 'to see', cannot be paired with the reflexive affix, which has a strict reflexive, (x,x), internal structure; rather, as (5.18) illustrates, it must select for the Russian reflexive NP, *sebja*, which has a near reflexive, (x,y), internal structure that also encompasses the close reflexive, (x,f(x)) internal structure, in order to be considered acceptable.

(5.18) On vidit sebja.
3SG see[3SG.PRS] $REFL_1$
'He sees himself (reflection).'
(Townsend 1967: 198)

Thus, the internal semantic structure of different reflexive types plays a clear role in the development of grammatically acceptable reflexive constructions. This pattern has also been observed with respect to traditionally other oriented verbs. To return to the Russian data, the reflexive affix is also forbidden with the verb *ljubit*, 'to love' (5.19). Equally, as documented in Table 4.13 of Chapter 4, the simplex Dutch reflexive, *zich*, cannot be used with verbs like *haten*, 'to hate' (5.20).

(5.19) a. On$_i$ ljubit sebja$_i$.
3SG love[3SG.PRS] REFL$_1$
'He loves himself.'
b. *On ljubit-sja.
3SG love[3SG.PRS]=REFL$_2$
(Townsend 1967: 198)

(5.20) a. *Suzy$_i$ haat zich$_i$.
Suzy hate[PRS] REFL$_2$
b. Suzy$_i$ haat zichzelf$_i$.
Suzy hate[PRS] REFL$_1$
'Suzy hates herself.'
(Rooryck and Vanden Wyngaerd 1999: 629)

In effect, these verbs appear to impose a near relation on the reflexive object.

Some languages, however, such as French, which does not demonstrate domain overlap within the minimal nucleus (Figure 5.1), and English, which has only a single reflexive type, do not have such a clear delineation of semantic structure. However, the different semantic structures do not necessarily need to be partitioned out amongst unique reflexive types in order to be realized within a language. English, for instance, clearly exhibits the differing types of semantic coreference. This is illustrated in sentences (5.21) and (5.22) below:

(5.21) English: Near Semantic Structure
a. Ringo saw himself at Madame Tussaud's wax museum.
(Ringo, reflection, statue)
b. Ringo shaved himself at Madame Tussaud's wax museum.
(Ringo, statue)
c. Ringo shot himself at Madame Tussaud's wax museum.
(Ringo, statue)

(5.22) English: Strict Semantic Structure
a. Ringo disgraced himself at Madame Tussaud's wax museum.
(Ringo, *statue)
b. Ringo shaved ∅ at Madame Tussaud's wax museum.
(Ringo, *statue)
c. Ringo ate ∅ at Madame Tussaud's wax museum.

The English data suggests that, though these three types of reflexive semantic structure concern the internal referential range of reflexive markers, their realization in reflexive constructions can be influenced by the verb that is paired with a given reflexive. As illustrated in (5.21), the English reflexive pronoun generally has a near reflexive semantic structure; however, when paired with verbs such as *disgrace* (5.22a), the reflexive is restricted to a strict semantic reading.

Moreover, as was observed in Dutch and Russian, there are several verbs that permit the use of more than one reflexive type with differing interpretations of the final reflexive construction depending upon the semantic structure of the reflexive in use. In English, counterparts of these verbs are often found to be ambitransitive ((5.21b), (5.21c), (5.22b), and (5.22c)). As has been clearly identified in research on English verb classes and self/other-directedness, in the absence of the object argument different verbs demonstrate very different interpretations with respect to reflexivity. The verb *shave*, recognized as a self-directed verb, maintains a reflexive reading even in the absence of a reflexive direct object (5.22b). Interestingly, however, the assumed reflexive argument, ∅, of the verb *shave* demonstrates a strict (x,x) relationship with the antecedent that differs from the near (x,y) relationship available to the similar reflexive construction that incorporates the reflexive pronoun (5.21b). The verb *ate*, on the other hand, does not demonstrate this semantically reflexive effect in the absence of a direct object.

These subtle differences will be taken into account within the lexical component of linguistic structure discussed in section 5.1.3. As will be demonstrated in the next section, the semantic structure of the verb can interact with the semantic structure of the reflexive resulting in interesting patterns of reflexive selection.

5.1.2.2 The Verb: Semantic Transitivity

In order to determine transitivity at the semantic component of linguistic structure, Sells et al. (1987) employ the comparative deletion test identifying semantic structure as either open predicate, R(x,y), or closed predicate, R(x,x). They describe these two types as 'transitive' and 'intransitive' semantic structure respectively. As discussed in section 5.1.2, Lidz (2001b) and Labelle (2008), following the example set by Sells et al. (1987), also use this test to determine the semantic characteristics of reflexive types with different results.

Lidz (2001b) proposes a correlation between his near-reflexive types, identified through the Madame Tussaud test, and open predicates ('transitive' semantic structure) and vice versa with respect to pure-reflexive types. Labelle (2008), on the other hand, finds that the French reflexive clitic contradicts Lidz's correlation, providing an example of a near-reflexive type pairing with a closed predicate, 'intransitive' semantic structure. As was, again, discussed in section 5.1.2, she attributes this to morphosyntactic characteristics unique to the French reflexive clitic.

This work, however, finds that Labelle's (2008) observed absence of a correlation between the near-reflexive reading and the open predicate can also apply to the English reflexive pronoun in certain cases determined by the verb. With this in mind, it is here argued that the semantic information introduced by the comparative deletion test provides semantic transitivity information that corresponds solely to the verb and its predicate argument structure. These semantic requirements of the verb and the semantic structure of a particular reflexive marker, discussed in section 5.1.2.1, are independent entities. However, their interaction in reflexive constructions can lead to notable patterns, which are summarized in (5.23) – (5.26).[9] In these examples the internal semantic structure of the reflexive is described to the right of the reflexive marker in question and the semantic requirements of the verb, based on the comparative deletion test, are presented immediately below.

[9] Due to the limited data on the subtle semantic characteristics of Fijian reflexives, information on their realization within comparative deletion constructions is not included in this section.

(5.23) Russian:

a. sja: (x,x) STRICT SEMANTIC STRUCTURE
(x,x) defend better than (z,z) SLOPPY ONLY

b. sebja: (x,y) NEAR SEMANTIC STRUCTURE
(x,x) defend better than ((z,z), (z,x)) STRICT OR SLOPPY

(5.24) Dutch:

a. zich: (x,f(x)) CLOSE SEMANTIC STRUCTURE
(x,x) defend better than (z,z) defend SLOPPY ONLY

b. zichzelf: (x,y) NEAR SEMANTIC STRUCTURE
(x,x) defend better than ((z,z), (z,x)) STRICT OR SLOPPY

(5.25) French:

a. se: (x,y) NEAR SEMANTIC STRUCTURE
(x,x) defend better than (z,z) SLOPPY ONLY

(5.26) English:

a. himself: (x,y) NEAR SEMANTIC STRUCTURE
(x,x) defend better than ((z,z), (z,x)) defend STRICT OR SLOPPY
(x,x) shave better than (z,z) shaves SLOPPY ONLY
(x) shave better than (z) shaves INTRANSITIVE

b. himself: (x,x) STRICT SEMANTIC STRUCTURE
(x,x) disgrace more than (z,z) SLOPPY ONLY

The two reflexive types of the Russian (5.23) and Dutch languages (5.24) nicely follow Lidz's (2001b) correlation between the results of the Madame Tussaud and comparative deletion tests. Neither the Russian reflexive affix *–sja* nor the Dutch simplex reflexive *zich* permit a statue reading when used in a Madame Tussaud context. As was discussed in section 5.1.2.1, the Russian reflexive affix has the strict semantic structure (x,x) and the Dutch third person simplex reflexive exemplifies the close semantic structure (x,f(x)). Equally, these two reflexive types correspond with a closed, semantically intransitive predicate when used in a comparative deletion context. Likewise, Russian and Dutch both have a second reflexive type that exhibits a near, (x,y), semantic structure. Both of these semantically close reflexives, the reflexive NP *sebja* in Russian and the complex reflexive pronoun *zichzelf* in Dutch, correspond with an open, semantically transitive predicate when used with an identical verb in the comparative deletion context. The fact that a single verb can exhibit two different semantic structures depending upon the corresponding reflexive in a reflexive comparative

deletion structure is important and will be addressed shortly. This correlation between predicate and reflexive semantic structure does not, however, extend to the French language. As Labelle (2008) recognizes, the referentially near semantic structure, (x,y), of the reflexive clitic can be used with the closed predicate (5.25).

The data from English adds a finer perspective to these patterns. Unlike French, which demonstrates a consistently closed predicate regardless of verb, the semantic transitivity of English predicates varies from verb to verb (Chapter 4, section 4.1.1.2). Example (5.26) summarizes the different semantic structures observed for the verbs *defend* (Chapter 4, (4.24)) and *shave* (Chapter 4, (4.25)). The verb *defend* demonstrates an open, semantically transitive, predicate structure permitting both strict and sloppy interpretations of a comparative deletion construction. The verb *shave*, on the other hand, has a closed, semantically intransitive, predicate structure only permitting the sloppy interpretation of a comparative deletion construction. Interestingly, both of these verbs incorporate a reflexive with a near, (x,y), semantic structure as determined by the Madame Tussaud context. Thus, the English data both demonstrates that predicate semantic structure is lexically determined by the verb and provides another clear example, in the form of the verb *shave*, of a pairing between a near reflexive semantic structure and a closed predicate (5.26).

The mismatch between reflexive and predicate semantic structure appears, however, to be limited to correlations between near semantic structure and closed predicates. None of the examples in (5.23) – (5.26) find a pairing between an open predicate and a strict, (x,x), or near, (x,f(x)), reflexive semantic structure. The nearest example to this would be (5.26b) in English. As was already briefly discussed in section 5.1.2.1 with respect to reflexive semantic structure, English, with only a single reflexive type, demonstrates variable semantic structures depending upon the verb with which the reflexive is paired. Thus, verbs like *disgrace* appear to have the ability to restrict the coreferential flexibility of the English reflexive pronoun, changing its structure from close (x,y) to

near (x,y). Interestingly, this restricted reflexive semantic structure is also paired with a closed predicate semantic structure. Overall, based on the data in Chapter 4, it appears that a correlation does, in fact, exist between strict reflexive semantic structure and closed predicate semantic structure.

To return to the data from Dutch and Russian, in which the same verb demonstrates two different predicate semantic structures depending upon the semantic structure of the reflexive type with which it is paired, it appears that the determining element in the realization of predicate semantic structure is the semantic structure of the reflexive. The strict and close reflexive semantic structures, in particular, are the limiting factors in the interactions between predicate and reflexive semantic structures. Strict and close reflexive semantic structures must be paired with closed predicate semantic structure whereas a near reflexive semantic structure can be paired freely with both open and closed structures. This corresponds with the information provided in Figure 5.2. The near reflexive semantic structure extends backwards in coreferential ability so that it can also incorporate the strict and close structures. Likewise, the close semantic structure also incorporates the strict semantic structure. However, neither the close nor the strict semantic structures can extend beyond their semantic limitations to incorporate the near structure.

The patterns between the semantic requirements of the verb and the semantic structure of the reflexive are summarized in the feature table below:

Table 5.4: Semantic Requirements of the Verb

VERB	NEAR REFLEXIVE	CLOSE REFLEXIVE	STRICT REFLEXIVE
TRANSITIVE	+	-	-
INTRANSITIVE	+	+	+

5.1.3 Lexicon

It is assumed here that the lexical component of linguistic structure acts as an interface between the syntactic and semantic components discussed in sections 5.1.1 and 5.1.2. Following Sells et al.

(1987), the lexical items in a reflexive construction are described according to their lexical form, which includes a category label, predicate-argument structure, and functional structure (Sells et al. 1987: 197). Moreover, as Bresnan (1982) demonstrates, many verbs incorporate more than one predicate-argument structure for a single lexical entry. It is important to note that in the representations presented here the focus is on transitivity requirements, and voice alternations are not considered in the following examples as they do not impact the present argument. The lexical form for the verb *eat* is demonstrated in (5.27) below:

(5.27) eat: V

1. ((SUBJ), (OBJ))

semantic structure	morpho-syntactic structure
ARG1: x	SUBJ
ARG2: y	OBJ
PRED: eat	PRED

2. ((SUBJ), ∅)

semantic structure	morpho-syntactic structure
ARG1: x	SUBJ
ARG2: ∃y	
PRED: eat	PRED

The lexical category label of *eat* is listed as a verb, 'V', the predicate argument structure demonstrates that the verb can have two arguments, and the functional argument structure recognizes these arguments as a subject and an object. Since *eat* is an ambitransitive verb, two different lexical forms are available to it. The second, intransitive, lexical form available to *eat* demonstrates that the object argument is not present in the functional structure and that the semantic realization of this argument in the predicate-argument structure is ∃y, 'there is something y, such that x eats y'. As is illustrated in (5.28), (5.29), and (5.30), the number and type of transitive lexical forms available to a verb can vary from verb to verb:

(5.28) sleep: V
1. ((SUBJ))

semantic structure	morpho-syntactic structure
ARG1: x	SUBJ
PRED: sleep	PRED

(5.29) blame: V
1. ((SUBJ), (OBJ))

semantic structure	morpho-syntactic structure
ARG1: x	SUBJ
ARG2: y	OBJ
PRED: blame	PRED

(5.30) give: V
1. ((SUBJ), (OBJ), (OBJ2))

semantic structure	morpho-syntactic structure
ARG1: x	SUBJ
ARG3: z	OBJ
ARG2: y	OBJ2
PRED: give	PRED

Number (5.28) illustrates the lexical form of the intransitive verb *sleep*, (5.29) shows the lexical form for the transitive verb *blame*, and (5.30) demonstrates a lexical form available to the ditransitive verb *give*. [10] Unlike *eat*, the verbs *sleep* (5.28), *blame* (5.29), and *give* (5.30) only have a single transitive lexical form. None of these verbs can add or subtract arguments from the functional argument structure. The intransitive verb *sleep* differs from the intransitive form of the verb *eat* in that the predicate argument structure has just one argument. Unlike the intransitive form of *eat*, *sleep* does not have an assumed object argument that is simply not present in the syntax.

With respect to the data on reflexive constructions, the lexical forms of different verbs highlight some interesting differences between similar verb types. In each of the following examples, the semantic structure of the reflexive is presented within the semantic structure of the lexical

[10] The dative alternation is not presented here as it is not pertinent to the argument.

representation. Example (5.31), for instance, illustrates the lexical form of another ambitransitive verb, *bathe*. Unlike *eat*, *bathe* carries a reflexive interpretation in its intransitive form.

(5.31) bathe: V

1. ((SUBJ), (OBJ))

semantic structure		morpho-syntactic structure
ARG1:	x	SUBJ
ARG2:	y	OBJ
PRED:	bathe	PRED

2. ((SUBJ), ∅)

semantic structure		morpho-syntactic structure
ARG1:	x	SUBJ
ARG2:	x	
PRED:	bathe	PRED

Though both *bathe* and *eat* have similar lexical forms, a critical difference with respect to reflexive constructions can be observed in the semantic structure of their intransitive lexical forms. Whereas the realization of the null argument of *eat* in the intransitive lexical form is ∃y, in the intransitive lexical form of *bathe* it is realized as strictly coreferential with the first argument of the intransitive predicate argument structure.

The lexical form can also be used to illustrate differences in reflexive markers. As was discussed in Chapters 2 and 4, reflexive markers can differ according to whether they function as a distinct object argument in predicate argument structure (invariable valency) or as a detransitivizing agent on the verb (recessive). Moreover, contrary to Sells et al.'s simple bifurcation between transitive and intransitive lexical structure, it is found here that a recessive reflexive marker can be either direct, in which both syntactic and lexical structures are detransitivized, or indirect, in which the lexical structure retains its transitivity whilst the syntactic structure undergoes detransitivization. This was discussed earlier in Chapter 2. Indirect recessive reflexive constructions, thus, resemble invariable valency reflexive constructions at the lexical component of linguistic structure in that they can demonstrate the full range of reflexive semantic structures. Of the reflexive markers examined in

this work, only the Russian reflexive affix acts as a detransitivizer. However, it appears to act as an indirect recessive reflexive since it retains a reflexive argument, with a strict semantic structure, within the lexical structure of the verb. Its effect on the lexical form of the verb *moet*, 'wash', is presented in (5.32):

(5.32) Russian Reflexive Affix:

moet: V 'wash'

1. ((SUBJ), (OBJ))

semantic structure	morpho-syntactic structure
ARG1: x	SUBJ
ARG2: y	OBJ
PRED: moet	PRED

moet-sja: V 'wash-self'

2. ((SUBJ), ∅)

semantic structure	morpho-syntactic structure
ARG1: x	SUBJ
ARG2: x	
PRED: moet (REFL-*sja*)	PRED

The reflexive affix *–sja* both removes an argument from the functional argument structure and dictates a strict (x,x) semantic structure for the second argument of the predicate argument structure of *moet* 'wash'. Though the Russian reflexive affix is the only reflexive marker discussed in the previous two chapters to carry a recessive function, as was discussed in section 5.1.2 reflexive markers do demonstrate different semantic effects that can equally be described within the lexical form of a verb. This is demonstrated with respect to Dutch in (5.33) below:

(5.33) Dutch:
scheert: V 'shave'
1. ((SUBJ), (OBJ))

semantic structure	morpho-syntactic structure
ARG1: x	SUBJ
ARG2: y (if REFL then complex)	OBJ
PRED: scheert	PRED

2. ((SUBJ), (OBJ))

semantic structure	morpho-syntactic structure
ARG1: x	SUBJ
ARG2: f(x) (REFL-simplex)	OBJ
PRED: scheert	PRED

The verb *scheert* 'to shave' as discussed in section 5.1.2 can be used with both the Dutch simplex and complex reflexive types with different semantic results (5.33). The use of the simplex reflexive, *zich*, narrows the referential range of the verb to a close reflexive reading whereas the complex reflexive, *zichzelf*, permits a near reflexive reading.

Different verbs can also exhibit distinct reflexive requirements as is demonstrated in (5.34) below:

(5.34) Dutch:
haat: V 'hate'
1. ((SUBJ), (OBJ))

semantic structure	morpho-syntactic structure
ARG1: x	SUBJ
ARG2: y (if REFL then complex)	OBJ
PRED: haat	PRED

The verb *haat*, 'to hate', disallows both a strict and a close semantic structure (5.34), resulting in the unacceptability of the Dutch simplex reflexive pronoun. Sentence (5.35) demonstrates a more refined version of the lexical form of the verb *haat* that incorporates this coreferential bias:

(5.35) Dutch:

haat: V

1. ((SUBJ), (OBJ))

semantic structure	morpho-syntactic structure
ARG1: x	SUBJ
ARG2: y, ¬f(x)	OBJ
PRED: haat	PRED

The semantic structure of the lexical form in (5.35) demonstrates that the second argument of *haat* 'to hate' cannot have a close or strict coreferential relationship with the first argument; in other words, *haat* is a semantically transitive verb.

The reflexive requirements of the verb are particularly interesting with respect to English and its single reflexive marker. As was discussed in sections 5.1.2.1 and 5.1.2.2, different verbs can influence the semantic structure of the English reflexive pronoun. Most English verbs appear to permit a near reflexive structure when the reflexive pronoun is overtly present in the syntax as demonstrated in (5.27) and (5.31) above. However, some verbs, such as *disgrace*, require a strict reflexive semantic structure. This is illustrated in (5.36) below:

(5.36) English:

disgrace: V

1. ((SUBJ), (OBJ))

semantic structure	morpho-syntactic structure
ARG1: x	SUBJ
ARG2: x, ¬f(x)	OBJ
PRED: disgrace	PRED

As is demonstrated in the lexical form for *disgrace*, according to the Madame Tussaud test the semantic structure requires a second argument that is strictly coreferential with the first argument.

The verb *disgrace* is often described as an inherently reflexive verb. However, unlike many inherently reflexive verbs, *disgrace* has been found to be lexically transitive according to the object comparison interpretation of the comparative deletion test. The verb *behave* provides an example of a verb that is lexically intransitive. With respect to lexically intransitive inherently reflexive verbs, it is

assumed that the reflexive marker contributes no semantic information at all and simply serves as an empty argument in syntactic structure. This is demonstrated in (5.37) below:

(5.37) English:

behave: V

1. ((SUBJ), (OBJ))

semantic structure		morpho-syntactic structure
ARG1:	x	SUBJ
		OBJ
PRED:	behave	PRED

2. ((SUBJ))

semantic structure		morpho-syntactic structure
ARG1:	x	SUBJ
PRED:	behave	PRED

The object comparison interpretation of the comparative deletion test discussed in section 4.1.1.2 supports this observation. As discussed in Chapters 1, 3 and 4, in addition to information on semantic transitivity, comparative deletion can also provide information concerning lexical structure. In particular, the object comparison interpretation, 'x VERB x better than x VERB y', is only possible with lexically transitive verbs in English. The differences between *behave* and *bathe*, are repeated from Chapter 4 below:

(5.38) a. John behaves himself better than Fred.
b. *John behaves himself better than he behaves Fred.

(5.39) a. John bathes himself better than Fred.
b. John bathes himself better than he bathes Fred.

The next section explores the manner in which these three different components of linguistic structure can be formally represented within the parallel structures of Lexical Functional Grammar.

5.2 Formalization

Following the discussion of section 5.1 and the data in Chapters 3 and 4, the semantic and syntactic relationship between a verb and its reflexive can be described as one of eight types summarized in Table 5.5 below.

Table 5.5: Eight Types of Reflexive Constructions

SYNTAX	SEMANTICS	COREFERENCE	LEXICAL	EXAMPLE	NO.
UTTERANCE COMPOSITION	*COMPARATIVE DELETION*	*MADAME TUSSAUD/MIRROR*	*COMPARATIVE DELETION*		
Transitive	(X,Y) *Transitive*	(x,y)	(ARG1, ARG2) *Transitive*	1) a. John hates himself. (English) b. John nenavidit sebja. (Russian) c. John haat zichzelf. (Dutch) 2) John defends himself better than Fred. (English)	(5.40)
Transitive	(X,X) *Intransitive (narrowed from transitive by the reflexive)*	(x,f(x))	(ARG1, ARG2) *Transitive*	1) Ringo zag zich. 'Ringo saw himself.' (Dutch) 2) Zij verdedigde zich beter dan Peter. 'Ringo defends himself better than Peter.' (Dutch)	(5.41)
Transitive	(X,X) *Intransitve*	(x,y)	(ARG1, ARG2) *Transitive*	1) Fred se baigne. 'Fred bathes himself.'(French) 2) Lucie se défend mieux que Luc. 'Lucie defends herself better than Luc.'(French)	(5.42)
Transitive	(X,X): x,¬f(x) *Intransitive with strict reflexive coreference requirement*	(x,x) *(narrowed from near by the verb)*	(ARG1, ARG2) *Transitive*	1) John disgraced himself.	(5.43)
Ambitransitive	(X,Y) *Transitive*	(x,y)	(ARG1, ARG2) *Transitive*	1) John ate (himself).	(5.40)[11]
Ambitransitive	(X,X) *Intransitive*	(x,y)	(ARG1, ARG2) *Transitive*	1) John shaved (himself).	(5.45)
Ambitransitive	(X,X) *Intransitive*	(x) *(verb has an intransitive lexical structure)*	(ARG1) *Intransitive*	1) John behaved (himself).	(5.46)
Intransitive	(X,X) *Intransitive*	(x,x)	(ARG1, ARG2) *Transitive*	1) John showered. 2) Yeltsin zastrelil-sja. 'Yeltsin shot himself.' (Russian)	(5.47)

[11] The intransitive representation of these ambitransitive verbs is not illustrated here since it does not incorporate a reflexive argument.

This section presents examples of these types within a Lexical Functional Grammar framework, the numbers in Table 5.5 corresponding to representations of the different types. In these structural representations, the syntactic information presented is of two different types: constituent structure (c-structure) and functional structure (f-structure), represented as tree diagrams and attribute-value matrices respectively. The c-structure provides information concerning dominance, precedence, and constituent relations whilst the f-structure contains information regarding grammatical functions and predicate-argument requirements. These two structures, therefore, relay information regarding the syntactic transitivity and lexical transitivity of the reflexive constructions they represent. Semantic information related to the transitivity of the predicate, determined from the comparative deletion test, and the internal semantic structure of the reflexive marker, identified through Madame Tussaud and mirror tests, is introduced through a semantic projection, which corresponds to the f-structure of a given reflexive construction in the examples below. The projector σ links a semantic representation to its corresponding f-structure and is represented by a dashed arrow. For example, in (5.40), f_σ introduces the semantic transitivity requirements for the verb *hates* represented as PRED in the f-structure. Likewise, h_σ projects the internal semantic structure of the reflexive object, OBJ, in the f-structure.

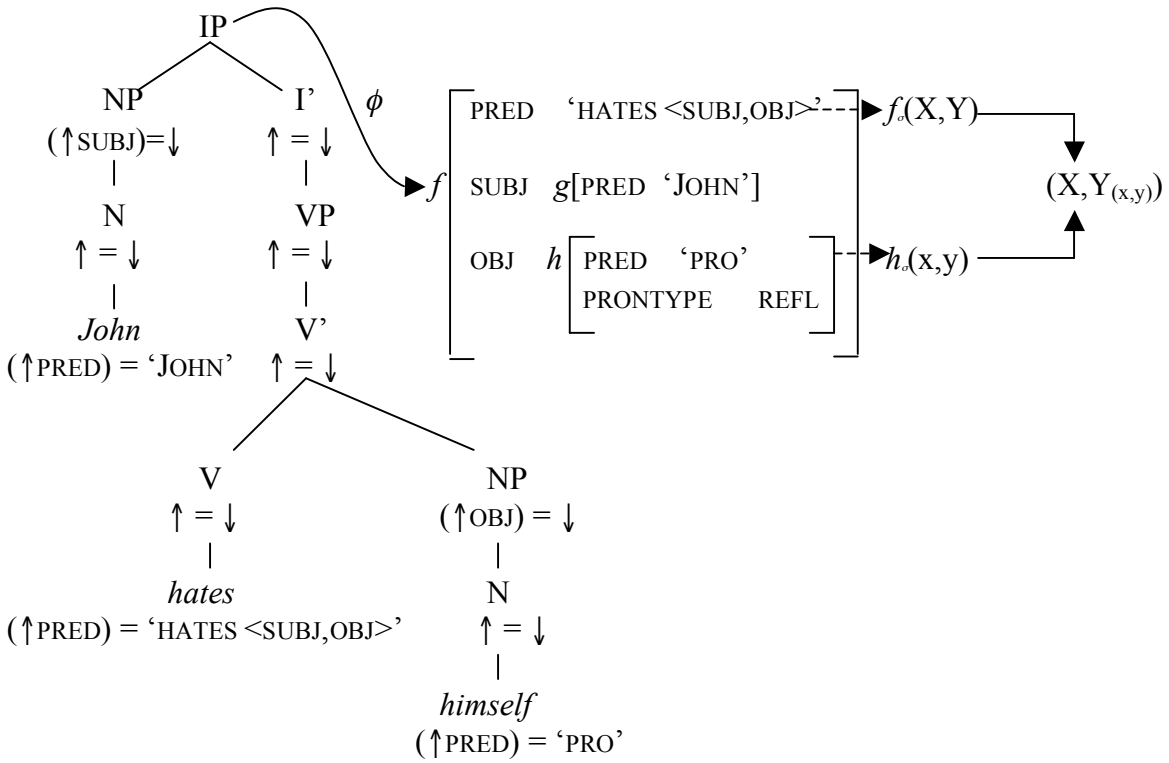
At the semantic component of linguistic representation this dissertation concerns the interaction between the predicate and the reflexive marker in a reflexive construction. Thus, a shorthand representing the differing semantic transitivity requirements of the verb and the internal semantic structure of the reflexive marker has been devised to illustrate the interactions between the two as simply as possible. The semantic representations for the verbs and reflexives are found in the 'Semantics' and 'Coreference' columns of Table 5.5 respectively. As the table illustrates, the transitivity requirements of verbs are realized in capital letters as either (X,Y) transitive or (X,X) intransitive. The internal semantic structures of the reflexives are represented in lower case letters as

(x,x) strict, (x,f(x)) close, or near (x,y). Unbroken arrows lead from the separate representations of these two semantic types to a representation of the combined effects of the two. In this representation, the internal semantic structure requirements of the reflexive are incorporated in subscript on the second argument of the transitivity representation of the verb; for instance, $(X,Y_{(x,y)})$ in example (5.40) describes a verb with a transitive semantic structure that has a reflexive with a near internal semantic structure as an argument. In some cases, as discussed in section 5.1.3 and illustrated in example (5.43) summarized in Table 5.5 and realized on page 330, verbs have selective constraints that impose restrictions on the internal structure of a corresponding reflexive argument. In the following examples these constraints are introduced after a colon, (:). In the case of (5.43), the narrowing of the reflexive's internal semantic structure by the verb is represented as (X,X): x,¬f(x). This states that the internal semantic structure is restricted to a strict (x,x) realization, both close (x,f(x)) and near (x,y) semantic structures are forbidden by the verb.

Example (5.40) correlates to reflexive constructions that are comprehensively transitive; demonstrating transitive syntactic structure, transitive semantic structure related to the verb (X,Y), a near, (x,y) reflexive semantic structure, and a transitive lexical structure. This representation is associated with fully transitive verbs, such as *hate* and *blame*, in English as well as reflexive constructions in Dutch and Russian that require the complex NP reflexive types present in each of the languages. Reflexive constructions that fall into this type permit both strict and sloppy readings in comparative deletion contexts and allow reflection and statue interpretations, in addition to strict coreference, when applied to the mirror and Madame Tussaud tests of internal semantic structure respectively. The representation in (5.40) demonstrates a simple reflexive construction comprising a transitive verb and a reflexive direct object.

(5.40)

John hates himself.



As is illustrated in (5.40), the reflexive marker has a near semantic structure, (x,y), permitting it to refer to a representation of the antecedent. The transitive verb also has a transitive semantic structure accepting both reflexive and non-reflexive arguments equally. The transitive semantic structure of the verb is permitted by the near internal semantic structure of the reflexive.

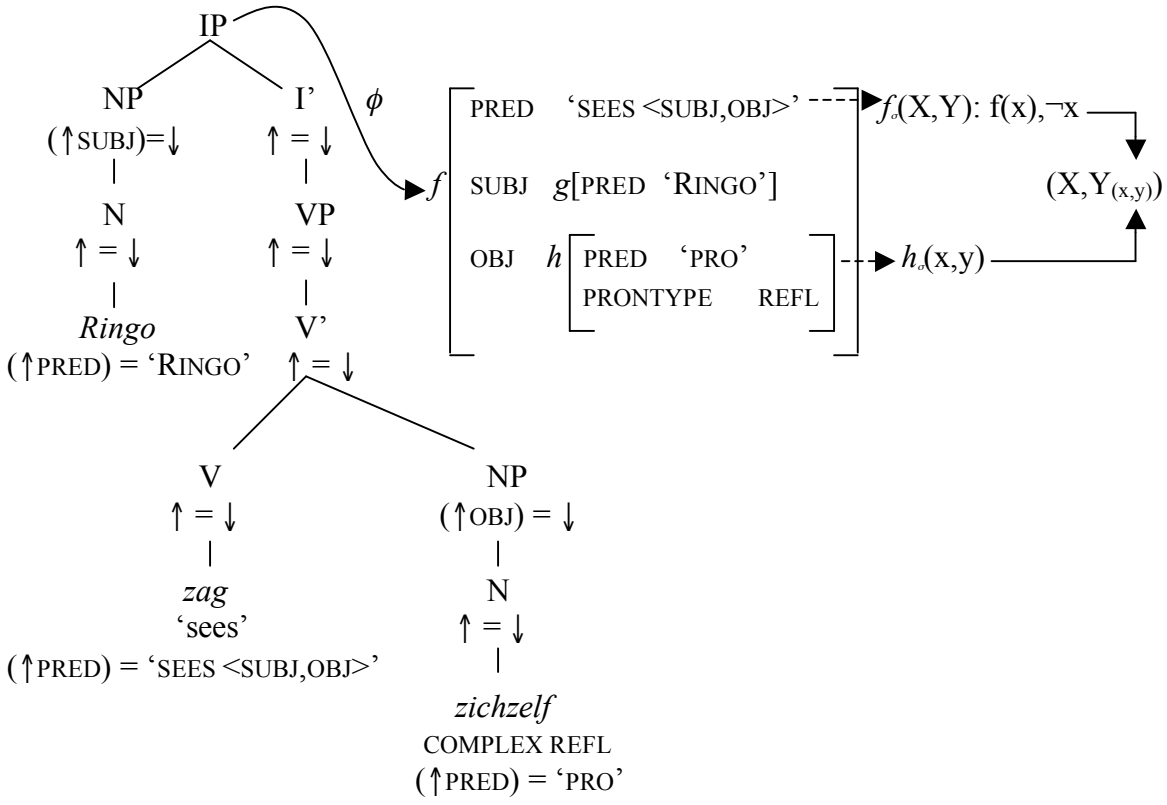
As is demonstrated in the Dutch examples (5.41a) and (5.41b), the transitive semantic structure of some verbs can be narrowed by the internal semantic structure of the reflexive marker with which it is paired. These examples use the Dutch verb *zag*, 'to see', and also demonstrate a requirement inherent to this particular verb forbidding the use of a reflexive with a strict internal semantic structure. This is indicated as the condition 'f(x),¬x' on the representation of the verb's semantic structure and acknowledges the ungrammaticality of the first and second person simplex reflexive markers as arguments of the verb. When applied to the mirror test, neither of these reflexives permitted a reflection interpretation suggesting that they have strict (x,x) internal semantic

structures.. This differs from the third person simplex reflexive which does permit a reflection interpretation though it forbids a statue interpretation in Madame Tussaud contexts and, thus, has a close (x,f(x)) internal semantic structure.

The complex Dutch reflexive marker, as illustrated in (5.41a), has a near (x,y) internal semantic structure, as it does permit a statue reading in Madame Tussaud contexts, which retains the transitive semantic structure of the verb.

(5.41)

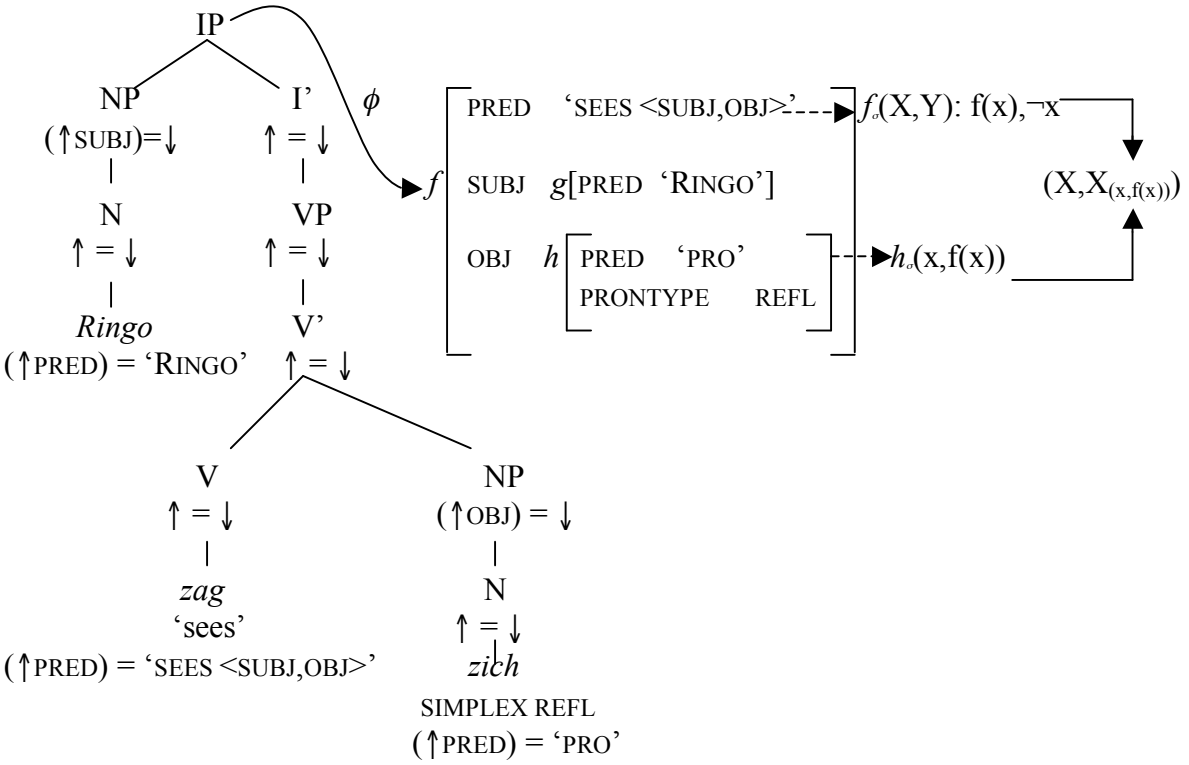
a. *Ringo zag zichzelf.*
'Ringo sees himself'



As mentioned earlier, the third person simplex Dutch reflexive marker, on the other hand, has a close (x,f(x)) internal semantic structure. Following the correlation observed in section 5.1.2.2 of this chapter, a transitive semantic structure on the verb can only incorporate a reflexive with a near (x,y) internal structure. Depending upon the verb, in some instances the incorporation of a reflexive with a

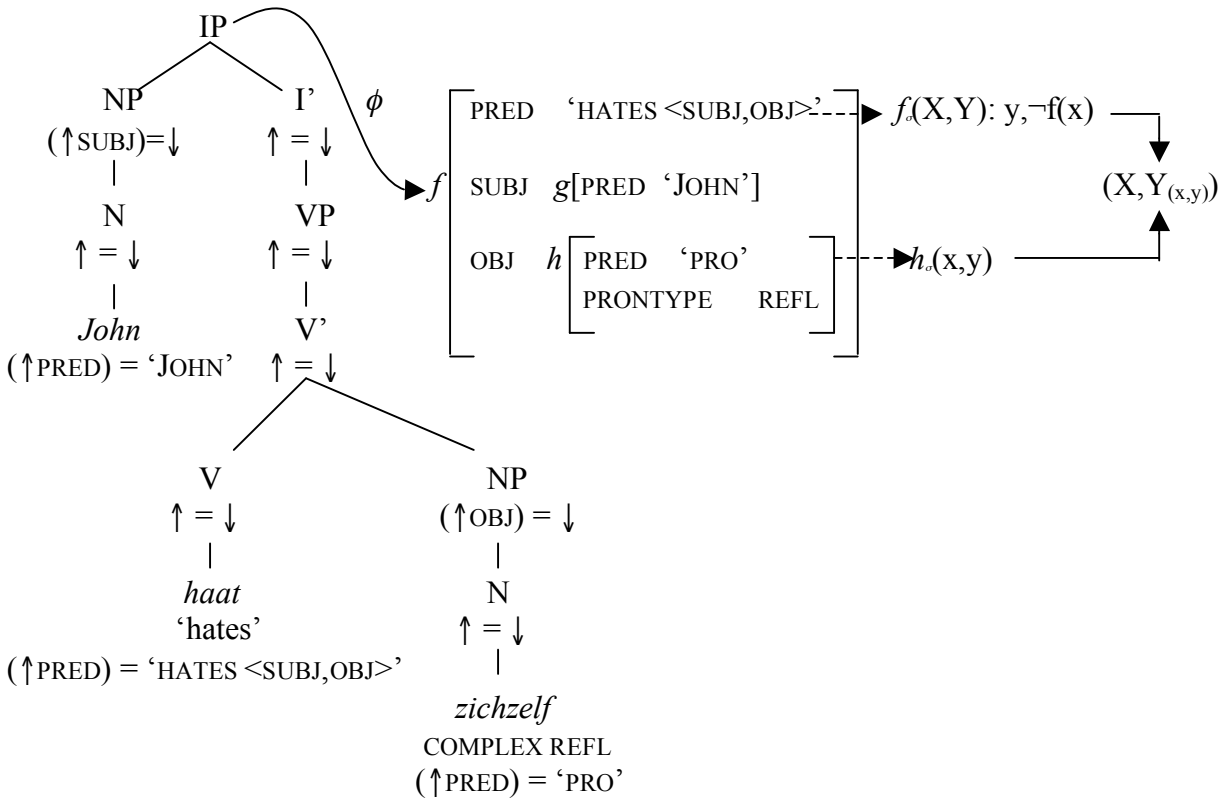
close or strict semantic structure will result in the narrowing of the transitive semantic structure of the verb to an intransitive semantic structure. This effect is illustrated in (5.41b) below:

b. *Ringo zag zich.*
'Ringo sees himself.'



In other instances, as is illustrated in (5.41c) with the Dutch verb *haat*, 'to hate', this narrowing is forbidden and the verb can only be paired with a reflexive that has a near internal semantic structure, thereby retaining the transitive semantic structure of the verb. This requirement is indicated by the inclusion of 'y, ¬f(x)' on the object argument of the verb's semantic structure. When coupled with a 'Y' transitive semantic argument, this asserts the fact that neither reflexives with close (x,f(x)) nor reflexives with strict (x,x) internal semantic structures are permitted as the object argument of the verb.

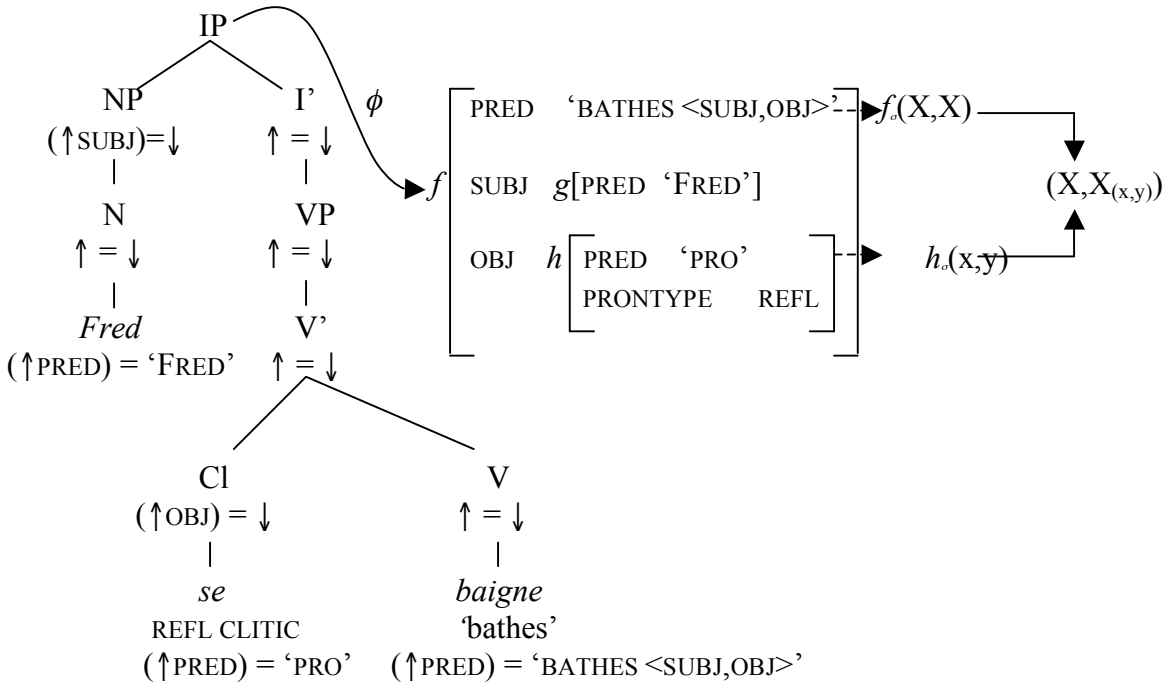
c. *John haat zichzelf.*
'John hates himself.'



As was discussed in section 5.1.2.2 of this chapter, the correlation between the semantic structure of the verb and the internal semantic structure of a reflexive type only extends to verbs with a transitive semantic structure. Repeatedly observed in French, verbs with an intransitive semantic structure permit all three types of internal semantic structures identified for reflexive markers. Example (5.42) illustrates a reflexive construction comprised of a syntactically transitive verb with an intransitive semantic structure and a reflexive clitic which has a near, (x,y), semantic structure. In this case, the intransitive semantic structure of the verb imposes no restrictions upon the near internal semantic structure of the French reflexive clitic.

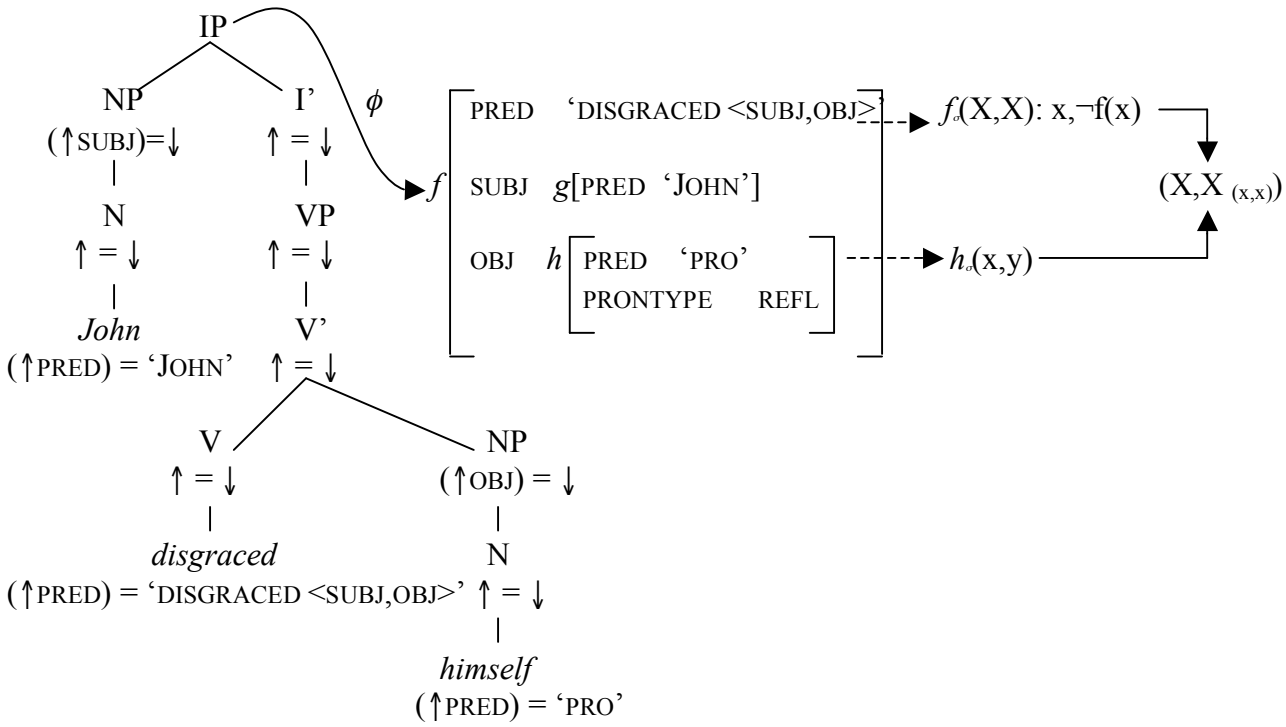
(5.42)

a. *Fred se baigne.*
'Fred bathes himself.'



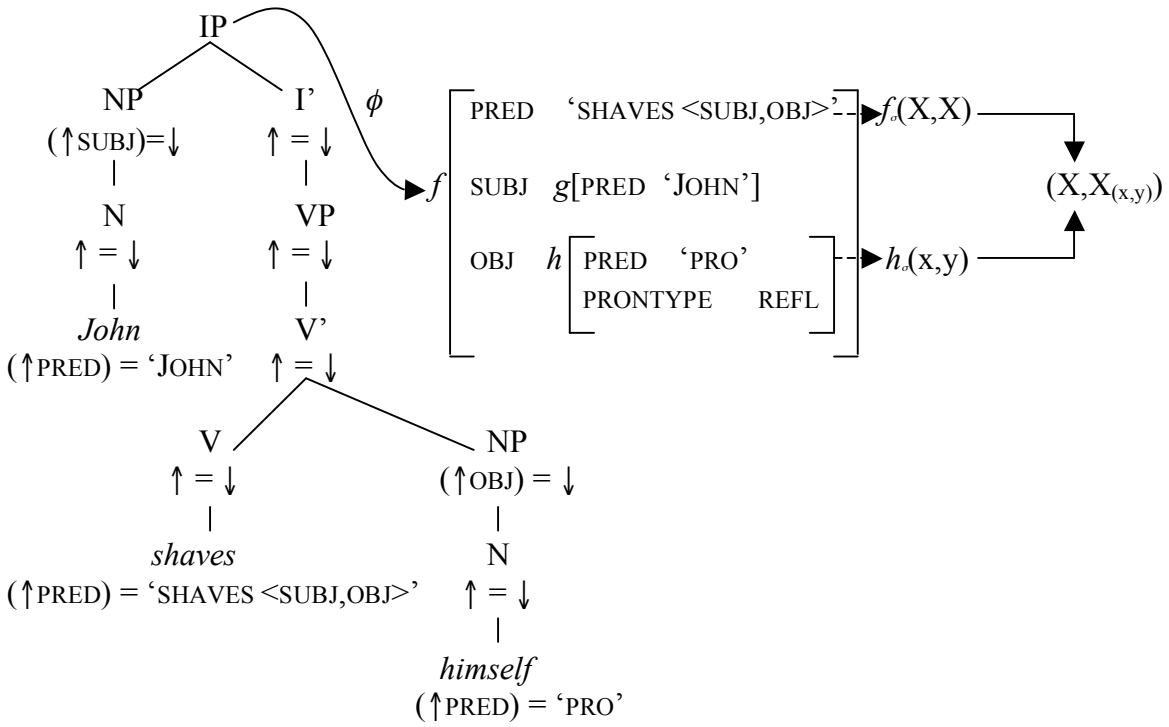
This is not always the case, however. The representation in (5.43) provides an English example of a transitive verb with an intransitive semantic structure that requires a reflexive marker with a strict internal semantic structure. In comparative deletion tests the verb *disgrace* only permits a sloppy interpretation thereby classifying it as having an intransitive predicate semantic structure. Since English has only a single reflexive type, which generally demonstrates a near internal semantic structure, the semantically intransitive verb *disgrace* effectively has a narrowing effect upon its reflexive argument. The near (x,y) semantic structure of the English reflexive marker in this instance is restricted to a strict, (x,x) internal semantic structure which accounts for the inaccessible statue interpretation of *disgrace himself* in Madame Tussaud contexts. This strict reflexive requirement of the verb is presented as 'x,¬f(x)' on the object argument, X, of the verb's intransitive semantic structure.

(5.43)
a. *John disgraced himself.*



Not all English verbs with intransitive semantic structures impart this narrowing effect. Example (5.44) illustrates the two syntactic structures available to the English ambitransitive verb *shave*. Like *disgrace*, this verb has an intransitive semantic structure regardless of its syntactic transitivity. However, unlike *disgrace*, *shave* permits a statue reading in Madame Tussaud contexts. Thus, when used as a transitive verb, as illustrated in (5.44a), *shave* permits a reflexive with a near internal semantic structure despite the intransitive semantic structure of the verb. This representation, therefore, very closely resembles the French example in (5.42).

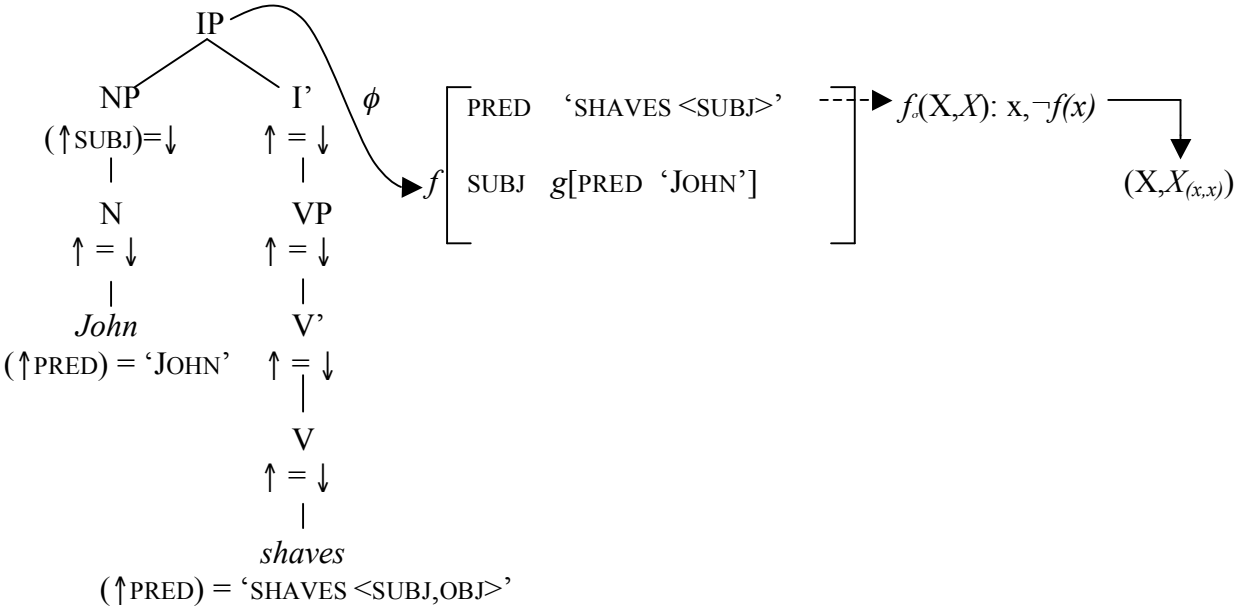
(5.44)
a. *John shaves himself.*



The intransitive representation of ambitransitive verbs such as *shave* is slightly more complex. As was discussed in section 5.1.3 of this chapter (refer to (5.31)), despite the fact that the verb does not have an overt object argument represented in the syntactic structure, it does maintain a reflexive argument in its lexical structure. This 'null reflexive argument', represented in italics as *X* in the semantic structure, must be interpreted as having a strict, *(x,x)*, internal semantic structure.[12]

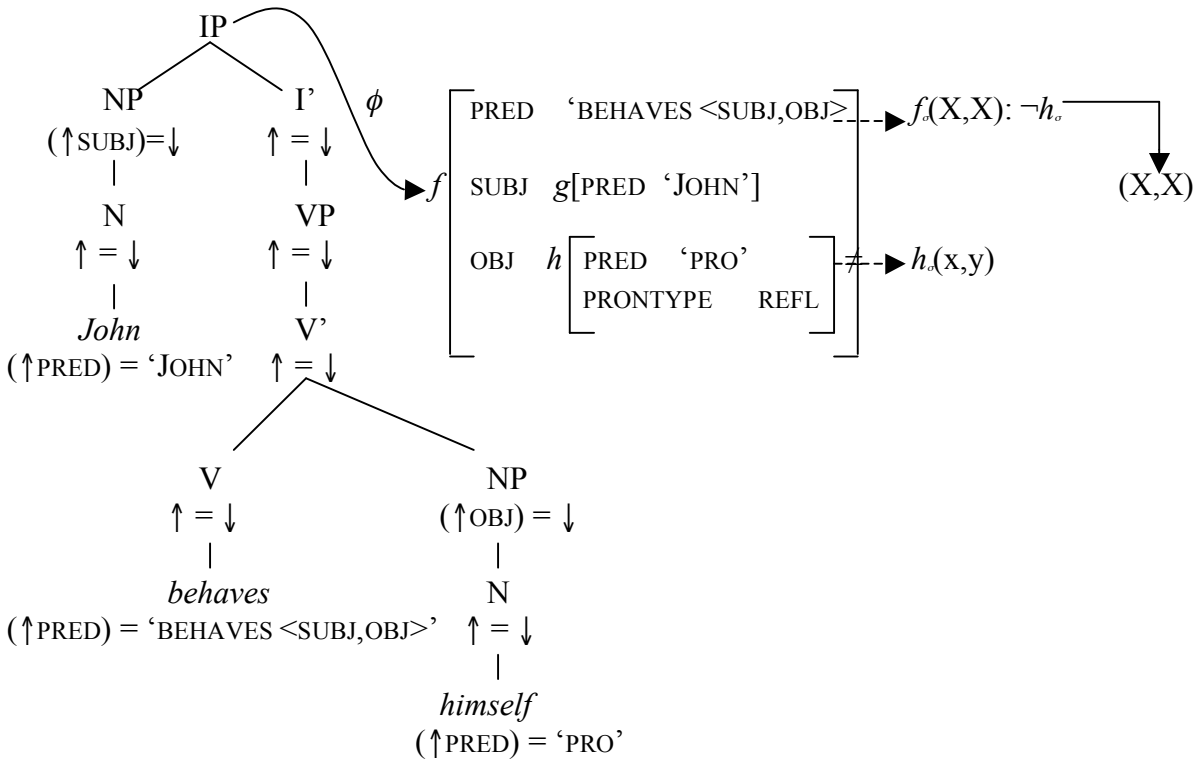
[12] It is arguable that the null reflexive argument of intransitive other-directed verbs in English is comparable to the simplex reflexive types in languages with more than one reflexive type.

b. *John shaves.*



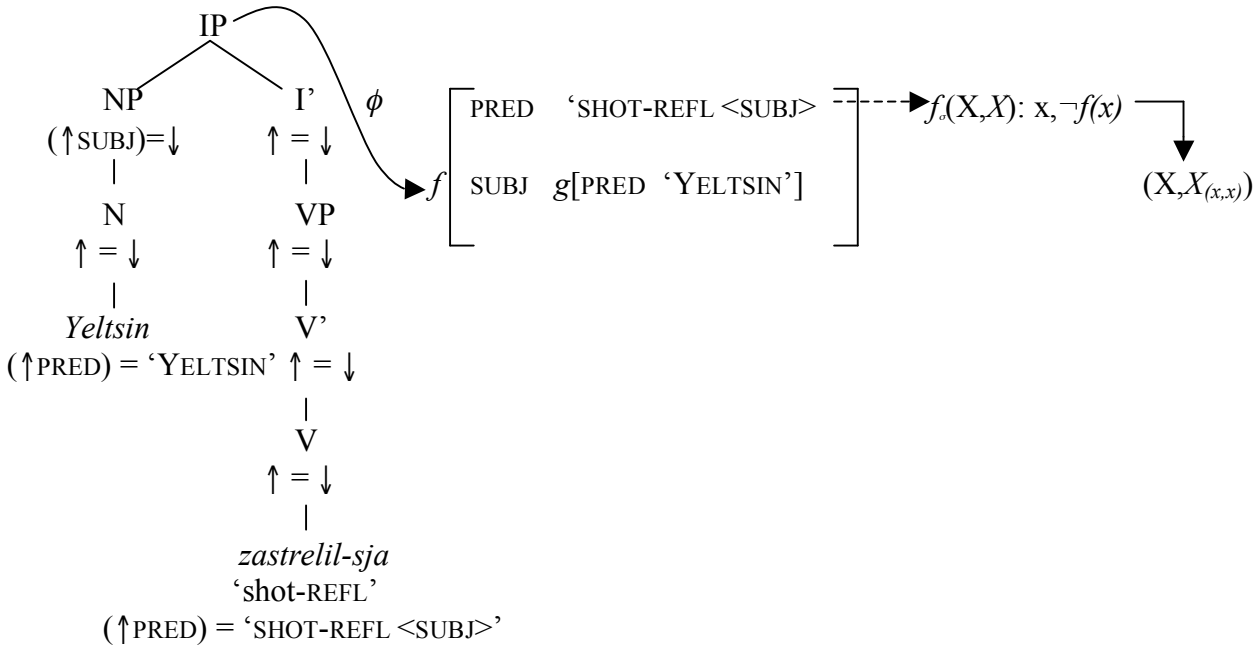
The converse of ambitransitive verbs, such as *shave*, are inherently reflexive verbs like *behave* illustrated in (5.45) below. Unlike *shave*, *behave* is lexically intransitive regardless of whether its syntactic structure is transitive or intransitive (refer to (5.37) in section 5.1.3). Thus, though the verb has a SUBJ and OBJ argument in its syntactic structure, its semantic structure does not register the semantic content of the reflexive. A reflexive marker in the object argument of an inherently reflexive verb such as *behave* can contribute no new semantic information to the construction due to the fact that the second argument is semantically empty.

(5.45)
a. *John behaves himself.*



Lastly, the representation in (5.46a) demonstrates a construction that is primarily intransitive. In this manner it is, in many ways, the opposite of the transitive construction described in (5.40). The syntactic structure of the verb is intransitive; however, like the example of the intransitive representation of the ambitransitive verb *shave* in (5.44b), it still appears to retain a second, reflexive, semantic argument with a strict, (x,x), structure in its lexical structure. Example (5.46a) presents a syntactically intransitive reflexive construction in Russian that is the result of the detransitivizing reflexive affix, *-sja*, on the normally transitive verb *zastrelil* 'to shoot'. This affix removes the overt object argument from the syntax while maintaining a reflexive object argument, with a strict, (x,x), semantic structure, in the verb's lexical entry and semantic structure.

(5.46)
a. *Yeltsin zastrelil-sja.*
'Yeltsin shot himself.'



5.3 Conclusions

Overall, the fundamental argument of this work is that the verb plays a determining role in reflexive constructions. This chapter observes the effects of interactions between verbs and reflexive markers at three components of linguistic structure to demonstrate both the multi-tiered complexities of reflexive constructions and the fact that reflexive/verb interactions are described over each of these four components.

Within the syntactic component of linguistic structure it was observed that many languages with more than one reflexive type demonstrate a domain overlap, which can rule out domain constraints from reflexive selection in certain syntactic environments.

At the semantic component of the linguistic structure it was observed that, beyond the grammatical function (GF) requirements found in the antecedent constraints of some reflexive types, antecedents contribute little more than semantic content to reflexive constructions. Reflexives,

however, demonstrate complex and flexible internal semantic structures with three distinct types mapping out the coreferential domain: strict (x,x), close (x,f(x)), and near (x,y). Moreover, verbs, too, have distinct semantic structures, which can be determined through the comparative deletion test of Sells et al. (1987). Verbs can be identified as either semantically transitive or semantically intransitive and this semantic identity can change depending upon interactions between the reflexive and the verb in reflexive constructions. Transitive semantic structures of a verb can only be realized when paired with a reflexive demonstrating a near, (x,y), semantic structure. Intransitive semantic structures, on the other hand, are not limited by the semantic structure of the reflexive and can be paired equally with near (x,y) (English and French), close (x,f(x)) (Dutch), and strict (x,x) (Russian) reflexive types. However, where syntactically available, reflexives with the close and near semantic structures are preferred.

The lexical component of the linguistic structure identifies the distinct lexical requirements of different verbs. In addition to establishing an interface between the syntactic and semantic components of linguistic structure the lexical structure carries information on distinct lexical requirements of different verbs and can also be classified as transitive and intransitive. This can be tested through object comparison interpretations of the comparative deletion test. Ambitransitive verbs, for instance, maintain a second argument in their lexical form that is not necessarily realized in the syntax but does influence the interpretation of the final construction, distinguishing self-directed verbs from other-directed verbs. In these cases examples have been found of verbs with an intransitive syntactic structure displaying a transitive semantic structure. Inherently reflexive verbs, on the other hand, can present a syntactic reflexive argument that is semantically empty. In these instances a verb with a transitive syntactic structure has been found to be lexically and semantically intransitve.

A reflexive/verb profile can be created by describing a given reflexive construction according to these different components of linguistic structure. The syntactic, semantic, and lexical characteristics of the reflexives and verbs observed in Chapter 4 resulted in the identification of eight different reflexive/verb types. Recognizing the lexical requirements of distinct verbs in reflexive constructions provides another level of descriptive clarity to theories of anaphoric binding, offering a means of predicting reflexive selection in domains where syntactic constraints do not readily apply.

Chapter 6

Concluding Remarks

In the decades following the conception of Binding Theory, mainstream theoretical approaches to reflexive markers and anaphoric binding have pursued a gradual course of grammatical decentralization, the locus of binding constraints progressing from universal grammar (Chomsky 1981), to language specific parameters (Huang 1982; Yang 1983), to unique lexical specifications for individual anaphoric elements (Dalrymple 1993). Moreover, binding theory has seen a critical shift from primarily configurationally determined constraints, such as c-command, (Huang 1983, Chomsky 1986; Hestvik 1991; Sturgeon 2003) to binding constraints motivated by non-configurational factors such as obliqueness and thematic-role hierarchies (Simpson 1991; Wilkins 1988; Pollard and Sag 1994; Dalrymple 1993). Building upon the hypothesis that the verb plays an active and linguistically significant role in the realization of reflexive constructions, this dissertation supports a lexically specified approach to binding, arguing that binding constraints are lexically specified for verbs as well as anaphoric elements in reflexive constructions. It is furthermore asserted that the realization of binding constraints contributed by these two distinct lexical items are definable over four different components of linguistic representation within a Lexical Functional Grammar framework.

Binding theory originated as a structural description of the distribution of noun phrases within the confines of Universal Grammar. As such, in reflexive and reciprocal constructions Binding Theory focuses upon the relationship between anaphoric elements and their antecedents. Likewise, as a theory primarily motivated by structural relations, relevant semantic information does not extend much further than the use of indices to identify shared reference. Chapters 1, 2, and 4 of this dissertation demonstrate that work ensuing from Binding Theory exposes shortcomings in the original universal domain conditions resulting, within some theoretical approaches, in an ideological shift from the description of domain requirements of anaphoric elements in relation to those for

pronominals and R-expressions to work focussing exclusively on the specific binding requirements of anaphors (Dalrymple 1993; Sells et al. 1987). As discussed in Chapter 1, much of this research on anaphoric binding continues to focus on the syntactic relationship between anaphoric elements and their antecedents, though Reinhart and Reuland (1993), Reuland (2001), and Lidz (2001b), as discussed in section 1.4 of Chapter 1, have put forward arguments that incorporate the verb into Binding Theory.

The research in this dissertation was originally inspired by the discovery of several distinct reflexive types within the Fijian language and the patterns of use they exhibit, a topic that is dealt with in depth in Chapter 3. A similar motivation is a fundamental element of Dalrymple (1993), resulting in her observation that certain reflexive types in Norwegian and Marathi cannot be neatly classified according to the conditions of Chomsky's Binding Theory (Dalrymple 1993: 2-3). Dalrymple's assertion that the occurrence of two or more reflexives within a language indicates a lexical basis for anaphoric binding constraints is corroborated in this dissertation.

> However, if a language has two or more reflexives, each with a different domain, the domain of reflexivization must clearly be a property of the particular lexical item for which it is applicable. Similarly, if a language has two or more reflexives, each with different requirements on the syntactic role of its antecedent, one must take these antecedent requirements as lexically specified for each anaphoric element. (Dalrymple 1993: 1)

Interpreting reflexive binding constraints as lexically specified permits much greater descriptive accuracy with respect to the set of reflexive elements in natural language (Dalrymple 1993; Dalrymple 2001; Falk 2001). Yet, though the lexical approach does account for the description of anaphoric elements that are often overlooked in traditional, domain-based theories, it does not account for the presence of a certain degree of inconsistency within the defined constraints of reflexive systems. The observation that certain reflexive types are not always permitted within their recognized antecedent and domain constraints, as is demonstrated in (6.1) - (6.3) below, contributes

to the argument in this dissertation that factors other than antecedent and domain constraints play a role in motivating and restricting the use of certain reflexive elements within an utterance.

(6.1) Fijian

a. O Josese$_i$ ā digi-taki **koya$_i$** **gā**.
DET Josese PST choose-TR 3SG.OBJ MODIF.emphatic
'Josese voted for himself.'

b. O Josese$_i$ ā rai-ci **koya$_i$** e na raitio yaloyalo.
DET Person PST see-TR 3SG.OBJ in DET television
'Josese saw himself on television.'

(6.2) Dutch

a. Hij$_i$ wast zich$_i$/ zichzelf$_i$.
3SG.M.SBJ wash[PST] REFL$_2$ REFL$_1$
'He washed himself.'

(Dutch; Rooryck and Vanden Wyngaerd 1998: 365)

b. Suzy$_i$ haat zichzelf$_i$/*zich$_i$.
Suzy hate[PRS] REFL$_1$ REFL$_2$
'Suzy hates herself.'

(Rooryck and Vanden Wyngaerd 1999: 629)

(6.3) Russian

a. Yeltsin$_i$ zastrelil sebja$_i$/ -sja$_i$.
Yeltsin shoot[3SG.PST] REFL$_1$ -REFL$_2$
'Yeltsin shot himself.'

(Lidz 2001c: 239)

b. On$_i$ ljubit sebja$_i$/*-sja.
3SG love[3SG.PRS] REFL$_1$ –REFL$_2$
'He loves himself.'

(Townsend 1967: 198)

Whereas Dalrymple (1993) primarily approaches the problem of multiple reflexive types within a single language in terms of binding constraints that are lexically specified by anaphoric elements, this work puts forward and substantiates the argument that reflexive requirements can be lexically specified for distinct groups of verbs.

Moreover, it is here posited, as discussed in Dalrymple (2001) and Sells et al. (1987), that the component of semantic structure within linguistic representation plays a clear and definable role in the realization of reflexive constructions. Both Dalrymple and Sells et al. characterise the semantics of anaphoric binding relations in terms of coreference between a reflexive marker and its antecedent.

The primary hypothesis of this dissertation, however, supported by the data in Chapters 3 and 4 and upheld by the analysis in Chapter 5, is that it is the verb rather than the antecedent that plays the defining role in the semantic realization of the reflexive marker, demonstrating an ability to select for or determine the semantic structure of a reflexive marker. The antecedent, on the other hand, primarily contributes linguistically insignificant semantic content to the reflexive construction, as section 5.1.2 of Chapter 5 illustrates.

According to Jackendoff (2002: 277), the degree to which anaphoric binding conditions are syntactically or semantically determined has been open to considerable debate since the 1960's. Following Dalrymple and Sells et al., here it is demonstrated that the two are closely interrelated and equally important to the realization of reflexive constructions. In fact, following the work of Sells et al. (1987), a central argument within this dissertation is that a thorough and accurate analysis of reflexive constructions must take into account different components of linguistic representation. This approach differs from the multi-tiered approach of Sells et al. (1987) in that the constraints upon reflexive constructions are found to vary between individual verbs within a language rather than between distinct languages and that four components of linguistic structure, rather than three, are required to describe the relationship between verbs and reflexives in reflexive constructions. These four components of linguistic structure, based upon the insights of Lexical Functional Grammar, are constituent structure, functional structure, lexical structure, and semantic structure. Furthermore, in this thesis the internal semantic structure of reflexive types and the distinct semantic transitivity of different verbs are of particular interest. This differs from Sells et al. (1987), who only take into account the transitivity of the reflexive predicate, and Lidz (2001), who argues for a bifurcation of reflexive types according to semantic structure. Data from Dutch, in particular, obtained through a combination of mirror and Madame Tussaud tests, clearly demonstrates three distinct internal semantic structures that are readily accessible to reflexive types: strict, close, and near.

Based upon the data gathered in Chapters 3 and 4, two implicational relationships are established in Chapter 5 that arise from the quadripartite linguistic analysis and complex semantic description used in this dissertation:

1) Reflexive markers in lexically intransitive reflexive constructions have no semantic content.

2) Verbs that take a reflexive argument with a strict (x,x) or close (x,f(x)) internal structure must be intransitive at the semantic component of linguistic structure.

The second implicational relationship is of particular interest in that it licenses the narrowing of the internal semantic structure of reflexive markers when a near internal structure is paired with a verb that has an intransitive semantic structure, the interdiction of strict and close reflexive types as arguments of verbs with transitive semantic structures, and, in instances where the reflexive types are not forbidden, the detransitivization of a verb's transitive semantic structures when paired with reflexive markers that exhibit strict or close internal semantic structures. This goes a long way in elucidating the selective preferences of verbs in languages with more than one reflexive type.

Following from this work there is much scope for future research. For instance, the non-coreferential functions available to some reflexive elements when paired with certain verbs and examples of Geniušienė's (1987) semantic fusion observed in several of the reflexive constructions in Chapter 4 suggest that structure and meaning are fluid entities within language that can, in collaboration, result in an interpretation of an utterance that may be quite different from the distinct meanings of its individual lexical components. With this in mind, many reports of multiple entries for polysemous lexical items could be explained in terms of combinatorial effects. A structural realization of these types of constructions could be realized within the quadripartite framework posited in this dissertation and might be similar to lexically intransitive constructions found for many of the inherently reflexive verbs, such as *behave*, in English. Another area of future investigation that

is presently absent in the analysis of reflexive constructions posited here is the prosodic component of linguistic representation. It has been observed in Dutch (Rooryck and Vanden Wyngaerd 1997) and French (Zribi-Hertz 1995) that intonation and stress play a role in the interpretation and acceptability of reflexive constructions. The semantic component of linguistic representation, in particular, is especially susceptible to phonetic influences, to the extent that the addition of stress licences reflexive types in environments where semantic constraints entail that are forbidden. Moreover, some occurances of variation in intonation have been found to contribute subtle changes in meaning to reflexive constructions, often adding either a delimiting emphatic or intentional interpretation to a reflexive construction (Rooryck and Vanden Wyngaerd 1997: 4). Lastly, any theory of cross-linguistically definable phenomena is only as good as the data that supports it. The analysis put forward in this dissertation should be challenged and improved through exposure to more languages and different systems of reflexive marking.

Appendix A: Fijian Data Set 1

Section I:

1) ***[a]Josese and Marika are running for president. [b]Josese voted for himself. [c]Paula thought Marika was the better candidate. [d]Paula voted for him. [e]Marika did not vote. [f]He was too tired. [g]He went home and made himself a cup of tea.***

Standard Fijian:

[a]O Josese$_i$ kei Marika$_j$ erau$_{i,j}$ duri na veidigidigi e na tūtū vaka
DET Josese and Marika 3DU.SBJ rise.up DET election concerning DET position make
peresitedi.
president

[b]O Josese$_i$ ā digi-taki koya$_i$ gā.
DET Josese PST choose-TR 3SG.OBJ MODIF.emphatic

[c,d]Na nanu-ma nei Paula$_k$, o Marika$_j$ e vinaka cake mai
DET think-TR POSS Paula DET Marika to.be good above from
vei Josese$_i$ ka mani digi-taki Marika$_j$ sara.
to Josese and after.all choose-TR Marika MODIF.emphatic

[e]O Marika$_j$ ā sega ni veidigidigi.
DET Marika PST NEG election

[f,g]Ā oca vaka-levu sara o koya$_j$ ka sa gole
PAST tired ADV-greatly MODIF.emphatic DET 3SG.OBJ and ASP face.towards
e vale me laki gunu ti.
to house should go drink tea

2) ***[a]Paula and Marika are running for president and vice president. [b]"We shall vote for ourselves" Marika told Paula. [c]"That will help us to win." [d]Josese also wanted to be president. [e]He voted for himself and Paula. [f]"I voted for the two of us and not you," he told Marika.***

Standard Fijian:

[a]O Paula$_k$ kei Marika$_j$ erau$_{k,j}$ duri na veidigidigi ka rau$_{k,j}$ na vei-qati-taka
DET Paula and Marika 3DU.SBJ rise.up DET election and 3DU.SBJ DET PL-vie.with-TR
tiko na-i tūtū vaka peresitedi kei na vukevuke ni peresitedi.
MODIF.permanence DET-NMLZ position make president and DET helper for president

[b]Daru$_{k,j}$ sa na dui digi-taki kedaru$_{k,j}$ gā, ā kaya o Marika$_j$
1DU.INCL.SBJ ASP DET each choose-TR 1.DU.INCL.OBJ MODIF.empahtic PST say DET Marika
vei Paula$_k$.
to Paula

[c]O yā na vuke-a na nodaru$_{k,j}$ wini.
DET that FUT help-TR DET 1DU.INCL.POSS win

[d]O Josese$_j$ talegā ā vinaka-ta tiko na-i tūtū vaka peresitedi.
DET Josese also PST want-TR MODIF.permanence DET-NMLZ position make president

[e]O koya$_j$ ā mani digi-taki koya$_j$ gā kei Paula$_k$.
DET 3SG.OBJ PST after.all choose-TR 3SG.OBJ MODIF.emphatic and Paula

[f]Au$_j$ ā digi-taki keirau$_{j,k}$ kei Paula$_k$, sega ni o iko$_j$, ā kaya o
1SG.SBJ PST choose-TR 1DU.EXCL.OBJ and Paula NEG that DET 2SG.OBJ PST say DET
Josese$_j$ vei Marika$_i$.
Josese to Marika

3) [a]Kereni went fishing with Ualita. [b]The fishing line was tangled. [c]"Let me help you," said Ualita. [d]"No problem," said Kereni. [e]"I can do it myself."

Standard Fijian:

[a]O Kereni$_i$ vata kei Ualita$_j$ rau$_{i,j}$ ā laki siwa.
DET Kereni together with Ualita 3DU.SBJ PST go to.catch.fish

[b]Ā qai medre na wā-ni-siwa.
PST then entangled DET fishing.line

[c]Mai me'u$_j$ vuke iko$_i$ ā kaya ko Ualita$_j$.
come let.1SG.SBJ help 2SG.OBJ PST say DET Ualita

[d]Sega ni dua na leqa, ā kaya o Kereni$_i$.
NEG that one DET problem PST say DET Kereni

[e]Au$_i$ rawa ni tara gā.
1SG.SBJ can that do.it MODIF.emphatic

4) *[a]Simoni had a camera. [b]He took many pictures. [c]He took pictures of himself, pictures of his home, and pictures of his friends. [d]Siteri saw one of his pictures. [e]"Look at yourself," she said. [f]"You look so funny." [g]More of Simoni's friends came by. [h]"Simoni let us see your pictures, we want to see ourselves." [i]Melika saw a picture of herself with Kalara. [j]Kalara was sitting with her under the banana tree. [k]Jone saw two pictures of himself with Salote. [l]In one picture, he was chasing her. [m]In the next picture she was chasing him. [n]"This picture I took of myself is my favourite," said Simoni. [o]There was one picture of a bird, it was looking at itself in a mirror.*

Standard Fijian:

[a]O Simoni$_i$ e dua nona$_i$ i taba.
DET Simoni one 3SG.POSS NMLZ camera

[b]E$_i$ vei-taba vaka-levu o koya$_i$.
3SG.SBJ PL-photograph ADV-greatly DET 3SG.OBJ

[c]E$_i$ taba o koya$_i$, nona$_i$ vale vata kei ira nona$_i$ i tokani.
3SG.SBJ photograph DET 3SG.OBJ 3SG.POSS house together with 3PL.CARD 3SG.POSS NMLZ companions

[d]Ā rai-ca$_i$ o Siteri$_j$ e dua na i taba nei Simoni$_i$.
PST see-TR.3SG.OBJ DET Siteri one DET NMLZ photograph POSS Simoni

[e]"Rai-ci iko$_i$ mada," ā kaya o Siteri$_j$.
see-TR 2SG.OBJ please PST say DET Siteri

[f]"Iko$_i$ rairai lasa."
2SG.SBJ look.PAS amusing

[g]Levu tale na i tokani nei Simoni$_i$ ā ra lako mai.
many MODIF.inclusion DET NMLZ companions POSS Simoni PST 3PL.CARD come

[h]"Simoni$_i$, keimami via rai-ca na i taba, keimami via rai-ca na keimami taba."
Simoni 1PL.EXCL.SBJ want.to see-TR DET NMLZ photograph 1PL.EXCL.SBJ want.to see-TR DET 1PL.EXCL.POSS photograph

[i]O Melika$_k$ ā rai-ca sara e dua na kena$_k$ i taba vata kei
DET Melika PST see-TR MODIF.emphatic one DET 3SG.POSS NMLZ photograph together with
Kalara$_m$.
Kalara

[j]Erau$_{k,m}$ ā taba tiko ni rau$_{k,m}$ dabe tiko e
3DU.SBJ PST photograph MODIF.permanence of 3DU.SBJ sit MODIF.permanence in
ruku ni vū-ni-jaina.
space.under POSS banana.tree

[k]O Jone$_n$ ā rai-ca sara e rua na kena$_n$ i taba vata kei
DET Jone PST T see-TR MODIF.emphatic two DET 3SG.POSS NMLZ photograph together with
Salote$_o$.
Salote

[l]E na dua na i taba, o koya$_n$ ā cemuri Salote$_o$ tiko.
in DET one DET NMLZ photograph DET 3SG.SBJ PST chase Salote MODIF.permanence

[m]E na dua tale na i taba, o Salote$_o$ ā cemuri Jone$_n$ tiko.
in DET one again DET NMLZ photograph DET Salote PST chase Jone MODIF.permanence

[n]"Na kequ$_i$ i taba au$_i$ ā taba-ka qo, au$_i$ tālei-taka
DET 1SG.POSS NMLZ photograph 1SG.SBJ PST photograph-TR here 1SG.SBJ admire-TR
vaka-levu sara," kaya o Simoni$_i$.
ADV-greatly MODIF.emphatic say DET Simoni

[o]E dua na i taba ni maina$_p$ e$_p$=vaka-rai-ci koya$_p$
one DET NMLZ photograph of mayna.bird 3SG.SUBJ=CAUS-see-TR 3SG.OBJ
tiko na-i iloilo.
MODIF.permanence DET-NMLZ mirror

5) Sentences:

[a]*I hurt myself.*
Au māvoa.
1SG.SBJ ADJ.hurt

[b]*He hurt himself.*
E=mavoa.
3SG.SBJ=ADJ.hurt

[c]*The band call themselves "Dokidoki."*
Na matasere qori eratou kilai tū na "Dokidoki."
DET band there 3PAUC.SBJ be.known.as MODIF.permanence DET Dokidoki

[d]*He shot himself.*
E_i=vana-i $koya_i$ gā vakai $koya_i$.
3SG.SBJ=shoot-TR 3SG.OBJ MODIF.emphatic according.to 3SG.OBJ

[e]*I bought a present for myself.*
Au_i voli-a $noqu_i$ i loloma.
1SG.SBJ buy-TR 1SG.POSS NMLZ present

[f]*She did it by herself.*
Ā caka-va_i gā vakai $koya_i$.
PST work-TR.3SG.SBJ MODIF.emphatic according.to 3SG.OBJ

[g]*That man is talking to himself.*
Na $tagane_i$ yā e=vosa~vosa yalo-na_i tiko.
DET man that 3SG.SBJ=talking soul-3SG.POSS MODIF.permanence

[h]*They ate all the food themselves.*
Eratou kani-a kece na kākana.
3PAUC.SBJ eat-TR all DET food

[i]*I saw myself in the mirror.*
O au_i sa dan-i aui na iloilo.
DET 1SG.SBJ ASP see-TR 1SG.OBJ DET mirror

[j]*She saw herself in the mirror.*
O $koya_i$ raic-i $koya_i$ na iloilo.
DET 3SG.SBJ see-TR 3SG.OBJ DET mirror

Section II:

1) ***[a]Josese won the presidential election. [b]He came to Suva for a television interview. [c]Mere interviewed him. [d]Mere spoke to Josese about himself. [e]She asked him to tell her about himself. [f]Josese told Mere many stories about himself. [g]He told her that he liked to play rugby and drink yaqona. [h]Mere thought that Josese voted for himself in the election. [i]"Did you vote for yourself?" she asked Josese. [j]"Yes, I voted for myself and not Paula," Josese answered. [k]Josese thought that Mere voted for himself. [l]"Did you vote for me?" Josese asked Mere. [m]"No, my brother was also running for president, I voted for him," Mere told him.***

Standard Fijian:

[a]O Josese$_i$ ā wini-taka na i tūtū vaka peresitedi e na veidigidigi.
DET Josese PST win-TR DET NMLZ position make president in DET election

[b]Ko koya$_i$ ā gole mai Suva me mai sau-mi taro e na raitio yaloyalo.
DET 3SG.SBJ PST face.towards come Suva should come answer-TR questions in DET television

[c]O Mere a vakatarogi koya.
DET Person$_j$ past ask questions 3sg$_i^{subj}$

[d]O Mere$_j$ e$_j$=ā talanoa-taka na bula nei Josese$_i$.
DET Mere 3SG.SBJ=PST tell.stories-TR DET life POSS Josese

[e]Ko Mere$_j$ ā taro-gi Josese$_i$ me talanoa-taka na nona$_i$ bula.
DET Mere PST ask-TR Josese should tell.stories-TR DET 3SG.POSS life

[f]Ā talanoa-taka o Josese$_i$ e levu na i talanoa me baleta koya$_i$.
PST tell.stories-TR DET Josese many DET NMLZ story should because 3SG.OBJ

[g]Ā kaya ko Josese$_i$ ni talei-taka na qito rakavi kei na gunu yaqona.
PST say DET Josese that admire-TR DET game rugby and DET drink kava

[h]Ā nanu-ma ko Mere$_j$, ni o Josese$_i$ ā digi-taki ni koya$_i$ gā vakai koya$_i$ e na veidigidigi.
PST think-TR DET Mere that DET Josese PST choose-TR for 3SG.OBJ MODIF.emphatic according.to 3SG.OBJ in DET election

[i]"Iko$_i$ ā digi-taki ni iko$_i$ gā vakai iko$_i$?" ā taro-gi
2SG.SBJ PST choose-TR for 2SG.OBJ MODIF.emphatic according.to 2SG.OBJ PST ask-TR
Josese$_i$ ko Mere$_j$.
Josese DET Mere

[j]"Io, au$_i$ ā digi-taki au$_i$ gā vakai au$_i$ ka sega
yes 1SG.SBJ PST choose-TR 1SG.OBJ MODIF.emphatic according.to 1SG.OBJ and NEG
ni o Paula$_k$," ā sau-ma ko Josese$_i$.
for DET Paula PST answer-TR DET Josese

[k]Ā nanu-ma ko Josese$_i$ ni o Mere$_j$ ā digi-taki koya$_i$.
PST think-TR DET Josese that DET Mere PST choose-TR 3SG.OBJ

[l]"Iko$_j$ ā digi-takini au$_i$?" ā taro-gi Mere$_j$ ko Josese$_i$.
2SG.OBJ PST choose-TR 1SG.OBJ PST ask-TR Mere DET Josese

[m]Sega, na gane$_m$-qu$_j$ ā duri talegā na veidigidigi e na i tūtū
NEG DET brother-1SG.POSS PST rise.up also DET election in DET NMLZ position
vaka peresitedi, au$_j$ ā digi-taki koya$_m$," ā kaya ko Mere$_j$.
make president 1SG.SBJ PST choose-TR 3SG.SBJ PST say DET Mere

2) ***[a]Later Josese went out with Jone, Marika, Ualita, and Kalara. [b]They watched television. [c]Josese saw himself on television. [d]He was very happy. [e]"I saw myself on the television," he told Kalara. [f]Kalara knew he would be happy because it was himself he saw on the television. [g]Two days ago, she had heard herself speaking with a friend on the radio. [h]When Jone returned home after watching television with his friends he looked at himself in the mirror. [i]"I still look good," he told himself as he waved goodbye to Jone and Marika.***

Standard Fijian:

[a]Sega ni dedē ā gole ko Josese$_i$ vata kei Jone$_j$, Marika$_k$,
NEG long.time PST face.towards DET Josese together with Jone Marika
Ualita$_m$ kei Kalara$_n$.
Ualita and Kalara

[b]Eratou sara ratio yaloyalo.
3PAUC.SBJ watch television

[c]O Josese$_i$ ā rai-ci koya$_i$ e na raitio yaloyalo.
DET Josese PST see-TR 3SG.OBJ in DET television

[d]Ā mārau-taka ko koya$_i$.
PST happy DET 3SG.OBJ

[e]"Au$_i$ rai-ci au$_i$ e na raitio yaloyalo," ā kaya ko koya$_i$ vei Kalara$_m$.
1SG.SBJ see-TR 1SG.OBJ in DET television PST say DET 3SG.SBJ to Kalara

[f]E$_m$=kila ko Kalara$_m$, ni mārau-taka ko Josese$_i$ baleta ni rai-ci koya$_i$ na raitio yaloyalo.
3SG.SBJ=know DET Kalara that happy-TR DET Josese because of see-TR 3SG.OBJ DET television

[g]E na rua na siga sa oti, e$_m$=rogo-ci koya$_m$ gā ko Kalara$_m$ ni rau veivosa-ki tiko kei na dua na nona$_m$ i tokani e na raitio.
in DET two DET day ASP done 3SG.SBJ=hear-TR 3SG.OBJ DET Kalara associated.with 3DU.SBJ PL-speak-TR MODIF.permanence and DET one DET 3SG.POSS NMLZ companion in DET radio

[h]Ni lesu mai ko Jone$_i$ e na sara raitio yaloyalo vata kei ira na nona$_i$ i tokani, ā iro-vi koya$_i$ sara e na-i iloilo.
2PL.SBJ return from DET Jone concerning DET watch television together with 3PL.CARD DET 3SG.POSS NMLZ companion PST glance-TR 3SG.OBJ MODIF.emphatic in DET-NMLZ mirror

[i]"Au$_i$ sa rai~rai totoka dina," ā kaya ko koya$_i$ ni vakamoce tiko vei rau$_{j,k}$ ko Jone$_j$ kei Marika$_k$.
1SG.SBJ ASP appear handsome truly PST say DET 3SG.SBJ associated.with take.leave MODIF.peramnence to 3DU.OBJ DET Jone and Marika

3) [a]Paula and Jone were building a house. [b]Paula hurt himself with the hammer. [c]"I do not feel very well," he told Jone, "can you finish this by yourself?" [d]Jone told Paula it was no problem he could do it himself.

Standard Fijian:

[a]Ko Paula$_i$ kei Jone$_j$ erau$_{i,j}$ ā tarā vale tiko.
DET Paula and Jone 3DU.SBJ PST build.TR house MODIF.permanence

[b]E$_i$ māvoa ko Paula$_i$ e na i tuki.
3SG.SBJ ADJ.hurt DET Paula in DET NMLZ hammer

[c]"E=vakavei au_i, au_i via tauvi mate," e_i=kaya vei $Jone_j$,
3SG.SBJ=seems.to 1SG.SBJ 1SG.SBJ want.to sick 3SG.SBJ=say to Jone
"e=rawa ni ko vakacavara gā vakai iko_j?"
3SG.SBJ=be.able to DET finish.work MODIF.emphatic according.to 2SG.OBJ

[d]E_j=kaya ko $Jone_j$ vei $Paula_i$, ni na sega ni dua na leqa ni na rawa
3SG.SBJ=say DET Jone to Paula that DET NEG one DET problem that DET be.able
ni vaka-otia dua~dua gā o $koya_j$ na caka~caka.
to CAUS-finish alone MODIF.emphatic DET 3SG.SBJ DET work

4) Sentences:

[a]*I shot myself.*
Au_i vana-i au_i gā.
1SG.SBJ shoot-TR 1SG.OBJ MODIF.emphatic

[b]*He shot himself.*
E_i=vana-i $koya_i$ gā vakai $koya_i$.
3SG.SBJ=shoot-TR 3SG.OBJ MODIF.emphatic according.to 3SG.OBJ

[c]*Jone said that Marika helped him shoot himself.*
E_i=kaya ko $Jone_i$ ni ko $Marika_j$ ā vuke-i $koya_i$ me vana-i $koya_i$
3SG.SBJ=say DET Jone that DET Marika PST help-TR 3SG.OBJ should shoot-TR 3SG.OBJ
gā vakai $koya_i$.
MODIF.emphatic according.to 3SG.OBJ

[d]*Jone said that he helped Marika shoot himself.*
E_i=kaya ko $Jone_i$ ni vuke-i $Marika_j$ na vana-i $koya_j$ gā
3SG.SBJ=say DET Jone that help-TR Marika DET shoot-TR 3SG.OBJ MODIF.emphatic
vakai $koya_j$.
according.to 3SG.OBJ

[e]*Don't shoot yourself!*
Kua ni_i vana-i iko_i vakai iko_i.
do.not 2PL.SBJ shoot-TR 2SG.OBJ according.to 2SG.OBJ

[f]*Marika told Jone he thought that Mere voted for himself.*
E_i=kaya ko $Marika_i$ vei $Jone_j$ ni nanu-ma o $koya_i$, ni o $Mere_k$ ā
3SG.SBJ=say DET Marika to Jone that think-TR DET 3SG.OBJ that DET Mere PST
digi-taki $koya_i$.
choose-TR 3SG.OBJ

[g]*Marika told Jone he thought that Mere voted for herself.*
E=kaya ko Marika$_i$ vei Jone$_j$ ni nanu-ma o koya$_i$, ni o Mere$_k$
3SG.SBJ=say DET Marika to Jone that think-TR DET 3SG.OBJ that DET Mere
ā digi-taki koya$_k$ gā vakai koya$_k$.
PST choose-TR 3SG.OBJ MODIF.emphatic according.to 3SG.OBJ

[h]*Marika told Jone he thought that Mere voted for him.*
O Marika$_i$ ā tuku-na vei Jone$_j$ ni nanu-ma o koya$_i$ ni o Mere$_k$ ā
DET Mariak PST tell-TR to Jone that think-TR DET 3SG.OBJ that DET Mere PST
digi-taki koya$_j$.
choose-TR 3SG.OBJ

[i]*Jone said that the man in the photograph was Marika but Paula thought it was himself.*
E$_i$=nanu-ma o Jone$_i$ ni taba tiko e na i taba
3SG.SBJ=think-TR DET Jone that photograph MODIF.permanence in DET NMLZ photograph
o Marika$_j$ ia o Paula$_k$ e$_k$=nanu-ma ni o koya$_k$.
DET Marika but DET Paula 3SG.SBJ=think-TR that DET 3SG.OBJ

[j]*Paula told Jone to do the work by himself.*
E$_i$=tuku-na o Paula$_i$ vei Jone$_j$ me caka-va gā na nona$_j$
3SG.SBJ=tell-TR DET Paula to Jone should work-TR MODIF.emphatic DET 3SG.POSS
caka~caka vakai koya$_j$.
work according.to 3SG.OBJ

5) Sentences to translate into English, please tell me which ones are not proper Bauan:

[a]*O Josese$_i$ ā digi-taki koya$_i$ gā.*
DET Josese PST choose-TR 3SG.OBJ MODIF.emphatic
'Josese voted for himself.'

[b]*O Josese$_i$ ā digi-taki koya$_i$ gā vakai koya$_i$.*
DET Josese PST choose-TR 3SG.OBJ MODIF according.to 3SG.OBJ
(improper – but this [vakai koya] can be used if there is a comparison with two or more people)

[c]*O Josese$_i$ ā vosa vei Marika$_j$ baleti koya$_i$ gā (Josese$_i$).*
DET Josese PST speak to Marika concerning 3SG.OBJ MODIF.emphatic Josese
'Josese spoke about himself to Marika.'

[d]*O Josese$_i$ ā vosa vei Marika$_j$ baleti koya$_j$ gā (Marika$_j$).*
DET Josese PST speak to Marika concerning 3SG.OBJ MODIF.emphatic Marika
'Josese spoke about Marika.'

[e]*O Josese$_i$ ā vosa vei Marika$_j$ baleti koya$_j$ (Marika$_j$).*
DET Josese PST speak to Marika concerning 3SG.OBJ Marika
(improper)

[f]*O Josese$_i$ ā vosa to Marika$_j$ baleti koya$_i$ (Josese$_i$).*
DET Josese PST speak PREP Marika concerning 3SG.OBJ Josese
'Josese spoke to Marika about himself.'

[g]*Josese$_i$ ā vosa vei koya$_i$ gā.*
Josese PST speak to 3SG.OBJ MODIF.emphatic
(improper)

[h]*Josese$_i$ ā vosa vei koya$_i$ gā vakai koya$_i$.*
Josese PST speak to 3SG.OBJ MODIF.emphatic according.to 3SG.OBJ
'Josese spoke to himself.'

[i]*O Josese$_i$ ā vosa baleti koya$_i$ gā vei Marika$_j$.*
DET Josese PST speak concerning 3SG.OBJ MODIF to Marika
'Josese spoke about himself to Marika.'

[j]*O Josese$_i$ ā vosa baleti koya$_i$ vei Marika$_j$.*
DET Josese PST speak concerning 3SG.OBJ to Marika
(improper)

[k]*E$_i$=vana-i koya$_i$ gā vakai koya$_i$.*
3SG.SBJ=shoot-TR 3SG.OBJ MODIF according.to 3SG.OBJ
'He/she shot himself/herself.'

[l]*O Josese$_i$ ā caka-va koya$_i$ gā.*
DET Josese PST work-TR 3SG.OBJ MODIF.emphatic
(improper)

[m]*O Josese$_1$ ā caka-va koya$_i$ gā vakai koya$_i$.*
DET Josese PST work-TR 3SG.OBJ MODIF.emphatic according.to 3SG.OBJ
'Josese did it on his own.'

Appendix B: Fijian Data Set 2 - Translations Collected From Pilot Surveys

All of the data collected from the Sentence Translations part of the surveys is presented in the following tables. The translation is presented in the far left column, the number of participants who provided this translation is presented in the middle column, and the dialect used for the translation is presented in the far right column. As has been the practice throughout this work, long vowels and morpheme boundaries have been added to the Standard Fijian translations. This has not been done for the non-standard dialects. Moreover, words that could not be identified in the dialects are marked with a question mark (?).

Table B.1: 'Jo shaved himself.'

SENTENCE: 'Jo shaved himself.'	**#**	**DIALECT**
O Jo e=toro-i koya. Jo 3SG.SBJ=shave-TR 3SG.OBJ	**1**	***Standard***
O Jo e=toroia ga vainia DET Jo 3SG.SBJ=shave.TR.3SG.OBJ MODIF.emphatic with.3SG.OBJ	**1**	*Nadroga*
Jo ma toro-i koya gā. Jo PST shave-TR 3SG.OBJ MODIF.emphatic	**1**	***Standard***
Jo toro-i koya gā. Jo shave-TR 3SG.OBJ MODIF.emphatic	**1**	***Standard***
Jo ma toroi kia ga Jo PST shave.TR 3SG.OBJ MODIF.emphatic	**1**	*Unknown Dialect*
E=toro-i koya gā ko Jo 3SG.SBJ=shave-TR 3SG.OBJ MODIF.emphatic DET Jo	**3**	***Standard***
O Jo ma toro koya nona ulu. DET Jo PST shave 3SG.OBJ 3SG.POSS head	**1**	*Unknown Dialect*
E=toroi 'ea ga o Jo. 3SG.SBJ=shave.TR 3SG.OBJ MODIF.emphatic DET Jo	**1**	*Natewa*
E=toroi kia ga ko Jo. 3SG.SBJ=shave.TR 3SG.OBJ MODIF.emphatic DET Jo	**1**	*Yale, Kadavu*

Table B.2: 'Kalara washes herself before she makes breakfast.'

SENTENCE: 'Kalara washes herself before she makes breakfast.'	**#**	**DIALECT**
E=dau sisi-li e liu ko Kalara ni bera ni vaka-rau i katalau 3SG.SBJ=frequently bathe-TR first DET Kalara before CAUS-prepare breakfast	**2**	***Standard***
Kalara dau vuluvulu bera ni caka ti. Kalara frequently wash.hands before make tea	**1**	***Standard***
Kalara dau savata rawa nona liga qai jili katalau. Kalara frequently wash.TR able 3SG.POSS hands than ? breakfast	**1**	*Unknown Dialect*
O Kalara e=sava-ti koya ni sebera nai katalau. DET Kalara 3SG.SBJ=wash-TR 3SG.OBJ before DET breakfast	**1**	***Standard***
O Kalara e=bavasia vainia ni ..... DET Kalara 3SG.SBJ=bathe.TR.3SG.OBJ with.3SG.OBJ POSS	**1**	*Nadroga*
Kalara sava-ta rawa-ta na liga-na bera ni katalau. Kalara wash-TR able-TR DET hand-3SG.POSS before breakfast	**1**	***Standard***
E=dau sisi-li rawa o Kalara ni bera ni dau 3SG.SBJ=frequently bathe-TR able DET Kalara before frequently vaka-rau-taka na katalau. CAUS-prepare-TR DET breakfast	**1**	***Standard***
E=dau sisili rawa o Kalara ni bera ni va'arauta'ina a ti. 3SG.SBJ=frequently bathe.TR able DET Kalara before CAUS.prepare.TR DET tea	**1**	*Natewa*
E=dau cucuqu i mada ko Kalara ni bera ni vakarau 3SG.SBJ=frequently bathe.TR first DET Kalara before CAUS.prepare.TR katalau. breakfast	**1**	*Yale, Kadavu*

Table B.3: 'Paula killed himself.'

SENTENCE: 'Paula killed himself.'	**#**	**DIALECT**
Paula vaka-mate-i koya. Paula CAUS-death-TR 3SG.OBJ	**1**	***Standard***
O Paula e=vaka-mate-i koya. DET Paula 3SG.SBJ=CAUS-death-TR 3SG.OBJ	**1**	***Standard***
Paula vakamatei kia. Paula CAUS.death.TR 3SG.OBJ	**1**	*Unknown Dialect*
Paula vaka-mate-a koya gā. Paula CAUS-death-TR 3SG.OBJ MODIF.emphatic	**1**	***Standard***
E=ā vaka-mate-i koya gā ko Paula. 3SG.SBJ=PST CAUS-death-TR 3SG.OBJ MODIF.emphatic DET Paula	**1**	***Standard***
O Vaula e=vamase nia vainia DET Paula 3SG.SBJ=CAUS.death.TR 3SG.OBJ with.3SG.OBJ	**1**	*Nadroga*
Paula vakamatei kia ga Paula CAUS.death.TR 3SG.OBJ MODIF.emphatic	**1**	*Unknown Dialect*
E=vaka-mate-i koya gā ko Paula. 3SG.SBJ=CAUS-death-TR 3SG.OBJ MODIF.emphatic DET Paula	**1**	***Standard***
E=vakamatei koya ga vakataki koya o Paula. 3SG.SBJ=CAUS.death.TR 3SG.OBJ MODIF.emphatic according.to 3SG.OBJ DET Paula	**1**	*Natewa*
E=va'a-mate-i 'ea gā o Paula 3SG.SBJ=CAUS-death-TR 3SG.OBJ MODIF.emphatic DET Paula	**1**	***Standard***
Ma vakasawaci kia ga vaka i kia ko Paula PST CAUS.death.TR 3SG.OBJ MODIF.emphatic with 3SG.OBJ DET Paula	**1**	*Yale, Kadavu*

Table B.4: 'Jone opened the door for Kalara. She slipped and hurt both herself and him.'

SENTENCE: 'Jone opened the door for Kalara. She slipped and hurt both herself and him.'	#	DIALECT
Jone dola-va na katuba vei Kalara. Qai sisi qai mavoa taki koya. Jone open-TR DET door for Kalara then slip then injure TR 3SG.OBJ	1	*Standard*
Jone dolo-va na katuba vei Kalara qai sisi qai mavoa ruarua kina orau. Jone open-TR DET door for Kalara then slip then injure both ADV.thereby 3DU.INCL.OBJ	1	*Standard*
E=ā dola-va na katuba ko Jone vei Kalara. E=ā sisi ko Kalara ka 3SG.SBJ=PST open-TR DET door DET Jone for Kalara 3SG.SBJ=PST slip DET Kalara and rau mavoa ruarua. 3DU.INCL injure both	1	*Standard*

Table B.5: 'Jone believed himself to be very strong.'

SENTENCE: 'Jone believed himself to be very strong.'	#	DIALECT
Jone vabau-ta ni tamata kaukauwa. Jone believe-TR POSS person strong	1	*Standard*
O Jone vabauta vakataki kia ni tamata kaukawa. DET Jone believe.TR POSS according.to 3SG.OBJ POSS person strong	1	*Unknown Dialect*

Table B.6: 'I helped myself to a cookie.'

SENTENCE: 'I helped myself to a cookie.'	#	DIALECT
Au vuke-i au gā vei dua na keke 1SG.SBJ help-TR 1SG.OBJ MODIF.emphatic to one DET cookie	1	*Standard*
Au vukei au ga vei dua na kequ keke. 1SG.SBJ help.TR 1SG.OBJ MODIF.emphatic to one DET 3SG.POSS cookie	1	*Unknown Dialect*

Table B.7: 'Because I was late, you helped yourself with your homework instead of me and you did a very good job.'

SENTENCE: 'Because I was late, you helped yourself with your homework instead of me and you did a very good job.'	#	DIALECT
Baleta ni au ā bera mai iko sa caka-va ga na because 1SG.SBJ PST late from 2SG.OBJ ASP work-TR MODIF.emphatic DET nomu homework mai na waraki au. 3SG.POSS homework from DET ? 1SG.OBJ	1	*Standard*
Iko sa jila gā na nomu homework mai kia warakina 2SG.SBJ ASP ? MODIF.emphatic DET 3SG.POS homework from ? ? au. 1SG.OBJ	1	*Unknown Dialect*

Table B.8: 'Bill exercises every day to make himself the strongest man in the village.'

SENTENCE: 'Bill exercises every day to make himself the strongest man in the village.'	#	DIALECT
Bill tereni gā vei-siga me fit tū gā Bill ? MODIF.emphatic PL-day purpose fit MODIF.permanence MODIF.emphatic qai tagane kaukauwa ki na loma ni koro. then man strong in DET middle of village	1	*Standard*

Table B.9: 'Jone thought that Epi adored himself.'

SENTENCE: 'Jone thought that Epi adored himself.'	#	DIALECT
O Jone e=nanu-ma ni o Epi e=qoroi koya. DET Jone 3SG.SBJ=think-TR that DET Epi 3SG.SBJ=amazed.at 3SG.OBJ	2	*Standard*
O Jone e=namu-ma ni o Epi e=qoroi koya gā DET Jone 3SG.SBJ=think-TR that DET Epi 3SG.SBJ=amazed.at 3SG.OBJ MODIF.emphatic	1	*Standard*
O Jone e=nanuma ni o Epi e=qoroi koya gā. DET Jone 3SG.SBJ=think.TR that DET Epi 3SG.SBJ=amazed.at 3SG.OBJ MODIF.emphatic	1	*Tailevu*

Table B.10: 'Their fathers adored each other.'

SENTENCE: 'Their fathers adored each other.'	#	DIALECT
Nodrai Tubutubu era qoroi ira gā. 3PL.POSS-NMLZ parents 3PL.SBJ amazed.at 3PL.OBJ MODIF.emphatic		*Standard*
Nodra qase era qoroi ira la. 3PL.POSS-NMLZ elders 3PL.SBJ amazed.at 3PL.OBJ MODIF.emphatic		*Tailevu*

Table B.11: 'Why do you hate yourself?'

SENTENCE: 'Why do you hate yourself?'	#	DIALECT
Na cava o sēva-ki iko kina? DET what DET hate-TR 2SG.OBJ ADV.thereby	1	*Standard*

Table B.12: 'Kalara praised herself in front of her friends.'

SENTENCE: 'Kalara praised hersef in front of her friends.'	#	DIALECT
O Kalara e=vaka-cerecere-i koya e matadra nona i lawalawa. DET Kalara 3SG.SBJ=CAUS-praise-TR 3SG.OBJ in front 3SG.POSS NMLZ friends	1	*Standard*

Table B.13: 'The queen separated herself and the king.'

SENTENCE: 'The queen separated herself and the king.'	#	DIALECT
Na ranjini e=sa tawasei koya mai vua na tui. DET queen 3SG.SBJ=ASP separate 3SG.OBJ from purpose DET king	1	*Standard*

Table B.14: 'Paula defended himself better than Samu defended himself.'

SENTENCE: 'Paula defended himself better than Samu defended himself.'	#	DIALECT
Paula taqo-maki koya vaka-vinaka mai vei Samu. Paula defend-TR 3SG.OBJ ADV-good from to Samu	1	*Standard*
O Paula e=taqomaki kia vinaka sara mai vei Samu. DET Paula 3SG.SBJ=defend.TR 3SG.OBJ good MODIF.emphatic from to Samu	1	*Unknown Dialect*

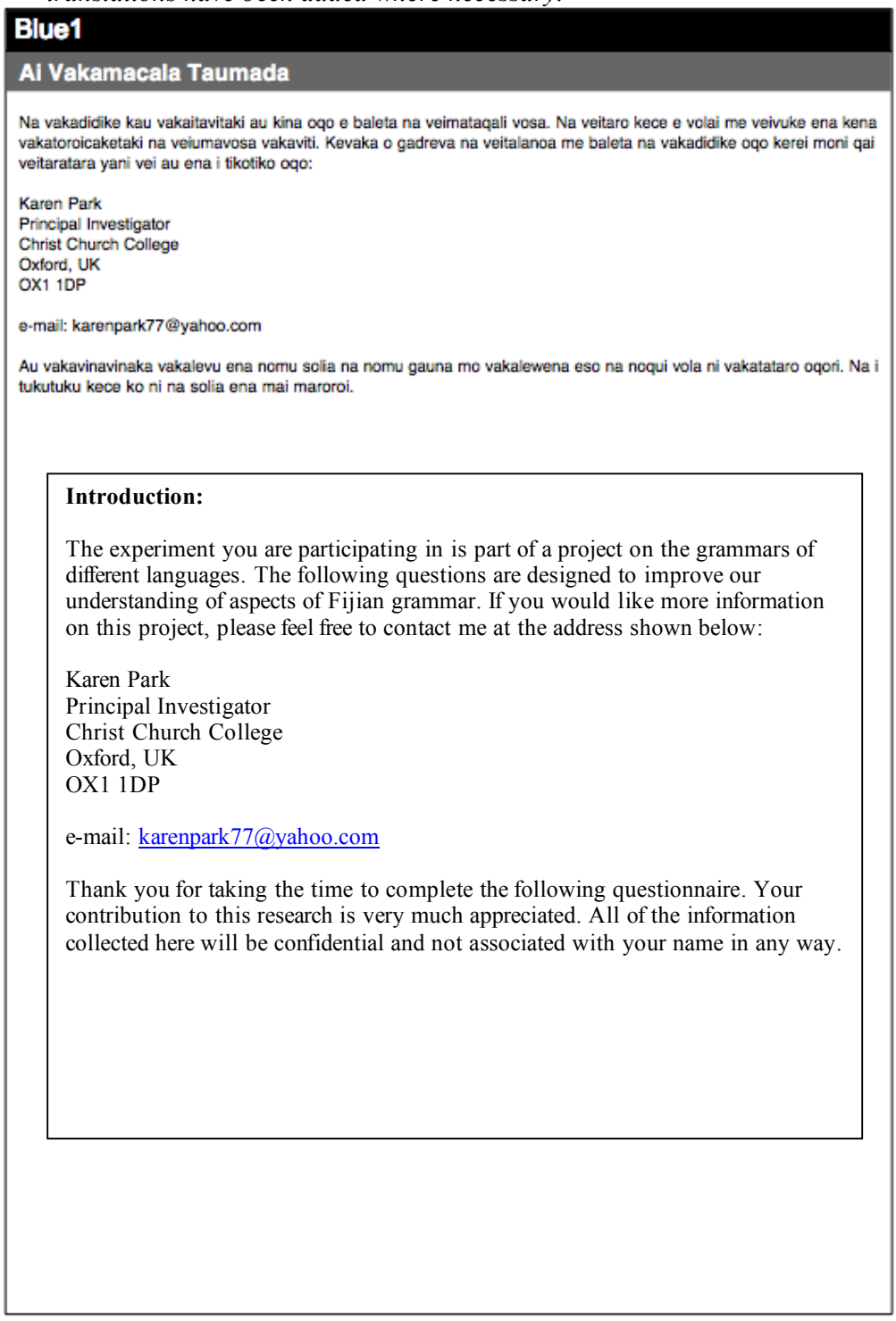
Table B.15: 'Paula defended himself better than Samu defended him.'

SENTENCE: 'Paula defended himself better than Samu defended him.'	#	DIALECT
Paula taqo-maki koya vaka-vinaka mai vei Samu. Paula defend-TR 3SG.OBJ ADV-good from to Samu	1	*Standard*
O Paula e=taqomaki kia vinaka sara mai vei Samu. DET Paula 3SG.SBJ=defend.TR 3SG.OBJ good MODIF.emphatic from to Samu	1	*Unknown Dialect*

Appendix C: Fijian Data Set 3

Section I: Surveys

1) *Survey Design:*
   Six surveys comprising five parts were used to collect data on the Fijian reflexive: Sentence Translation, Rating Scale, Matrix of Choice, Illustration, and Story Translation. The design, layout, and presentation of these surveys are illustrated in the images presented below. English translations have been added where necessary.



Blue1

Ai Vakamacala Taumada

Na vakadidike kau vakaitavitaki au kina oqo e baleta na veimataqali vosa. Na veitaro kece e volai me veivuke ena kena vakatoroicaketaki na veiumavosa vakaviti. Kevaka o gadreva na veitalanoa me baleta na vakadidike oqo kerei moni qai veitaratara yani vei au ena i tikotiko oqo:

Karen Park
Principal Investigator
Christ Church College
Oxford, UK
OX1 1DP

e-mail: karenpark77@yahoo.com

Au vakavinavinaka vakalevu ena nomu solia na nomu gauna mo vakalewena eso na noqui vola ni vakatataro oqori. Na i tukutuku kece ko ni na solia ena mai maroroi.

Introduction:

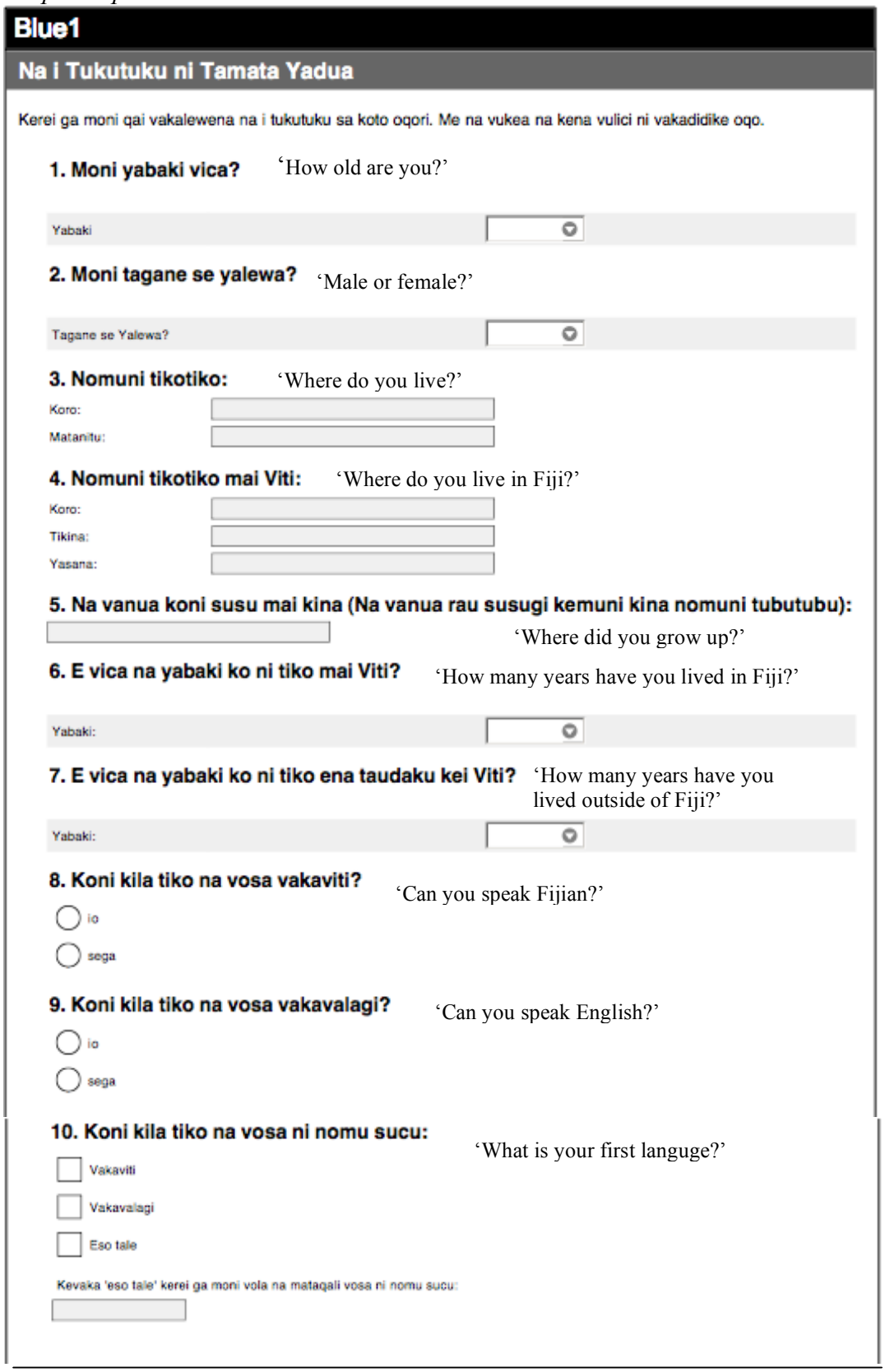
The experiment you are participating in is part of a project on the grammars of different languages. The following questions are designed to improve our understanding of aspects of Fijian grammar. If you would like more information on this project, please feel free to contact me at the address shown below:

Karen Park
Principal Investigator
Christ Church College
Oxford, UK
OX1 1DP

e-mail: karenpark77@yahoo.com

Thank you for taking the time to complete the following questionnaire. Your contribution to this research is very much appreciated. All of the information collected here will be confidential and not associated with your name in any way.

The surveys began with ten questions concerning the demographic and language history of the participant.



Blue1

Na i Tukutuku ni Tamata Yadua

Kerei ga moni qai vakalewena na i tukutuku sa koto oqori. Me na vukea na kena vulici ni vakadidike oqo.

1. Moni yabaki vica? 'How old are you?'

Yabaki

2. Moni tagane se yalewa? 'Male or female?'

Tagane se Yalewa?

3. Nomuni tikotiko: 'Where do you live?'

Koro:

Matanitu:

4. Nomuni tikotiko mai Viti: 'Where do you live in Fiji?'

Koro:

Tikina:

Yasana:

5. Na vanua koni susu mai kina (Na vanua rau susugi kemuni kina nomuni tubutubu):

'Where did you grow up?'

6. E vica na yabaki ko ni tiko mai Viti? 'How many years have you lived in Fiji?'

Yabaki:

7. E vica na yabaki ko ni tiko ena taudaku kei Viti? 'How many years have you lived outside of Fiji?'

Yabaki:

8. Koni kila tiko na vosa vakaviti? 'Can you speak Fijian?'

io

sega

9. Koni kila tiko na vosa vakavalagi? 'Can you speak English?'

io

sega

10. Koni kila tiko na vosa ni nomu sucu: 'What is your first languge?'

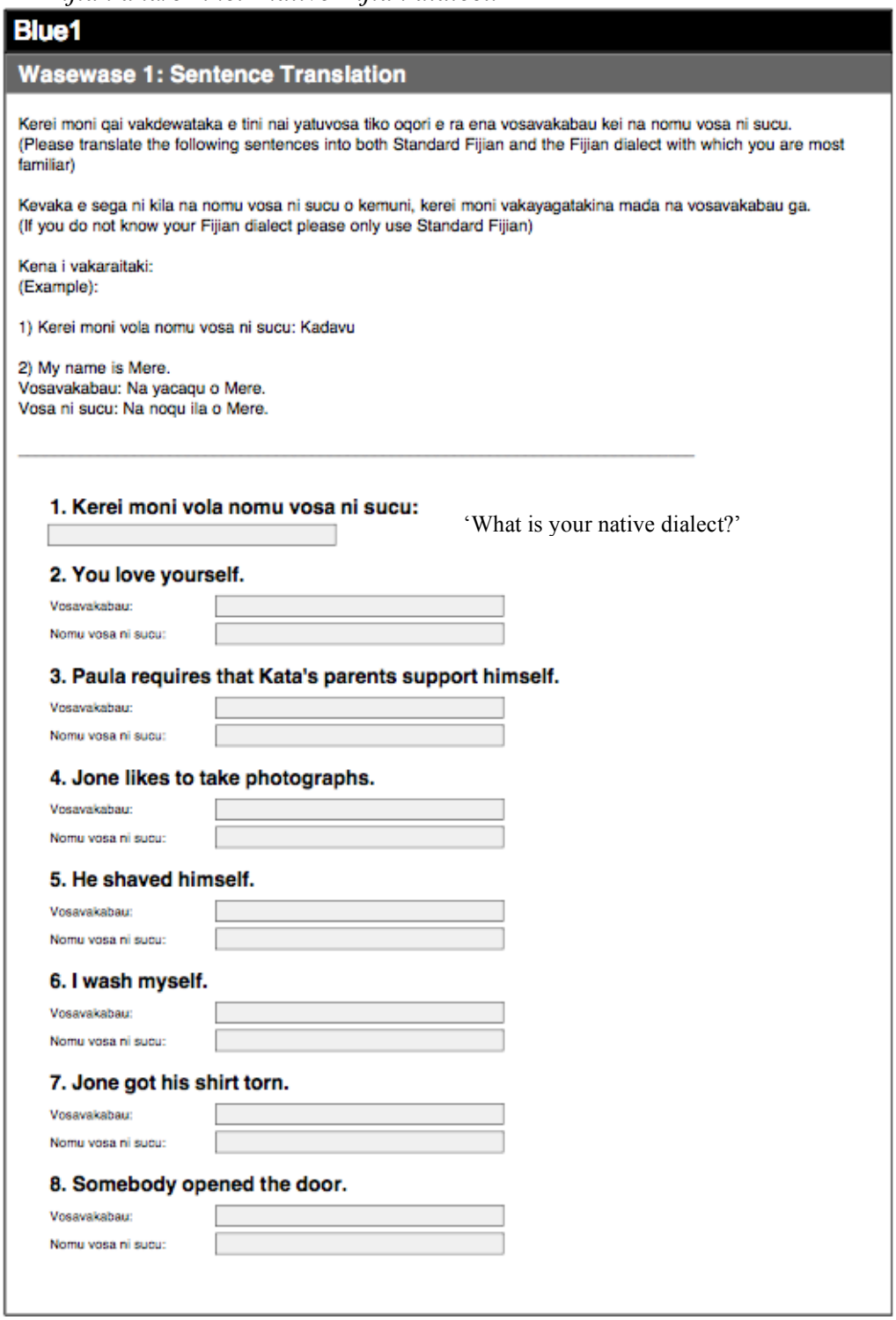
Vakaviti

Vakavalagi

Eso tale

Kevaka 'eso tale' kerei ga moni vola na mataqali vosa ni nomu sucu:

Sentece Translations: Participants were asked to translate fifteen sentences into Standard Fijian and/or their native Fijian dialect.



Blue1

Wasewase 1: Sentence Translation

Kerei moni qai vakdewataka e tini nai yatuvosa tiko oqori e ra ena vosavakabau kei na nomu vosa ni sucu.
(Please translate the following sentences into both Standard Fijian and the Fijian dialect with which you are most familiar)

Kevaka e sega ni kila na nomu vosa ni sucu o kemuni, kerei moni vakayagatakina mada na vosavakabau ga.
(If you do not know your Fijian dialect please only use Standard Fijian)

Kena i vakaraitaki:
(Example):

1) Kerei moni vola nomu vosa ni sucu: Kadavu

2) My name is Mere.
Vosavakabau: Na yacaqu o Mere.
Vosa ni sucu: Na noqu ila o Mere.

---

1. Kerei moni vola nomu vosa ni sucu:

'What is your native dialect?'

2. You love yourself.

Vosavakabau:
Nomu vosa ni sucu:

3. Paula requires that Kata's parents support himself.

Vosavakabau:
Nomu vosa ni sucu:

4. Jone likes to take photographs.

Vosavakabau:
Nomu vosa ni sucu:

5. He shaved himself.

Vosavakabau:
Nomu vosa ni sucu:

6. I wash myself.

Vosavakabau:
Nomu vosa ni sucu:

7. Jone got his shirt torn.

Vosavakabau:
Nomu vosa ni sucu:

8. Somebody opened the door.

Vosavakabau:
Nomu vosa ni sucu:

Rating Scale: Particants were asked to rate forty Fijian sentences as 'totoka' (good), 'dodonu' (okay), or 'rogorogoca' (bad).

Blue1

Wasewase 2: Rating Scale

Kerei moni vakadodonutaka na veivosa koto oqori e ra:
(Please rate the acceptability of the following sentences)

Kena i vakaraitaki:
(Examples)

1. Na yacaqu o Mere.
[X] Totoka [_] Dodonu [_] Rogorogoca

2. O Mere eso na yacamu ko au.
[_] Totoka [_] Dodonu [X] Rogorogoca

Na yaca sa vakatakilakilataki oqori ena yatuvosa (*.....) ti koto oqori era:
(Names marked like this (*.....) tell you the meaning of the pronoun)

Kena i vakaraitaki:
(Examples:)

3. O Josese a vosa vei Marika baleti koya*. (*Josese) -> koya=Josese
[_] Totoka [X] Dodonu [_] Rogorogoca

4. O Josese a vosa vei Marika baleti koya*. (*Marika) -> koya=Marika
[_] Totoka [_] Dodonu [X] Rogorogoca

1. E tirovi Mere o Jone.

◯ Totoka ◯ Dodonu ◯ Rogorogoca

2. E vanai koya* o Salote. (*Salote)

◯ Totoka ◯ Dodonu ◯ Rogorogoca

3. O tirovi ko iko.

◯ Totoka ◯ Dodonu ◯ Rogorogoca

4. E tirovi koya* o Jone. (*Mere)

◯ Totoka ◯ Dodonu ◯ Rogorogoca

5. Au tirovi au ga vakai au.

◯ Totoka ◯ Dodonu ◯ Rogorogoca

6. Au vana na yavaqu.

◯ Totoka ◯ Dodonu ◯ Rogorogoca

7. O tirovi iko.

◯ Totoka ◯ Dodonu ◯ Rogorogoca

Illustration: Participants were asked to write a brief description of the illustration.

Blue1

Wasewase 3: Illustration

Kerei moni tukuna na i talanoa e tiko oqori e na droini e ra.

Mere kei Jone

1. Kerei moni qai vola na i talanoa ni Mere kei Jone tiko oqori e cake ena vosavakabau.

'Please write the story of Mere and Jone, illustrated above.'

Matrix of Choices: Participants were asked to answer twenty questions concerning twenty Fijian sentences by marking all of the best answers available.

Blue1

Wasewase 4: Matrix of Choices

Kerei moni vakatakilakilataki kece na i digidigi o cei vakadodonutaka na veitaro tiko oqori e ra:
(Please mark all of the choices that best answer the following questions:)

Kena i vakaraitaki:
(Examples:)

1. Au via solia na toa kivei Jone kei Mere. Au sega ni via solia na toa kivei Salote. Au via solia kivei cei na noqu toa?
[x] Mere
[x] Jone
[_] Salote
[_] sega ni dodonu

2. Au a raici au e nai iloilo. O cei a raica rawa o au e nai iloilo?
[_] Mere
[_] Jone
[x] au
[_] sega ni dodonu

3. E digitaki koya e na veidigidigi. E digitaka rawa o cei e na veidigidigi?
[x] Mere
[x] Jone
[_] taucoko na gone ni vuli
[_] sega ni dodonu

Kevaka na yatu vosa e sega ni dodonu vakatakilakilataki 'sega ni dodonu'.
(If a sentence is incorrect please mark 'sega ni dodonu'.)

4. Na noqu yacamu ko Kereni. O cei beka na yacaqu?
[_] Kereni
[_] Pita
[_] toa
[x] sega ni dodonu

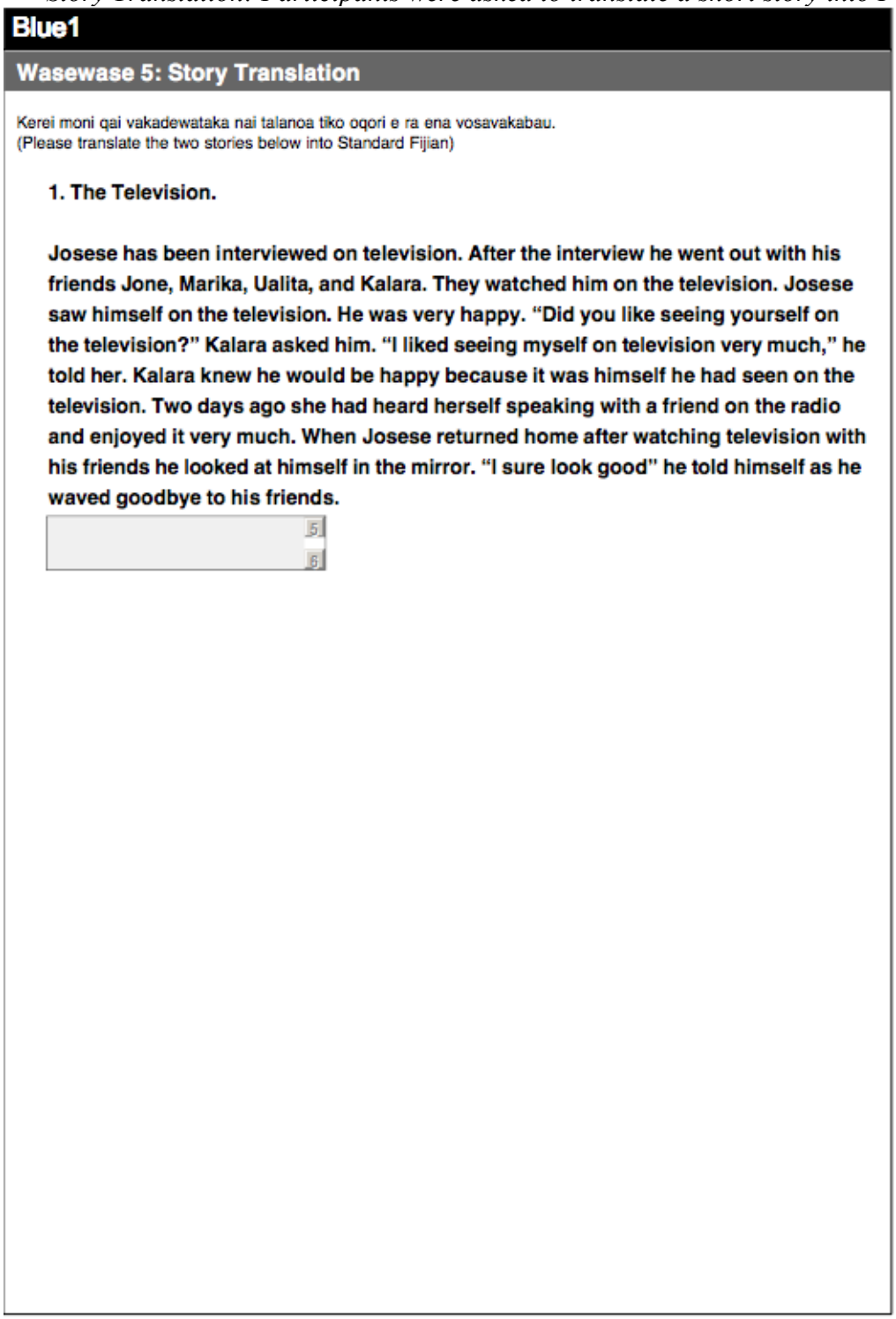
1. E tirovi koya o Jone. O cei e tirovi rawa o Jone?

- ☐ Mere
- ☐ Jone
- ☐ na vale
- ☐ sega ni dodonu

2. E vanai koya o Jone. E vanai rawa o cei o Jone?

- ☐ Mere
- ☐ Jone
- ☐ na vale
- ☐ sega ni dodonu

Story Translation: Participants were asked to translate a short story into Fijian.



Blue1

Wasewase 5: Story Translation

Kerei moni qai vakadewataka nai talanoa tiko oqori e ra ena vosavakabau.
(Please translate the two stories below into Standard Fijian)

1. The Television.

Josese has been interviewed on television. After the interview he went out with his friends Jone, Marika, Ualita, and Kalara. They watched him on the television. Josese saw himself on the television. He was very happy. "Did you like seeing yourself on the television?" Kalara asked him. "I liked seeing myself on television very much," he told her. Kalara knew he would be happy because it was himself he had seen on the television. Two days ago she had heard herself speaking with a friend on the radio and enjoyed it very much. When Josese returned home after watching television with his friends he looked at himself in the mirror. "I sure look good" he told himself as he waved goodbye to his friends.

2) *Details of each of the six surveys are presented in A. through F. below.*

A. *Survey 1*

a. Sentence Translation (The data from this part is presented in Section II of this appendix.)

1. You love yourself.
2. Paula requires that Kata's parents support himself.
3. Jone likes to take photographs.
4. He shaved himself.
5. I wash myself.
6. Jone got his shirt torn.
7. Somebody opened the door.
8. The queen invited both Melika and herself to my house for tea.
9. I like to eat pineapples.
10. I heard your favourite song on the radio.
11. She killed herself.
12. Simeli worries about himself.
13. Jone seems to Mere to be very lucky.
14. Mere loves her cat and Jone does too.
15. I voted for myself.

b. Rating Scale: *vanai* 'to shoot' and *tirovi* 'to look at' (The data from this section is included in the table below.)

Table C.1: Rating Scale – *vanai* 'to shoot' and *tirovi* 'to look at'

SENTENCE	TOTOKA	DODONU	ROGOROGOCA
E_i=tiro-vi Mere o Jone 3SG.SBJ=look.at-TR Mere DET Jone	4	7	6
E_i=vana-i koya$_i$ o Salote$_i$. 3SG.SBJ=shoot-TR 3SG.OBJ DET Salote	0	1	0
O_i tiro-vi ko iko$_i$. 2SG.SBJ look.at-TR DET 2SG.OBJ	0	5	12
E_i=tiro-vi koya$_j$ o Jone$_i$. 3SG.SBJ=look.at-TR 3SG.OBJ DET Jone	8	7	2
Au$_i$ tiro-vi au$_i$ gā vakai au$_i$. 1SG.SBJ look.at-TR 1SG.OBJ MODIF.emphatic according.to 1SG.OBJ	8	7	2
Au$_i$ vana na yava-qu$_i$. 1SG.SBJ shoot DET foot-POSS	14	3	0
O_i tiro-vi iko$_i$. 2SG.SBJ look.at-TR 2SG.OBJ	7	7	3
Au$_i$ dau tiro-va iko$_j$. 1SG.SBJ frequently look.at-TR 2SG.OBJ	5	3	9
Au$_i$ vana-i au$_i$ gā vakai au$_i$. 1SG.SBJ shoot-TR 1SG.OBJ MODIF.emphatic according.to 1SG.OBJ	12	5	0
E_i=tiro-vi koya$_i$ o Jone$_i$. 3SG.SBJ=look.at-TR 3SG.OBJ DET Jone	9	4	4
O_i vana-i iko$_i$. DET shoot-TR 2SG.OBJ	5	8	4
Au$_i$ tiro-vi au$_i$ gā. 1SG.SBJ look.at-TR 1SG.OBJ MODIF.emphatic	8	8	1
Na yalo~yalo tiro-vi o Salote. DET film look.at-TR DET Salote	1	1	15

O tiro-vi Mere$_i$ gā o iko$_j$. DET look.at-TR Mere MODIF.emphatic DET 2SG.OBJ	3	7	7
O$_i$ vana-i iko$_i$ gā. DET shoot-TR 2SG.OBJ MODIF.emphatic	7	9	1
E$_i$ vana-i Jone$_j$ o Isoa$_i$. 3SG.SBJ shoot-TR Jone DET Isoa	16	1	0
Era dui tiro-vi ira na gone ni vuli e na-i taba. 3PL.SBJ each look.at-TR 3PL.OBJ DET students in DET-NMLZ photo	4	9	4
O$_i$ tiro-vi iko$_i$ gā. 2SG.SBJ look.at-TR 2SG.OBJ MODIF.emphatic	8	7	2
E$_i$=vana-i koya$_i$ gā o Isoa$_i$. 3SG.SBJ=shoot-TR 3SG.SBJ MODIF.emphatic DET Isoa	1	0	0
Sa vana-i nona$_i$ yava-qu$_i$ o Mere$_i$. ASP shoot-TR 3SG.POSS foot-1SG.POSS DET Mere	1	0	16
Au$_i$ vana-i au$_i$. 1SG.SBJ shoot-TR 1SG.OBJ	7	9	1
E$_i$=tiro-vi koya$_i$ gā vakai koya$_i$ o Isoa$_i$. 3SG.SBJ=look.at-TR 3SG.OBJ MODIF.emphatic according.to 3SG.OBJ DET Isoa	1	0	0
Au$_i$ vana-i koi au$_i$. 1SG.SBJ shoot-TR DET 1SG.OBJ	1	7	8
E$_i$=vana-i koya$_i$ gā vakai koya$_i$ o Pita$_i$. 3SG.SBJ=shoot-TR 3SG.OBJ MODIF.emphatic according.to 3SG.OBJ DET Pita	14	1	2
Au$_i$ vana-i au$_i$. 1SG.SBJ shoot-TR 1SG.OBJ	8	9	0
Jone$_i$ tiro-vi koya$_j$. Jone look.at-TR 3SG.OBJ	3	9	5
E$_i$=vana~vana-i koya$_j$ gā vakai koya$_j$ o Salote$_i$. 3SG.SBJ=pierce-TR 3SG.SBJ MODIF.emphatic according.to 3SG.OBJ DET Salote	8	1	8
E$_i$=tiro-vi koya$_i$ gā o Jone$_i$. 3SG.SBJ=look.at-TR 3SG.OBJ MODIF.emphatic DET Jone	7	5	5
O$_i$ tiro-vi. 2SG.SBJ look.at-TR	1	9	7
O koya$_i$ sa tiro-vi na yalo~yalo. DET 3SG.SBJ ASP look.at-TR DET film	0	4	13
O$_i$ vana-i ko iko$_i$. DET shoot-TR DET 2SG.OBJ	2	10	5
O koya$_i$ sa tiro-vi na yalo~yalo. DET 3SG.SBJ ASP look.at-TR DET film	0	8	9
E$_i$=vana-i koya$_j$ o Paula$_i$. 3SG.SBJ=shoot-TR 3SG.OBJ DET Paula	1	0	0
Au$_i$ vana-i. 1SG.SBJ shoot-TR	7	6	4
Au$_i$ tiro-vi koi au$_i$. 1SG.SBJ shoot-TR DET 1SG.OBJ	1	5	11
O$_i$ vana-i iko$_i$ gā vakai iko$_i$. 2SG.SBJ shoot-TR 2SG.OBJ MODIF.emphatic according.to 2SG.OBJ	11	3	2
Era yādua vana-i ira na sotia. 3PL.SBJ one.each shoot-TR 3PL.OBJ DET soldier	0	2	15
Au$_i$ vana-i au$_i$ gā. 1SG.SBJ shoot-TR 1SG.OBJ MODIF.emphatic	12	5	0
O$_i$ tiro-vi iko$_i$ gā vakai iko$_i$. 2SG.SBJ look.at-TR 2SG.OBJ MODIF.emphatic according.to 2SG.OBJ	11	4	2
Au$_i$ tiro-vi au$_i$. 1SG.SBJ look.at-TR 1SG.OBJ	8	7	2

c. Illustration: *Mere kei Jone* ‘Mere and Jone’ (The data from this part is presented in Section IV of this appendix.)

d. Matrix of Choices: *vanai* ‘to shoot’ and *tirovi* ‘to look at’ (The data from this section is included in the table below.)

Table C.2: Matrix of Choices – *vanai* ‘to shoot’ and *tirovi* ‘to look at’

SENTENCE	1	2	3	4
E=tiro-vi koya o Jone. 3SG.SBJ=look.at-TR 3SG.OBJ DET Jone. O cei e=tiro-vi rawa o Jone? DET who 3SG.SBJ=look.at-TR able DET Jone	Mere: 0	Jone: 10	na vale: 0	sega ni dodonu: 6
E=vana-i koya o Jone. 3SG.SBJ=shoot-TR 3SG.OBJ DET Jone E=vana-i rawa o cei o Jone? 3SG.SBJ=shoot-TR able DET who DET Jone	Mere: 2	Jone: 9	na vale: 0	sega ni dodonu: 6
E=tiro-vi koya gā vakai koya o Jone. 3SG.SBJ=look.at-TR 3SG.OBJ MODIF.emphatic according.to 3SG.OBJ DET Jone E=tiro-vi rawa o cei o Jone? 3SG.SBJ=look.at-TR able DET who DET Jone	na vale: 0	Salote: 0	Jone: 10	sega ni dodonu: 4
Au tiro-va na toa, na vuaka, kei na-i ika. 1SG.SBJ look.at-TR DET chicken DET pig and DET-NMLZ fish Au vana na vuaka. 1SG.SBJ shoot DET pig Na cava tiro-vi au? DET what look.at-TR 1SG.OBJ	au: 2	toa: 1	vuaka: 1	sega ni dodonu: 10
E=vana-i. 3SG.SBJ=shoot-TR E=vana o cei? 3SG.SBJ=shoot DET who	Mere: 3	Salote: 2	na vale: 0	sega ni dodonu: 11
E=tiro-vi Paula o Mere. 3SG.SBJ=look.at-TR Paula DET Mere O cei tiro-vi Paula? DET who look.at-TR Paula	Paula: 0	Salote: 0	Mere: 13	sega ni dodonu: 1
E=vana na manumanu vuka o Mere. 3SG.SBJ=shoot DET bird DET Mere O cei vana na manumanu vuka? DET who shoot DET bird	Pita: 0	Mere: 13	keirau: 0	sega ni dodonu: 1
E=tiro-va ko koya o Jone. 3SG.SBJ=look.at-TR DET 3SG.OBJ DET Jone E=tiro-va rawa o cei ko Jone? 3SG.SBJ=look.at-TR able DET who DET Jone	na ika: 0	Salote: 1	Jone: 7	sega ni dodonu: 7
E=tiro-vi Jone. 3SG.SBJ=look.at-TR Jone O cei tiro-va rawa o Jone? DET who look.at-TR able DET Jone	Jone: 5	Pita: 0	levu na ka: 1	sega ni dodonu: 7
E=vana-i koya gā vakai koya o Mere. 3SG.SBJ=shoot-TR 3SG.OBJ MODIF.emphatic according.to 3SG.OBJ DET Mere O cei vana rawa o Mere? DET who shoot able DET Mere	Mere: 13	Jone: 0	iratou: 0	sega ni dodonu: 1
Au sa vana-i. 1SG.SBJ ASP shoot-TR O cei sa vana rawa o au? DET who ASP shoot able DET 1SG.OBJ	au: 7	iko: 0	koya: 1	sega ni dodonu: 6

E=tiro-vi koya gā o Jone. 3SG.SBJ=look.at-TR 3SG.OBJ MODIF.emphatic DET Jone E=tiro-va rawa o cei o Jone? 3SG.SBJ=look.at-TR able DET who DET Jone	keitou: 0	Jone: 13	Isoa: 2	sega ni dodonu: 0
E=tiro-vi Mere o Jone. 3SG.SBJ=look.at-TR Mere DET Jone E=tiro-va rawa o cei o Jone? 3SG.SBJ=look.at-TR able DET who DET Jone	Jone: 0	Mere: 9	na toa: 0	sega ni dodonu: 5
E=tiro-vi Mere ko Jone. 3SG.SBJ=look.at-TR Mere DET Jone O cei tiro-va rawa o Mere? DET who look.at-TR able DET Mere	Mere: 3	Jone: 9	na ika: 0	sega ni dodonu: 2
E=vana na vuaka na qase. 3SG.SBJ=shoot DET pig DET elder O cei vana rawa na vuaka? DET who shoot able DET pig	na gone: 0	na qase: 14	na vuaka: 0	sega ni dodonu: 0
E=vana-i koya gā o Mere. 3SG.SBJ=shoot-TR 3SG.OBJ MODIF.ephatic DET Mere O cei vana rawa o Mere? DET who shoot able DET Mere	Pita: 1	Mere: 12	na vale: 0	sega ni dodonu: 2
E=vana na vuaka o koya. 3SG.SBJ=shoot DET pig DET 3SG.OBJ E=vana na cava o koya? 3SG.SBJ=shoot DET what DET 3SG.OBJ	Salote: 1	iratou: 2	na vuaka: 7	sega ni dodonu: 4
E=tiro-vi Paula gā o Mere. 3SG.SBJ=look.at-TR Paula MODIF.emphatic DET Mere O cei tiro-vi Paula? DET who look.at-TR Paula	Mere: 11	Paula: 2	na toa: 0	sega ni dodonu: 3
E=vana-i ko Pita. 3SG.SBJ=shoot-TR DET Pita E=vana rawa o cei o Pita? 3SG.SBJ=shoot able DET who DET Pita	Pita: 3	Mere: 0	na vale: 1	sega ni dodonu: 9
E=vana na manumanu vuka kei e=tiro-va na vuaka ko. 3SG.SBJ=shoot DET bird and 3SG.SBJ=look.at-TR DET pig DET Paula. Paula E tiko na vuaka kei na manumanu vuka mai na veikau. there be.in.place DET pig and DET bird in.a.place DET forest E tiko na ika mai na waitui. there be.in.place DET fish in.a.place DET ocean	veikau: 9	waitui: 0	vale: 0	sega ni dodonu: 5

e. Story Translation: The Television (The data from this part is presented in Section III of this appendix.)

B. Survey 2

a. Sentence Translation

1. He voted for himself.
2. Jone tore his shirt with a stick.
3. Paula defended himself better than Isoa defended him.
4. I shave myself.
5. The queen invited both Melika and myself for tea.
6. Simeli worries Paula.
7. Somebody opened the door.
8. Paula is a student.
9. You killed yourself.
10. I speak to myself.
11. Mere seems to herself to be very lucky.
12. I like to eat pineapples.
13. You shot yourself.
14. I saw the movie.
15. Kalara opened her eyes.

b. Rating Scale: *raica* 'to see' and *rogoca* 'to hear'

Table C.3: Rating Scale – *raica* 'to see' and *rogoca* 'to hear'

SENTENCE	TOTOKA	DODONU	ROGOROGOCA
E_i=rai-ci Mere o Jone 3SG.SBJ=see-TR Mere DET Jone	10	2	0
Au rogo-ca na sere. 1SG.SBJ hear-TR DET song	11	1	0
O_i rai-ci ko iko_i. 2SG.SBJ see-TR DET 2SG.OBJ	0	6	6
E_i=rai-ci $koya_j$ o $Jone_i$. 3SG.SBJ=see-TR 3SG.OBJ DET Jone	8	3	0
Au_i rai-ci au_i gā vakai au_i. 1SG.SBJ see-TR 1SG.OBJ MODIF.emphatic according.to 1SG.OBJ	10	2	0
E_i=rogo-ci $koya_j$ o $Paula_i$. 3SG.SBJ=hear-TR 3SG.OBJ DET Paula	7	1	0
O_i rai-ci iko_i. 2SG.SBJ see-TR 2SG.OBJ	6	5	1
Au_i dau rai-ca iko_j. 1SG.SBJ frequently see-TR 2SG.OBJ	6	3	3
Au_i rogo-ci au_i gā vakai au_i. 1SG.SBJ hear-TR 1SG.OBJ MODIF.emphatic according.to 1SG.OBJ	8	3	1
E_i=rai-ci $koya_i$ o $Jone_i$. 3SG.SBJ=see-TR 3SG.OBJ DET Jone	4	7	1
O_i rogo-ci iko_i. DET hear-TR 2SG.OBJ	7	4	1
Au_i rai-ci au_i gā. 1SG.SBJ see-TR 1SG.OBJ MODIF.emphatic	9	2	1
Na yalo~yalo rai-ci o Salote. DET film see-TR DET Salote	1	0	11
O rai-ci $Mere_i$ gā o iko_j. DET see-TR Mere MODIF.emphatic DET 2SG.OBJ	6	4	2
O_i rogo-ci iko_i gā. DET hear-TR 2SG.OBJ MODIF.emphatic	9	2	1

E_i rogo-ci $koya_i$ gā o $Isoa_i$. 3SG.SBJ hear-TR 3SG.OBJ MODIF.emphatic DET Isoa	7	1	0
Era dui rai-ci ira na gone ni vuli e na-i taba. 3PL.SBJ each see-TR 3PL.OBJ DET students in DET-NMLZ photo	6	3	3
O_i rai-ci iko_i gā. 2SG.SBJ see-TR 2SG.OBJ MODIF.emphatic	9	3	0
E_i=rogo-ci $koya_i$ o $Salote_i$. 3SG.SBJ=hear-TR 3SG.SBJ DET Salote	6	2	0
Sa rogo-ca $nona_i$ yaca-qu_i o $Mere_i$. ASP hear-TR 3SG.POSS name-1SG.POSS DET Mere	3	0	9
Au_i vakarogo-ci au_i. 1SG.SBJ hear-TR 1SG.OBJ	9	2	1
E_i=rai-ci $koya_i$ gā vakai $koya_i$ o $Jone_i$. 3SG.SBJ=see-TR 3SG.OBJ MODIF.emphatic according.to 3SG.OBJ DET Jone	7	0	1
Au_i rogo-ci koi au_i. 1SG.SBJ hear-TR DET 1SG.OBJ	0	8	4
E_i=rogo-ci $koya_i$ gā vakai $koya_i$ o $Pita_i$. 3SG.SBJ=hear-TR 3SG.OBJ MODIF.emphatic according.to 3SG.OBJ DET Pita	8	2	2
Au_i rogo-ci au_i. 1SG.SBJ hear-TR 1SG.OBJ	8	3	1
$Jone_i$ rai-ci $koya_j$. Jone see-TR 3SG.OBJ	9	2	1
E_i=vakarogo-ci $koya_j$ gā vakai $koya_j$ o $Salote_i$. 3SG.SBJ=hear-TR 3SG.SBJ MODIF.emphatic according.to 3SG.OBJ DET Salote	2	1	9
E_i=rai-ci $koya_i$ gā o $Jone_i$. 3SG.SBJ=see-TR 3SG.OBJ MODIF.emphatic DET Jone	8	1	3
O_i rai-ci. 2SG.SBJ see-TR	2	6	4
O $koya_i$ sa rai-ci na yalo~yalo. DET 3SG.SBJ ASP see-TR DET film	4	2	6
O_i rogo-ci ko iko_i. DET hear-TR DET 2SG.OBJ	3	4	5
O $koya_i$ sa rai-ca na yalo~yalo. DET 3SG.SBJ ASP see-TR DET film	9	3	0
O_i rogo-ci. 2SG.SBJ hear-TR	7	1	4
Au_i rogo-ci. 1SG.SBJ hear-TR	7	4	1
Au_i rai-ci koi au_i. 1SG.SBJ see-TR DET 1SG.OBJ	1	4	5
O_i rogo-ci iko_i gā vakai iko_i. 2SG.SBJ hear-TR 2SG.OBJ MODIF.emphatic according.to 2SG.OBJ	9	2	1
Era yādua rogo-ci ira na nodra talanoa. 3PL.SBJ one.each hear-TR 3PL.OBJ DET 3PL.POSS story	2	0	10
Au_i rogo-ci au_i gā. 1SG.SBJ hear-TR 1SG.OBJ MODIF.emphatic	9	3	0
O_i rai-ci iko_i gā vakai iko_i. 2SG.SBJ see-TR 2SG.OBJ MODIF.emphatic according.to 2SG.OBJ	10	1	1
Au_i rai-ci au_i. 1SG.SBJ see-TR 1SG.OBJ	7	4	1

c. Illustration: *Mere kei Jone* ‘Mere and Jone’

d. Matrix of Choices: *raica* ‘to see’ and *rogoca* ‘to hear’

Table C.4: Matrix of Choices – *raica* ‘to see’ and *rogoca* ‘to hear’

SENTENCE	1	2	3	4
E=rai-ci koya o Jone. 3SG.SBJ=see-TR 3SG.OBJ DET Jone. O cei e=rai-ci rawa o Jone? DET who 3SG.SBJ=see-TR able DET Jone	Mere: 9	Jone: 5	na vale: 0	sega ni dodonu: 3
E=rogo-ci koya o Jone. 3SG.SBJ=hear-TR 3SG.OBJ DET Jone E=rogo-ca rawa o cei o Jone? 3SG.SBJ=hear-TR able DET who DET Jone	Mere: 10	Jone: 6	na vale: 0	sega ni dodonu: 2
E=rai-ci koya gā vakai koya o Jone. 3SG.SBJ=see-TR 3SG.OBJ MODIF.emphatic according.to 3SG.OBJ DET Jone E=rai-ci rawa o cei o Jone? 3SG.SBJ=see-TR able DET who DET Jone	na vale: 0	Salote: 1	Jone: 11	sega ni dodonu: 1
Au rai-ca na yalo~yalo, na meke, kei na-i taba. 1SG.SBJ see-TR DET film DET traditional.dance and DET-NMLZ photo Au rogo-ca na meke. 1SG.SBJ hear-TR DET traditional.dance Na cava rai-ci au? DET what see-TR 1SG.OBJ	au: 0	meke: 0	yaloyalo: 2	sega ni dodonu: 10
E=rogo-ci. 3SG.SBJ=hear-TR E=rogo-ca rawa o cei? 3SG.SBJ=hear-TR able DET who	Mere: 9	Salote: 8	na vale: 0	sega ni dodonu: 3
E=rai-ci Paula o Mere. 3SG.SBJ=see-TR Paula DET Mere O cei rai-ci Paula? DET who see-TR Paula	Paula: 0	Salote: 0	Mere: 12	sega ni dodonu: 0
E=vakarogo-ca na manumanu vuka o Mere. 3SG.SBJ=hear-TR DET bird DET Mere O cei vakarogo-ca na manumanu vuka? DET who hear-TR DET bird	Pita: 0	Mere: 12	keirau: 0	sega ni dodonu: 0
E=rai-ca ko koya o Jone. 3SG.SBJ=see-TR DET 3SG.OBJ DET Jone E=rai-ca rawa o cei ko Jone? 3SG.SBJ=see-TR able DET who DET Jone	na ika: 2	Salote: 8	Jone: 5	sega ni dodonu: 5
E=rai-ci Jone. 3SG.SBJ=see-TR Jone O cei rai-ca rawa o Jone? DET who see-TR able DET Jone	Jone: 0	Pita: 3	levu na ka: 4	sega ni dodonu: 7
E=rogo-ci koya gā vakai koya o Mere. 3SG.SBJ=hear-TR 3SG.OBJ MODIF.emphatic according.to 3SG.OBJ DET Mere O cei rogo-ca rawa o Mere? DET who hear-TR able DET Mere	Mere: 12	Jone: 0	iratou: 0	sega ni dodonu: 0
Au sa rogo-ci. 1SG.SBJ ASP hear-TR O cei sa rogo-ca rawa o au? DET who ASP hear-TR able DET 1SG.OBJ	au: 2	iko: 0	koya: 3	sega ni dodonu: 8
E=rai-ci koya gā o Jone. 3SG.SBJ=see-TR 3SG.OBJ MODIF.emphatic DET Jone E=rai-ca rawa o cei o Jone? 3SG.SBJ=see-TR able DET who DET Jone	keitou: 0	Jone: 10	Isoa: 5	sega ni dodonu: 0

E=rai-ci Mere o Jone. 3SG.SBJ=see-TR Mere DET Jone E=rai-ca rawa o cei o Jone? 3SG.SBJ=see-TR able DET who DET Jone	Jone: 1	Mere: 11	na toa: 0	sega ni dodonu: 0
E=rai-ci Mere ko Jone. 3SG.SBJ=see-TR Mere DET Jone O cei rai-ca rawa o Mere? DET who see-TR able DET Mere	Mere: 0	Jone: 7	na ika: 0	sega ni dodonu: 5
E=rogo-ca na sere na gone. 3SG.SBJ=hear-TR DET song DET child O cei rogo-ca rawa na sere? DET who hear-TR able DET song	na gone: 11	na qase: 0	Mere: 0	sega ni dodonu: 1
E=rogo-ci koya gā o Mere. 3SG.SBJ=hear-TR 3SG.OBJ MODIF.ephatic DET Mere O cei rogo-ca rawa o Mere? DET who hear-TR able DET Mere	Pita: 6	Mere: 9	na vale: 0	sega ni dodonu: 1
E=rogo-ca na kolī o koya. 3SG.SBJ=hear-TR DET dog DET 3SG.OBJ E=rogo-ca na cava o koya? 3SG.SBJ=hear-TR DET what DET 3SG.OBJ	Salote: 0	iratou: 0	na kolī: 12	sega ni dodonu: 0
E=rai-ci Paula gā o Mere. 3SG.SBJ=see-TR Paula MODIF.emphatic DET Mere O cei rai-ci Paula? DET who see-TR Paula	Mere: 11	Paula: 0	na toa: 0	sega ni dodonu: 1
E=rogo-ci ko Pita. 3SG.SBJ=hear-TR DET Pita E=rogo-ca rawa o cei o Pita? 3SG.SBJ=hear-TR able DET who DET Pita	Pita: 0	Mere: 0	na vale: 0	sega ni dodonu: 12
E=rogo-ca na manumanu vuka kei e=rai-ca na kolī ko. 3SG.SBJ=hear-TR DET bird and 3SG.SBJ=see-TR DET dog DET Paula. Paula E tiko na kolī kei na vuaka mai nona vale o there be.in.place DET dog and DET pig in.a.place 3SG.POSS house DET Salote. Salote E tiko na kolī kei na manumanu vuka mai nona vale there be.in.place DET dog and DET bird in.a.place 3SG.POSS house o Pita. DET Pita E=tiko mai na vale ni o cei o Paula? 3SG.SBJ=be.in.place in.a.place DET house of DET who DET Paula	Paula: 0	Salote: 0	Pita: 10	sega ni dodonu: 2

e. Story Translation: The Photographer

C. *Survey 3*

a. Sentence Translation

1. You voted for yourself.
2. I saw the movie.
3. The queen invited both Melika and herself to tea at my house.
4. Kata's parents require that Paula support himself.
5. She heard herself on the radio.
6. Jone tore his shirt with his hands.
7. Somebody opened the door.
8. I love myself.
9. Jone is a doctor.
10. Samu accidentally broke his leg.
11. You hate yourself.
12. Jone likes to take photographs.
13. Isoa spoke to Kalara about herself.
14. I saw myself in the mirror.
15. Paula defended himself better than Kalara defended herself.

b. Rating Scale: *toroi* 'to shave' and *vakasilima* 'to bathe'

Table C.5: Rating Scale – *toroi* 'to shave' and *vakasilima* 'to bathe'

SENTENCE	TOTOKA	DODONU	ROGOROGOCA
E=toro-i Mere o Jone. 3SG.SBJ=shave-TR Mere DET Jone	13	0	0
Au vaka-sili-ma na gone. 1SG.SBJ CAUS-bathe-TR DET child	13	0	0
O_i toro-i ko iko_i. 2SG.SBJ shave-TR DET 2SG.OBJ	1	10	2
E_i=toro-i $koya_j$ o $Jone_i$. 3SG.SBJ=shave-TR 3SG.OBJ DET Jone	12	1	0
Au_i toro-i au_i gā vakai au_i. 1SG.SBJ shave-TR 1SG.OBJ MODIF.emphatic according.to 1SG.OBJ	12	0	1
Au_i=vaka-sili-mi na gone. 3SG.SBJ=CAUS-bathe-TR DET child	5	2	6
O_i vaka-sili-mi iko_i. 2SG.SBJ CAUS-bathe-TR 2SG.OBJ	10	2	0
E_i vaka-sili-mi $koya_j$ o $Jone_i$ 1SG.SBJ CAUS-bathe-TR 3SG.OBJ DET Jone	13	0	0
Au_i vaka-sili-ci au_i gā vakai au_i. 1SG.SBJ CAUS-bathe-TR 1SG.OBJ MODIF.emphatic according.to 1SG.OBJ	13	0	0
E_i=toro-i $koya_i$ o $Jone_i$. 3SG.SBJ=shave-TR 3SG.OBJ DET Jone	7	6	0
O_i vaka-sili-mi iko_i. DET CAUS-bathe-TR 2SG.OBJ	8	4	1
Au_i toro-i au_i gā. 1SG.SBJ shave-TR 1SG.OBJ MODIF.emphatic	12	1	0
Na ulu-na toro-i o Salote. DET head-3SG.POSS shave-TR DET Salote	1	0	12
E_i=toro-i $koya_i$ gā o $Isoa_i$. 3SG.SBJ=shave-TR 3SG.OBJ MODIF.emphatic DET Isoa	13	0	0
O_i vaka-sili-mi iko_i gā. DET CAUS-bathe-TR 2SG.OBJ MODIF.emphatic	10	1	0

E=vaka-sili-mi Jone o Isoa. 3SG.SBJ=CAUS-bathe-TR Jone DET Isoa	13	0	0
Era dui toro-i ira. 3PL.SBJ each shave-TR 3PL.OBJ	12	1	0
O_i toro-i iko_i gā. 2SG.SBJ shave-TR 2SG.OBJ MODIF.emphatic	12	0	0
E_i=vaka-sili-mi $koya_i$ gā o $Salote_i$. 3SG.SBJ=CAUS-bathe-TR 3SG.SBJ MODIF.emphatic DET Salote	9	0	0
Sa vaka-sili-ma $nona_i$ gone o $Mere_i$. ASP CAUS-bathe-TR 3SG.POSS child DET Mere	8	4	1
Au_i vaka-sili-mi au_i. 1SG.SBJ CAUS-bathe-TR 1SG.OBJ	9	3	0
Au rai-ci 1SG.SBJ see-TR	5	8	0
Au_i vaka-sili-mi koi au_i. 1SG.SBJ CAUS-bathe-TR DET 1SG.OBJ	2	9	2
E_i=vaka-sili-mi $koya_i$ gā vakai $koya_i$ o 3SG.SBJ=CAUS-bathe-TR 3SG.OBJ MODIF.emphatic according.to 3SG.OBJ DET $Pita_i$. Pita	12	1	0
Au_i vaka-sili-mi au_i. 1SG.SBJ CAUS-bathe-TR 1SG.OBJ	9	4	0
$Kata_i$ toro-i $koya_j$. Kata shave-TR 3SG.OBJ	9	3	1
E_i=vaka-sili-mi $koya_j$ gā vakai $koya_j$ o 3SG.SBJ=CAUS-bathe-TR 3SG.SBJ MODIF.emphatic according.to 3SG.OBJ DET $Salote_i$. Salote	2	0	11
E_i=toro-i $koya_i$ gā o $Jone_i$. DET=shave-TR 3SG.SBJ MODIF.emphatic DET Jone	12	1	0
O_i toro-i iko_i. 2SG.SBJ shave-TR 2SG.OBJ	7	2	0
O $koya_i$ sa toro-i na $qase_j$. DET 3SG.SBJ ASP shave-TR DET elder	10	2	1
O_i vaka-sili-mi ko iko_i. DET CAUS-bathe-TR DET 2SG.OBJ	3	8	2
O $koya_i$ sa toro-ya na $qase_j$. DET 3SG.SBJ ASP shave-TR DET film	10	3	0
E_i vaka-sili-mi koya o $Jone_i$. 2SG.SBJ CAUS-bathe-TR 3SG.OBJ DET Jone	7	5	1
Au_i vaka-sili-mi. 1SG.SBJ CAUS-bathe-TR	8	4	1
Au_i toro-i koi au_i. 1SG.SBJ shave-TR DET 1SG.OBJ	1	11	1
O_i vaka-sili-mi iko_i gā vakai iko_i. 2SG.SBJ CAUS-bathe-TR 2SG.OBJ MODIF.emphatic according.to 2SG.OBJ	13	0	0
Era yādua vaka-sili-mi ira 3PL.SBJ one.each CAUS-bathe-TR 3PL.OBJ DET	2	0	11
Au_i vaka-sili-mi au_i gā. 1SG.SBJ CAUS-bathe-TR 1SG.OBJ MODIF.emphatic	13	0	0
O_i toro-i iko_i gā vakai iko_i. 2SG.SBJ shave-TR 2SG.OBJ MODIF.emphatic according.to 2SG.OBJ	13	0	0
Au_i toro-i au_i. 1SG.SBJ shave-TR 1SG.OBJ	9	4	0

c. Illustration: *Miss Hibiscus*

d. Matrix of Choices: *toroi* ‘to shave’ and *vakasilimi* ‘to bathe’

Table C.6: Matrix of Choices – *toroi* ‘to shave’ and *vakasilima* ‘to bathe’

SENTENCE	1	2	3	4
E=toro-i koya o Jone. 3SG.SBJ=shave-TR 3SG.OBJ DET Jone. O cei e=toro-i rawa o Jone? DET who 3SG.SBJ=shave-TR able DET Jone	Mere: 7	Jone: 7	na vale: 0	sega ni dodonu: 0
E=vaka-sili-mi koya o Jone. 3SG.SBJ=CAUS-bathe-TR 3SG.OBJ DET Jone E=vaka-sili-ma rawa o cei o Jone? 3SG.SBJ=CAUS-bathe-TR able DET who DET Jone	Mere: 10	Jone: 9	na vale: 0	sega ni dodonu: 1
E=toro-i koya gā vakai koya o Jone. 3SG.SBJ=shave-TR 3SG.OBJ MODIF.emphatic according.to 3SG.OBJ DET Jone E=toro-ya rawa o cei o Jone? 3SG.SBJ=see-TR able DET who DET Jone	na vale: 1	Salote: 1	Jone: 12	sega ni dodonu: 0
Au vaka-sili-ma na gone, na kolī, kei na-i vale. 1SG.SBJ CAUS-bathe-TR DET child DET dog and DET-NMLZ house Au toro-ya na qase. 1SG.SBJ shave-TR DET elder Na cava vaka-sili-mi au? DET what CAUS-bathe-TR 1SG.OBJ	au: 0	qase: 0	gone: 0	sega ni dodonu: 13
E=vaka-sili-mi. 3SG.SBJ=CAUS-bathe-TR E=vaka-sili-ma rawa o cei? 3SG.SBJ=CAUS-bathe-TR able DET who	Mere: 11	Salote: 11	na vale: 2	sega ni dodonu: 2
E=toro-i Paula o Mere. 3SG.SBJ=shave-TR Paula DET Mere O cei toro-i Paula? DET who shave-TR Paula	Paula: 1	Salote: 0	Mere: 12	sega ni dodonu: 0
E=vaka-sili-ma na kolī o Mere. 3SG.SBJ=CAUS-bathe-TR DET dog DET Mere O cei vaka-sili-ma na kolī? DET who CAUS-bathe-TR DET bird	Pita: 0	Mere: 12	keirau: 0	sega ni dodonu: 0
E=toro-ya ko koya o Jone. 3SG.SBJ=shave-TR DET 3SG.OBJ DET Jone E=toro-ya rawa o cei ko Jone? 3SG.SBJ=shave-TR able DET who DET Jone	na ika: 0	Salote: 1	Jone: 0	sega ni dodonu: 12
E=toro-i Jone. 3SG.SBJ=shave-TR Jone O cei toro-ya rawa o Jone? DET who shave-TR able DET Jone	Jone: 1	Pita: 1	levu na ka: 1	sega ni dodonu: 11
E=vakasili-mi koya gā vakai koya o Mere. 3SG.SBJ=bathe-TR 3SG.OBJ MODIF.emphatic according.to 3SG.OBJ DET Mere O cei vaka-sili-ca rawa o Mere? DET who CAUS-bathe-TR able DET Mere	Mere: 12	Jone: 0	iratou: 0	sega ni dodonu: 0
Au sa vaka-sili-mi. 1SG.SBJ ASP CAUS-bathe-TR O cei sa vaka-sili-ma rawa o au? DET who ASP CAUS-bathe-TR able DET 1SG.OBJ	au: 3	iko: 2	koya: 3	sega ni dodonu: 9
E=toro-i koya gā o Jone. 3SG.SBJ=shave-TR 3SG.OBJ MODIF.emphatic DET Jone E=toro-ya rawa o cei o Jone? 3SG.SBJ=shave-TR able DET who DET Jone	keitou: 0	Jone: 13	Isoa: 8	sega ni dodonu: 0

E=toro-i Mere o Jone. 3SG.SBJ=shave-TR Mere DET Jone E=toro-ya rawa o cei o Jone? 3SG.SBJ=shave-TR able DET who DET Jone	Jone: 0	Mere: 12	na toa: 0	sega ni dodonu: 1
E=toro-i Mere ko Jone. 3SG.SBJ=shave-TR Mere DET Jone O cei toro-ya rawa o Mere? DET who shave-TR able DET Mere	Mere: 1	Jone: 8	na ika: 0	sega ni dodonu: 4
E=vaka-sili-ma na kolī na gone. 3SG.SBJ=CAUS-bathe-TR DET dog DET child O cei vaka-sili-ma rawa na kolī? DET who CAUS-bathe-TR able DET dog	na gone: 13	na qase: 0	Mere: 0	sega ni dodonu: 0
E=vaka-sili-mi koya gā o Mere. 3SG.SBJ=CAUS-bathe-TR 3SG.OBJ MODIF.ephatic DET Mere O cei vaka-sili-ma rawa o Mere? DET who CAUS-bathe-TR able DET Mere	Pita: 8	Mere: 13	na vale: 0	sega ni dodonu: 0
E=vaka-sili-ma na kolī o koya. 3SG.SBJ=CAUS-bathe-TR DET dog DET 3SG.OBJ E=vaka-sili-ma na cava o koya? 3SG.SBJ=CAUS-wash-TR DET what DET 3SG.OBJ	Salote: 0	iratou: 0	na kolī: 13	sega ni dodonu: 0
E=toro-i Paula gā o Mere. 3SG.SBJ=shave-TR Paula MODIF.emphatic DET Mere O cei toro-i Paula? DET who shave-TR Paula	Mere: 13	Paula: 0	na toa: 0	sega ni dodonu: 0
E=vaka-sili-i ko Pita. 3SG.SBJ=CAUS-bathe-TR DET Pita E=vaka-sili-ma rawa o cei o Pita? 3SG.SBJ=CAUS-bathe-TR able DET who DET Pita	Pita: 0	Mere: 1	na vale: 0	sega ni dodonu: 12
E=rogo-ca na manumanu vuka kei e=rai-ca na kolī ko. 3SG.SBJ=hear-TR DET bird and 3SG.SBJ=see-TR DET dog DET Paula. Paula E tiko na kolī kei na vuaka mai nona vale o there be.in.place DET dog and DET pig in.a.place 3SG.POSS house DET Salote. Salote E tiko na kolī kei na manumanu vuka mai nona vale there be.in.place DET dog and DET bird in.a.place 3SG.POSS house o Pita. DET Pita E=tiko mai na vale ni o cei o Paula? 3SG.SBJ=be.in.place in.a.place DET house of DET who DET Paula	Paula: 0	Salote: 1	Pita: 11	sega ni dodonu: 0

e. Story Translation: The Wild Pig

D. Survey 4

a. Sentence Translation

1. You saw yourself in the mirror.
2. Paula is a student.
3. Kata defended herself better than Paula defended her.
4. Spiders scare me.
5. The queen invited both Melika and me for tea.
6. I heard myself on the radio.
7. She speaks to herself.
8. Kalara gave me a piece of cake
9. Somebody opened the door.
10. I killed myself.
11. She bought Mere a sulu but decided to keep it for herself.
12. You speak to yourself.
13. Paula defended himself better than Mere defended herself.
14. The wind opened the door.
15. Isoa spoke to Kalara about himself.

b. Rating Scale: *lomalomani* 'to love' and *cāti* 'to hate'

Table C.7: Rating Scale – *lomalomani* 'to love and *cāti* 'to hate'

SENTENCE	TOTOKA	DODONU	ROGOROGOCA
E=lomaloma-ni Mere o Jone. 3SG.SBJ=love-TR Mere DET Jone	10	2	3
Au cā-ti na danisi. 1SG.SBJ hate-TR DET dancing	1	2	12
E=cā-ti Jone ko Isoa 3SG.SBJ=hate-TR Jone and Isoa	12	2	1
O_i lomaloma-ni ko iko_i. 2SG.SBJ love-TR DET 2SG.OBJ	2	5	8
E_i=lomaloma-ni $koya_j$ o $Jone_i$. 3SG.SBJ=love-TR 3SG.OBJ DET Jone	10	4	1
O_i lomaloma-ni iko_i. 2SG.SBJ love-TR 2SG.OBJ	6	5	3
Au_i lomaloma-ni au_i gā vakai au_i. 1SG.SBJ love-TR 1SG.OBJ MODIF.emphatic according.to 1SG.OBJ	9	2	4
O_i cā-ti iko_i. 2SG.SBJ hate-TR 2SG.OBJ	7	6	2
Au_i dau lomalolo-ma iko_j. 1SG.SBJ frequently love-TR 2SG.OBJ	7	1	6
Au_i cā-ti au gā vakai au_i. 1SG.SBJ hate-TR 1SG.OBJ MODIF.emphatic according.to 1SG.OBJ	7	6	2
E_i=lomaloma-ni $koya_i$ o $Jone_i$. 3SG.SBJ=love-TR 3SG.OBJ DET Jone	11	4	0
O_i cā-ti ko iko_i. 2SG.SBJ hate-TR 2SG.OBJ	1	5	9
Au_i lomaloma-ni au_i gā 1SG.SBJ love-TR 1SG.OBJ MODIF.emphatic	10	2	3
E_i=lomaloma-ni $koya_i$ gā vakai $koya_i$ o $Salote_i$. 3SG.SBJ=love-TR 3SG.OBJ MODIF.emphatic according.to 3SG.OBJ DET Salote	7	1	1
O_i lomaloma-ni $Mere_j$ gā o iko_i. 2SG.SBJ love-TR Mere MODIF.emphatic DET 2SG.OBJ	6	6	2

O_i cā-ti iko_i gā. 2SG.SBJ hate-TR 2SG.OBJ MODIF.emphatic	6	6	3
E_i=cā-ti $koya_j$ o $Isoa_i$. 3SG.SBJ=hate-TR 3SG.OBJ DET Isoa	9	0	0
Era dui lomaloma-ni ira na gone ni vuli. 3PL.SBJ each love-TR 3PL.OBJ DET students	8	7	0
O_i lomaloma-ni iko_i gā 2SG.SBJ love-TR 2SG.OBJ MODIF.emphatic	13	1	0
E_i=cā-ti koya gā o $Jone_i$. 3SG.SBJ=hate-TR 3SG.OBJ MODIF.emphatic DET Jone	8	1	0
Sa lomaloma-na nona yaca-qu o Mere. ASP love-TR 3SG.POSS name-3SG.POSS DET Mere	1	4	10
Au lomaloma-ni. 1SG.SBJ love-TR	4	8	3
E_i=cā-ti koya gā vakai $koya_i$ o $Pita_i$. 3SG.SBJ=hate 3SG.OBJ MODIF.emphatic according.to 3SG.OBJ DET Pita	13	1	1
Au_i cā-ti au_i. 1SG.SBJ hate-TR 1SG.OBJ	6	6	3
Na kolī o koya cā-ti tiko. DET dog DET 3SG.OBJ hate-TR MODIF.permanence	1	4	10
Au_i lomaloma-ni au_i. 1SG.SBJ love-TR 1SG.OBJ	6	8	1
Au_i cā-ti koi au_i. 1SG.SBJ hate-TR DET 1SG.OBJ	1	8	6
$Jone_i$ lomaloma-ni $koya_j$. Jone love-TR 3SG.OBJ	4	8	3
E_i=cā-ti $koya_j$ gā vakai $koya_j$ o $Salote_i$. 3SG.SBJ=hate-TR 3SG.OBJ MODIF.emphatic according.to 3SG.OBJ DET Salote	6	3	6
E_i=lomaloma-ni $koya_i$ gā o $Jone_i$. 3SG.SBJ=love-TR 3SG.OBJ MODIF.emhatic DET Jone.	10	4	1
O koya sa lomaloma-ni na luve-na. DET 3SG.SBJ ASP love-TR DET child-3SG.POSS	5	3	7
O koya sa lomaloma-na na luve-na. DET 3SG.SBJ ASP love-TR DET child-TR	10	3	2
O cā-ti. 2SG.SBJ hate-TR	1	7	7
O lomaloma-ni. DET love-TR	3	11	1
Na lomaloma-ni e dua na kā vinaka. DET love-TR one DET thing good	4	7	4
Au_i lomaloma-ni koi au_i. 1SG.SBJ love-TR DET 1SG.OBJ	2	6	7
O_i cā-ti iko_i gā vakai iko_i. 2SG.SBJ hate-TR 2SG.OBJ MODIF.emphatic according.to 2SG.OBJ	5	7	2
E_i=cā-ti $koya_i$ o $Salote_i$. 3SG.SBJ=hate-TR 3SG.OBJ DET Salote	8	1	0
Au_i cā-ti au_i gā 1SG.SBJ hate-TR 1SG.OBJ MODIF.emphatic	9	5	1
O_i lomaloma-ni iko_i gā vakai iko_i. 2SG.SBJ love-TR 2SG.OBJ MODIF.emphatic according.to 2SG.OBJ	11	2	1

c. Illustration: *Miss Hibiscus*

d. Matrix of Choices: *cāti* ‘to hate’ and *lomalomani* ‘to love’

Table C.8: Matrix of Choices – *lomalomani* ‘to love and *cāti* ‘to hate’

SENTENCE	1	2	3	4
E=lomaloma-ni koya o Jone. 3SG.SBJ=love-TR 3SG.OBJ DET Jone. O cei e=lomaloma-ni rawa o Jone? DET who 3SG.SBJ=love-TR able DET Jone	Mere: 7	Jone: 7	na vale: 0	sega ni dodonu: 4
E=cā-ti o Pita. 3SG.SBJ=hate-TR DET Pita E=cā-ti o cei o Pita? 3SG.SBJ=hate-TR DET who DET Jone	Pita: 2	Mere: 4	na vale: 0	sega ni dodonu: 8
E= cā-ti koya gā o Mere. 3SG.SBJ=hate-TR 3SG.OBJ MODIF.emphatic DET Mere E= cā-ti o cei o Mere? 3SG.SBJ=hate-TR DET who DET Mere	Pita: 6	Mere: 9	na vale: 0	sega ni dodonu: 2
E=lomaloma-ni koya gā vakai koya o Jone. 3SG.SBJ=love-TR 3SG.OBJ MODIF.emphatic 3SG.OBJ DET Jone E=lomaloma-ni o cei o Jone. 3SG.SBJ=love-TR DET who DET Jone	na vale: 0	Salote: 0	Jone: 12	sega ni dodonu: 1
E=cā-ti koya o Jone. 3SG.SBJ=hate-TR 3SG.OBJ DET Jone E=cā-ti o cei o Jone? 3SG.SBJ=hate-TR DET who DET Jone	Mere: 7	Jone: 5	na vale: 0	sega ni dodonu: 6
E=cā-ti. 3SG.SBJ=hate-TR E=cā-ti o cei? 3SG.SBJ=hate-TR DET who	Mere: 3	Salote: 3	na vale: 1	sega ni dodonu: 10
E=lomaloma-ni o Jone. 3SG.SBJ=love-TR DET Jone E=lomaloma-ni o cei o Jone? 3SG.SBJ=shave-TR DET who DET Jone	Jone: 2	Pita: 3	levu na kā: 1	sega ni dodonu: 9
E=lomaloma-ni o koya o Jone. 3SG.SBJ=love-TR DET 3SG.OBJ DET Jone E=lomaloma-ni o cei o Jone? 3SG.SBJ=love-TR DET who DET Jone	na ika: 0	Salote: 6	Jone: 5	sega ni dodonu: 7
E=cā-ti koya gā vakai koya o Mere. 3SG.SBJ=hate-TR 3SG.OBJ MODIF.emphatic according.to 3SG.OBJ DET Mere E=cā-ti o cei o Mere? 3SG.SBJ=hate-TR DET who DET Mere	Mere: 11	Jone: 0	iratou: 1	sega ni dodonu: 0
Au cā-ti. 1SG.SBJ hate-TR Au cā-ti o cei? 1SG.SBJ hate DET who	au: 2	iko: 3	koya: 2	sega ni dodonu: 8
E=lomaloma-ni koya gā o Jone. 3SG.SBJ=love-TR 3SG.OBJ MODIF.emphatic DET Jone E=lomaloma-ni o cei o Jone? 3SG.SBJ=love-TR DET who DET Jone	keitou: 1	Jone: 12	Isoa: 3	sega ni dodonu: 0
E=lomaloma-ni Mere o Jone. 3SG.SBJ=love-TR Mere DET Jone E=lomaloma-ni o cei o Jone? 3SG.SBJ=love-TR DET who DET Jone	Jone: 0	Mere: 12	na toa: 0	sega ni dodonu: 1
E=lomaloma-ni Mere o Jone. 3SG.SBJ=love-TR Mere DET Jone O cei e=lomaloma-ni Mere? DET who 3SG.SBJ=love-TR Mere	Mere: 0	Jone: 12	na ika: 0	sega ni dodonu: 1

Na kolī na toa cā-ta. DET dog DET chicken hate-TR O cei cā-ta? DET who hate-TR	na kolī: 0	na toa: 6	Mere: 1	sega ni dodonu: 6
O koya cā-ta na kolī. DET 3SG.SBJ hate-TR DET dog E=cā-ta na cava o koya? 3SG.SBJ=hate-TR DET what DET 3SG.OBJ	Salote: 0	iratou: 0	na kolī: 11	sega ni dodonu: 2
E=cā-ta na kā osooso o Mere. 3SG.SBJ=hate-TR DET thing busy DET Mere O cei e=cā-ta na kā osooso? DET who 3SG.SBJ=hate-TR DET thing busy	Pita: 0	Mere: 13	keirau: 0	sega ni dodonu: 0
E=lomaloma-ni Paula gā o Mere. 3SG.SBJ=love-TR Paula MODIF.emphatic DET Mere O cei lomaloma-ni Paula? DET who love-TR Paula	Mere: 13	Paula: 0	na toa: 0	sega ni dodonu: 0
E=lomaloma-ni Paula o Mere. 3SG.SBJ=love-TR Paula DET Mere O cei lomaloma-ni Paula? DET who love-TR Paula	Paula: 0	Salote: 0	Mere: 13	sega ni dodonu: 0
Au lomaloma-na na danisi, na sere, kei na lasa. 1SG.SBJ love-TR DET dance DET song and DET fun Au cā-ti na loma osooso. 1SG.SBJ hate-TR DET stress Na cava lomaloma-ni au? DET what love-TR 1SG.OBJ	au: 0	lasa: 1	osooso: 0	sega ni dodonu: 12
E=cā-ta na draki batabatā o Paula kei e=loma-na 3SG.SBJ=hate-TR DET weather cold DET Paula and 3SG.SBJ=love-TR na draki katakata o koya. DET weather hot DET 3SG.OBJ Sa katakata na draki mai nona vale o Salote. ASP hot DET weather from 3SG.POSS house DET Salote Sa batabatā na draki mai nona vale o Pita. ASP cold DET weather from 3SG.POSS house DET Pita Sa via tiko mai na vale ni o cei o Paula? ASP want stay at DET house POSS DET who DET Paula	Paula: 5	Salote: 4	Pita: 2	sega ni dodonu: 2

e. Story Translation: The Mirror

E. Survey 5

a. Sentence Translation

1. He saw himself in the mirror.
2. The queen invited me for tea.
3. Paula requires that Kata's parents support both himself and the child.
4. I hate spiders.
5. You shave yourself.
6. The door opened.
7. Mere said to Jone that she hit herself.
8. I hate myself.
9. Jone defended himself better than Kalara.
10. Paula seems to Kalara to be a nice person.
11. Somebody opened the door.
12. She washed herself.
13. Jone is a doctor.
14. He shot himself.
15. I heard your favourite song on the radio.

b. Rating Scale: *digitaki* 'to vote' and *vakamatei* 'to kill'

Table C.9: Rating Scale – *digitaki* 'to vote' and *vakamatei* 'to kill'

SENTENCE	TOTOKA	DODONU	ROGOROGOCA
E_i=digi-taki Mere o Jone 3SG.SBJ=choose-TR Mere DET Jone	15	0	0
Au vaka-mate-i na vuaka. 1SG.SBJ CAUS-death-TR DET pig	3	0	12
O_i digi-taki ko iko_i. 2SG.SBJ choose-TR DET 2SG.OBJ	0	11	4
E_i=digi-taki $koya_j$ o $Jone_i$. 3SG.SBJ=see-TR 3SG.OBJ DET Jone	14	1	0
Au_i rai-ci au_i gā vakai au_i. 1SG.SBJ choose-TR 1SG.OBJ MODIF.emphatic according.to 1SG.OBJ	15	0	0
Au vaka-mate-i na vuaka 1SG.SBJ CAUS-death-TR DET pig	0	0	15
O_i digi-taki iko_i. 2SG.SBJ choose-TR 2SG.OBJ	8	6	0
E_i=vaka-mate-i $koya_j$ o $Jone_i$. 1SG.SBJ=CAUS-death-TR 3SG.OBJ DET Jone	15	0	0
Au_i vaka-mate-i au_i gā vakai au_i. 1SG.SBJ CAUS-death-TR 1SG.OBJ MODIF.emphatic according.to 1SG.OBJ	14	1	0
E_i=digi-taki $koya_i$ o $Jone_i$. 3SG.SBJ=choose-TR 3SG.OBJ DET Jone	8	6	1
O_i vaka-mate-i iko_i. DET CAUS-death-TR 2SG.OBJ	8	5	2
Au_i digi-taki au_i gā. 1SG.SBJ choose-TR 1SG.OBJ MODIF.emphatic	15	0	0
Na matanitū digi-taki o Salote. DET government choose-TR DET Salote	2	1	11
O digi-taki $Mere_i$ gā o iko_j. DET choose-TR Mere MODIF.emphatic DET 2SG.OBJ	12	3	0
O_i vaka-mate-i iko_i gā. DET CAUS-death-TR 2SG.OBJ MODIF.emphatic	13	2	0

E_i=vaka-mate-i Jone o $Isoa_i$. 3SG.SBJ=CAUS-death-TR Jone DET Isoa	13	0	0
Era dui digi-taki ira na gone ni vuli 3PL.SBJ each choose-TR 3PL.OBJ DET students	8	7	0
O_i digi-taki iko_i gā. 2SG.SBJ choose-TR 2SG.OBJ MODIF.emphatic	14	0	0
E_i=vaka-mate-i $koya_i$ o $Jone_i$. 3SG.SBJ=CAUS-death-TR 3SG.SBJ DET Jone	5	5	0
Sa vaka-mate-i $nona_i$ toa o $Mere_i$. ASP CAUS-die-TR 3SG.POSS chicken DET Mere	7	4	4
Au_i vaka-mate-i au_i. 1SG.SBJ CAUS-death-TR 1SG.OBJ	10	5	0
E_i=vaka-mate-i $koya_i$ gā o $Isoa_i$. 3SG.SBJ=CAUS-death-TR 3SG.OBJ MODIF.emphatic DET Isoa	15	0	0
Au_i vaka-mate-i koi au_i. 1SG.SBJ CAUS-death-TR DET 1SG.OBJ	1	10	4
E_i=digi-taki $koya_i$ gā vakai $koya_i$ o $Pita_i$. 3SG.SBJ=choose-TR 3SG.OBJ MODIF.emphatic according.to 3SG.OBJ DET Pita	14	1	0
Au_i vaka-mate-ci au_i. 1SG.SBJ CAUS-death-TR 1SG.OBJ	12	3	0
$Jone_i$ digi-taki $koya_j$. Jone choose-TR 3SG.OBJ	13	1	1
E_i=vakamate-i $koya_j$ gā vakai $koya_j$ o 3SG.SBJ=CAUS-death-TR 3SG.SBJ MODIF.emphatic according.to 3SG.OBJ DET $Salote_i$. Salote	4	1	9
E_i=digi-taki $koya_i$ gā o $Jone_i$. 3SG.SBJ=choose-TR 3SG.OBJ MODIF.emphatic DET Jone	13	2	0
E_i vaka-mate-i $koya_i$ gā vakai $koya_i$ o 3SG.SBJ CAUS-death-TR 3SG.OBJ MODIF.emphatic according.to 3SG.OBJ DET $Salote_i$. Salote	10	0	0
O $koya_i$ sa digi-taki nai liuliu. DET 3SG.SBJ ASP choose-TR DET leader	9	4	2
O_i vaka-mate-i ko iko_i. DET CAUS-death-TR DET 2SG.OBJ	3	8	4
O $koya_i$ sa digi-taki na-i liuliu. DET 3SG.SBJ ASP choose-TR DET-NMLZ film	8	5	2
O_i vaka-mate-i. 2SG.SBJ CAUS-death-TR	5	8	2
Au_i vaka-mate-ci. 1SG.SBJ CAUS-death-TR	5	7	3
Au_i digi-taki koi au_i. 1SG.SBJ choose-TR DET 1SG.OBJ	3	8	4
O_i vaka-mate-ci iko_i gā vakai iko_i. 2SG.SBJ CAUS-death-TR 2SG.OBJ MODIF.emphatic according.to 2SG.OBJ	13	2	0
Era yādua vaka-mate-i ira na nona vuaka. 3PL.SBJ one.each CAUS-death-TR 3PL.OBJ DET 3SG.POSS pig	2	1	12
Au_i vaka-mate-i au_i gā. 1SG.SBJ CAUS-death-TR 1SG.OBJ MODIF.emphatic	14	1	0
O_i digi-taki iko_i gā vakai iko_i. 2SG.SBJ choose-TR 2SG.OBJ MODIF.emphatic according.to 2SG.OBJ	13	1	1
Au_i digi-taki au_i. 1SG.SBJ choose-TR 1SG.OBJ	10	5	0

c. Illustration: *Mere kei Jone*

d. Matrix of Choices: *digitaki* ‘to vote’ and *vakematei* ‘to kill’

Table C.10: Matrix of Choices – *digitaki* ‘to vote’ and *vakamatei* ‘to kill’

SENTENCE	1	2	3	4
E=digi-taki koya o Jone. 3SG.SBJ=choose-TR 3SG.OBJ DET Jone. O cei e=digi-taki rawa o Jone? DET who 3SG.SBJ=choose-TR able DET Jone	Mere: 10	Jone: 8	na vale: 0	sega ni dodonu: 4
E=vaka-mate-i koya o Jone. 3SG.SBJ=CAUS-death-TR 3SG.OBJ DET Jone E=vaka-mate-i rawa o cei o Jone? 3SG.SBJ=CAUS-death-TR able DET who DET Jone	Mere: 9	Jone: 7	na vale: 0	sega ni dodonu: 5
E=digi-taki koya gā vakai koya o Jone. 3SG.SBJ=choose-TR 3SG.OBJ MODIF.emphatic according.to 3SG.OBJ DET Jone E=digi-taki rawa o cei o Jone? 3SG.SBJ=choose-TR able DET who DET Jone	na vale: 1	Salote: 1	Jone: 12	sega ni dodonu: 1
Au digi-taki na vuaka, na ika, kei na bulumakau. 1SG.SBJ choose-TR DET pig DET fish and DET cow Au vaka-mate-i na toa. 1SG.SBJ CAUS-death-TR DET chicken Na cava digi-taki au? DET what choose-TR 1SG.OBJ	au: 1	vuaka: 1	toa: 0	sega ni dodonu: 12
E=vaka-mate-i. 3SG.SBJ=CAUS-death-TR E=vaka-mate-i rawa o cei? 3SG.SBJ=CAUS-death-TR able DET who	Mere: 9	Salote: 9	na vale: 0	sega ni dodonu: 5
E=digi-taki Paula o Mere. 3SG.SBJ=choose-TR Paula DET Mere O cei digi-taki Paula? DET who choose-TR Paula	Paula: 0	Salote: 0	Mere: 14	sega ni dodonu: 0
E=vaka-mate-i na manumanu vuka o Mere. 3SG.SBJ=CAUS-death-TR DET bird DET Mere O cei vaka-mate-ca na manumanu vuka? DET who CASU-death-TR DET bird	Pita: 0	Mere: 11	keirau: 0	sega ni dodonu: 4
E=digi-taki ko koya o Jone. 3SG.SBJ=choose-TR DET 3SG.OBJ DET Jone E=digi-taki rawa o cei ko Jone? 3SG.SBJ=choose-TR able DET who DET Jone	na ika: 0	Salote: 8	Jone: 8	sega ni dodonu: 6
E=digi-taki Jone. 3SG.SBJ=choose-TR Jone O cei digi-taki rawa o Jone? DET who choose-TR able DET Jone	Jone: 2	Pita: 4	levu na kā: 0	sega ni dodonu: 10
E=vaka-mate-i koya gā vakai koya o 3SG.SBJ=CAUS-death-TR 3SG.OBJ MODIF.emphatic according.to 3SG.OBJ DET Mere. Mere O cei vaka-mate-i rawa o Mere? DET who CAUS-death-TR able DET Mere	Mere: 14	Jone: 0	iratou: 0	sega ni dodonu: 0
Au sa vaka-mate-i. 1SG.SBJ ASP CAUS-death-TR O cei sa vaka-mate-i rawa o au? DET who ASP CAUS-death-TR able DET 1SG.OBJ	au: 4	iko: 0	koya: 1	sega ni dodonu: 8
E=digi-taki koya gā o Jone. 3SG.SBJ=choose-TR 3SG.OBJ MODIF.emphatic DET Jone E=digi-taki rawa o cei o Jone? 3SG.SBJ=choose-TR able DET who DET Jone	keitou: 1	Jone: 12	Isoa: 3	sega ni dodonu: 1

E=digi-taki Mere o Jone. 3SG.SBJ=choose-TR Mere DET Jone E=digi-taki rawa o cei o Jone? 3SG.SBJ=choose-TR able DET who DET Jone	Jone: 2	Mere: 10	na toa: 0	sega ni dodonu: 2
E=digi-taki Mere ko Jone. 3SG.SBJ=choose-TR Mere DET Jone O cei digi-taki rawa o Mere? DET who choose-TR able DET Mere	Mere: 2	Jone: 9	na ika: 0	sega ni dodonu: 4
E=vaka-mate-i na toa na gone. 3SG.SBJ=CAUS-death-TR DET song DET child O cei vaka=mate-i rawa na toa? DET who CAUS-death-TR able DET chicken	na gone: 12	na qase: 1	Mere: 1	sega ni dodonu: 0
E=vaka-mate-i koya gā o Mere. 3SG.SBJ=CAUS-die-TR 3SG.OBJ MODIF.ephatic DET Mere O cei vaka-mate-i rawa o Mere? DET who CAUS-die-TR able DET Mere	Pita: 6	Mere: 12	na vale: 0	sega ni dodonu: 1
E=vaka-mate-i na vuaka o koya. 3SG.SBJ=CAUS-death-TR DET pig DET 3SG.OBJ E=vaka-mate-i na cava o koya? 3SG.SBJ=CAUS-death-TR DET what DET 3SG.OBJ	Salote: 0	iratou: 0	na vuaka: 9	sega ni dodonu: 5
E=digi-taki Paula gā o Mere. 3SG.SBJ=choose-TR Paula MODIF.emphatic DET Mere O cei digi-taki Paula? DET who choose-TR Paula	Mere: 14	Paula: 0	na toa: 0	sega ni dodonu: 0
E=vaka-mate-i ko Pita. 3SG.SBJ=CAUS-death-TR DET Pita E=vaka-mate-i rawa o cei o Pita? 3SG.SBJ=CAUS-death-TR able DET who DET Pita	Pita: 3	Mere: 0	na vale: 0	sega ni dodonu: 11
E=rogo-ca na manumanu vuka kei e=rai-ca na kolī ko. 3SG.SBJ=hear-TR DET bird and 3SG.SBJ=see-TR DET dog DET Paula. Paula E tiko na kolī kei na vuaka mai nona vale o there be.in.place DET dog and DET pig in.a.place 3SG.POSS house DET Salote. Salote E tiko na kolī kei na manumanu vuka mai nona vale there be.in.place DET dog and DET bird in.a.place 3SG.POSS house o Pita. DET Pita E=tiko mai na vale ni o cei o Paula? 3SG.SBJ=be.in.place in.a.place DET house of DET who DET Paula	Paula: 3	Salote: 0	Pita: 10	sega ni dodonu: 1

e. Story Translation: The Villain

F. Survey 6

a. Sentence Translation

1. She loves herself.
2. Jone tore Isoa's shirt.
3. Paula requires that Kata's parents support both himself and the child.
4. Kalara opened Jone's eyes.
5. You wash yourself.
6. Mere washes the dishes.
7. Mere said to Jone that she thought she once saved herself from a shark.
8. Somebody opened the door.
9. I shot myself.
10. He hates himself.
11. Samu likes to swim and Isoa does too.
12. You heard yourself on the radio.
13. Simeli worries himself.
14. Samu sang to us.
15. Pineapples taste good to me.

b. Rating Scale: *vosa* 'to talk'

Table C.11: Rating Scale – *vosa* 'to talk'

SENTENCE	TOTOKA	DODONU	ROGOROGOCA
E_i=vosa baleti koya$_i$ vei Marika$_j$ o Josese$_i$. 3SG.SBJ=talk about 3SG.OBJ to Marika DET Josese	3	8	3
E_i=vosa baleti koya$_i$ gā vei Marika$_j$ o Josese$_i$. 3SG.SBJ=talk about 3SG.OBJ MODIF.emphatic to Marika DET Josese	2	8	4
E_i=vosa baleti koya$_i$ gā vakai koya$_i$ 3SG.SBJ=talk about 3SG.OBJ MODIF.emphatic according.to 3SG.OBJ vei Marika$_j$ o Josese$_i$. to Marika DET Josese	2	8	4
E_i=vosa baleti koya$_j$ vei Marika$_j$ o Josese$_i$. 3SG.SBJ=talk about 3SG.OBJ to Marika DET Josese	0	4	10
E_i=vosa baleti koya$_j$ gā vei Marika$_j$ o Josese$_i$. 3SG.SBJ=talk about 3SG.OBJ MODIF.emphatic to Marika DET Josese	1	7	6
E_i=vosa baleti koya$_j$ gā vakai koya$_j$ 3SG.SBJ=talk about 3SG.OBJ MODIF.emphatic according.to 3SG.OBJ vei Marika$_j$ o Josese$_i$. to Marika DET Josese	4	3	7
E_i=tukutuku-ni koya$_i$ o Josese$_i$. 3SG.SBJ=tell-TR 3SG.OBJ DET Josese	6	4	4
E_i=tukutuku-ni koya$_i$ gā o Josese$_i$. 3SG.SBJ=tell-TR 3SG.OBJ MODIF.emphatic DET Josese	4	7	3
E_i=tukutuku-ni koya$_i$ gā vakai koya$_i$ o Josese$_i$. 3SG.SBJ=tell-TR 3SG.OBJ MODIF.emphatic according.to 3SG.OBJ DET Josese	6	3	5
Au$_i$ tukutuku-ni au$_i$. 1SG.SBJ tell-TR 1SG.OBJ	5	3	6
Au$_i$ tukutuku-ni au$_i$ gā. 1SG.SBJ tell-TR 1SG.OBJ MODIF.emphatic	4	6	4
Au$_i$ tukutuku-ni au$_i$ gā vakai au$_i$. 1SG.SBJ tell-TR 1SG.OBJ MODIF.emphatic according.to 1SG.OBJ	6	4	4
Au tukutuku-ni koi au. 1SG.SBJ tell-TR DET 1SG.OBJ	0	4	10

O_i tukutuku-ni iko_i. 2SG.SBJ tell-TR 2SG.OBJ	2	4	8
O_i tukutuku-ni iko_i gā. 2SG.SBJ tell-TR 2SG.OBJ MODIF.emphatic	2	7	5
O_i tukutuku-ni iko_i gā vakai iko_i. 2SG.SBJ tell-TR 2SG.OBJ MODIF.emphatic according.to 2SG.OBJ	4	4	6
O_i tukutuku-ni ko iko. 2SG.SBJ tell-TR DET 2SG.OBJ	0	4	9
E_i=tukutuku-ni ko $koya_i$. 3SG.SBJ=tell-TR DET 3SG.OBJ	2	7	5
E_i=vosavosa-i-yalo-na_i. 3SG.SBJ=talk-NMLZ-soul-3SG.POSS	6	5	3
E_i=vosavosa-i-yalo-na_i o $koya_i$. 3SG.SBJ=talk-NMLZ-soul-3SG.POSS DET 3SG.OBJ	4	9	1
O vosavosa-i-yalo-mu_i. 2SG.SBJ talk-NMLZ-soul-2SG.POSS	5	7	2
O vosavosa-i-yalo-mu_i o iko_i. 2SG.SBJ talk-NMLZ-soul-2SG.POSS DET 2SG.OBJ	3	3	8
Au vosavosa-i-yalo-qu_i. 1SG.SBJ talk-NMLZ-soul-1SG.POSS	5	6	3
Au vosavosa-i-yalo-qu_i o au. 1SG.SBJ talk-NMLZ-soul-1SG.POSS DET 1SG.OBJ	2	5	7
Na gone o koya talanoa-taka tiko. DET child DET 3SG.SBJ tell.stories-TR MODIF.permanence	2	4	8
Au_i tukutuku-ni au_i vei $Jone_j$. 1SG.SBJ tell-TR 1SG.OBJ to Jone	4	8	2
Au_i tukutuku-ni au_i gā vei $Jone_j$. 1SG.SBJ tell-TR 1SG.OBJ MODIF.emphatic to Jone	4	6	4
Au_i tukutuku-ni au_i gā vakai au_i vei $Jone_i$ 1SG.SBJ tell-TR 1SG.OBJ MODIF.emphatic according.to 1SG.OBJ to Jone	5	4	5
Au_i tukutuku-ni koi au_i vei $Jone_j$. 1SG.SBJ tell-TR DET 1SG.OBJ to Jone	0	4	10
Iko_i tukutuku-ni iko_i vei $Mere_j$ 2SG.SBJ tell-TR 2SG.OBJ to Mere	2	6	6
O $koya_i$ sa talanoa-taka na luve-na_i. DET 3SG.SBJ ASP tell.stories-TR DET child-3SG.POSS	6	8	0
O $koya_i$ sa talanoa-taki na luve-na_i. DET 3SG.SBJ ASP tell.stories-TR DET child-3SG.POSS	0	6	8
Iko_i tukutuku-ni iko gā vei $Mere_j$. 2SG.SBJ tell-TR 2SG.OBJ MODIF.emphatic to Mere	2	10	2
Iko_i tukutuku-ni iko gā vakai iko_i vei $Mere_j$. 2SG.SBJ tell-TR 2SG.OBJ MODIF.emphatic according.to 2SG.OBJ to Mere	6	4	4
Na talanoa-taka e dua na kā vinaka. DET story-TR one DET thing good	2	3	9
E_i=tukutuku-ni $koya_i$ vei $Mere_j$ o $Jone_i$. 3SG.SBJ=tell-TR 3SG.OBJ to Mere DET Jone	7	6	1
E_i=tukutuku-ni $koya_j$ vei $Mere_j$ o $Jone_i$. 3SG.SBJ=tell-TR 3SG.OBJ to Mere DET Jone	3	3	8
Era tukutuku-ni ira na qase. 3PL.SBJ tell-TR 3PL.OBJ DET elder	5	8	1
E_i=tukutuku-ni $koya_i$ gā vei $Mere_j$ o $Jone_i$. 3SG.SBJ=tell-TR 3SG.OBJ MODIF.emphatic to Mere DET Jone	2	10	1
E_i=tukutuku-ni $koya_j$ gā vei $Mere_j$ o $Jone_i$. 3SG.SBJ=tell-TR 3SG.OBJ MODIF.emphatic to Mere DET Jone	1	7	5

c. Illustration: *Miss Hibiscus*

d. Matrix of Choices: *vosa* ‘to talk’

Table C.12: Matrix of Choices – *vosa* ‘to talk’

SENTENCE	1	2	3	4
E=vosa baleti koya vei Marika o Josese. 3SG.SBJ=talk about 3SG.OBJ to Marika DET Josese. E=vosa baleti o cei o Jone? 3SG.SBJ=talk about DET who DET Jone	Mere: 0	Josese: 5	Marika: 1	sega ni dodonu: 9
E=vosa baleti koya gā vei Marika o Josese. 3SG.SBJ=talk about 3SG.OBJ MODIF.emphatic DET Marika DET Josese E=vosa baleti o cei o Josese? 3SG.SBJ=talk about DET who DET Josese	Marika: 0	Josese: 8	Pita: 3	sega ni dodonu: 3
E=vosa baleti koya gā vakai koya 3SG.SBJ=talk about 3SG.OBJ MODIF.emphatic according.to 3SG.OBJ vei Marika o Josese. to Marika DET Josese E=vosa baleti o cei o Josese? 3SG.SBJ=talk about DET who DET Jone	Marika: 0	Mere: 1	Josese: 11	sega ni dodonu: 2
E=tukutuku-ni koya o Jone. 3SG.SBJ=tell-TR 3SG.OBJ DET Jone E=tukutuku-ni o cei o Jone? 3SG.SBJ=tell-TR DET who DET Jone	na vale: 0	Salote: 2	Jone: 12	sega ni dodonu: 1
E=tukutuku-ni koya gā o Jone. 3SG.SBJ=tell-TR 3SG.OBJ MODIF.emphatic DET Jone E=tukutuku-i o cei o Jone? 3SG.SBJ=tell-TR DET who DET Jone	Mere: 1	Jone: 12	na vale: 0	sega ni dodonu: 1
E=tukutuku-ni koya gā vakai koya o Jone. 3SG.SBJ=tell-TR 3SG.OBJ MODIF.emphatic according.to 3SG.OBJ DET Jone E=tukutuku-i o cei o Jone? 3SG.SBJ=tell-TR DET who DET Jone	Jone: 8	Salote: 2	na vale: 0	sega ni dodonu: 5
Au tukutuku-ni au. 1SG.SBJ tell-TR 1SG.OBJ E tukutuku-ni o cei o au? ASP tell-TR DET who DET 1SG.OBJ	au: 7	Pita: 0	levu na kā: 4	sega ni dodonu: 3
Au tukutuku-ni au gā. 1SG.SBJ tell-TR 1SG.OBJ MODIF.emphatic Au tukutuku-ni o cei? 1SG.OBJ tell-TR DET who	na ika: 1	au: 8	Jone: 1	sega ni dodonu: 4
Au tukutuku-ni au gā vakai au. 1SG.SBJ tell-TR 1SB.OBJ MODIF.emphatic according.to 1SB.OBJ Au tukutuku-ni o cei. 1SG.SBJ tell-TR DET who	Mere: 0	au: 10	iratou: 1	sega ni dodonu: 3
E=tukutuku-ni koya vei Mere o Jone. 3SG.SBJ=tell-TR 3SG.OBJ to Mere DET Jone E=tukutuku-ni o cei o Jone? 3SG.SBJ=tell-TR DET who DET Jone	au: 0	Jone: 7	Mere: 6	sega ni dodonu: 1
E=tukutuku-ni koya gā vei Mere o Jone. 3SG.SBJ=tell-TR 3SG.OBJ MODIF.emphatic to Mere DET Jone E=tukutuku-ni o cei o Jone? 3SG.SBJ=tell-TR DET who DET Jone	Mere: 0	Jone: 11	Isoa: 1	sega ni dodonu: 2

E=tukutuku-ni koya gā vakai koya vei Mere o Jone. 3SG.SBJ=tell-TR 3SG.OBJ MODIF.emphatic according.to 3SG.OBJ to Mere DET Jone E=tukutuku-ni o cei o Jone? 3SG.SBJ=tell-TR DET who DET Jone	Jone: 7	Mere: 4	na toa: 0	sega ni dodonu: 3
Era tukutuku-ni ira na qase. 3PL.SBJ tell-TR 3PL.OBJ DET elder O cei e=tukutuku-ni na qase? DET who 3SG.SBJ=tell-TR DET elder	qase: 3	levu na tamata: 8	na ika: 0	sega ni dodonu: 3
E=vosa vei Paula o Isoa. 3SG.SBJ=talk to Paula DET Isoa E=vosa vei o cei o Isoa? 3SG.SBJ=talk to DET who DET Isoa	Isoa: 1	na toa: 0	Paula: 9	sega ni dodonu: 4
E=vosa vei Kata baleti na draki o Mere. 3SG.SBJ=talk to Kata about DET weather DET Mere E=vosa baleti na cava o Mere? 3SG.SBJ=talk about DET what DET Mere	Kata: 1	na draki: 8	na kolī: 0	sega ni dodonu: 5
E=vosa baleti na qito vei Samu o Jo. 3SG.SBJ=talk about DET weather to Samu DET Jo E=vosa baleti na cava o Jo? 3SG.SBJ=talk about DET what DET Jo	Samu: 0	na qito: 9	na kakana: 0	sega ni dodonu: 5
E=vosa vei Paula gā o Mere. 3SG.SBJ=talk to Paula MODIF.emphatic DET Mere O cei e=vosa vei Paula? DET who 3SG.SBJ=talk to Paula	Mere: 5	Paula: 4	na toa: 0	sega ni dodonu: 5
E=tukutuku-ni na lesoni o Mere. 3SG.SBJ=tell-TR DET lesson DET Mere Na cava e=tukutuku-ni o Mere? DET what 3SG.SBJ=tell-TR DET Mere	na lesoni: 6	Paula: 0	Mere: 0	sega ni dodonu: 8
E=vosa vei Salote, Mere, kei Kalara baleti na bose o Kata. 3SG.SBJ=talk to Salote Mere and Kalara about DET meeting DET Kata E=vosa vei o cei o Kata? 3SG.SBJ=talk to DET who DET Kata	Salote: 2	bose: 0	Kalara: 2	sega ni dodonu: 10
E=vosa vei Jone baleti na ika, Kalara baleti na toa, Isoa baleti na yaqona, kei Salote baleti na roro o Tulia. 3SG.SBJ=talk to Jone about DET fish Kalara about DET chicken Isoa about DET kava and Salote about DET roro DET Tulia E=vosa vei o cei baleti na toa o Tulia? 3SG.SBJ=talk to DET who about DET chicken DET Tulia	Kalara: 5	Salote: 3	roro: 1	sega ni dodonu: 5

e. Story Translation: The Craft Room

Section II: Sentence Translations

All of the data collected from the Sentence Translations part of the surveys is presented in the following tables. The translation is presented in the far left column, the number of participants who provided this translation is presented in the middle column, and the dialect used for the translation is presented in the far right column. As has been the practice throughout this work, long vowels and morpheme boundaries have been added to the Standard Fijian translations. This has not been done for the non-standard dialects. Moreover, words that could not be identified in the dialects are marked with a question mark (?).

Table C.13: 'He saw himself in the mirror.'

SENTENCE: 'He saw himself in the mirror.'	**#**	**DIALECT**
O koya rai-ci koya gā na iloilo. DET 3SG.SBJ see-TR 3SG.OBJ MODIF.emphatic DET mirror	**1**	***Standard***
O xea e=divi xea gā na iloilo DET 3SG.SBJ 3SG.SBJ=see.TR 3SG.OBJ MODIF.emphatic DET mirror	**1**	*Vosavamakolei (Solevu)*
E=ā rai-ci koya e na iloilo. 3SG.SBJ=PST see-TR 3SG.OBJ in DET mirror	**1**	***Standard***
E=tolavia e-na iloilo 3SG.SBJ=see.TR in-DET mirror	**1**	*Yanuca*
O xea ma gavi xea gā na iloilo DET 3SG.SBJ PST see.TR 3SG.OBJ MODIF.emphatic DET mirror	**1**	*VosavaNabala*
O koya e=ā-rai-ci koya koya gā e-na iloilo DET 3SG.SBJ 3SG.SBJ=PST-see-TR 3SG.OBJ 3SG.OBJ MODIF.emphatic in-DET mirror	**1**	***Standard***
O 'ea rai-ci 'ea gā na iloilo DET 3SG.SBJ see-TR 3SG.OBJ MODIF.emphatic DET mirror	**1**	*Vosa vaWailevu*
O koya e=ā rai-ci koya koya e-na iloilo DET 3SG.SBJ 3SG.SBJ=PST see-TR 3SG.OBJ 3SG.OBJ in-DET mirror	**3**	***Standard***
O xea ma gavi xea gā na iloilo DET 3SG.SBJ PST see.TR 3SG.OBJ MODIF.emphatic DET mirror	**1**	*VosavakaMakolei*
O 'oya rai-ci 'oya na iloilo DET 3SG.SBJ see-TR 3SG.OBJ DET mirror	**1**	*VosavakaNaweni*
O xea ma igavi xea gā na iloilo DET 3SG.SBJ PST see.TR 3SG.OBJ MODIF.emphatic DET mirror	**1**	*vosavakaSolevu*
Koya rai-ci koya gā e-na iloilo 3SG.SBJ see-TR 3SG.OBJ MODIF.emphatic in-DET mirror	**2**	***Standard***
E=ā rai-ci koya gā e-na iloilo 3SG.SBJ=PST see-TR 3SG.OBJ MODIF.emphatic in-DET mirror	**3**	***Standard***
O koya e=ā rai-ci koya gā e-na iloilo DET 3SG.SBJ 3SG.SBJ=PST see-TR 3SG.OBJ MODIF.emphatic in-DET mirror	**3**	***Standard***
O xea ma igavi xea gā na iloilo DET 3SG.SBJ PST see.TR 3SG.OBJ MODIF.emphatic DET mirror	**1**	*vosa vaka Makolei*

Table C.14: 'The queen invited me for tea.'

SENTENCE: 'The queen invited me for tea.'	#	DIALECT
Na ranadi e=sure-ti au me keirau gunu tī DET queen 3SG.SBJ=invite-TR 1SG.OBJ should 1DU.EXCL drink tea	1	***Standard***
A ranadi ma syre'i au me ruxa gunu tī DET queen PST invite.TR 1SG.OBJ should 1DU.EXCL drink tea	1	*VosavaMakolei (Solevu)*
E=ā-sure-ti au na ranadi me keirau gunu ti 3SG.SBJ=PST-invite-TR 1SG.OBJ DET queen should 1DU.EXCL drink tea	1	***Standard***
E=sureji au na ranadi me maru somi ji 3SG.SBJ=invite.TR 1SG.OBJ DET queen should 1DU.EXCL drink.TR tea	1	*Yanuca*
A ranati ma sure'i au meu lai gunu ti DET queen PST invite.TR 1SG.OBJ that.I.may leave drink tea	1	*VosavaNabala*
Na ranadi e=sure-ti au meu lai dua na bilo tī DET queen 3SG.SBJ=invite-TR 1SG.OBJ that.I.may leave one DET cup tea	2	***Standard***
A ranadi e=surti au me lai dua a bilo ti DET queen 3SG.SBJ=invite.TR 1SG.OBJ should leave one DET cup tea	1	*Vosa vaWailevu*
Na ranadi e=ā sure-ti au me keirau laki gunu tī DET queen 3SG.SBJ=PST invite-TR 1SG.OBJ should 1DU.EXCL go drink tea	1	***Standard***
A ranati ma sure'i au me ru lai gunu ti DET queen PST invite.TR 1SG.OBJ should 1DU.EXCL leave drink tea	2	*VosavakaMakolei*
Na ranadi e=ā sure-ti au me keirau gunu tī DET queen 3SG.SBJ=PST invite-TR 1SG.OBJ should 1DU.EXCL drink tea	2	***Standard***
A ranadi ma sureti au meu la'i gunu ti DET queen PST invite.TR 1SG.OBJ that.I.may go drink tea	1	*VosavakaNaweni*
A ranati ma sure'i au me ru lai gunu ti DET queen PST invite.TR 1SG.OBJ should 1DU.EXCL leave drink tea	1	*VosavakaSolevu*
Na ranadi e=sure-ti au meu mai gunu tī DET queen 3SG.SBJ=invite-TR 1SG.OBJ that.I.may come drink tea Na ranadi e sureti au meu mai gunu ti	4	***Standard***
E=sure-ti na ranadi meu lai gunu tī 3SG.SBJ=invite-TR DET queen that.I.may leave drink tea	1	***Standard***
Na ranadi e=ā sure-ti au meu laki gunu tī DET queen 3SG.SBJ=PST invite-TR 1SG.OBJ that.I.may go drink tea	1	***Standard***

Table C.15: 'Paula requires that Kata's parents support both himself and the child.'

SENTENCE: 'Paula requires that Kata's parents support both himself and the child'	#	DIALECT
E=kere-a o Paula me rau qara-vi koya na tubutubu ni gone 3SG.SBJ=ask-TR DET Paula should 3DU.SBJ support-TR 3SG.OBJ DET parents of child	**1**	***Standard***
E=kerevia o Vaula me ru qwaravia na tubutubu ni driadria 3SG.SBJ=ask.TR DET Paula should 3DU.SBJ support DET parents of ?	**1**	*Yanuca*
E=vinaka-ta o Paula me rau qara-vi koya kei na gone o rau i-tubutubu nei Kata 3SG.SBJ=want-TR DET Paula should 3DU.SBJ support-TR 3SG.OBJ and DET child DET 3DU.SBJ NMLZ-parents POSS Kata	**5**	***Standard***
E=vina'ata o Paula me rau qaravi 'ea vati gone o rau a i-tubutubu i 3SG.SBJ=want.TR DET Paula should 3DU.SBJ support.TR 3SG.OBJ with child DET 3DU.SBJ DET NMLZ-parents POSS Kata Kata	**1**	*Vosa va Wailevu*
E=vinaka-ta o Paula me qara-vi koya kei na luve-na 3SG.SBJ=want-TR DET Paula should support-TR 3SG.OBJ and DET offspring-3SG.POSS o rau na i-tubutubu nei Kata DET 3DU.SBJ DET NMLZ-parents POSS Kata	**3**	***Standard***
E=gu'a o Paula me qaravi xea va'i xea a gone xo druxa a 'ubu'ubu i Kata. 3SG.SBJ=? DET Paula should support.TR 3SG.OBJ with 3SG.OBJ DET child DET 3DU.SBJ DET parents POSS Kata	**1**	*Vosavaka Solevu*
E=gadreva o Paula me rau toko-ni koya kei luve-na 3SG.SBJ=desire DET Paula should 3DU.SBJ protect-TR 3SG.OBJ and child-3SG.POSS o rau na i-tubutubu nei Kata DET 3DU.SBJ DET NMLZ-parents POSS Kata	**2**	***Standard***
E=gu'a o Paula me qaravi xea va'i xea a gone xo druxa a 'ubu'ubu i Kata. 3SG.SBJ=? DET Paula should support.TR 3SG.OBJ according.to 3SG.OBJ DET child DET 3DU.SBJ DET parents POSS Kata	**1**	*Vosa vaka Makolei*
E=kere-i rau na i-tubutubu nei Kata o Paula me vuke-i koya kei na gone. 3SG.SBJ=ask-TR 3DU.SBJ DET NMLZ-parents POSS Kata DET Paula should help-TR 3SG.OBJ and DET child	**1**	***Standard***
E=xerei rau na itubutubu nei Kata o Paula me vuxei xoya xei na gone 3SG.SBJ=ask.TR 3DU.SBJ DET NMLZ.parents POSS Kata DET Paula should help.TR 3SG.OBJ and DET child	**1**	*Batini vuriwai*
E=ā gadre-va ko Paula me vuke-i rau kei na luve-na na 3SG.SBJ=PST desire-TR DET Paula should help-TR 3DU.OBJ and DET child-3SG.POSS DET nona i-tubutubu o Kata 3SG.POSS NMLZ-parents DET Kata	**1**	***Standard***
E=a gadrevia ko Paula mevukei rau kei na luvena na 3SG.SBJ=PST desire.TR DET Paula should.help.TR 3DU.OBJ and DET child.3SG.POSS DET nona itubutubu o Kata 3SG.POSS NMLZ.parents DET Kata	**1**	*Vosa vaka Namnau, Tailevu*
E=gadre-va o Paula me rau toko-ni koya vata kei na gone 3SG.SBJ=desire-TR DET Paula should 3DU.SBJ protect-TR 3SG.OBJ together with DET child o rau na nona i tubutubu. DET 3DU.SBJ DET 3SG.POSS NMLZ parents	**1**	***Standard***
E=vinaka-ta o Paula me vei-toko-ni vei Paula kei na gone o rau na i-tubutubu nei Kata 3SG.SBJ-want-TR DET Paula should PL-protect-TR to Paula and DET child DET 3DU.SBJ DET NMLZ-parent POSS Kata	**2**	***Standard***
O Paula e=vinaka-ta me rau qara-vi koya kei luve-na o DET Paula 3SG.SBJ=want-TR should 3DU.SBJ support-TR 3SG.OBJ and child-3SG.POSS DET rau na i-tubutubu nei Kata 3DU.SBJ DET NMLZ-parents POSS Kata	**1**	***Standard***
O Paula e=vinaka-ti rau na nona i-tubutubu o Kata me DET Paula 3SG.SBJ=want-TR 3DU.SBJ DET 3SG.POSS NMLZ-parents DET Kata should rau qara-vi koya vata kei na nona gone 3DU.SBJ support-TR 3SG.OBJ together with DET 3SG.POSS child	**1**	***Standard***
O Paula e=vina'ati rau a ona itubutubu o Kata me DET Paula 3SG.SBJ=want.TR 3DU.SBJ DET 3SG.POSS NMLZ.parents DET Kata should rau qaravi 'ea vata 'ei na ona gone 3DU.SBJ support.TR 3SG.OBJ together with DET 3SG.POSS child	**1**	*Vosa vaka Wailevu*
Xerea o Paula me druxa vuxei xea va'a xei luvena o ask.TR DET Paula should 3DU.SBJ help.TR 3SG.OBJ together with child.3SG.POSS DET drua a ona i'ubu'ubu o Kata 3DU.SBJ DET 3SG.POSS NMLZ.parents DET Kata	**1**	*Vosa vaka Savusavu*

Table C.16: 'I hate spiders.'

SENTENCE: 'I hate spiders.'	**#**	**DIALECT**
Au sega ni tālei-taka na spaida 1SG.SBJ NEG like-TR DET spider	**1**	***Standard***
Au maqa 'alei'axina a spaida 1SG.SBJ NEG like.TR DET spider	**1**	*Vosavamakolei (Solevu)*
Au seva-ka na viritālawalawa 1SG.SBJ hate-TR DET spider	**1**	***Standard***
Qu duarakinia na viritālawalawa 1SG.SBJ ? DET spider	**1**	*Yanuca*
Au tau sevaxina a spaida 1SG.SBJ frequently hate.TR DET spider	**1**	*Vosavanabala*
Au dau cā-ta na spaida 1SG.SBJ frequently hate-TR DET spider	**1**	***Standard***
Au dau cata a spaida 1SG.SBJ frequently hate.TR DET spider	**1**	*Vosa vaWailevu*
Au dau cā-ta na manumanu qō na spaida 1SG.SBJ frequently hate-TR DET insect this DET spider	**1**	***Standard***
A dau ca'a a manumanu qōi a spaida 1SG.SBJ frequently hate.TR DET insect this DET spider	**1**	*VosavakaMakolei*
Au dau sega ni tāleitaka na viritālawalawa 1SG.SBJ frequently NEG like-TR DET spider	**1**	***Standard***
Au da segi taleita'ina a viritālawalawa 1SG.SBJ frequently NEG like-TR DET spider	**1**	*VosavakaNaweni*
Au dau cā-ta na viritālawalawa 1SG.SBJ frequently hate-TR DET spider	**4**	***Standard***
A dau ca'a a manumanu qōi a viri'alawalawa 1SG.SBJ frequently hate.TR DET insect this DET spider	**1**	*VosavakaSolevu*
Au seva-ka na spaida 1SG.SBJ hate-TR DET spider	**3**	***Standard***
Au da seva-ka na viritālawalawa 1SG.SBJ frequently hate-TR DET spider	**2**	***Standard***
A dau ca'a a viri'alawalawa 1SG.SBJ frequently hate.TR DET spider	**1**	*VosavakaMakolei*

Table C.17: 'You shave yourself.'

SENTENCE: 'You shave yourself.'	#	DIALECT
O toro-i iko 2SG.SBJ shave-TR 2SG.OBJ	**2**	***Standard***
xo 'oroi ixo 2SG.SBJ shave.TR 2SG.OBJ	**2**	*VosavaMakolei (Solevu)*
Toro-i iko shave-TR 2SG.OBJ	**1**	***Standard***
mo toro o iko 2SG.SBJ shave DET 2SG.SBJ	**1**	*Yanuca*
xo ba 'oroi ixo ga 2SG.SBJ adept shave.TR 2SG.OBJ MODIF.emphatic	**1**	*VosavaNabala*
O toroi i'o 2SG.SBJ shave.TR 2SG.OBJ	**1**	*Vosa vaWailevu*
O toro-i iko gā vakai iko 2SG.SBJ shave-TR 2SG.OBJ MODIF.emphatic according.to 2SG.OBJ	**3**	***Standard***
Xo 'oroi ixo ga va'i ixo 2SG.SBJ shave.TR 2SG.OBJ MODIF.emphatic according.to 2SG.OBJ	**2**	*VosavakaMakolei*
O ā toro-i iko 2SG.SBJ PST shave-TR 2SG.OBJ	**4**	***Standard***
O ā toro~toro 2SG.SBJ PST shave	**1**	***Standard***
O toro~toro 2SG.SBJ shave	**1**	*VosavakaNaweni*
Toro-i iko vakai iko shave-TR 2SG.OBJ according.to 2SG.OBJ	**4**	***Standard***

Table C.18: 'The door opened.'

SENTENCE: 'The door opened.'	#	DIALECT
E=tadola na kātuba 3SG.SBJ=open DET door	**8**	***Standard***
E='adola a 'axari 3SG.SBJ=open DET door	**4**	*VosavaMakolei (Solevu)*
E=dola tū na kātuba 3SG.SBJ=open MODIF.permanently DET door	**1**	***Standard***
E=dola tu na mataniwere 3SG.SBJ=open MODIF.permantently DET door	**1**	*Yanuca*
Ma tuga a tolava a 'axari PST open DET door	**1**	*VosavaNabala*
E=tadola na kātuba 3SG.SBJ=open DET door	**1**	***Standard***
E=tadola a 'atuba 3sg.sbj=open DET door	**1**	*Vosa vaWailevu*
E=tadola a 'atuba 3SG.SBJ=open DET door	**1**	*VosavakaNaweni*
Na kātuba sa tadola DET door ASP open	**2**	***Standard***
Sa tadola na kātuba ASP open DET door	**2**	***Standard***

Table C.19: 'Mere said to Jone that she hit herself.'

SENTENCE: 'Mere said to Jone that she hit herself.'	#	DIALECT
Tuku-na o Mere vei Jone ni o koya e=vacu-ki koya tell-TR DET Mere to Jone that DET 3SG.SBJ 3SG.SBJ=hit-TR 3SG.OBJ gā MODIF.emphatic	1	***Standard***
'Avola o Mere vei Jone ni o xeya e=vacuxi xea tell.TR DET Mere to Jone that DET 3SG.SBJ 3SG.SBJ=hit.TR 3SG.OBJ ga va'i xea MODIF.emphatic according.to 3SG.OBJ	1	*VosavaMakolei (Solevu)*
E=ā tuku-na vei Jone o Mere ni ā moku-ti koya 3SG.SBJ=PST tell-TR to Jone DET Mere that PST strike-TR 3SG.OBJ	1	***Standard***
Ea a kwaya o Mere vo Jone ni a rubicia 3SG.SBJ PST say.TR DET Mere to Jone that PST hit.TR	1	*Yanuca*
'Avola o Mere vei Jone ni ma vucixi xea va'i xea say.TR DET Mere to Jone that PST hit.TR 3SG.OBJ according.to 3SG.OBJ	1	*VosavaNabala*
Tuku-na o Mere vei Jone ni o koya e=vacuki koya tell-TR DET Mere to Jone that DET 3SG.SBJ 3SG.SBJ=hit-TR 3SG.OBJ vakataki koya according.to 3SG.SBJ	1	***Standard***
E=tu'una o Mere vei Jone ni o 'ea e=vacu'i 'ea 3SG.SBJ=say.TR DET Mere to Jone that DET 3SG.SBJ 3SG.SBJ=hit.TR 3SG.OBJ ga vati 'ea MODIF.emphatic according.to 3SG.OBJ	1	*Vosa vaWailevu*
Tuku-na o Mere vei Jone ni ā moku-ti koya gā tell-TR DET Mere to Jone that PST strike-TR 3SG.OBJ MODIF.emphatic vakai koya according.to 3SG.OBJ	2	***Standard***
'Avola o Mere vei Jone ni ma mo'i xea ga tell.TR DET Mere to Jone that PST strike.TR 3SG.OBJ MODIF.emphatic va'i xea according.to 3SG.OBJ	3	*VosavakaMakolei*
Tuku-na o Mere vei Jone ni o koya ā moku-ti koya tell-TR DET Mere to Jone that DET 3SG.OBJ PST strike-TR 3SG.OBJ gā vakai koya MODIF.emphatic according.to 3SG.OBJ	5	***Standard***
E=tu'una o Mere vei Jone ni o 'oya e=mo'uti 'oya 3SG.SBJ=tell.TR DET Mere to Jone that DET 3SG.SBJ 3SG.SBJ=strike.TR 3SG.OBJ gā MODIF.emphatic	1	*VosavakaNaweni*
o Mere e=tuku-na vei Jone ni ā moku-ti koya vakataki DET Mere 3SG.SBJ=tell-TR to Jone that PST strike-TR 3SG.OBJ according.to koya 3SG.OBJ	4	***Standard***

Table C.20: 'I hate myself.'

SENTENCE: 'I hate myself.'	**#**	**DIALECT**
Au cā-ti au 1SG.SBJ hate-TR 1SG.OBJ	**5**	***Standard***
Au maqa ni 'alei'axini au 1SG.SBJ NEG like.TR 1SG.OBJ	**3**	*VosavaMakolei (Solevu)*
Au seva-ki au 1SG.SBJ hate-TR 1SG.OBJ	**6**	***Standard***
Qu duaraki ni au 1SG.SBJ hate.TR POSS 1SG.OBJ	**1**	*Yanuca*
Au ba maka ni 'alei'axini au 1SG.SBJ ASP NEG like.TR 1SG.OBJ	**1**	*VosavaNabala*
Au sega ni taleita'ini au 1SG.SBJ NEG like.TR 1SG.OBJ	**1**	*Vosa vaWailevu*
Au sega ni tālei-taki au 1SG.SBJ NEG like-TR 1SG.OBJ	**1**	***Standard***
Au cā-ti au gā vakai au 1SG.SBJ hate-TR 1SG.OBJ MODIF.emphatic according.to 1SG.OBJ	**2**	***Standard***
Au ca'i au ga va'i au 1SG.SBJ hate.TR 1SG.OBJ MODIF.emphatic according.to 1SG.OBJ	**1**	*VosavakaMakolei*
Au seva-ki au gā 1SG.SBJ hate-TR 1SG.OBJ MODIF.emphatic	**2**	***Standard***

Table C.21: 'Jone defended himself better than Kalara.'

SENTENCE: 'Jone defended himself better than Kalara.'	**#**	**DIALECT**
E=vinaka o Jone vei Kalara 3SG.SBJ=good DET Jone to Kalara	**1**	***Standard***
E=vina o Jone vo Kalara 3SG.SBJ=good DET Jone to Kalara	**1**	*Yanuca*
O Jone ā taqo-maki koya va-vinaka cake mai vei Kalara DET Jone PST defend-TR 3SG.OBJ ADV-good up from Kalara	**1**	***Standard***
O Jone e=taqoma'ini 'ea vavina'a ca'e sara me vi DET Jone 3SG.SBJ=defend.TR 3SG.OBJ ADV.good up MODIF.emphatic from Kalara Kalara	**1**	*Vosa vaWailevu*
E=vinaka cake nona tataqo-maki koya o Jone mai vei Kalara 3SG.SBJ=good up 3SG.POSS defend-TR 3SG.OBJ DET Jone from Kalara	**3**	***Standard***
E=ka re caxe a ona ' a'aqaomaxini xea o Jone mai vei 3SG.SBJ=thing good up DET 3SG.POSS defend.TR 3SG.OBJ DET Jone from Xalara Kalara	**1**	*VosavakaMakolei*
O Jone e=tataqo-maki koya va-vinaka cake sara mai vei DET Jone 3SG.SBJ defend-TR 3SG.OBJ ADV-good up MODIF.emphatic from Kalara Kalara	**2**	***Standard***
O Jone e=taqoma'ini 'ea vavina'a ca'e sara me vi DET Jone 3SG.SBJ=defend-TR 3SG.OBJ ADV.good up MODIF.emphatic from Kalara Kalara	**1**	*VosavakaNaweni*
O Jone e=taqo-maki koya vaka-vinaka cake mai vei Kalara DET Jone 3SG.SBJ=defend-TR 3SG.OBJ ADV-good up from Kalara	**1**	***Standard***
Ko Jone e='a'aqomaxini xea sara va re mai vei Xalara DET Jone 3SG.SBJ=defend.TR 3SG.OBJ MODIF.emphatic to good from Kalara	**1**	*VosavakaMakolei*
O Jone e=taqo-maki koya vaka-vinaka cake mai vei Kalara DET Jone 3SG.SBJ=defend 3SG.OBJ ADV-good up from Kalara	**3**	***Standard***

Table C.22: 'Paula seems to Kalara to be a nice person.'

SENTENCE: 'Paula seems to Kalara to be a nice person.'	**#**	**DIALECT**
Vei Kalara o Paula e dua na tamata vinaka to Kalara DET Paula one DET person good	**1**	***Standard***
Vei Xalara o Paula e dua a 'ama'a re to Kalara DET Paula one DET person good	**1**	*VosavaMakolei (Solevu)*
O Paula vei Kalara e dua na tamata vinaka DET Paula to Kalara one DET person good	**1**	***Standard***
Vei Kalara o Paula e 'ena dua a tamata vina'a to Kalara DET Paula one DET person good	**1**	*Vosa vaWailevu*
Vei Kalara, o Jone e dua na tamata vinaka to Kalara DET Jone one DET person good	**2**	***Standard***
Vei Xalara, Xo Jone e dua 'ama'a re to Kalara DET Jone one person good	**2**	*VosavakaMakolei*
Nona rairai o Paula vei Kalara ni yalewa vinaka 3SG.POSS appearance DET Paula to Kalara that woman good	**1**	***Standard***
Nona rai o Kalara ni tamata vinaka o Paula 3SG.POSS see DET Kalara that person good DET Paula	**3**	***Standard***
Vei Kalara, o Jone e dua na tamata vaka-itovo to Kalara DET Jone one DET person ADV-good	**1**	***Standard***
Nona rairai o Paula vei Kalara ni yalewa vinaka 3SG.POSS appearance DET Paula to Kalara that woman good	**1**	***Standard***

Table C.23: 'Somebody opened the door.'

SENTENCE: 'Somebody opened the door.'	#	DIALECT
E dua e=dola-va na katuba one 3SG.SBJ=open-TR DET door	**32**	***Standard***
E dua e=dola.va a 'axari one 3SG.SBJ=open.TR DET door	**2**	*VosavaMakolei (Solevu)*
E dua mada e=dola-va na katuba one just 3SG.SBJ=open-TR DET door	**1**	***Standard***
Ma kia re e=dolavia na mataniwere PST 3SG.SBJ good 3SG.SBJ=open.TR DET door	**1**	*Yanuca*
Ma tuga tolava 'axari PST ? open.TR door	**1**	*VosavaNabala*
E dua e=ā dola-va na katuba one 3SG.SBJ=PST open-TR DET door	**13**	***Standard***
E dua e=dolava a 'atuba one 3SG.SBJ open.TR DET door	**2**	*Vosa vaWailevu* *Qeleni*
E dua ma dolava a 'axari one PST open.TR DET door	**3**	*VosavakaMakolei*
Dua dola-va na katuba one open-TR DET door	**1**	***Standard***
E dua e=dolava a 'atuba one 3SG.SBJ=open.TR DET door	**2**	*VosavakaNaweni* *VosavakaTunuloa*
Dua mada dola-va na katuba one just open-TR DET door	**4**	***Standard***
Dua mada e=diolava a 'atuba one just 3SG.SBJ=open.TR DET door	**1**	*Gato*
E=dua ā dola-va na katuba one PST open-TR DET door	**3**	***Standard***
E kia e=dolavia mai na matani were 3SG.SBJ 3SG.SBJ-open.TR at DET door	**1**	*Vosa va Serua*
E dua edolava a'atuba one 3 SG.SBJ.open.TR DET.door	**1**	*Vosa va Somosomo*
E dua a dolava na katuba one PST open.TR DET door	**1**	*Vosa vakaNadoi*
a tia dolavia na matanisue 3SG.SBJ open.TR DET door	**1**	*Vosa vakaVuaki*
Dua mada e=dolava a axari one just 3SG.SBJ=open.TR DET door	**1**	*Bua*
E=dua e=dolava na katuba one 3SG.SBJ=open.TR DET door	**4**	*VosavakaRewa* *Qeleni* *VosavaSuva*
Ei tia ka dolavia na matanisue. 3SG.SBJ ASP open.TR DET door	**1**	*Yasawa*
E dua dola-va na katuba one open-TR DET door	**22**	***Standard***
E=tu'ga tolava ha'ari 3SG.SBJ=? open.TR DET.door	**1**	*Savusavu*
Dua ā dola-va na katuba one PST open-TR DET door	**1**	***Standard***
Dua a dolava na matarukuruku DET PST open.TR DET door	**1**	*Navakavu*

Dolava mada a katuba. open.TR just DET door	**1**	*Savusavu*
E dua me dolava ’axari. one purpose open.TR door	**1**	*Solevu*
Ma dua ma dolava na katuba PST one PST open.TR DET door	**1**	*Lau/Bau*
E dua dolava a takari one open.TR DET door	**1**	*Vaosavaka Vanuabalavu*
E tuga ma tolava a ‘axari one PST open.TR DET door	**1**	*Vosa vaka Macuata*
deua sa dolava a axari one ASP open.TR DET door	**1**	*Vuya*
e dua e=dolava a ta’ari one 3SG.SBJ=open.TR DET door	**1**	*VosavakaBuca*
E dua ka dolava mai vei au na katuba one ASP open.TR from 1SG.OBJ DET door	**1**	***Standard***
Ma duga ma dolava a ‘axari PST one PST open.TR DET door	**1**	*Vosa vaSolevu*
Edua sa dolava a xari one ASP open.TR DET door	**1**	*Lami, Suva, Rewa*
E dua a dolava na xatuba one PST open.TR DET door	**1**	*Batinivuriwai*
E dua e=dolavia na katuba one 3SG.SBJ=open.TR DET door	**1**	*Vosavaka Namnau, Tailevu*
Dua na tamata ā dola-va na katuba one DET person PST open-TR DET door	**1**	***Standard***
E dua e=a dolava a ‘atuba one 3SG.SBJ=PST open.TR DET door	**1**	*VosavakaWailevu*
E tuga a ‘ama’a e=tolava a ‘axari one DET person 3SG.SBJ=open.TR DET door	**1**	*Vosavaka Savusavu*
Ma tuga ma tolava a ‘axari PST one PST open.TR DET door	**1**	*Vosavaka Savusavu*
E dua ka dolava takari one ASP open.TR door	**1**	*VosavakaAvea*
E dua ka dolava ‘atuba one ASP open.TR door	**2**	*VosavakaQeleni*

Table C.24: 'She washed herself.'

SENTENCE: 'She washed herself.'	#	DIALECT
O koya e=sava-ti koya gā DET 3SG.SBJ 3SG.SBJ=wash-TR 3SG.OBJ MODIF.empahtic	1	***Standard***
E xeya e=sava'i xea ga 3SG.SBJ 3SG.SBJ 3SG.SBJ=wash.TR 3SG.OBJ MODIF.emphatic	1	*Vosavamakolei (Solevu)*
E=sava-ti koya 3SG.SBJ=wash-TR 3SG.OBJ	1	***Standard***
E=savajia vai nia 3SG.SBJ=wash.TR with 3SG.OBJ	1	*Yanuca*
O xea ba sava'i xea ga va'i xea DET 3SG.SBJ ASP wash.TR 3SG.OBJ MODIF.emphatic according.to 3SG.OBJ	1	*Vosavanabala*
O 'ea e=sava-ti 'ea ga DET 3SG.SBJ 3SG.SBJ=wash.TR 3SG.OBJ MODIF.emphatic	1	*Vosa vaWailevu*
E=sava-ti koya koya vakataki koya 3SG.SBJ=wash-TR 3SG.OBJ 3SG.OBJ according.to 3SG.SBJ	1	***Standard***
O koya e=ā vaka-silimi koya gā vakai DET 3SG.SBJ 3SG.SBJ=PST wash-TR 3SG.OBJ MODIF.emphatic according.to koya 3SG.OBJ	1	***Standard***
E=sava'i xea ga va'i xea 3SG.SBJ=wash.TR 3SG.OBJ MODIF.emphatic according.to 3SG.OBJ	1	*VosavakaMakolei*
O koya gā e=vasili-mi koya DET 3SG.SBJ MODIF.emphatic 3SG.SBJ=wash-TR 3SG.OBJ	1	***Standard***
O 'oya ga e=vasilimi 'oya DET 3SG.SBJ MODIF.emphatic 3SG.SBJ=wash.TR 3SG.OBJ	1	*VosavakaNaweni*
O koya sava-ti koya DET 3SG.SBJ wash-TR 3SG.OBJ	1	***Standard***
E=ā vaka-silimi koya gā vakai koya 3SG.SBJ=PST wash-TR 3SG.OBJ MODIF.emphatic according.to 3SG.OBJ	1	***Standard***
O koya sava-ti koya DET 3SG.SBJ wash-TR 3SG.OBJ	1	***Standard***

Table C.25: 'Jone is a doctor.'

SENTENCE: 'Jone is a doctor.'	#	DIALECT
E=vūniwai o Jone 3SG.SBJ=doctor DET Jone	**16**	***Standard***
E=vuniwai xo Jone 3SG.SBJ=doctor DET Jone	**4**	*VosavaMakolei (Solevu)*
E=vūniwai ko Jone 3SG.SBJ=doctor DET Jone	**3**	***Standard***
e=vuniwai o Jone 3SG.SBJ=doctor DET Jone	**4**	*Yanuca* *Vosa vakaTunuloa* *VosavakaQeleni*
O Jone ba vuniwai DET Jone ASP doctor	**1**	*VosavaNabala*
E=viniwai ti'o o Jone 3SG.SBJ=doctor MODIF.permanance DET Jone	**1**	*Vosa vaWailevu*
E=vuniwai o Jone 3sg.sbj=doctor DET Jone	**1**	*VosavakaNaweni*
O Jone e=vūniwai DET Jone 3SG.SBJ=doctor	**8**	***Standard***
O Jone e=vuniwai DET Jone 3SG.SBJ=doctor	**1**	*VosavakaRewa*
Ko Jone e=vuniwai DET Jone 3SG.SBJ=doctor	**1**	*VosavakaAvea*

Table C.26: 'He shot himself.'

SENTENCE: 'He shot himself.'	#	DIALECT
E=vana-i koya gā vakai koya 3SG.SBJ=shoot-TR 3SG.OBJ MODIF.emphatic according.to 3SG.OBJ	7	***Standard***
E=vanai xea ga va'i xea 3SG.SBJ=shoot.TR 3SG.OBJ MODIF.emphatic according.to 3SG.OBJ	4	*Vosavamakolei (Solevu)*
E=vana-i koya 3SG.SBJ=shoot-TR 3SG.OBJ	1	***Standard***
E=vania vai nia 3SG.SBJ=shoot.TR according.to 3SG.OBJ	1	*Yanuca*
O xea ma vanai xea va'i xea DET 3SG.SBJ PST shoot.TR 3SG.OBJ according.to 3SG.OBJ	1	*VosavaNabala*
O koya e=vana-i koya gā DET 3SG.SBJ 3SG.SBJ=shoot-TR 3SG.OBJ MODIF.emphatic	2	***Standard***
O 'ea e=vanai 'ea ga DET 3SG.SBJ 3SG.SBJ=shoot.TR 3SG.OBJ MODIF.emphatic	1	*Vosa vaWailevu*
o 'oya vanai 'oya ga	1	*VosavakaNaweni*
O koya e=vana-i koya DET 3SG.SBJ 3SG.SBJ=shoot-TR 3SG.OBJ	4	***Standard***
E=ā vana-i koya gā vakai koya 3SG.SBU=PST shoot-TR 3SG.OBJ MODIF.emphatic according.to 3SG.OBJ	1	***Standard***

Table C.27: 'I heard your favorite song on the radio.'

SENTENCE: 'I heard your favorite song on the radio.'	#	DIALECT
Au ā rogo-ca nomu sere tālei e-na retio 1SG.SBJ PST hear-TR 2SG.POSS song like in-DET radio	**7**	***Standard***
Au a rogoca omu sere 'alei na retio 1SG.SBJ PST hear.TR 2SG.POSS song like DET radio	**2**	*VosavaMakolei (Solevu)*
Au rogo-ca nomu sere tālei e-na raitio 1SG.SBJ hear-TR 2SG.POSS song like in-DET radio	**1**	***Standard***
Qu rogocia na lemu sere talei ena raitio 1SG.SBJ hear.TR DET 2SG.POSS song like in.DET radio	**1**	*Yanuca*
Au ba rogoca a omu sere 'alei na retio 1SG.SBJ ASP hear.TR DET 2SG.POSS song like DET radio	**1**	*VosavaNabala*
Au a rogoca na nomu sere talei ena retio 1SG.SBJ PST hear.TR DET 2SG.POSS song like in.DET radio	**1**	*Vosa vaWailevu*
Au ma rogoya a omu sere 'alei ena retio 1SG.SBJ PST hear.TR DET 2SG.POSS song like in.DET radio	**1**	*VosavakaMakolei*
Au a rogoca a omu sere talei ena retio 1SG.SBJ PST hear.TR DET 2SG.POSS song like in.DET radio	**1**	*VosavakaNaweni*
Au a rogoya a omu sere 'alei ena retio 1SG.SBJ PST hear.TR DET 2SG.POSS song like in.DET radio	**1**	*VosavakaSolevu*
Au rogo-ca na nomu sere e-na raitio 1SG.SBJ hear-TR DET 2SG.POSS song in-TR radio	**2**	***Standard***
Au ā rogo-ca nomu sere nabadua e-na raitio 1SG.SBJ PST hear-TR 2SG.POSS song number.one in-DET radio	**3**	***Standard***
Au ba rogoca a omu sere 'alei na retio 1SG.SBJ ASP hear.TR DET 2SG.POSS song like DET radio	**1**	*VosavakaMakolei*
Au ā rogo-ca nomu sere tālei-taki e-na ratio 1SG.SBJ PST hear-TR 2SG.POSS song like-TR in-DET radio	**1**	***Standard***
Au qai rogo-ca nomu sere tālei-taki e-na walesi 1SG.SBJ then hear-TR 2SG.POSS song like in-DET radio	**1**	***Standard***
Au qi rogoca a omu sere taleita'i ena walesi 1SG.SBJ then hear.TR DET 2SG.POSS song like.TR in.DET radio	**1**	*Gato*
Au ā-rogo-ca na nomu sere tālei-taki e-na raitio 1SG.SBJ PST-hear-TR DET 2SG.POSS song like in-DET radio	**1**	***Standard***
Qu varogo na lemu sere taleitaki vena ratio 1SG.SBJ CAUS.hear DET 2SG.POSS song like.TR in.DET radio	**1**	*Vosa va Serua*
Au rogo-ca na nomu sere tālei-taki e-na raitio 1SG.SBJ hear-TR DET 2SG.POSS song like-TR in-DET radio	**1**	***Standard***
Au rogoca a nomu sere talei'tai ena ratio 1SG.SBJ hear.TR DET 2SG.POSS song like.TR in.DET radio	**1**	*Vosa va Somosomo*
Au ā rogo-ca na nomu sere tālei-taki e-na retio 1SG.SBJ PST hear-TR DET 2SG.POSS song like in-DET radio	**2**	***Standard***
Au a rogoca na nomu sere taletaki ena retio 1SG.SBJ PST hear.TR DET 2SG.POSS song like.TR in.DET radio	**1**	*Vosa vakaNadoi*
Au wa rogoca a womu sere alei xi na reitiyo 1SG.SBJ PST hear.TR DET 2SG.POSS song like in DET radio	**1**	*Bua*
Au ā rogo-ca ā na nomu sere tālei e-na raitio 1SG.SBJ PST hear-TR PST DET 2SG.POSS song like in-DET radio	**1**	***Standard***
Au rogo-ca na noqu sere tāleitaki e-na retio. 1SG.SBJ hear-TR DET 1SG.POSS song like-TR in-DET radio	**1**	***Standard***
Qu rogo na lequ sere taleitaki ina retio. 1SG.SBJ hear DET 2SG.POSS song like.TR in.DET radio	**1**	*Yasawa*
Au rogo-ca nomu sere e na raitio 1SG.SBJ hear-TR 2SG.POSS song in DET radio	**1**	***Standard***
Au a rogoca a o'mu sere e na rai'io 1SG.SBJ PST hear.TR DET 2SG.POSS song in DET radio	**1**	*Savusavu*
Au rogo-ca na sere o dau teli-taka e-na retio 1SG.SBJ hear-TR DET song 2SG.SBJ frequently like-TR in-DET radio	**1**	***Standard***
U rogoce na sere koko dau taleitake ena retio 1SG.SBJ hear.TR DET song 2SG.SBJ frequently like.TR in.DET radio	**1**	*Navakavu*
Au a rogoca a omu sere talei na raitio 1SG.SBJ PST hear.TR DET 2SG.POSS song like DET radio	**1**	*Qeleni*

Table C.28: 'You love yourself.'

SENTENCE:	#	DIALECT
O domodomoni iko 2SG.SBJ love-TR 2SG.OBJ	1	***Standard***
Xo domodomoni ixo 2SG.SBJ love.TR 2SG.OBJ	1	*Solevu*
Au tālei-taki yau 1SG.SBJ like-TR 1SG.SBJ	1	***Standard***
Au taleita'i au 1SG.SBJ like.TR 1SG.SBJ	1	*Gato*
Iko loma-ni iko gā 2SG.SBJ love-TR 2SG.OBJ MODIF.emphatic	1	***Standard***
iko lomani iko 2SG.SBJ love.TR 2SG.OBJ	1	*Vosa vaSerua*
Tālei-taki iko like-TR 2SG.OBJ	1	***Standard***
Taleitai io like.TR 2SG.OBJ	1	*Vosa vaSomosomo*
Au domoni au 1SG.SBJ love.TR 1SG.OBJ	1	*Vosa vaKanadoi*
Au domo-ni au 1SG.SBJ love-TR 1SG.OBJ	1	***Standard***
Iko domo-ni iko 2SG.SBJ love-TR 2SG.OBJ	2	***Standard***
Xoi domoni ixo 2SG.SBJ love.TR 2SG.OBJ	1	*Vosa vakaVuaki*
Xoi domoni ixo 2SG.SBJ love.TR 2SG.OBJ	1	*Bua*
O domi-ni iko 2SG.SBJ love-TR 2SG.OBJ	1	***Standard***
O domoni iko 2SG.SBJ love.TR 2SG.OBJ	1	*VosavakaRewa*
Oni loma-ni Kemuni gā. 2SG.SBJ love-TR 2SG.OBJ MODIF.emphatic	1	***Standard***
Oi lomani iko vakatakini iko ga.	1	*Yasawa*
Au loma-ni au 1SG.SBJ love-TR 1SG.OBJ	3	***Standard***
Au lomani au 1SG.SBJ love.TR 1SG.OBJ	2	*Savusavu*
Au domo-ni au 1SG.SBJ love-TR 1SG.OBJ	1	***Standard***
U domoni au 1SG.SBJ love.TR 1SG.OBJ	1	*Navakavu*
O domi-ni iko gā 2SG.SBJ love-TR 2SG.OBJ MODIF.emphatic	1	***Standard***
O domoni i'o ga 2SG.SBJ love.TR 2SG.OBJ MODIF.emphatic	1	*Qeleni*

Table C.29: 'Paula requires that Kata's parents support himself.'

SENTENCE: 'Paula requires that Kata's parents support himself.'	#	DIALECT
Vinaka-ta o Paula me rau qara-vi koya na tubutubu nei Kata want-TR DET Paula should 3DU.SBJ support-TR 3SG.OBJ DET parents POSS Kata	1	***Standard***
E=gu'a o Paula me dru qaravi xea a 'ubu'ubu i Kata 3SG.SBJ=want.TR DET Paula should 3DU.SBJ support.TR 3SG.OBJ DET parents POSS Kata	1	*Solevu*
E=vinaka-ta o Paula me rau toko-ni na i-tubutubu nei Kata 3SG.SBJ=want-TR DET Paula should 3DU.SBJ support-TR DET NMLZ-parents POSS Kata	1	***Standard***
E=vina'ata o Paula me rau to'oni 'ea a itubutubu i Kata 3SG.SBJ=want.TR DET Paula should 3DU.SBJ support.TR 3SG.OBJ DET NMLZ.parents POSS Kata	1	*Gato*
E=tālei-taka o Paula me rau toko-ni koya na-i tubutubu i Kata 3SG.SBJ=like-TR DET Paula should 3DU.SBJ support-TR 3SG.OBJ DET-NMLZ parents POSS Kata	1	***Standard***
e=okajia o vaula meru na tokonia na lai tubutubu o Kata 3SG.SBJ=DET.Kata DET want.TR 3DU.SBJ DET support.TR DET ? parents DET Kata	1	*Vosa vaSerua*
Ā gadre-va o Paula me rau-vuke-i koya na tubutubu nei Kata PST want-TR DET Paula should 3DU.SBJ-help-TR 3SG.OBJ DET parents POSS Kata	2	***Standard***
E=gadreva o Paula merau vuei oya na tubutubu nei Kata 3SG.SBJ=want.TR DET Paula should.3DU.SBJ help.TR 3SG.OBJ DET parents POSS Kata	1	*Vosa vaSomosomo*
E=gadre-va o Paula me 3SG.SBJ=want-TR DET Paula should	1	***Standard***
gadreva xo Paula me vuxei xeya ai ubuubu wei Kata want.TR DET Paula should help.TR 3SG.OBJ DET.NMLZ parents POSS Kata	1	*Bua*
E=vinaka-ta ko Paula me rau vuke-i koya na nona tubutubu ko Kata. 3SG.SBJ=want-TR DET Paula should 3DU.SBJ help-TR 3SG.OBJ DET 3SG.POSS parents DET Kata	1	***Standard***
Ei=vinatia ko Vaula meru vukei koya na lea i tubutubu ko Kata. 3SG.SBJ=want.TR DET Paula should.3DU.SBJ help.TR 3SG.OBJ DET ? NMLZ parents DET Kata	1	*Yasawa*
Paula vinaka-ta me susu-gi rau nodrau tubutubu o Kata Paula want-TR should bring.up-TR 3DU.SBJ 3DU.POSS parents DET Kata	1	***Standard***
Paula me kai susugi dru'ha o ububu wei Kata Paula should say bring.up.TR 3DU.SBJ DET parents POSS Kata	1	*Savusavu*
Vinaka o Paula me toko-ni Kata o rau na nona i-tbutubu want DET Paula should support-TR Kata DET 3DU.SBJ DET 3SG.POSS NMLZ-parents	1	***Standard***
Nakwate o Vaula me tokoni Kata o rau na nona itbututubu want.TR DET Paula should support.TR Kata DET 3DU.SBJ DET 3SG.POSS NMLZ.parents	1	*Navakavu*
E=vinaka-ta o Paula me rau toko-ni koya na-i tubutbu nei Kata 3SG.SBJ=want-TR DET Paula should 3DU.SBJ support-TR 3SG.OBJ DET-NMLZ parents POSS Kata	1	***Standard***
E=vinaka-ta o Paula me rau toko-ni koya na tubutubu nei Kata 3SG.SBJ=want-TR DET Paula should 3DU.SBJ support-TR 3SG.OBJ DET parents POSS Kata	2	***Standard***
E=vinakata o Paula me rau tokoni koya na tubutubu nei Kata 3SG.SBJ=want.TR DET Paula should 3DU.SBJ support.TR 3SG.OBJ DET parents POSS Kata	1	*Savusavu*
E=vina'ata o Paula me rau qaravi 'ea a tubutubu i Kata 3SG.SBJ=want.TR DET Paula should 3DU.SBJ support.TR 3SG.OBJ DET parents POSS Kata	1	*Qeleni*

Table C.30: 'Jone likes to take photographs.'

SENTENCE: 'Jone likes to take photographs.'	#	DIALECT
Dau tālei-taka o Jone na vei-taba frequently like-TR DET Jone DET PL-photo	**2**	***Standard***
Dau 'alei vei Jone a vei 'aba frequently like.TR to Jone DET PL photo	**1**	*Solevu*
E=tāleita-ka o Jone na vei-taba 3SG.SBJ=like-TR DET Jone DET PL-photo	**1**	***Standard***
E=taleita'a o Jone a veitaba 3SG.SBJ=like.TR DET Jone DET PL.photo	**1**	*Gato*
Jone e=tāleitaka na vei-taba Jone 3SG.SBJ=like-TR DET PL-photo	**1**	***Standard***
O Jone e=taleitakinia na veitaba DET Jone 3SG.SBJ=like.TR DET PL.photo	**1**	*Vosa vaSerua*
O Jone e=vinaka-ta me vei-taba DET Jone 3SG.SBJ=like-TR purpose PL-photo	**1**	***Standard***
O Jone e=vina'ata me vei taba DET Jone 3SG.SBJ=like.TR purpose PL photo	**1**	*Vosa vaSomosomo*
Dau tāleita-ka vaka-levu o Jone na vei-taba frequently like-TR ADV-greatly DET Jone DET PL-photo	**1**	***Standard***
Dau malekata vakalevu o Jone na veitaba frequently like.TR ADV.greatly DET Jone DET PL.photo	**1**	*Vosa vakaNadoi*
O Jone e=dau tālei-taka na vei-taba DET Jone 3SG.SBJ=frequently like-TR DET PL-photo	**2**	***Standard***
O Jone e=dau vinatia me dau veitaba DET Jone 3SG.SBJ=frequently like.TR purpose expert PL.photo	**1**	*Vosa vakaVuaki*
Jone dau alaei a xina a veiaba Jone frequently like DET thereby DET PL.photo	**1**	*Bua*
Dau taleitaka o Jone na veitaba frequently like.TR DET Jone DET PL.photo	**1**	*Vosavakarewa*
E=tālei-taka na vei-taba ko Jone 3SG.SBJ=like-TR DET PL-photo DET Jone	**1**	***Standard***
Ei=talaitakinia na vitaba ko Jone. 3SG.SBJ=like.TR DET PL.photo DET Jone	**1**	*Yasawa*
Jone dau tālei-taka na vei-taba Jone frequently like-TR DET PL-photo	**1**	***Standard***
Jone tau re'a me na vei'aba Jone frequently like.TR purpose DET PL.photo	**1**	*Savusavu*
Tāilei-taka o Jone na vei-taba like-TR DET Jone DET PL-photo	**1**	***Standard***
Taileitake o Jone na veitaba like.TR DET Jone DET PL.photo	**1**	*Navakavu*
E=tāleitaka o Jone na vei-taba 3SG.SBJ=like-TR DET Jone DET PL-photo	**1**	***Standard***
E=malekata o Jone a veitaba 3SG.SBJ=like.TR DET Jone DET PL.photo	**1**	*Savusavu*
E=tālei taka o Jone na vei taba 3SG.SBJ=like TR DET Jone DET PL photo	**1**	***Standard***
E=dau tālei-taka o Jone na vei-taba 3SG.SBJ=frequently like-TR DET Jone DET PL-photo	**1**	***Standard***
E=dau taleita'ina o Jone a veitaba 3SG.SBJ=frequently like.TR DET Jone DET PL.photo	**1**	*Qeleni*

Table C.31: 'He shaved himself.'

SENTENCE: 'He shaved himself.'	#	DIALECT
O koya gā e=toro-i koya DET 3SG.SBJ MODIF.emphatic 3SG.SBJ=shave-TR 3SG.OBJ	1	***Standard***
O xea ga e='oroi xea DET 3SG.SBJ MODIF.emphatic 3SG.SBJ=shave.TR 3SG.OBJ	1	*Solevu*
O koya e=toro-i koya gā DET 3SG.SBJ 3SG.SBJ=shave-TR 3SG.OBJ MODIF.emphatic	2	***Standard***
O 'ea e=toto 'ea DET 3SG.SBJ 3SG.SBJ=shave 3SG.OBJ	1	*Gato*
O koya ā toro-i koya gā DET 3SG.SBJ PST shave-TR 3SG.OBJ MODIF.emphatic	1	***Standard***
O keya a toroia ga DET 3SG.SBJ PST shave.TR MODIF.emphatic	1	*Vosa va Serua*
E=toro-i koya ko koya 3SG.SBJ=shave-TR 3SG.OBJ DET 3SG.OBJ	1	***Standard***
E=toroi oya o'ya 3SG.SBJ=shave.TR 3SG.OBJ DET.3SG.OBJ	1	*Vosa va Somosomo*
E=ā toro-i koya gā vakai koya 3SG.SBJ=PST shave-TR 3SG.OBJ MODIF.emphatic according.to 3SG.OBJ	1	***Standard***
E=ā toroi koya ga vakai koya 3SG.SBJ=PST shave.TR 3SG.OBJ MODIF.emphatic according.to 3SG.OBJ	1	*Vosa vakaNadoi*
Koya e toroi koya vataki koya 3SG.SBJ 3SG.SBJ=PST shave-TR 3SG.OBJ MODIF.emphatic according.to 3SG.OBJ	1	***Standard***
O koya dau toroi xoya ta tia DET 3SG.SBJ often shave-TR 3SG.OBJ ? 3SG.OBJ	1	*Vosa vakaVuaki*
O koya toro-i koya DET 3SG.SBJ shave-TR 3SG.OBJ	1	***Standard***
A xeya oroi xeya PST 3SG.SBJ shave.TR 3SG.OBJ	1	*Bua*
E=toro-i koya gā 3SG.SBJ=shave-TR 3SG.OBJ MODIF.emphatic	1	***Standard***
E=toroi koya ga 3SG.SBJ=shave.TR 3SG.OBJ MODIF.emphatic	1	*VosavakaRewa*
E=toro-i koya gā vakai-koya. 3SG.SBJ=shave-TR 3SG.OBJ MODIF.emphatic according.to-3SG.OBJ	1	***Standard***
A toroi koya ga vakatakini koya. PST shave.TR 3SG.OBJ MODIF.emphatic according.to 3SG.OBJ	1	*Yasawa*
E=ā toro-i koya 3SG.SBJ=PST shave-TR 3SG.OBJ	2	***Standard***
E=a oro'i hoya 3SG.SBJ=PST shave.TR 3SG.OBJ	1	*Savusavu*
E=toro-i koya 3SG.SBJ=shave-TR 3SG.OBJ	2	***Standard***
E=toroi koya 3SG.SBJ=shave-TR 3SG.OBJ	1	*Navakavu*
E=a toroi koya 3SG.SBJ=PST shave-TR 3SG.OBJ	1	*Savusavu*
O 'ea e=toroi 'ea ga DET 3SG.SBJ 3SG.SBJ=shave-TR 3SG.OBJ MODIF.emphatic	1	*Qeleni*

Table C.32: 'I wash myself.'

SENTENCE: 'I wash myself.'	#	DIALECT
Au sava-ti au 1SG.SBJ wash-TR 1SG.OBJ	**5**	***Standard***
Au sava'i au 1SG.SBJ wash.TR 1SG.OBJ	**1**	*Solevu*
Au qai sisili 1SG.SBJ then wash.TR	**1**	*Gato*
Au qi sisi-li 1SG.SBJ then wash-TR	**1**	***Standard***
Au ā vaka-savasava-taki au 1SG.SBJ PST CAUS-wash-TR 1SG.OBJ	**1**	***Standard***
Oi au qu vasavasavataki ni au ga DET 1SG.SBJ then CAUS.wash.TR POSS 1SG.OBJ MODIF.emphatic	**1**	*Vosa va Serua*
Au sama'i yau 1SG.SBJ wash.TR 1SG.OBJ	**1**	*Vosa va Somosomo*
Au sava-ti au gā vakai au 1SG.SBJ wash-TR 1SG.OBJ MODIF.emphatic according.to 1SG.OBJ	**1**	***Standard***
Au savati au ga vakai au 1SG.SBJ wash.TR 1SG.OBJ MODIF.emphatic according.to 1SG.OBJ	**1**	*Vosa vakaNadoi*
Koya e=sava-ti koya gā vataki koya 3SG.SBJ 3SG.SBJ=wash-TR 3SG.OBJ MODIF.emphatic according.to 3SG.OBJ	**1**	***Standard***
O xoya e=savati xoya ga vataxini xoya DET 3SG.SBJ 3SG.SBJ=wash.TR 3SG.OBJ MODIF.emphatic according.to 3SG.OBJ	**1**	*Vosa vakaVuaki*
Au savai au 1SG.SBJ wash.TR 1SG.OBJ	**1**	*Bua*
Au sava-ti au 1SG.SBJ wash-TR 1SG.OBJ	**1**	*VosavakaRewa*
Au ā sava-i au gā vakataki au. 1SG.SBJ PST wash-TR 1SG.OBJ MODIF.emphatic according.to 1SG.OBJ	**1**	***Standard***
Au qu savati au ga vakatakini au. 1SG.SBJ then wash.TR 1SG.OBJ MODIF.emphatic according.to 1SG.OBJ	**1**	*Yasawa*
Au lai sisi-li 1SG.SBJ go wash-TR	**1**	***Standard***
Au lai sisili 1SG.SBJ go wash.TR	**1**	*Savusavu*
Au sava-ta na yagoqu 1SG.SBJ wash-TR DET body-1SG.OBJ	**1**	***Standard***
U savata na yagoqu 1SG.SBJ wash.TR DET body-1SG.OBJ	**1**	*Navakavu*
Au ā vaka-sili-mi au 1SG.SBJ PST CAUS-wash-TR 1SG.OBJ	**1**	***Standard***
Au a vakasilimi au 1SG.SBJ PST CAUS.wash.TR 1SG.OBJ	**1**	*Savusavu*
Au ā sava-ti au 1SG.SBJ PST wash-TR 1SG.OBJ	**1**	***Standard***
Au savati au 1SG.SBJ wash.TR 1SG.OBJ	**1**	*Qeleni*

Table C.33: 'Jone got his shirt torn.'

SENTENCE: 'Jone got his shirt torn.'	#	DIALECT
E=vaka-basu-taka na nona sote o Jone 3SG.SBJ=CAUS-break-TR DET 3SG.POSS shirt DET Jone	2	***Standard***
E=vaxabasi'axina a ona sote xo Jone 3SG.SBJ=CAUS.break.TR DET 3SG.POSS shirt DET Jone	1	*Solevu*
Qai kabasu na sote nei Jone then break DET shirt POSS Jone	1	***Standard***
Qi 'abasu a sote i Jone then break DET shirt POSS Jone	1	*Gato*
O Jone vaka-basu taka ga na nona sote DET Jone CAUS-break TR MODIF.emphatic DET 3SG.POSS shirt	1	***Standard***
O Jone a basukia ga vainia na lea sote DET Jone PST break.TR MODIF.emphatic ? DET 3SG.POSS shirt	1	*Vosa va Serua*
E=kabasu na sote nei Jone 3SG.SBJ=break DET shirt POSS Jone	1	***Standard***
E=abasu na sote nei Jone 3SG.SBJ=break DET shirt POSS Jone	1	*Vosa va Somosomo*
E=ā kabasu na sote nei Jone 3SG.SBJ=PST break DET shirt POSS Jone	2	***Standard***
E=a kabasu na sote nei Jone 3SG.SBJ=PST break DET shirt POSS Jone	1	*Vosa vakaNadoi*
O Jone vakabasu taka gā na nona sote DET Jone CAUS=break TR MODIF.emphatic DET 3SG.POSS shirt	1	***Standard***
O Jone ma vaxabasu akina a wona sote DET Jone PST CAUS=break TR MODIF.emphatic DET 3SG.POSS shirt	1	*Bua*
E=vakabasutaka na nona sote o Jone 3SG.SBJ=CAUS.break.TR DET 3SG.POSS shirt DET Jone	1	*VosavakaRewa*
E=kabasu nona sote o Jone. 3SG.SBJ=break 3SG.POSS shirt DET Jone	1	***Standard***
Sa tabasu na sote lei Jone. ASP break DET shirt POSS Jone	1	*Yasawa*
E=ā kabasu na siqaleti nei Jone 3SG.SBJ=PST break DET shirt POSS Jone	1	***Standard***
E=a ha'basu a sikaleti wei Jone 3SG.SBJ=PST break DET shirt POSS Jone	1	*Savusavu*
Kabasu na sote nei Jone break DET shirt POSS Jone	2	***Standard***
E=vaka-basu-taka gā na nona sote o Jone 3SG.SBJ=CAUS-break-TR MODIF.emphatic DET 3SG.POSS shirt DET Jone	1	***Standard***
Kabasu na sote nei Jone break DET shirt POSS Jone	1	*Navakavu*
e=ā kabasu na sote nei Jone 3SG.SBJ=PST break DET shirt POSS Jone	1	*Savusavu*
E=va'abasuta'ina ga a ona sote o Jone 3SG.SBJ=break MODIF.emphatic 3SG.POSS shirt DET Jone	1	*Qeleni*

Table C.34: 'The queen invited both Melika and herself to my house for tea.'

SENTENCE: 'The queen invited both Melika and herself to my house for tea.'	#	DIALECT
Na ranadi e=sure-ti koya vata kei Melika me rau mai gunu ti i vale DET queen 3SG.SBJ=invite-TR 3SG.OBJ together with Melika purpose 3DU.SBJ come drink tea at house	1	***Standard***
A ranadi e sure'i xea va'i Melika me dru mai gunu ti i vale DET queen 3SG.SBJ=invite.TR 3SG.OBJ together.with Melika purpose 3DU.SBJ come drink tea at house	1	*Solevu*
A ranadi e=sure-ti Milik vata kei koya ki nona vale DET queen 3SG.SBJ=invite-TR Melika together with 3SG.OBJ at 3SG.POSS house me rau laki gunu ti purpose 3DU.SBJ go drink tea	1	***Standard***
A ranadi e=sureti Milika vati 'ea i na ona vale DET queen 3SG.SBJ=invite.TR Melika together.with 3SG.OBJ at DET 3SG.POSS house me rau la'i gunu ti purpose 3DU.SBJ go drink tea	1	*Gato*
Na ranadi e=ā sure-ti au kei Melika ki na noqu vale me kerau DET queen 3SG.SBJ=PST invite-TR 1SG.OBJ and Melika at DET 1SG.POSS house purpose 3DU.SBJ lai vaka-yaga-ta na ti go CAUS-use-TR DET tea	1	***Standard***
Na ranajdi a sureji au qenia oMilika me maru lai somu ji DET queen PST invite.TR 1SG.OBJ and.3SG.OBJ DET.Melika purpose 3DU.OBJ go drink tea	1	*Vosa va Serua*
Na ranadi e=sure-ti au kei Melika me kerau laki gunu ti DET queen 3SG.SBJ=invite-TR 1SG.OBJ and Melika purpose 3DU.OBJ go drink tea kina nona vale ADV.thereby 3SG.POSS house	1	***Standard***
Na ranadi e=sureti au ei Melika me eirau gunuti e nona vale DET queen 3SG.SBJ=invite.TR 1SG.OBJ and Melika purpose 1DU.EXCL.SBJ drink.tea in 3SG.POSS house	1	*Vosa va Somosomo*
E=ā sure-ti Melika na ranadi kei koya kina na noqu 3SG.SBJ=PST invite-TR Melika DET queen and 3SG.OBJ ADV.thereby DET 1SG.POSS vale me rau lai dua na bilo ti house purpose 3DU.SBJ go one DET cup tea	1	***Standard***
E=a sureti Melika na ranadi kei koya kina na noqu 3SG.SBJ=PST invite.TR Melika DET queen and 3SG.OBJ ADV.thereby DET 1SG.POSS vale me rau lai dua na bilo ti house purpose 3DU.SBJ go one DET cup tea	1	*Vosa vakaNadoi*
Na ranadi e=sure-ti koya kei Melika me rau laki gunu i nona vale DET queen 3SG.SBJ=invite-TR 3SG.OBJ and Melika purpose 3DU.SBJ go drink in 3SG.POSS house	1	***Standard***
O ranadi ma surei xea xei Melika me rau lei gunu ti xi nodrou vale DET queen PST invite.TR 3SG.OBJ and Melika purpose 3DU.SBJ go drink tea in 3PL.POSS house	1	*Bua*
E=ā sure-ti Melika kei koya na marama na ranadi me rau 3SG.SBJ=PST invite-TR Melika and 3SG.OBJ DET lady DET queen purpose 3DU.SBJ mai gunu ti en noqu vale. come drink tea in 3SG.POSS house	1	***Standard***
A sureti koya vakatakini koya qai Melika na ranadi meru mai PST invite.TR 3SG.OBJ with 3SG.OBJ then Melika DET queen 3DU.SBJ come drink tea at 1SG.POSS house	1	*Yasawa*
E=sure-ti rau o Melika me rau gunu-ti na ranadi 3SG.SBJ=invite-TR 3DU.OBJ DET Melika purpose 3DU.SBJ drink-tea DET queen	1	***Standard***
E=a sure'i dru'ha o Melika me dru'ha lai gunuti ti he'i na ranadi 3SG.SBJ=PST invite.TR 3DU.OBJ DET Melika purpose 3DU.SBJ go drink tea with DET queen	1	*Savusavu*
E=ā sure-ti Melika na ranadi me rau mai gunuti i vale. 3SG.SBJ=PST invite-TR Melika DET queen purpose 3DU.SBJ go drink.tea at house	1	***Standard***
E=a sureti Melika na ranadi me rau mai gunuti i vale. 3SG.SBJ=PST invite.TR Melika DET queen purpose 3DU.SBJ go drink.tea at house	1	*Savusavu*
E=ā sure-ti Melika na marama na ranadi me rau laki gunu ti yani ki vale 3SG.SBJ=PST invite-TR Melika DET lady DET queen purpose 3DU.SBJ go drink tea direction at house	1	***Standard***

Table C.35: 'I like to eat pineapples.'

SENTENCE: 'I like to eat pineapples.'	#	DIALECT
Au dau tālei-taka na gunu painapiu 1SG.SBJ frequently like-TR DET drink pineapple	**4**	***Standard***
Au dau 'alei'axina a gunu balawa 1SG.SBJ frequently like.TR DET drink pineapple	**1**	*Solevu*
Au dau tālei-taka na kana painapiu 1SG.SBJ frequently like-TR DET eat pineapple	**9**	***Standard***
Au dau taleita'ina a 'ana painapiu 1SG.SBJ frequently like.TR DET eat pineapple	**1**	*Gato*
Au ataleitaka na kana painapiu 1SG.SBJ PST.like-TR DET eat pineapple	**2**	***Standard***
Au qu taleitakinia na somu vainaviu 1SG.SBJ then like.TR DET drink pineapple	**1**	*Vosa va Serua*
Au tālei-taka na painapiu 1SG.SBJ like-TR DET pineapple	**1**	***Standard***
Au taleita'a a painapiu 1SG.SBJ like.TR DET pineapple	**1**	*Vosa va Somosomo*
Au dau malekata na kana painapiu 1SG.SBJ frequently delicious.TR DET eat pineapple	**1**	*Vosa vakaNadoi*
Au dau vinatia na xana vadra sola 1SG.SBJ frequently like.TR DET eat pineapple	**1**	*Vosa vakaVuaki*
Au dau alei axina agunu balawa 1SG.SBJ frequently like TR DET.drink pineapple	**1**	*Bua*
Au dau malekata na gunu painapiu 1SG.SBJ frequently delicious.TR DET drink pineapple	**2**	*VosavakaRewa*
Au tālei-taka na gunu Painapiu. 1SG.SBJ like-TR DET drink pineapple	**3**	***Standard***
Au qi dau taleitakinia na somu vadrasola. 1SG.SBJ then frequently like.TR DET drink pineapple	**1**	*Yasawa*
Au dau tālei-taka na painapiu 1SG.SBJ frequently like-TR DET pineapple	**2**	***Standard***
Au ta'u aleahina a gunu painapiu 1SG.SBJ frequently like.TR DET drink pineapple	**1**	*Savusavu*
U taleitake na gunu painapiu 1SG.SBJ like.TR DET drink pineapple	**1**	*Navakavu*
Au tālei-taka na kana painapiu 1SG.SBJ like-TR DET eat pineapple	**1**	***Standard***
Au dau taleita'ina a gunu painapiu 1SG.SBJ frequently like.TR DET drink pineapple	**1**	*Qeleni*
Au dau kana painapiu 1SG.SBJ frequently eat pineapple	**1**	***Standard***
Au dau xana balawa 1SG.SBJ frequently eat pineapple	**1**	*Solevu*
O au dau tālai-taka na kana painapiu DET 1SG.SBJ frequently like-TR DET eat pineapple	**1**	***Standard***
Au dau taleitakina a gunu painapiu 1SG.SBJ frequently like.TR DET drink pineapple	**1**	*Vaosavaka Vanuabalavu*
Au tau'alei'axina a gunu balawa 1SG.SBJ like.TR DET drink pineapple	**1**	*Vosa vaka Macuata*
Edau gunu re vei au a balawa one drink good to 1SG.OBJ DET pineapple	**1**	*Vuya*
Au vina'ata a gunu painapiu 1SG.SBJ like.TR DET drink pineapple	**1**	*Vosavakabuca*

Table C.36: 'She killed herself.'

SENTENCE: 'She killed herself.'	#	DIALECT
E=ā vaka-mate-i koya gā vakataki koya 3SG.SBJ=PST CAUS-death-TR 3SG.OBJ MODIF.emphatic according.to 3SG.OBJ	1	***Standard***
O xea ga e=laba'i xea DET 3SG.SBJ MODIF.emphatic 3SG.OBJ=murder.TR 3SG.OBJ	1	*Solevu*
Koya qai vaka-mate-i koya gā 3SG.SBJ then CAUS-death-TR 3SG.OBJ MODIF.emphatic	1	***Standard***
o 'ea qai va'amtei 'ea ga DET 3SG.SBJ then CAUS.death.TR 3SG.OBJ MODIF.emphatic	1	*Gato*
O-koya ā vaka-mate-i koya gā DET-3SG.SBJ PST CAUS-death-TR 3SG.OBJ MODIF.emphatic	1	***Standard***
Na yalewa igi avamate nia ga DET woman here PST.CAUS.death 3SG.OBJ MODIF.emphatic	1	*Vosa va Serua*
E=vaka-mate-i koya nayalewa koya 3SG.SBJ=CAUS-death-TR 3SG.OBJ DET-woman 3SG.OBJ	1	***Standard***
E=va'amatei oya a yalewa ma 3SG.SBJ=CAUS.death.TR 3SG.OBJ DET woman there	1	*Vosa va Somosomo*
E=ā vaka-mate-i koya gā vakai koya 3SG.SBJ=PST CAUS-death-TR 3SG.OBJ MODIF.emphatic according.to 3SG.OBJ	1	***Standard***
E=ā vakamatei koya ga vakai koya 3SG.SBJ=PST CAUS.death.TR 3SG.OBJ MODIF.emphatic according.to 3SG.OBJ	1	*Vosa vakaNadoi*
O koya va-mate-i koya gā vataki koya DET 3SG.SBJ CAUS-death-TR 3SG.OBJ MODIF.emphatic according.to 3SG.OBJ	1	***Standard***
vamateni xoya ga vakatakini xoya CAUS.death.TR 3SG.OBJ MODIF.emphatic according.to 3SG.OBJ	1	*Vosa vakaVuaki*
Ko na yalewa yā va-mate-i koya DET DET woman there CAUS-death-TR 3SG.OBJ	1	***Standard***
A yalewa gona ma vameei xeya DET woman there.DET PST CAUS.death.TR 3SG.OBJ	1	*Bua*
O koya e=va-mate-i koya gā vataki DET 3SG.SBJ 3SG.SBJ=CAUS-death-TR 3SG.OBJ MODIF.emphatic according.to koya 3SG.OBJ	1	***Standard***
O koya e=vamatei koya ga vataki DET 3SG.SBJ 3SG.SBJ=CAUS.death.TR 3SG.OBJ MODIF.emphatic according.to koya 3SG.OBJ	1	*Vosavakarewa*
E=a vakamatei koya ga vakataki koya. 3SG.SBJ=PST CAUS.death.TR 3SG.OBJ MODIF.emphatic according.to 3SG.OBJ	1	*Yasawa*
Ka vaka-maten-i koya gā vakatakini koya. PST CAUS-death-TR 3SG.OBJ MODIF.emphatic according.to 3SG.OBJ	1	***Standard***
Koya va-mate-i koya 3SG.SBJ CAUS-death-TR 3SG.OBJ	1	***Standard***
Koya vama'ei he'a 3SG.SBJ CAUS.death.TR 3SG.OBJ	1	*Savusavu*
Ā vaka-mate-i koya PST CAUS-death-TR 3SG.OBJ	1	***Standard***
A vakamatei koya PAS CAUS.death.TR 3SG.OBJ	1	*Navakavu*
E=ā vaka-mate-i koya gā vakataki koya 3SG.SBJ CAUS-death-TR 3SG.OBJ MODIF.emphatic according.to 3SG.OBJ	1	***Standard***
O koya e=va-mate-i koya gā DET 3SG.SBJ 3SG.SBJ=CAUS-death-TR 3SG.OBJ MODIF.emphatic	1	***Standard***
O 'ea e=va'amatei 'ea ga DET 3SG.SBJ 3SG.SBJ=CAUS.death.TR 3SG.OBJ MODIF.emphatic	1	*Qeleni*

Table C.37: 'Simeli worries about himself.'

SENTENCE: 'Simeli worries about himself.'	#	DIALECT
O Simeli e=lomaleqa taki koya tale tiko DET Simeli 3SG.SBJ=worry TR 3SG.OBJ MODIF.inclusion MODIF.permanence	1	***Standard***
O Simeli e=lomaleqa'axini xea viro 'ixo DET Simeli 3SG.SBJ=worry.TR 3SG.OBJ ? 2SG.OBJ	1	*Solevu*
O Simeli e=dau leqa-taki koya gā DET Simeli 3SG.SBJ=frequently worry-TR 3SG.OBJ MODIF.emphatic	1	***Standard***
o Simeli e=dau leqa ta'i 'ea ga DET Simeli 3SG.SBJ=frequently worry TR 3SG.OBJ MODIF.emphatic	1	*Gato*
O Simeli ā leqa taki koya gā DET Simeli PST worry TR 3SG.OBJ MODIF.emphatic	1	***Standard***
O Simeli a leqa taki nia ga vai nia DET Simeli PST worry TR 3SG.OBJ MODIF.emphatic according.to 3SG.OBJ	1	*Vosa va Serua*
O Simeli e=leqa-taki koya vakai-koya DET Simeli 3SG.SBJ-worry-TR 3SG.OBJ according.to-3SG.OBJ	2	***Standard***
O Simeli e=leqata'i oya va'ai oya DET Simeli 3SG.SBJ=worry.TR 3SG.OBJ according.to 3SG.OBJ	1	*Vosa va Somosomo*
O Simeli e=leqa-taki koya tiko DET Simeli 3SG.SBJ=worry-TR 3SG.OBJ MODIF.permanence	1	***Standard***
O Simeli e=leqataki koya ga DET Simeli 3SG.SBJ=worry.TR 3SG.OBJ MODIF.emphatic	1	*Vosa vakaNadoi*
O Simeli e=leqataxini xoya ga vataxi xoya DET Simeli 3SG.SBJ=worry.TR 3SG.OBJ MODIF.emphatic according.to 3SG.OBJ	1	*Vosa vakaVuaki*
O Simeli ā leqa taki koya DET Simeli PST worry TR 3SG.OBJ	1	***Standard***
O Simeli e=leqa axini xeya DET Simeli 3SG.SBJ=worry TR 3SG.OBJ	1	*Bua*
E=dau leqa-taki koya gā vataki koya 3SG.SBJ=frequently worry-TR 3SG.OBJ MODIF.emphatic according.to 3SG.OBJ o Simeli DET Simeli	1	***Standard***
E=dau leqataki koya ga vataki koya 3SG.SBJ=frequently worry.TR 3SG.OBJ MODIF.emphatic according.to 3SG.OBJ o Simeli DET Simeli	1	*Vosavakarewa*
E=lomalomabi-taki koya tiko ko Simeli. 3SG.SBJ=worry-TR 3SG.OBJ MODIF.permanence DET Simeli	1	***Standard***
Kei lomalomabitaki ni koya no ko Simeli. 3SG.SBJ worry.TR POSS 3SG.OBJ ? DET Simeli	1	*Yasawa*
Simeli dau loma ocaoca Simeli frequently inside weary	1	***Standard***
Simeli tau loma ocaoca Simeli frequently inside weary	1	*Savusavu*
E=leqa-taki koya vakataki koya o Simeli 3SG.SBJ=worry-TR 3SG.OBJ according.to 3SG.OBJ DET Simeli	1	***Standard***
E=leqataki koya vakataki koya o Simeli 3SG.SBJ=worry.TR 3SG.OBJ according.to 3SG.OBJ DET Simeli	1	*Navakavu*
E=lomabibi taki koya gā o Simeli 3SG.SBJ=worry TR 3SG.OBJ MODIF.emphatic DET Simeli	1	***Standard***
O Simeli e=dau leqa-taki koya gā DET Simeli 3SG.SBJ=frequently worry-TR 3SG.OBJ MODIF.emphatic	1	***Standard***
O Simeli e=dau leqata'ini 'ea ga DET Simeli 3SG.SBJ=frequently worry.TR 3SG.OBJ MODIF.emphatic	1	*Qeleni*

Table C.38: 'Jone seems to Mere to be very lucky.'

SENTENCE: 'Jone seems to Mere to be very lucky.'	#	DIALECT
Vei Mere o Jone vaka me tamata kalougata to Mere DET Jone seems purpose person lucky	1	***Standard***
Vei Mere xo Jone e=xena e dua a 'ama'a xalouga'a to Mere DET Jone 3SG.SBJ=seems one DET person lucky	1	*Solevu*
E=nanu-ma ko Jone ni kalougata ko Mere 3SG.SBJ=think-TR DET Jone that lucky DET Mere	1	***Standard***
E=nanuma o Jone ni dau 'alougata o Mere 3SG.SBJ=think.TR DET Jone that frequently lucky DET Mere	1	*Gato*
O Jone ā nanu-ma ni kalougata o-Mere DET Jone PST think-TR that lucky DET-Mere	1	***Standard***
A numia Jone ni kalougata o Mere PST think.TR Jone that lucky DET Mere	1	*Vosa va Serua*
Jone e=nanu-ma ni kalougata o Mere Jone 3SG.SBJ=think-TR DET lucky DET Mere	2	***Standard***
E=nanuma oJone ni alougata o Mere 3SG.SBJ=think.TR DET.Jone that lucky DET Mere	1	*Vosa va Somosomo*
O Mere vei Jone e dua na yalewa kalougata DET Mere to Jone one DET woman lucky	1	***Standard***
O Mere vei Jone e dua na yalewa kalougata DET Mere to Jone one DET woman lucky	1	*Vosa vakaNadoi*
nauma xo Jone ni ya xalouga-a xo Mere think.TR DET Jone that ASP lucky DET Mere	1	*Bua*
E=tamata kalougata ko Jone vei Mere. 3SG.SBJ=person lucky DET Jone to Mere	1	***Standard***
Ei=odaki me tamata kalougata ko Jone iva Mere. 3SG.SBJ=? purpose person lucky DET Jone to Mere	1	*Yasawa*
Jone tukuna ni tamata kalougata o Mere Jone say-TR that persion lucky DET Mere	1	***Standard***
Jone uhu'na ni ama'a halou'aga o Mere Jone say.TR that person lucky DET Mere	1	*Savusavu*
O Jone vei Mere e dua na tamata kalougata DET Jone to Mere one DET person lucky	1	***Standard***
Vi Mere o Jone e dua tamata 'alougata dina to Mere DET Jone one person luck truly	1	*Qeleni*

Table C.39: 'Mere loves her cat and Jone does too.'

SENTENCE: 'Mere loves her cat and Jone does too.'	**#**	**DIALECT**
O Mere e=dau loma-na nona pusi, vakataki Jone DET Mere 3SG.SBJ=frequently love-TR 3SG.POSS cat together.with Jone	**1**	***Standard***
Xo Mere e=dau lomana a ona pusi, 'auva'a xei Jone DET Mere 3SG.SBJ=frequently love.TR DET 3SG.POSS cat together with Jone	**1**	*Solevu*
E=tālei-taka o Mere na nona pusi vakatalegā kina o Jone 3SG.SBJ=like-TR DET Mere DET 3SG.POSS cat likewise ADV.thereby DET Jone	**1**	***Standard***
E=taleita'ina o Mere a ona pusi va'atale ga 3SG.SBJ=like.TR DET Mere DET 3SG.POSS cat likewise MODIF.emphatic 'ina o Jone ADV.thereby DET Jone	**1**	*Gato*
E rau tālei-taka ruarua o Jone kei Mere na pusi 3DU.SBJ=like-TR both DET Jone and Mere DET cat	**1**	***Standard***
O Mere qenia o Jone ru taleitakinia ruarua na vusi DET Mere with DET Jone 3DU.SBJ like.TR both DET cat	**1**	*Vosa va Serua*
E=tālei-taka o Mere kei Jone na nodrau vusi 3SG.SBJ=like-TR DET Mere and Jone DET 3DU.POSS cat	**1**	***Standard***
E=taleita'ina oMere ei Jone na nodrau pusi 3SG.SBJ=like.TR DET. Mere and Jone DET 3DU.POSS cat	**1**	*Vosa va Somosomo*
E=domo-na vakalevu na nona pusi o Mere vaka talegā 3SG.SBJ=love-TR ADV.greatly DET 3SG.POSS cat DET Mere likewise kina o Jone ADV.thereby DET Jone	**2**	***Standard***
E=domona vakalevu na nona pusi o Mere vaka talegā 3SG.SBJ=like.TR ADV.greatly DET 3SG.POSS cat DET Mere likewise kina o Jone ADV.thereby DET Jone	**1**	*Vosa vakaNadoi*
O Mere dau tālei-taka nona pusi vakataki Jone DET Mere frequently like-TR DET 3SG.POSS cat together.with Jone	**1**	***Standard***
O Mere e=dau taleitaxinia na lea xosi wadaxi muni DET Mere 3SG.SBJ=frequently like.TR DET 3SG.POSS cat together.with ? o Jone DET Jone	**1**	*Vosa vakaVuaki*
O Mere e=demona a wona pusi xei Jone ale ga DET Mere 3SG.SBJ=love.TR DET 3SG.POSS cat and Jone also	**1**	*Bua*
E=domo-na nona pusi o Mere, vakatalegā-kina o Jone 3SG.SBJ=love-TR 3SG.POSS cat DET Mere likewise-ADV.thereby DET Jone	**1**	***Standard***
E=domona nona pusi o Jone vakatalegā kina o Jone 3SG.SBJ=love.TR 3SG.POSS cat DET Jone likewise ADV.thereby DET Jone	**1**	*Vosavakarewa*
E=tāleitaka na pusi ko Mere ka vakakina ko Jone 3SG.SBJ=like-TR DET cat DET Mere and in.the.same.way DET Jone	**1**	***Standard***
Eri dau taleitakinia na kosi ko Mere qai Jone. 3DU.SBJ frequently like.TR DET cat DET Mere then Jone	**1**	*Yasawa*
Mere e=dau loma-na na pusi vakatalegā kina o Jone Mere 3SG.SBJ=frequently love-TR DET cat likewise ADV.thereby DET Jone	**1**	***Standard***
Mere e=tau lomana a pusi va'ahalega hina o Jone Mere 3SG.SBJ=frequently love.TR DET cat likewise ADV.thereby DET Jone	**1**	*Savusavu*
O Mere e=tālei-taka na nona pusi me vaka tale ga kina DET Mere 3SG.SBJ=like-TR DET 3SG.POSS cat purpose likewise ADV.thereby o Jone DET Jone	**1**	***Standard***
O Mere e=domo-na na nona pusi, vakatalegā kina o Jone DET Mere 3SG.SBJ=love-TR DET 3SG.POSS cat likewise ADV.thereby DET Jone	**1**	***Standard***
O Mere vati Jone rau domona ruarua a pusi i Mere DET Mere with Jone 3DU.SBJ love.TR both DET cat POSS Mere	**1**	*Qeleni*

Table C.40: 'I voted for myself.'

SENTENCE: 'I voted for myself.'	#	DIALECT
Au ā digi au gā 1SG.SBJ PST choose 1SG.OBJ MODIF.emphatic	1	***Standard***
Au a digi au ga 1SG.SBJ PST choose 1SG.OBJ MODIF.emphatic	1	*Solevu*
Au digi-taki au gā 1SG.SBJ choose-TR 1SG.OBJ MODIF.emphatic	3	***Standard***
Au ā digi-taki au gā 1SG.SBJ PST choose-TR 1SG.OBJ MODIF.emphatic	3	***Standard***
Au qai digi-taki au gā 1SG.SBJ then choose-TR 1SG.OBJ MODIF.emphatic	1	***Standard***
Au qi digita'i au ga 1SG.SBJ then choose.TR 1SG.OBJ MODIF.emphatic	1	*Gato*
Au qu djigitaki ni au ga 1SG.SBJ then choose.TR for 1SG.OBJ MODIF.emphatic	1	*Vosa va Serua*
Au digitai au ga 1SG.SBJ choose.TR 1SG.OBJ MODIF.emphatic	1	*Vosa va Somosomo*
Au ā digi-taki au vakai au 1SG.SBJ PST choose-TR 1SG.OBJ according.to 1SG.OBJ	1	***Standard***
Au a digitaki au vakai au 1SG.SBJ PST choose 1SG.OBJ according.to 1SG.OBJ	1	*Vosa vakaNadoi*
qu digi au ga vakatakini au 1SG.SBJ choose 1SG.OBJ MODIF.emphatic according.to 1SG.OBJ	1	*Vosa vakaVuaki*
Au ā digi-taki au 1SG.SBJ PST choose-TR 1SG.OBJ	2	***Standard***
Au wa digiaxi au 1SG.SBJ PST choose.TR 1SG.OBJ	1	*Bua*
Au a digitaki au 1SG.SBJ PST choose.TR 1SG.OBJ	1	*VosavakaRewa*
Au qu digitaki ni au ga. 1SG.SBJ then choose.TR for 1SG.OBJ MODIF.emphatic	1	*Yasawa*
Au digi au gā 1SG.SBJ choose 1SG.OBJ MODIF.emphatic	1	***Standard***
Au tigi au ga 1SG.SBJ choose 1SG.OBJ MODIF.emphatic	1	*Savusavu*
U digitaki au 1SG.SBJ choose.TR 1SG.OBJ	1	*Navakavu*
Au na digi-taki au gā 1SG.SBJ PST choose-TR 1SG.OBJ MODIF.emphatic	1	***Standard***
Au a digita'ini au ga 1SG.SBJ PST choose 1SG.OBJ MODIF.emphatic	1	*Qeleni*

Table C.41: 'He voted for himself.'

SENTENCE: 'He voted for himself.'	#	DIALECT
Digi-taki koya gā. choose-TR 3SG.OBJ MODIF.emphatic	**1**	***Standard***
Digiakini keya ga. choose.TR 3SG.OBJ MODIF.emphatic	**1**	*Solevu*
Na cauravou yā e=digi-taki koya vakai koya DET young.man there 3SG.SBJ=choose-TR 3SG.OBJ according.to 3SG.OBJ	**1**	***Standard***
Na cauravou moi ma digitaki koya ga DET young.man there PST choose.TR 3SG.OBJ MODIF.emphatic	**1**	*Lau/Bau*
O koya e=digi-taki koya gā DET 3SG.SBJ 3SG.SBJ=choose-TR 3SG.OBJ MODIF.emphatic	**8**	***Standard***
O kea a digitakini ko kea ga DET 3SG.SBJ PST choose.TR DET 3SG.OBJ MODIF.emphatic	**1**	*Vaosavaka Vanuabalavu*
O xea ma tigi'axini xea ga DET 3SG.SBJ PST choose.TR 3SG.OBJ MODIF.emphatic	**1**	*Vosa vaka Macuata*
O koya a digitaki koya ga DET 3SG.SBJ PST choose.TR 3SG.OBJ MODIF.emphatic	**1**	*Vosa vakaRewa*
o xea digi'axini xea DET 3SG.SBJ choose.TR 3SG.OBJ	**1**	*Vuya*
E=digi-taka me nona 3SG.SBJ=choose-TR purpose 3SG.POSS	**1**	***Standard***
E=digita'ina me ona 3SG.SBJ=choose.TR purpose 3SG.POSS	**1**	*VosavakaBuca*

Table C.42: 'Jone tore his shirt with a stick.'

SENTENCE: 'Jone tore his shirt with a stick.'	#	DIALECT
Ena dua kau ā dresu-ka kina o Jone nona sote. in.DET one stick PST tear-TR ADV.thereby DET Jone 3SG.POSS shirt	1	***Standard***
E dua kacu a basia kina o Jone a ona sote. one stick PST tear.TR ADV.thereby DET Jone DET 3SG.POSS shirt	1	*Solevu*
Ko Jone e=vaka-yaga-taka na kau me basu-ka kina nona DET Jone 3SG.SBJ=CAUS-use-TR DET stick PST tear-TR ADV.thereby 3SG.POSS sote shirt	1	***Standard***
Ko Jone ma vakayagataka na kau me basuka kina ona sote DET Jone PST CAUS.use.TR DET stick PST tear.TR ADV.thereby 3SG.POSS shirt	1	*Lau/Bau*
E=vaka-basu-taka na nona sote o Jone vei na kau 3SG.SBJ=CAUS-break-TR DET 3SG.POSS shirt DET Jone to DET stick	1	***Standard***
E=vakabasutakina a ona sote ko Jone i.na kau 3SG.SBJ=CAUS.break.TR DET 3SG.POSS shirt DET Jone in.DET stick	1	*Vaosavaka Vanuabalavu*
O Jone e=vaka-basu-taka nona sote vei na kau DET Jone 3SG.SBJ=CAUS-break-TR 3SG.POSS shirt in DET stick	1	***Standard***
E=vaka-basu-taka na nona sote o Jone vei na kau 3SG.SBJ=CAUS-break-TR DET 3SG.POSS shirt DET Jone to DET stick	2	***Standard***
E=basia a ona sote ina tuga a xacu xo Jone 3SG.SBJ=break.TR DET 3SG.POSS shirt i.DET continually DET stick DET Jone	1	*Vosa vaka Macuata*
E=vaka-basu-taka na nona sote o Jone vei na dua na kau 3SG.SBJ=CAUS-break-TR DET 3SG.POSS shirt DET Jone to DET one DET stick	3	***Standard***
E=vaka-basu-taka o Jone na nona sote vi na dua na kau 3SG.SBJ=CAUS-break-TR DET Jone DET 3SG.POSS shirt to DET one DET stick	1	*Vosa vakaRewa*
O Jone a basia ona siqileti xina dua a abani xacu DET Jone PST break.TR 3SG.POSS shirt ADV.thereby one DET stalk.of wood	1	*Vuya*
O Jone e=basu-ka na nona sote vei na kau DET Jone 3SG.SBJ=break-TR DET 3SG.POSS shirt to DET wood	1	***Standard***
O Jone e=basu'a a ona sote ena 'acu DET Jone 3SG.SBJ=break.TR DET 3SG.POSS shirt in.DET stick	1	*VosavakaBuca*

Table C.43: 'Paula defended himself better than Isoa defended him.'

SENTENCE: 'Paula defended himself better than Isoa defended him.'	#	DIALECT
E=vinaka cake na nona tataqo-maki koya o Paula mai vei Isoa 3DU.SBJ=good up DET 3SG.POSS take.care.of-TR 3SG.OBJ DET Paula from Isoa	3	***Standard***
E xa re caxe a ona 'a 'akomaxini xea o Vaula mai vei Isoa is thing good up DET 3SG.POSS DET take.care.of.TR 3SG.OBJ DET Paula from Isoa	1	*Vosa vaka Macuata*
E=uasivi cake na nona tataqomaki koya o Paula mai vei Isoa 3DU.SBJ=excel up DET 3SG.POSS take.care.of-TR 3SG.OBJ DET Paula from Isoa	1	***Standard***
O Paula ea aqomaxini xea vaxa re mai vei druza Isoa DET Paula DET.PST take.care.of.TR 3SG.OBJ resemble good from unsuccessful of Isoa	1	*Vuya*
O Paula e=taqo-maki koya vinaka-cake sara mai vei Isoa DET Paula 3SG.SBJ=take.care.of-TR 3SG.OBJ good-up MODIF.emphatic from Isoa	1	***Standard***

Table C.44: 'I shave myself.'

SENTENCE: 'I shave myself.'	**#**	**DIALECT**
Au toro-vi au gā. 1SG.SBJ shave-TR 1SG.OBJ MODIF.emphatic	**1**	***Standard***
Au 'orovi au ga. 1SG.SBJ shave.TR 1SG.OBJ MODIF.emphatic	**1**	*Solevu*
Au toro-i au gā vakai au 1SG.SBJ shave-TR 1SG.OBJ MODIF.emphatic according.to 1SG.OBJ	**2**	***Standard***
Ko au toroi au ga vaki au DET 1SG.SBJ shave.TR 1SG.OBJ MODIF.emphatic according.to 1SG.OBJ	**1**	*Lau/Bau*
Au toro-i au gā 1SG.SBJ shave-TR 1SG.OBJ MODIF.emphatic	**7**	***Standard***
Ko au toroi au ga DET 1SG.SBJ shave.TR 1SG.OBJ MODIF.emphatic	**1**	*Vaosavaka Vanuabalavu*
Au 'oroi au ga 1SG.SBJ shave.TR 1SG.OBJ MODIF.emphatic	**1**	*Vosa vaka Macuata*
Au toroi au ga 1SG.SBJ shave.TR 1SG.OBJ MODIF.emphatic	**1**	*Vosa vakaRewa*
Xo au ma oroi au ga DET 1SG.SBJ PST shave.TR 1SG.OBJ MODIF.emphatic	**1**	*Vuya*
Au toro-i au 1SG.SBJ shave-TR 1SG.OBJ	**1**	***Standard***
Au toroi au 1SG.SBJ shave.TR 1SG.OBJ	**1**	*VosavakaBuca*

Table C.45: 'The queen invited both Melika and myself for tea.'

SENTENCE: 'The queen invited both Melikda and myself for tea.'	**#**	**DIALECT**
Na Ranadi ā sure-ti keirau kei Melika kina gunu ti. DET queen PST invite-TR 1DU.EXCL.OBJ with Melika ADV.thereby drink tea	**1**	***Standard***
A Ranadi a sure'i au kei Melika kina gunu ti. DET queen PST invite.TR 1SG.OBJ and Melika ADV.thereby drink tea	**1**	*Solevu*
Na ranadi e=sure-ti Melika kei yau e-na gunu ti DET queen 3SG.SBJ=invite-TR Melika and 1SG.OBJ in-DET drink tea	**1**	***Standard***
Na ranadi e=sure-ti au kei Melika me keirau lai DET queen 3SG.SBJ=invite-TR 1SG.OBJ and Melika purpose 1DU.EXCL.SBJ come gunu ti drink tea	**4**	***Standard***
A ranati ma sure'i ruxa xei Melika me ru lai DET queen PST invite.TR 1DU.EXCL.OBJ and Melika purpose 1DU.EXCL.SBJ come tuga a bilo ti continually DET cup tea	**1**	*Vosa vaka Macuata*
A marama ma surei au xei Melika me lai gunu ti DET lady PST invite.TR 1SG.OBJ and Melika purpose come drink tea	**1**	*Vuya*
Na ranadi e=sure-ti au kei Melika me gunu ti DET queen 3SG.SBJ=invite-TR 1SG.OBJ and Melika purpose drink tea	**1**	***Standard***
Na kuini e=sure-ti Melika vata kei au e na dua na gunu DET queen 3SG.SBJ=invite-TR Melika together with 1SG.OBJ in DET one DET drink ti tea	**1**	***Standard***
A kuini e=surti 'eiaru vati Melika ena dua a uni DET queen 3SG.SBJ=invite.TR 1DU.EXCL.OBJ with Melika in.DET one DET drink ti tea	**1**	*Vosavakabuca*

Table C.46: 'Simeli worries Paula.'

SENTENCE: 'Simeli worries Paula.'	#	DIALECT
E=Lomaleqa-taki Paula o Simeli. 3SG.SBJ=worry-TR Paula DET Simeli	1	***Standard***
E=lomaleqa'akini Paula o Simeli. 3SG.SBJ=worry.TR Paula DET Simeli	1	*Solevu*
O Simeli e=taqaya taki Paula. DET Simeli 3SG.SBJ=worry TR Paula	1	***Standard***
O Simeli e=leaqa-taki Paula DET Simeli 3sg.SBJ=worry-TR Paula	1	***Standard***
Ko Simeli e=dau leqatakini Paula DET Simeli 3sg.SBJ=frequently worry.TR Paula	1	*Vaosavaka Vanuabalavu*
O Simeli e=vaka-lomaleqa-taki Paula DET Simeli 3SG.SBJ=CAUS-worry-TR Paula	3	***Standard***
O Simeli e=leaqa-taki Paula DET Simeli 3sg.SBJ=worry-TR Paula	1	***Standard***
xo Simeli e=vaxalomaleqa'axini Paula DET Simeli 3SG.SBJ=CAUS.worry.TR Paula	1	*Vosa vaka Macuata*
o Simeli e=vaka-vu-na na nona lomaleqa o Paula DET Simeli 3sg.SBJ=CAUS-basis-TR DET 3SG.POSS worry DET Paula	1	***Standard***
o Simeli e=vakavuna sara la na DET Simeli 3SG.SBJ=CAUS.basis.TR MODIF.emphatic MODIF.emphatic DET nona lomaleqa o Paula 3SG.POSS worry DET Paula	1	*Vosa vakaRewa*
E=vaka-lomaleqa-taki Paula o Simeli 3SG.SBJ=CAUS-worry-TR Paula DET Simeli	1	***Standard***
simeli e=drumai Paula Simeli 3SG.SBJ=worry.TR Paula	1	*Vuya*
O Simeli e=lomaleqa taki Paula DET Simieli 3SG.SBJ=worry TR Paula	2	***Standard***
o Simeli e=leqata'i Paula DET Simeli 3SG.SBJ=worry.TR Paula	1	*VosavakaBuca*

Table C.47: 'Paula is a student.'

SENTENCE: 'Paula is a student.'	#	DIALECT
O Paula e=gonevuli. DET Paula 3SG.SBJ=student	**1**	***Standard***
E=gonevuli o Paula. 3SG.SBJ=student DET Paula	**5**	*Solevu* *Vosa vakaRewa* *Qeleni* *VosavaSuva*
O Paula e=dua na gonenivuli DET Paula 3SG.SBJ=one DET student	**2**	***Standard***
Ko Paula e=dua na gonevuli DET Paula 3SG.SBJ=one DET student	**1**	*Lau/Bau*
E=gonevuli o Paula 3SG.SBJ=student DET Paula	**12**	***Standard***
E=gonevuli ko Paula 3SG.SBJ=student DET Paula	**1**	*Vaosavaka Vanuabalavu*
O Paula e=gonevuli DET Paula 3SG.SBJ=student	**1**	***Standard***
E=gonevuli xo Vaula 3SG.SBJ=student DET Paula	**1**	*Vosa vaka Macuata*
Paula e=gone vuli Paula 3SG.SBJ=child study	**1**	*Vuya*
O Paula e=gonevuli tiko DET Paula 3SG.SBJ=student MODIF.permanence	**6**	***Standard***
O Paula e=dua na lalai vuli DET Paula 3SG.SBJ=one DET little study	**1**	*VosavakaBuca*
Paula e=dua na gone vuli Paula 3SG.SBJ=one DET child study	**1**	***Standard***
Xo Paula e=gone vuli DET Paula 3SG.SBJ=child study	**1**	***Standard***

Table C.48: 'You killed yourself.'

SENTENCE: 'You killed yourself.'	#	DIALECT
O vaka-mate-i iko gā 2SG.SBJ CAUS-death-TR 2SG.OBJ MODIF.emphatic	**1**	***Standard***
O vakama'ei ixo ga 2SG.SBJ CAUS.death.TR 2SG.OBJ MODIF.emphatic	**1**	*Solevu*
Au vaka-mate-i au 1SG.SBJ CAUS-death-TR 1SG.OBJ	**1**	***Standard***
O ā va-mate-i iko gā 2SG.SBJ PST CAUS-death-TR 2SG.OBJ MODIF.emphatic	**6**	***Standard***
Ko vamatei iko ga 2SG.SBJ CAUS.death.TR 2SG.OBJ MODIF.emphatic	**1**	*Vaosavaka Vanuabalavu*
xo a vaxama'ei ixo 2SG.SBJ PST CAUS.death.TR 2SG.OBJ	**1**	*Vosa vaka Macuata*
O a vakamatei iko ga DET PST CAUS.death.TR 2SG.OBJ MODIF.emphatic	**1**	*Vosa vakaRewa*
O ā va-mate-i iko gā vakai iko 2SG.SBJ PST CAUS-death-TR 2SG.OBJ MODIF.emphatic according.to 2SG.OBJ	**1**	***Standard***
Au vaxamaei au 1SG.SBJ CAUS.death.TR 1SG.OBJ	**1**	*Vuya*
Au va-matei au gā 1SG.SBJ CAUS-death.TR 1SG.OBJ MODIF.emphatic	**1**	***Standard***
O iko vaka-mate-i iko DET 2SG.SBJ CAUS-death-TR 2SG.OBJ	**1**	***Standard***
O i'o sa va'amatei i'o DET 2SG.SBJ ASP CAUS.death.TR 2SG.OBJ	**1**	*VosavakaBuca*

Table C.49: 'I speak to myself.'

SENTENCE: 'I speak to myself.'	#	DIALECT
Au vosa tiko gā vei au 1SG.SBJ speak MODIF.permanence MODIF.emphatic to 1SG.OBJ	2	***Standard***
Au vosa 'ixoga vei au 1SG.SBJ speak MODIF.permanence.MODIF.emphatic to 1SG.OBJ	1	*Solevu*
Au dau vosavosa yalo-qu 1SG.SBJ frequently talking soul-1SG.POSS	1	***Standard***
Au vosa gā vei au 1SG.SBJ speak MODIF.emphatic to 1SG.OBJ	6	***Standard***
Au vosa ga vei au 1SG.SBJ speak MODIF.emphatic to 1SG.OBJ	1	*Vaosavaka Vanuabalavu*
Au vosa ga ni au 1SG.SBJ speak MODIF.emphatic to 1SG.OBJ	1	*Vosa vaka Macuata*
Au vosa la vei au 1SG.SBJ speak MODIF.emphatic to 1SG.OBJ	1	*Vosa vakaRewa*
Au vosavosaiyaloqu 1SG.SBJ speaking-to-soul-1SG.POSS	1	***Standard***
Au vosa vei au 1SG.SBJ speak to 1SG.OBJ	2	*Vuya*
Au muna'i au 1SG.SBJ speak.TR 1SG.OBJ	1	*VosavakaBuca*

Table C.50: 'Mere seems to herself to be very lucky.'

SENTENCE: 'Mere seems to herself to be very lucky.'	**#**	**DIALECT**
E=kalougata o Mere. 3SG.SBJ=lucky DET Mere	**1**	***Standard***
E=xaloug'a o Mere. 3SG.SBJ=lucky DET Mere	**1**	*Solevu*
E=vabauta o Mere ni kalouagata o koya 3SG.SBJ=believe DET Mere that lucky DET 3SG.OBJ	**1**	***Standard***
E=vabauta o Mere ni kalouagata tiko o koya 3SG.SBJ=believe DET Mere that lucky MODIF.permanence DET 3SG.OBJ	**2**	***Standard***
E=vabauta o Mere ni levu tiko na nona 3SG.SBJ=believe DET Mere that big MODIF.permanence DET 3SG.POSS kalouagata luck	**1**	***Standard***
vaxabau'a o Mere ni se'a ixo a one xalouga'a believe DET Mere that big MODIF.permanence DET 3SG.POSS luck	**1**	*Vosa vaka Macuata*
O Mere edau divi xea me dau xalouga'a DET Mere one believe 3SG.OBJ purpose frequently lucky	**1**	*Vuya*
O Mere e=rai-ci koya gā ni dau kalougata DET Mere 3SG.SBJ=see-TR 3SG.OBJ MODIF.emphatic that frequently lucky	**1**	***Standard***
E=tuku-na o Mere ni sa rui kalougata 3SG.SBJ=say-TR DET Mere that ASP exceedingly lucky	**1**	***Standard***
E=tu'una o Mere na sa rui 'alougata 3SG.SBJ=say.TR DET Mere DET ASP exceedingly lucky	**1**	*VosavakaBuca*

Table C.51: 'You shot yourself.'

SENTENCE: 'You shot yourself.'	#	DIALECT
O vana-i iko gā 2SG.SBJ shoot-TR 2SG.OBJ MODIF.emphatic	**1**	***Standard***
O vanai ixo ga 2SG.SBJ shoot.TR 2SG.OBJ MODIF.emphatic	**1**	*Solevu*
Yau vana-i yau 1SG.SBJ shoot-TR 2SG.OBJ	**1**	***Standard***
O vana-i iko gā vakai iko 2SG.SBJ shoot-TR 2SG.OBJ MODIF.emphatic according.to 2SG.OBJ	**6**	***Standard***
Ko a vanai iko ga vakai iko 2SG.SBJ PST shoot.TR 2SG.OBJ MODIF.emphatic according.to 2SG.OBJ	**1**	*Vaosavaka Vanuabalavu*
O a vana-i iko gā 2SG.SBJ PST shoot-TR 2SG.OBJ MODIF.emphatic	**1**	***Standard***
Xo a vanai ixo ga 2SG.SBJ PST shoot.TR 2SG.OBJ MODIF.emphatic	**1**	*Vosa vaka Macuata*
O vanai iko la vakai iko 2SG.SBJ shoot.TR 2SG.OBJ MODIF.emphatic according.to 2SG.OBJ	**1**	*Vosa vakaRewa*
Xo au vanai au ga DET 1SG.SBJ shoot.TR 1SG.OBJ MODIF.emphatic	**1**	*Vuya*
Iko vana-i iko gā 2SG.SBJ shoot-TR 2SG.OBJ MODIF.emphatic	**1**	***Standard***
O vana-i iko 2SG.SBJ shoot-TR 2SG.OBJ	**1**	***Standard***
O vanai i'o 2SG.SBJ shoot.TR 2SG.OBJ	**1**	*VosavakaBuca*

Table C.52: 'I saw the movie.'

SENTENCE: 'I saw the movie.'	#	DIALECT
Au sara-va na yaloyalo 1SG.SBJ watch-TR DET film	**3**	***Standard***
Au sara yaloyalo 1SG.SBJ watch film	**1**	*Solevu*
Au sara yaloyalo tiko 1SG.SBJ watch film MODIF.permanence	**1**	***Standard***
Au ā sarava na yaloyalo 1SG.SBJ PST watch-TR DET film	**6**	***Standard***
Au a sarava na yaloyalo 1SG.SBJ PST watch.TR DET film	**1**	*VaosavakaVanua balavu*
Au ā sara-va na i-yaloyalo 1SG.SBJ PST watch-TR DET NMLZ-film	**11**	***Standard***
Au a sarava a yaloyalo 1SG.SBJ PST watch.TR DET film	**1**	*Vosa vaka Macuata*
Au a sara.va na iyaloyalo 1SG.SBJ PST watch.TR DET NMLZ.film	**1**	*Vosa vakaRewa*
Au adiva a dua a yaloyalo 1SG.SBJ PST.watch.TR DET one DET film	**1**	*Vuya*
Au rai-ca na yaloyalo 1SG.SBJ see-TR DET film	**2**	***Standard***
Au raica na yaloyalo 1SG.SBJ see.TR DET film	**1**	*VosavakaBuca*
Au ā rai-ca na yaloyalo. 1SG.SBJ PST see-TR DET film	**1**	***Standard***
Au a raica a yaloyalo 1SG.SBJ PST see.TR DET film	**1**	*Vosa vakaTunuloa*
Au sarava na iyaloyalo 1SG.SBJ watch.TR DET NMLZ.film	**1**	*VosavaKarewa*
Au a sarava a yaloyalo 1SG.SBJ PST watch.TR DET film	**1**	*VosavakaAvea*
Au a sarava a iyaloyalo 1SG.SBJ PST watch.TR DET NMLZ.film	**1**	*VosavakaQeleni*
Au a sarava a iyaloyalo 1SG.SBJ PST watch.TR DET NMLZ.film	**1**	*Vosa vaka Tunuloa*

Table C.53: 'Kalara opened her eyes.'

SENTENCE: 'Kalara opened her eyes.'	#	DIALECT
E=dola-va o Kalara na Mata-na 3SG.SBJ=open-TR DET Kalara DET eyes-3SG.POSS	1	***Standard***
E=dolava a ma'ana o Kalara 3SG.SBJ=open.TR DET eyes.3SG.POSS DET Kalara	1	*Solevu*
O Kalara e=dola-va na mata-na DET Kalara 3SG.SBJ=open-TR DET eyes-3SG.POSS	2	***Standard***
E=dola-va na mata-na o Kalara 3SG.SBJ=open-TR DET eyes-3SG.POSS DET Kalara	1	***Standard***
e=dolava a matana ko Kalara 3SG.SBJ=open.TR DET eyes-3SG.POSS DET Kalara	2	*Vaosavaka Vanuabalavu* *Vosa vakaRewa*
E=dola-va na mata-na o Kalara 3SG.SBJ=open-TR DET eyes-3SG.POSS DET Kalara	7	***Standard***
ba tolava a ma'ana xo Kalara ASP open.TR DET eyes-3SG.POSS DET Kalara	1	*Vosa vaka Macuata*
Kalara sa qai dolava a ma'a'na Kalara ASP then open.TR DET eyes-3SG.POSS	1	*Vuya*
E=dioloava a matana o Kalara 3SG.SBJ=open-TR DET eyes-3SG.POSS DET Kalara	1	*VosavakaBuca*

Table C.54: 'You saw yourself in the mirror.'

SENTENCE: 'You saw yourself in the mirror.'	#	DIALECT
O ā rai-ci iko na iloilo. 2SG.SBJ PST see-TR 2SG.OBJ DET mirror	1	***Standard***
O tirovi i'o ga na iloilo. 2SG.SBJ see.TR 2SG.OBJ MODIF.emphatic DET mirror	1	*Qeleni*
Iko rai-ci iko na iloilo 2SG.SBJ see-TR 2SG.OBJ DET mirror	1	***Standard***
Au vaka-rai-ci au e-na na-i iloilo 1SG.SBJ CAUS-see-TR 1SG.OBJ in-DET DET-NMLZ mirror	1	***Standard***
O rai-ci iko e-na iloilo 2SG.SBJ see-TR 2SG.OBJ in-DET mirror	2	***Standard***
O rai-ci iko e-na iloilo 2SG.SBJ see-TR 2SG.OBJ in-DET mirror	1	*VosavaSuva*
O ā tiro-vi iko 2SG.SBJ PST see-TR 2SG.OBJ	1	***Standard***
Xo a iagavi ixo na iloilo 2SG.SBJ PST see.TR 2SG.OBJ DET mirror	1	*Vosa vaSolevu*
O ā rai-ci iko ena iloilo 2SG.SBJ PST see-TR 2SG.OBJ in-DET mirror	1	***Standard***
O rai-ci iko gā e-na iloilo 2SG.SBJ see-TR 2SG.OBJ MODIF.emphatic in-DET mirror	4	***Standard***
Xo divi ixo ga na iloilo 2SG.SBJ see-TR 2SG.OBJ MODIF.emphatic DET mirror	1	*Lami, Suva, Rewa*
Iko rai-ci iko-gā vei na iloilo 2SG.SBJ see-TR 2SG.OBJ-MODIF.emphatic in DET mirror	1	***Standard***

Table C.55: 'Kata defended herself better than Paula defended her.'

SENTENCE: 'Kata defended herself better than Paula defended her.'	#	DIALECT
E=taqo-maki koya vaka-vinaka cake o Kata mai vei Paula 3SG.SBJ=defend-TR 3SG.OBJ ADV-greatly up DET Kata from Paula	2	***Standard***
E='aqomaxini xea vaxa re sara xo Kata mai vei 3SG.SBJ=defend.TR 3SG.OBJ ADV greatly MODIF.emphatic DET Kata from Paula Paula	1	*Vosa vaSolevu*
O Kata e=toqo-maki koya vinaka cake mai vei Paula DET Kata 3SG.SBJ=defend-TR 3SG.OBJ good up from Paula	1	***Standard***
Kata e=aqomaxi ni xea vaka re mai vei Paula Kata 3SG.SBJ=defend.TR POSS 3SG.OBJ ADV good from Paula	1	*Lami, Suva, Rewa*
O Kata e=toqo-maki koya vinaka cake mai vei Paula DET Kata 3SG.SBJ=defend-TR 3SG.OBJ good up from Paula	4	***Standard***

Table C.56: 'Spiders scare me.'

SENTENCE: 'Spiders scare me.'	#	DIALECT
Dau va-rerei au na spaida. frequently CAUS-afraid 1SG.OBJ DET spider	**1**	***Standard***
Dau varerei au a spaida frequently CAUS.afraid 1SG.OBJ DET spider	**1**	*Qeleni*
Ra dau va-rerei au na spaida. 3PL.SBJ frequently CAUS-afraid 1SG.OBJ DET spider	**2**	***Standard***
Ra dau varrerei au na spaida 3PL.SBJ frequently CAUS.afraid 1SG.OBJ DET spider	**1**	*VosavaSuva*
Era dau va-rerei au na viritalawalawa 3PL.SBJ frequently CAUS-afraid 1SG.OBJ DET spider	**1**	***Standard***
Au dau rerevaxina a viri'alawalawa 1SG.SBJ frequently afraid DET spider	**1**	*Vosa vaSolevu*
Era dau vaka-rere-vaki vei au na spaida 3PL.SBJ frequently CAUS-afraid-TR to 1SG.OBJ DET spider	**1**	***Standard***
Era dau va-rerei au na viritalawalawa 3PL.SBJ frequently CAUS-afraid 1SG.OBJ DET spider	**1**	***Standard***
Au rerevaka na sipaita 1SG.SBJ afraid-TR DET spider	**3**	***Standard***
Na viritalawalawa au dau rere va xina DET spider 1SG.SBJ frequently afraid from ADV.thereby	**1**	*Lami, Suva, Rewa*
Au lamu-taka na sipaita 1SG.SBJ afraid-TR 1SG.OBJ DET spider	**2**	***Standard***

Table C.57: 'The queen invited both Melika and me for tea.'

SENTENCE: 'The queen invited both Melika and me for tea.'	**#**	**DIALECT**
O koya na ranadi levu ni Igiladi e=sure-ti Melika kei au me DET 3SG.SBJ DET queen big of England 3SG.SBJ=invite-TR Melika and 1SG.OBJ purpose kei rau lako lai gunu-ti vata kei koya. 1DU.EXCL.SBJ go go drink-tea together with 3SG.OBJ	**1**	***Standard***
Na ranadi ā suret-i au kei Melika me keirau laki gunu ti DET queen PST invite-TR 1SG.OBJ and Melika purpose 1DU.EXCL.SBJ go drink tea	**2**	***Standard***
Na ranadi e=sureti au kei Melika me gunu ti DET queen 3SG.SBJ=invite-TR 1SG.OBJ and Melika purpose drink tea	**4**	***Standard***
A ranadi ma sirui Melika va'a xei au meou lai gunuti DET queen PST invite.TR Melika together with 1SG.OBJ purpose.1DU.EXCL.SBJ go drink.tea	**1**	*Lami, Suva, Rewa*
Na marama ranadi e=sure-ti au kei Melika me gunu ti DET lady queen 3SG.SBJ=invite-TR 1SG.OBJ and Melika purpose drink tea	**1**	***Standard***

Table C.58: 'I heard myself on the radio.'

SENTENCE: 'I heard myself on the radio.'	#	DIALECT
Au ā rogo-ci au gā na ratio. 1SG.SBJ PST hear-TR 1SG.OBJ MODIF.emphatic DET radio	1	***Standard***
Au a rogoci au ga na ratio. 1SG.SBJ PST hear.TR 1SG.OBJ MODIF.emphatic DET radio	1	*Qeleni*
Au ā rogo-ci e-na retio 1SG.SBJ PST hear-TR in-DET radio	1	***Standard***
Au rogo-ci au tale jiko e-na raijio. 1SG.SBJ hear-TR 1SG.OBJ MODIF.inclusion MODIF.permanence in-DET radio	1	***Standard***
Au ā rogo-ci au e-na retio 1SG.SBJ PST hear-TR 1SG.OBJ in-DET radio	2	***Standard***
Au a rogoci au ena retio 1SG.SBJ PST hear.TR 1SG.OBJ in.DET radio	1	*VosavaSuva*
Au rogo-ci au e-na ratio 1SG.SBJ hear-TR 1SG.OBJ in-DET radio	2	***Standard***
Au a rogoci na retio 1SG.SBJ PST hear.TR 1SG.OBJ radio	1	*Vosa vaSolevu*
au rogo-ci au gā mai vā-na raitio 1SG.SBJ hear-TR 1SG.OBJ MODIF.emphatic from CAUS-DET radio	1	***Standard***
Au a rogoci au xina raitio 1SG.SBJ PST hear.TR 1SG.OBJ ADV.thereby radio	1	*Lami, Suva, Rewa*
Au rogo-ci au gā mai vā-na raitio 1SG.SBJ hear-TR 1SG.OBJ MODIF.emphatic from CAUS-DET radio	4	***Standard***

Table C.59: 'She speaks to herself.'

SENTENCE: 'She speaks to herself.'	#	DIALECT
O koya dau vosovos-i-yalo-na DET 3SG.SBJ frequently talking-NMLZ-soul-3SG.POSS	1	***Standard***
O 'oya dau vosavosai yalona. DET 3SG.SBJ frequently talking.NMLZ soul.3SG.POSS	1	*Qeleni*
O koya e=dau vosavosa-i-yalo-na DET 3SG.SBJ 3SG.SBJ=frequently talking-NMLZ-soul-3SG.POSS	2	***Standard***
E=dau vosavosa yalo-na na goneyalewa o yā. 3SG.SBJ=frequently talking soul-3SG.POSS DET young.woman DET there	1	***Standard***
O koya e=dau vosavosa i-yalona DET 3SG.SBJ 3SG.SBJ=frequently talking NMLZ-soul-3SG.POSS	1	***Standard***
O koya e=dau vosavosa iyalona DET 3SG.SBJ 3SG.SBJ=frequently talking NMLZ.soul.3SG.POSS	1	*VosavaSuva*
Xo xea e=dau vosavosaiyalona DET 3SG.SBJ 3SG.SBJ=frequently talking.NMLZ.soul.3SG.POSS	1	*Vosa vaSolevu*
O koya e=dau vosavosa-i-yalo-na DET 3SG.SBJ 3SG.SBJ=frequently talking-NMLZ-soul-3SG.POSS	2	***Standard***
O koya e=vosa gā vei koya DET 3SG.SBJ 3SG.SBJ=talk MODIF.emphatic to 3SG.OBJ	1	***Standard***
x'ea ma vosa ga vei x'ea DET 3SG.SBJ PST talk MODIF.emphatic to 3SG.OBJ	1	*Lami, Suva, Rewa*
O koya e=vosa gā vei koya DET 3SG.SBJ 3SG.SBJ=talk MODIF.emphatic to 3SG.OBJ	4	***Standard***

Table C.60: 'Kalara gave me a piece of cake.'

SENTENCE: **'Kalara gave me a piece of cake.'**	#	DIALECT
Soli-a vei au o Kalara e dua a tiki-ni keke. give-TR to 1SG.OBJ DET Kalara one DET slice-of cake	**1**	***Standard***
Solia vei au o Kalara e dua chi'ini keke give.TR to 1SG.OBJ DET Kalara one slice.of cake	**1**	*Qeleni*
Soli-a vei o Kalara e dua na tiki-ni keke give-TR to DET Kalara one DET slice-of cake	**1**	***Standard***
E=soli-a vei au e dua na tiki ni keke o Kalara. 3SG.SBJ=give-TR to 1SG.OBJ one DET slice of cake DET Kalara	**1**	***Standard***
Soli-a vei au o Kalara e dua na tiki-ni keke vinaka give-TR to 1SG.OBJ DET Kalara one DET slice-of cake good	**1**	***Standard***
Solia vei au o Kalara e dua na tikini keke vinaka give.TR to 1SG.OBJ DET Kalara one DET slice.of cake good	**1**	*VosavaSuva*
O Kalara e=soli-a vei au e dua na tiki-ni keke DET Kalara 3SG.SBJ=give-TR to 1SG.OBJ one DET slice-of cake	**1**	***Standard***
O Xalara ma soli-a vei au e dua 'iximi keke DET Kalara PST give-TR to 1SG.OBJ one slice.of cake	**1**	*Vosa vaSolevu*
E=soli-a vei au o Kalara e dua na tiki-ni keke 3SG.SBJ=give-TR to 1SG.OBJ DET Kalara one DET slice-of cake	**1**	***Standard***
O Kalara e=soli-a vei au e dua na keke DET Kalara 3SG.SBJ=give-TR to 1SG.OBJ one DET cake	**1**	***Standard***
O Kalara e=soli-a mai ve au e dua na tiki-ni keke DET Kalara 3SG.SBJ=give-TR from to 1SG.OBJ one DET slice-of cake	**1**	***Standard***
Kalara ma soli vei au e dua na ix;ini keke Kalara PST give.TR to 1SG.OBJ one DET slice.of cake	**1**	*Lami, Suva, Rewa*
o Kalara e=soli-a mai vei au e dua na tiki-ni keke O Kalarar 3SG.SBJ=give-TR from to 1SG.OBJ one DET slice-of cake	**4**	***Standard***

Table C.61: 'I killed myself.'

SENTENCE: 'I killed myself.'	#	DIALECT
Au ā va-mate-i au 1SG.SBJ PST CAUS-death-TR 1SG.OBJ	1	***Standard***
Au a vamatei au 1SG.SBJ PST CAUS.death.TR 1SG.OBJ	1	*Qeleni*
Au ā vaka-mate-i au 1SG.SBJ PST CAUS-death-TR 1SG.OBJ	1	***Standard***
Au mudu-ka vakai au na noqu bula. 1SG.SBJ cut.off-TR according.to 1SG.OBJ DET 1SG.POSS life	1	***Standard***
Au ā vaka-mate-i au gā 1SG.SBJ PST CAUS-death-TR 1SG.OBJ MODIF.emphatic	4	***Standard***
Au a vakamatei au ga 1SG.SBJ PST CAUS.death.TR 1SG.OBJ MODIF.emphatic	1	*VosavaSuva*
Au a vaxama'ei au ga 1SG.SBJ PST CAUS.death.TR 1SG.OBJ MODIF.emphatic	1	*Vosa vaSolevu*
Au kune-ti au gā 1SG.SBJ find-TR 1SG.OBJ MODIF.emphatic	3	***Standard***
Au a vaxa maei au ga 1SG.SBJ PST CAUS death.TR 1SG.OBJ MODIF.emphatic	1	*lami, suva, rewa*
Au vaka-mate-i au gā 1SG.SBJ CAUS-death-TR 1SG.OBJ MODIF.emphatic	2	***Standard***

Table C.62: 'She bought Mere a sulu but decided to keep it for herself.'

SENTENCE: 'She bought Mere a sulu but decided to keep it for herself.'	#	DIALECT
O koya ka voli-a vei Mere e dua na sulu ia ka maroro-ya me DET 3SG.SBJ end buy-TR to Mere one DET sulu but end keep-TR purpose nona gā. 3SG.POSS MODIF.emphatic	1	***Standard***
E=ā voli-a o koya e dua na sulu me neu Mere ā qai 3SG.SBJ=PST buy-TR DET 3SG.SBJ one DET sulu purpose POSS Mere PST then mani maroro-ya gā me nona finally keep-TR MODIF.emphatic purpose 3SG.POSS	2	***Standard***
Ma volia xo xea e duga a sulu me wei Mere, sa qai lewega PST buy.TR DET 3SG.SBJ one DET sulu purpose give Mere ASP the ? me sa ona purpose ASP 3SG.POSS	1	*Vosa vaSolevu*
O koya e=voli-a dua na ia sulu me nei Mere, īo qai DET 3SG.SBJ 3SG.SBJ=buy-TR one DET POSS sulu pupose POSS Mere but then vakasamataka me qai nona gā ? purpose then 3SG.POSS MODIF.emphatic	1	***Standard***
Ko xea ma voli vei Mere e dua ai sulu sa qai nanuma DET 3SG.SBJ PST buy.TR for Mere one DET.NMLZ sulu ASP then think.TR ga o xea me sa maroroya ga MODIF.emphatic DET 3SG.SBJ purpose ASP keep.TR MODIF.emphatic	1	*lami, suva, rewa*
O koya e=voli-a dua na i sulu me nei Mere, īo qai DET 3SG.SBJ 3SG.SBJ=buy-TR one DET NMLZ sulu purpose POSS Mere but then vakasamataka me qai nona gā ? purpose then 3SG.POSS MODIF.emphatic	4	***Standard***

Table C.63: 'You speak to yourself.'

SENTENCE: 'You speak to yourself.'	#	DIALECT
O dau vosovosa yalo-mu 2SG.SBJ frequently talking soul-2SG.POSS	**1**	***Standard***
O du vosavosaiyalomu 2SG.SBJ frequently talking.NMLZ.soul.2SG.POSS	**1**	*Qeleni*
O dau vosavosa-i-yalo-mu o iko 2SG.SBJ frequently talking-NMLZ-soul-2SG.POSS DET 2SG.OBJ	**1**	***Standard***
Au dau vosavosa yaloqu. 1SG.SBJ frequently talking soul-1SG.POSS	**1**	***Standard***
O iko dau-vosavosa i yalo-mu DET 2SG.SBJ frequently-talking NMLZ soul-2SG.POSS	**1**	***Standard***
O iko dauvosavosa i yalomu DET 2SG.SBJ frequently.talking NMLZ soul.2SG.POSS	**1**	*VosavaSuva*
O iko dau vosavosa i yalo-mu DET 2SG.SBJ frequently talking NMLZ soul-2SG.POSS	**3**	***Standard***
Xo dau vosavosaiyalomu 2SG.SBJ frequently talking.NMLZ.soul.2SG.POSS	**1**	*Vosa vaSolevu*
O iko vosa tikogā vei iko DET 2SG.SBJ speak continually to 2SG.OBJ	**5**	***Standard***
Xo ixo ma vosa vei ixo DET 2SG.SBJ PST speak to 2SG.OBJ	**1**	*lami, suva, rewa*

Table C.64: 'Paula defended himself better than Mere defended herself.'

SENTENCE: 'Paula defended himself better than Mere defended herself.'	#	DIALECT
O Paula e=taqo-maki koya vinaka cake sara mai vei Mere DET Paula 3SG.SBJ=defend-TR 3SG.OBJ good up MODIF.emphatic from Mere	**5**	***Standard***
Paula eaqomaxini xea vaxa re mai vei Mere Paula 3SG.SBJ.PST.defend.TR 3SG.OBJ CAUS good from Mere	**1**	*Lami, Suva, Rewa*

Table C.65: 'The wind opened the door.'

SENTENCE: 'The wind opened the door.'	#	DIALECT
Na cagi e=ā dola-va na katuba. DET wind 3SG.SBJ=PST open-TR DET door	**6**	***Standard***
A cagi e=a dolava a 'atuba DET wind 3SG.SBJ=PST open.TR DET door	**1**	*Qeleni*
Na kena kaukauwa na cagi e=dola-va na katuba DET 3SG.POSS strength DET wind 3SG.SBJ=open-TR DET door	**1**	***Standard***
Na cagi e=a dolava na katuba DET wind 3SG.SBJ=PST open.TR DET door	**1**	*VosavaSuva*
E=dolava a 'axari a cagi 3SG.SBJ=open.TR DET door DET wind	**1**	*Vosa vaSolevu*
Na cagi e=dola-va na katoba DET wind 3SG.SBJ=open-TR DET door	**5**	***Standard***
A cagi ma dolava a axari DET wind PST open.TR DET door	**1**	*lami, suva, rewa*

Table C.66: 'Isoa spoke to Kalara about himself.'

SENTENCE: **'Isoa spoke to Kalara about himself.'**	#	DIALECT
O Isoa e=ā vosa vei Kalara baleti koya gā DET Isoa 3SG.SBJ=PST talk to Kalara about 3SG.OBJ MODIF.emphatic	**1**	***Standard***
O Isoa e=ā vosa vei Kalara bechi'oya ga DET Isoa 3SG.SBJ=PST talk to Kalara about.3SG.OBJ MODIF.emphatic	**1**	*Qeleni*
E=ā vosa o Isoa vei Kalara baleti koya 3SG.SBJ=PST talk DET Isoa to Kalara about 3SG.OBJ	**3**	***Standard***
E=ka talanoa-taki koya vei Kalara o Isoa 3SG.SBJ=PST tell.stories-TR 3SG.OBJ to Kalara DET Isoa	**1**	***Standard***
E=ā vosa o Isoa vei Kalara baleti koya 3SG.SBJ=PST talk DET Isoa to Kalara about 3SG.OBJ	**1**	*VosavaSuva*
E=vosa o Isoa vei Kalara baleti koya gā 3SG.SBJ=talk DET Isoa to Kalara about 3SG.OBJ MODIF.emphatic	**2**	***Standard***
Ma vosa xo Iso vei Kalara bale'i xea ga PST talk DET Isoa to Kalara about 3SG.OBJ MODIF.emphatic	**1**	*Vosa vaSolevu*
O Isoa e=talanoa taki koya gā vei Kalara DET Isoa 3SG.SBJ=tell.stories TR 3SG.OBJ MODIF.emphatic to Kalara	**5**	***Standard***
Isoa ma vosa vei Kalara balei xea gā Isoa PST talk to Kalara about 3SG.OBJ MODIF.emphatic	**1**	*lami, suva, rewa*

Table C.67: 'She loves herself.'

SENTENCE: 'She loves herself.'	#	DIALECT
E_i=domo-ni koya$_i$ gā. 3SG.SBJ=desire-TR 3SG.OBJ MODIF.emphatic	1	***Standard***
E=domoni xoya ga 3SG.SBJ=desire.TR 3SG.OBJ MODIF.empathic	1	*Batinivuriwai*
loma-ni koya o koya love-TR 3SG.OBJ DET 3SG.SBJ	1	***Standard***
Lomani 'ia o 'ia love.TR 3SG.OBJ DET 3SG.SBJ	1	*Vosavaka Namnau, Tailevu*
E=loma-ni koya vataki koya o Mere 3SG.SBJ=love-TR 3SG.OBJ according.to 3SG.OBJ DET Mere	1	***Standard***
o koya domo-ni koya DET 3SG.SBJ desire-TR 3SG.OBJ	1	***Standard***
E=tālei-taki koya vakai koya 3SG.SBJ=like-TR 3SG.OBJ according.to 3SG.OBJ	1	***Standard***
O koya e=doma-ni koya DET 3SG.SBJ 3SG.SBJ=love-TR 3SG.OBJ	3	***Standard***
E=loma-ni koya vakai koya o yalewa yā 3SG.SBJ=love-TR 3SG.OBJ according.to 3SG.OBJ DET woman that	1	***Standard***
E=lomani 'ea va'ai 'ea o yalewa ma 3SG.SBJ=love.TR 3SG.OBJ according.to 3SG.OBJ DET woman that	1	*VosavakaWailevu*
O koya e=domo-ni koya gā vakai koya DET 3SG.SBJ 3SG.SBJ=desire-TR 3SG.OBJ MODIF.emphatic according.to 3SG.OBJ	1	***Standard***
O lewa gona e=tomoni xea ga DET woman that 3SG.SBJ=love.TR 3SG.OBJ MODIF.emphatic	1	*Vosavaka Savusavu*
O xea e=tomoni xea ga DET 3SG.SBJ 3SG.SBJ-love.TR 3SG.OBJ MODIF.emphatic	1	*Vosavaka Savusavu*

Table C.68: 'Jone tore Isoa's shirt.'

SENTENCE: 'Jone tore Isoa's shirt.'	#	DIALECT
O Jone e=vaka-basu-taka na sote nei Isoa DET Jone 3SG.SBJ=CAUS-break-TR DET shirt POSS Isoa	1	***Standard***
O Jone e=vaxabasutaxa na sote ni Isoa DET Jone 3SG.SBJ=CAUS.break.TR DET shirt POSS Isoa	1	*Batinivuriwai*
E=vaka-basu-taka na siqeleti nei Isoa ko Jone 3SG.SBJ=CAUS-break-TR DET shirt POSS Isoa DET Jone	1	***Standard***
E=vakabasutakia na siqeleti nei Isoa ko Jone 3SG.SBJ=CAUS.break.TR DET shirt POSS Isoa DET Jone	1	*Vosavaka Namnau, Tailevu*
E=vaka-basu-taka na sote nei Isoa o Jone 3SG.SBJ=CAUS-break-TR DET shirt POSS Isoa DET Jone	1	***Standard***
E=basu-ka na sote nei Isoa o Jone 3SG.SBJ=break-TR DET shirt POSS Isoa DET Jone	1	***Standard***
O Jone e=basu-ka na sote nei Isoa DET Jone 3SG.SBJ=break-TR DET shirt POSS Isoa	1	***Standard***
O Jone e=basu'a a sote i Isoa DET Jone 3SG.SBJ=break.TR DET shirt POSS Isoa	1	*VosavakaWailevu*
E=baus-ka na nona siqeleti o Isoa ko Jone 3SG.SBJ=break-TR DET 3SG.POSS shirt DET Isoa DET Jone	1	***Standard***
O Jone e=vaxadreu'axina a ona sota o Isoa DET Jone 3SG.SBJ=CAUS.break.TR DET 3SG.POSS shirt DET Isoa	1	*Vosavaka Savusavu*
E=basu-ka na nona siqeleti o Isoa ko Jone 3SG.SBJ=break-TR DET 3SG.POSS shirt DET Isoa DET Jone	1	***Standard***
O Jone e=basia a sote i Isoa DET Jone 3SG.SBJ= break.TR DET shirt POSS Isoa	1	*Vosavaka Savusavu*

Table C.69: 'Kalara opened Jone's eyes.'

SENTENCE: **'Kalara opened Jone's eyes.'**	#	DIALECT
E=dola-va o Kalara na mata-i Jone 3SG.SBJ=open-TR DET Kalara DET eyes-POSS Jone	**4**	***Standard***
E=dolava o Kalara na matai Jone 3SG.SBJ=open.TR DET Kalara DET eyes.POSS Jone	**1**	*Batinivuriwai*
E=dolavia na matai Jone o Kalara 3SG.SBJ=open.TR DET eyes.POSS Jone DET Kalara	**1**	*Vosavaka Namnau, Tailevu*
O Kalara ā dola-va na nona rai o Jone DET Kalara PST open-TR DET 3SG.POSS see DET Jone	**1**	***Standard***
O Kalara e=dola-va na mata-i Jone DET Kalara 3SG.SBJ=open-TR DET eyes-POSS Jone	**1**	***Standard***
Ā dola-va na mata-i Jone o Kalara PST open-TR DET eyes-POSS Jone DET Kalara	**1**	***Standard***
Ko Kalara e=ā dola-va na mata-i Jone DET Kalara 3SG.SBJ=PST open-TR DET eyes-POSS Jone	**1**	***Standard***
O Kalara e=a dolava a matai Jone DET Kalara 3SG.SBJ=PST open.TR DET eyes.POSS Jone	**1**	*VosavakaWailevu*
E=dola-va na mata-i Jone ko Kalara 3SG.SBJ=open-TR DET eyes-POSS Jone DET Kalara	**2**	***Standard***
Ma tolava o Xalara a ma'ai Jone PST open.TR DET Kalara DET eyes.POSS Jone	**1**	*Vosavaka Savusavu*
O Kalara ma tolava ma'ai Jone DET Kalara PST open.TR eyes.POSS Jone	**1**	*Vosavaka Savusavu*

Table C.70: 'You wash yourself.'

SENTENCE: 'You wash yourself.'	#	DIALECT
Sava-ti iko wash-TR 2SG.OBJ	1	***Standard***
Savati ixo wash.TR 2SG.OBJ	1	*Batinivuriwai*
Iko sava-ta a yago-mu 2SG.SBJ wash-TR DET body-2SG.OBJ.POSS	1	***Standard***
O savatia na yagomu 2SG.SBJ wash.TR DET body.2SG.OBJ.POSS	1	*Vosavaka Namnau, Tailevu*
Lai sava-ti iko go wash-TR 2SG.OBJ	1	***Standard***
O sava-ti iko 2SG.SBJ wash-TR 2SG.OBJ	1	***Standard***
Iko sava-ti iko vakai iko 2SG.SBJ wash-TR 2SG.OBJ according.to 2SG.OBJ	1	***Standard***
Iko sava-ti iko gā vakai iko 2SG.SBJ wash-TR 2SG.OBJ MODIF.emphatic according.to 2SG.OBJ	1	***Standard***
Iko ā sava-ti iko 2SG.SBJ PST wash-TR 2SG.OBJ	1	***Standard***
Iko sava-ti iko gā 2SG.SBJ wash-TR 2SG.OBJ MODIF.emphatic	1	***Standard***
I'o savat i'o ga 2SG.SBJ wash.TR 2SG.OBJ MODIF.emphatic	1	*VosavakaWailevu*
Sava-ti iko vakai iko wash-TR 2SG.OBJ according.to 2SG.OBJ	1	***Standard***
Mo sava'i ixo o ixo PST wash.TR 2SG.OBJ DET 2SG.OBJ	1	*Vosavaka Savusavu*
Iko sava-ti iko gā 2SG.SBJ wash-TR 2SG.OBJ MODIF.emphatic	1	***Standard***
O sava'i ixo 2SG.SBJ wash.TR 2SG.OBJ	1	*Vosavaka Savusavu*

Table C.71: 'Mere washes the dishes.'

SENTENCE: 'Mere washes the dishes.'	#	DIALECT
E=sava velēti o Mere 3SG.SBJ=wash dish DET Mere	**1**	***Standard***
E=sava veleti o Mere 3SG.SBJ=wash dish DET Mere	**1**	*Batinivuriwai*
E=sava-ta na yāyā ni kana o Mere 3SG.SBJ=wash-TR DET dish for eat DET Mere	**1**	***Standard***
E=savatia na yaya ni kana o Mere 3SG.SBJ=wash.TR DET dish for eat DET Mere	**1**	*Vosavaka Namnau, Tailevu*
Mere sava-ta na i yāyā ni kana Mere wash-TR DET NMLZ dish for eat	**1**	***Standard***
O Mere sava yāyā ni kana DET Mere wash dish for eat	**3**	***Standard***
E=dau sava yāyā ni kana 3SG.SBJ=frequently wash dish for eat	**1**	***Standard***
E=Mere e=sava iyaya ni kana 3SG.SBJ=Mere 3SG.SBJ=wash NMLZ.dish for eat	**1**	***Standard***
Ko Mere e=dau mai vēleti DET Mere 3SG.SBJ=frequently wash dish	**1**	***Standard***
O Mere e=dau masi veleti DET Mere 3SG.SBJ=frequently wash dish	**1**	*VosavakaWailevu*
E=sava yāyā ni kana o Mere 3SG.SBJ=wash dish for eat DET Mere	**1**	***Standard***
Mere sava'a a vele'i Mere wash.TR DET dish	**1**	*Vosavaka Savusavu*
O Me e=masi vele'i DET Mere 3SG.SBJ=wash dish	**1**	*Vosavaka Savusavu*

Table C.72: 'Mere said to Jone that she thought she once saved herself from a shark.'

SENTENCE: 'Mere said to Jone that she thought she once saved herself from a shark.'	#	DIALECT
Ā tuku-na o Mere vei Jone na nona nanu-ma ni ā maroro-i koya PST tell-TR DET Mere to Jone DET 3SG.POSS think-TR POSS PST take.care.of-TR 3SG.OBJ mai na dua na qio from DET one DET shark	1	***Standard***
A tuxuna o Mere vei Jone na nona nanuma ni a maroroi xoya PST tell.TR DET Mere to Jone DET 3SG.POSS think.TR POSS PST take.care.of.TR 3SG.OBJ mai na dua na qio from DET one DET shark	1	*Batinivuriwai*
E=ā kaya vei Jone ko Mere ni ā nanu-ma me va-bula-i koya 3SG.SBJ=PST say to Jone DET Mere that PST think-TR purpose CAUS-live-TR 3SG.OBJ mai vei na qio from DET shark	1	***Standard***
E=a tukunia ko Mere bei Jone nia a nanumia me a vabula mai 3SG.SBJ=PST tell.TR DET Mere to Jone that PST think.TR purpose PST CAUS.live from DET shark na qio	1	*Vosavaka Namnau, Tailevu*
E=tuku-na o Mere vei Jone na nona nanu-ma ni ā taqo-maki koya 3SG.SBJ=tell-TR DET Mere to Jone DET 3SG.POSS think-TR that PST defend-TR 3SG.OBJ gā vakataki koya mai va na-dua na qio MODIF.emphatic according.to 3SG.OBJ from DET-one DET shark	1	***Standard***
E=ā tuku-na vei Jone o Mere ni nanu-ma na gauna e=vaka-bula-i 3SG.SBJ=PST tell-TR to Jone DET Mere that think-TR DET time 3SG.SBJ=CAUS-live-TR koya vakai koya nai vua na qio 3SG.OBJ according.to 3SG.OBJ DET-NMLZ point DET shark	1	***Standard***
Tuku-na o Mere vei Jone ni nanu-ma o koya ni ā drō bula mai vei dua tell-TR DET Mere to Jone that think-TR DET 3SG.SBJ that PST flee alive from one na qio DET shark	1	***Standard***
Tuku-na o Mere vei Jone, ni ā dro bula mai vei dua na qio o koya tell-TR DET Mere to Jone that PST flee alive from one DET shark DET 3SG.OBJ	2	***Standard***
Ko Mere e=ā tuku-na vei Jone ni nanu-ma gā ni ā DET Mere 3SG.SBJ=PST tell-TR to Jone that think-TR MODIF.emphatic that PST vaka-bula-i koya mai na dua na qio CAUS-live-TR 3SG.OBJ from DET one DET shark	1	***Standard***
O Mere e=a tu'una vei Jone ni a nanuma ga o 'ea DET Mere 3SG.SBJ=PST tell.TR to Jone that PST think.TR MODIF.emphatic DET 3SG.SBJ ni a va'abulai 'ea mai na dua na qio that PST CAUS.live.TR 3SG.OBJ from DET one DET shark	1	*VosavakaWailevu*
Avola o Mere vei Jone te nanuma e=tuga gauna vuxei xea mai vei tuga a tell.TR DET Mere to Jone that think.TR 3SG.SBJ=? time help 3SG.OBJ from ? DET kio shark	1	*Vosavaka Savusavu*

Table C.73: 'I shot myself.'

SENTENCE: 'I shot myself.'	#	DIALECT
Au vana-i yau gā 1SG.SBJ shoot-TR 1SG.OBJ MODIF.emphatic	**1**	***Standard***
Au vanai yau ga 1SG.SBJ shoot.TR 1SG.OBJ MODIF.emphatic	**1**	*Batinivuriwai*
Au ā vana-i au gā vakai au 1SG.SBJ PST shoot-TR 1SG.OBJ MODIF.emphatic according.to 1SG.OBJ	**1**	***Standard***
Au a vanai au nua vakai au 1SG.SBJ PST shoot.TR 1SG.OBJ MODIF.emphatic according.to 1SG.OBJ	**1**	*Vosavaka Namnau, Tailevu*
Au vana-i au 1SG.SBJ shoot-TR 1SG.OBJ	**2**	***Standard***
Au vana-i au gā vakai au 1SG.SBJ shoot-TR 1SG.OBJ MODIF.emphatic according.to 1SG.OBJ	**4**	***Standard***
Au vana-i au vakai au 1SG.SBJ shoot-TR 1SG.OBJ according.to 1SG.OBJ	**1**	***Standard***
Au vana-i au gā 1SG.SBJ shoot-TR 1SG.OBJ MODIF.emphatic	**1**	***Standard***
Au a vanai au ga 1SG.SBJ PST shoot.TR 1SG.OBJ MODIF.emphatic	**1**	*VosavakaWailevu*
Au vanai au ga 1SG.SBJ shoot.TR 1SG.OBJ MODIF.emphatic	**1**	*Vosavaka Savusavu*
Au vanai au ga va'i au 1SG.SBJ shoot.TR 1SG.OBJ MODIF.emphatic according.to 1SG.OBJ	**1**	*Vosavaka Savusavu*

Table C.74: 'He hates himself.'

SENTENCE: 'He hates himself.'	#	DIALECT
E=sega ni tālei-taki koya gā 3SG.SBJ=NEG like-TR 3SG.OBJ MODIF.emphatic	1	***Standard***
E=sega ni taleitaxi xoya ga 3SG.SBJ=NEG like.TR 3SG.OBJ MODIF.emphatic	1	*Batinivuriwai*
E=seva-ki koya o koya 3SG.SBJ=hate-TR 3SG.OBJ DET 3SG.OBJ	1	***Standard***
E=sevakia o ia 3SG.SBJ=hate.TR DET 3SG.OBJ	1	*Vosavaka Namnau, Tailevu*
Koya seva-ki koya gā vakai koya 3SG.SBJ hate-TR 3SG.OBJ MODIF.emphatic according.to 3SG.OBJ	1	***Standard***
O koya e=cā-ti koya gā DET 3SG.SBJ 3SG.SBJ=hate-TR 3SG.OBJ MODIF.emphatic	3	***Standard***
E=dau seva-ki koya vakai koya 3SG.SBJ=frequently hate-TR 3SG.OBJ according.to 3SG.OBJ	1	***Standard***
O koya e=seva-ki koya gā DET 3SG.SBJ 3SG.SBJ=hate-TR 3SG.OBJ MODIF.emphatic	1	***Standard***
O 'ea e=seva'ini 'ea ga DET 3SG.SBJ 3SG.SBJ=hate.TR 3SG.OBJ MODIF.emphatic	1	*VosavakaWailevu*
O koya e=seva-ki koya gā vakai koya DET 3SG.SBJ 3SG.SBJ=hate-TR 3SG.OBJ MODIF.emphatic according.to 3SG.OBJ	2	***Standard***
Xea sevaxini xea ga 3SG.SBJ hate.TR 3SG.OBJ MODIF.emphatic	1	*Vosavaka Savusavu*
O xea ba ca'i xea ga DET 3SG.SBJ PST hate.TR 3SG.OBJ MODIF.emphatic	1	*Vosavaka Savusavu*

Table C.75: 'Samu likes to swim and Isoa does too.'

SENTENCE: 'Samu likes to swim and Isoa does too.'	#	DIALECT
Rau dau tālei-taka na sisili o Samu kei Isoa 3DU.SBJ frequently like-TR DET wash DET Samu and Isoa	1	***Standard***
Rau dau taleitaxa na sisili o Samu xei Isoa 3DU.SBJ frequently like.TR DET wash DET Samu and Isoa	1	*Batinivuriwai*
Dau tālei-taka na qalo o Samu vaka talegā kina o Isoa frequently like-TR DET wash DET Samu with also ADV.thereby DET Isoa	1	***Standard***
Dau taleitakia na qalo o Samu vakavokinua o Isoa frequently like.TR DET swim DET Samu with.also.ADV.thereby DET Isoa	1	*Vosavaka Namnau, Tailevu*
E=dau tālei-taka na qalo o Samu, vaka-talegā-kina o 3SG.SBJ=frequently like-TR DET swim DET Samu with-also-ADV.thereby DET Isoa Isoa	1	***Standard***
O Samu dau tālei-taka na qalo vaka talegā kina o Isoa DET Samu frequently like-TR DET swim with also ADV.thereby DET Isoa	4	***Standard***
O Samu e=dau tālei-taka na qalo vaka-talegā kina o DET Samu 3SG.SBJ=frequently like-TR DET swim with-also ADV.thereby DET Isoa Isoa	1	***Standard***
O Samu kei Isoa dau tālei-taka na qalo DET Samu and Isoa frequently like-TR DET swim	1	***Standard***
O Samu e=dau taleita'ina a qalo va'atalegā 'ina o DET Samu 3SG.SBJ=frequently like.TR DET swim with.also ADV.thereby DET Isoa Isoa	1	*VosavakaWailevu*
E=dau tālei-taka na qalo ko Samu vaka kina ko Isoa 3SG.SBJ=frequently like-TR DET swim DET Samu with ADV.thereby DET Isoa	1	***Standard***
O Samu xei Isoa 'alei'axina tau kalo DET Samu and Isoa like.TR frequently swim	1	*Vosavaka Savusavu*

Table C.76: 'You heard yourself on the radio.'

SENTENCE: 'You heard yourself on the radio.'	#	DIALECT
O rogo-ci iko gā e na rejio 2SG.SBJ hear-TR 2SG.OBJ MODIF.emphatic in DET radio	1	***Standard***
O rogo-ci ixo ga e na rejio 2SG.SBJ hear-TR 2SG.OBJ MODIF.emphatic in DET radio	1	*Batinivuriwai*
O ā rogo-ci iko e-na retio 2SG.SBJ PST hear-TR 2SG.OBJ in-DET radio	2	***Standard***
O a rogoci iko ena retio 2SG.SBJ PST hear.TR 2SG.OBJ in.DET radio	1	*Vosavaka Namnau, Tailevu*
Iko rogo-ci iko va na raitio 2SG.SBJ hear-TR 2SG.OBJ in DET radio	1	***Standard***
O ā rogo-ci iko gā e-na raitio 2SG.SBJ PST hear-TR 2SG.OBJ MODIF.emphatic in-DET radio	1	***Standard***
Ko ā rogo-ci iko gā e na retio 2SG.SBJ PST hear-TR 2SG.OBJ MODIF.emphatic in DET radio	1	***Standard***
Iko ā rogo-ci iko gā e-na ratio 2SG.SBJ PST hear-TR 2SG.OBJ MODIF.emphatic in-DET radio	2	***Standard***
i'o a rogoci i'o ga ena ratio 2SG.SBJ hear-TR 2SG.OBJ MODIF.emphatic in DET radio	1	*VosavakaWailevu*
Koya rogo-ci iko e-na ratio 3SG.SBJ hear-TR 2SG.OBJ in-DET radio	1	***Standard***
Au rogoci au xina ratio 1SG.SBJ hear.TR 2SG.OBJ in.DET radio	1	*vosavaka Savusavu*
O rogoci ixo ina ratio 2SG.SBJ hear.TR 2SG.OBJ in.DET radio	1	*vosavaka Savusavu*

Table C.77: 'Simeli worries himself.'

SENTENCE: 'Simeli worries himself.'	#	DIALECT
E=lomaleqa-taki koya gā o Simeli 3SG.SBJ=worry-TR 3SG.OBJ MODIF.emphatic DET Simeli	1	***Standard***
E=lomaleqataxi koya ga o Simeli 3SG.SBJ=worry.TR 3SG.OBJ MODIF.emphatic DET Simeli	1	*Batinivuriwai*
E=lomaleqa-taki koya o Simeli 3SG.SBJ=worry-TR 3SG.OBJ DET Simeli	1	***Standard***
E=lomaleqatakia vaktakia o Simeli 3SG.SBJ=worry.TR according.to DET Simeli	1	*Vosavaka Namnau, Tailevu*
E=leqa-taki koya tiko gā vakai 3SG.SBJ=worry-TR 3SG.OBJ MODIF.permanence MODIF.emphatic according.to koya o Simelei. 3SG.OBJ DET Simeli	1	***Standard***
O Simeli e=va lomaleqa-taki koya gā DET Simeli 3SG.SBJ=CAUS worry-TR 3SG.OBJ MODIF.emphatic	1	***Standard***
O Simeli e=lomaleqa taki koya vakai koya DET Simeli 3SG.SBJ=worry TR 3SG.OBJ according.to 3SG.OBJ	2	***Standard***
O Simeli e=vakalomaleqa-taki koya tiko gā DET Simeli 3SG.SBJ=CAUS-worry-TR 3SG.OBJ MODIF.permanence MODIF.emphatic	1	***Standard***
O Simeli e=lomaleqa taki koya vakai koya DET Simeli 3SG.SBJ=worry TR 3SG.OBJ according.to 3SG.OBJ	1	***Standard***
O Simeli e=dau va-lomaocaoca-taki koya gā DET Simeli 3SG.SBJ=frequently CAUS-worry-TR 3SG.OBJ MODIF.emphatic	1	***Standard***
O Simeli e=dau va'alomaocaocata'ini 'ea ga DET Simeli 3SG.SBJ=frequently CAUS.worry.TR 3SG.OBJ MODIF.emphatic	1	*VosavakaWailevu*
E=leqa-taki koya tiko vakai koya o Simeli 3SG.SBJ=worry-TR 3SG.OBJ MODIF.permanence according.to 3SG.OBJ DET Simeli	1	***Standard***
O Simeli tau lomaleka'axini xea ga DET Simeli frequently worry.TR 3SG.OBJ MODIF.emphatic	1	*Vosavaka Savusavu*
O Simeli e=valomaleka'axini xea ga DET Simeli 3SG.SBJ=CAUS.worry.TR 3SG.OBJ MODIF.emphatic	1	*Vosavaka Savusavu*

Table C.78: 'Samu sang to us.'

SENTENCE: 'Samu sang to us.'	#	DIALECT
E=laga sere vei keitou o Samu 3SG.SBJ=sing song to 1PAUC.EXL.OBJ DET Samu	**3**	***Standard***
E=lagasere vei xeitou o Samu 3SG.SBJ=sing.song to 1PAUC.EXL.OBJ DET Samu	**1**	*Batinivuriwai*
E=laga sere vei keitou o Samu 3SG.SBJ=sing song to 1PAUC.EXL.OBJ DET Samu	**1**	*Vosavaka Namnau, Tailevu*
E=ā laga-sere vei keitou o Samu 3SG.SBJ=PST sing-song to 1PAUC.EXL.OBJ DET Samu	**1**	***Standard***
O Samu e=laga sere vei keitou DET Samu 3sg.SBJ=sing song to 1PAUC.EXL.OBJ	**3**	***Standard***
O Samu e=ā sere vei keitou DET Samu 3SG.SBJ=sing song to 1PAUC.EXL.OBJ	**1**	***Standard***
O Samu e=ā laga sere vei keimami DET Samu 3SG.SBJ=PST sing song to 2PL.OBJ	**1**	***Standard***
O Samu e=a lagasere vei 'eimami DET Samu 3SG.SBJ=PST sing.song to 2PL.OBJ	**1**	*VosavakaWailevu*
E=laga sere vei keimamai o Samu 3SG.SBJ=sing song to 2PL.OBJ DET Samu	**1**	***Standard***
O Samu kai laga sere vei xi'ou DET Samu say sing song to ?	**1**	*Vosavaka Savusavu*
Ma lagasere vi'ou o Samu PST sing.song to.? DET Samu	**1**	*Vosavaka Savusavu*

Table C.79: 'Pineapples taste good to me.'

SENTENCE: 'Pineapples taste good to me.'	#	DIALECT
E=dau gunu vinaka vei au na painapiu 3SG.SBJ=frequently drink good to 1SG.OBJ DET pineapple	**1**	***Standard***
E=dau gunu vinaxa vei au na painapiu 3SG.SBJ=frequently drink good to 1SG.OBJ DET pineapple	**1**	*Batinivuriwai*
Gunu vinaka vei keitou na painapiu drink good to 1PAUC.EXL.OBJ DET pineapple	**1**	***Standard***
Gunu vinaka vei keitou na painapiu drink good to 1PAUC.EXCL.OBJ DET pineapple	**1**	*Vosavaka Namnau, Tailevu*
Na painapiu e=kana vinaka vei au DET pineapple 3SG.SBJ=eat good to 1SG.OBJ	**1**	***Standard***
Dau kana vinaka vei au na painapiu frequently eat good to 1SG.OBJ DET pineapple	**1**	***Standard***
E=gunu vinaka vei au na painapiu 3SG.SBJ=drink good to 1SG.OBJ DET pineapple	**3**	***Standard***
Na painapiu e=dau kana vinaka vei au DET pineapple 3SG.SBJ=frequently eat good to 1SG.OBJ	**1**	***Standard***
Na vainaviu e=gunu vinaka vei au DET pineapple 3SG.SBJ=drink good to 1SG.OBJ	**2**	***Standard***
A painapiu e=gunu vina'a vei au DET pineapple 3SG.SBJ=drink good to 1SG.OBJ	**1**	*VosavakaWailevu*
Tau gunu re vei 'oi a painapiu frequently drink good to 1SG.OBJ DET pineapple	**1**	*Vosavaka Savusavu*
A balawa tau gunu re vei au DET pineapple frequently drink good to 1SG.OBJ	**1**	*Vosavaka Savusavu*

Table C.80: 'You voted for yourself.'

SENTENCE: 'You voted for yourself.'	#	DIALECT
O ā digi-taki iko gā 2SG.SBJ PST choose-TR 2SG.OBJ MODIF.emphatic	**2**	***Standard***
O a digita'ini i'o ga 2SG.SBJ PST choose.TR 2SG.OBJ MODIF.emphatic	**3**	*Vosa vakaTunuloa* *VosavakaQeleni*
Iko digi-taki iko 2SG.SBJ PST choose-TR 2SG.OBJ	**1**	***Standard***
Iko ā digi-taki iko 2SG.SBJ PST choose-TR 2SG.OBJ	**1**	***Standard***
Iko a digitaki iko 2SG.SBJ PST choose.TR 2SG.OBJ	**1**	*VosavakaRewa*
O digi-taki iko gā 2SG.SBJ choose-TR 2SG.OBJ MODIF.emphatic	**7**	***Standard***
Ko a digitakini iko ga 2SG.SBJ PST choose.TR 2SG.OBJ MODIF.emphatic	**1**	*VosavakaAvea*
O iko digi-taki iko gā DET 2SG.SBJ choose-TR 2SG.OBJ MODIF.emphatic	**2**	***Standard***

Table C.81: 'The queen invited both Melika and herself to tea at my house.'

SENTENCE: 'The queen invited both Melika and herself to tea at my house.'	#	DIALECT
Na ranadi ā sure-ti koya kei Milika me rau mai gunu ti i DET queen PST invite-TR 3SG.OBJ and Milaka purpose 3DU.SBJ come drink tea at nona vale 3SG.POSS house	1	***Standard***
A ranadi a sureti 'ea vati Melika me rau rau la'i DET queen PST invite.TR 3SG.OBJ with Melika purpose 3DU.SBJ 3DU.SBJ go gunu ti i nona vale drink tea at 3SG.POSS house	1	*Vosa vakaTunuloa*
Na ranadi e=ā sure-tia au kei Melika me keirau DET queen 3SG.SBJ=PST invite-TR 1SG.OBJ and Melika purpose 1DU.EXCL.SBJ laki gunu ti go drink tea	3	***Standard***
A ranadai a sureti au 'ei Melika me 'eirau lai gunu ti DET queen PST invite.TR 1SG.OBJ and Melika purpose 1DU.EXCL.SBJ go drink tea	1	*VosavakaQeleni*
Na ranadi e=sure-ti Melika kei koya me rau gunu ti e DET queen 3SG.SBJ=invite-TR Melika and 3SG.OBJ purpose 3DU.SBJ drink tea in noqu vale 1SG.POSS house	2	***Standard***
Na ranadi e=ā sure-tia Melika me rau laki gunu ti i DET queen 3SG.SBJ=PST invite-TR Melika purpose 3DU.SBJ go drink tea in noqu vale 1SG.POSS house	1	***Standard***
A ranadi a sureti Melika me rau lai gunu ti i neitou DET queen PST invite.TR Melika purpose 3DU.SBJ go drink ti in 3SG.POSS	1	*Vosa vaka Tunuloa*
Na ranadi e=ā sure-tia Melika me rau laki gunu ti i DET queen 3SG.SBJ=PST invite-TR Melika purpose 3DU.SBJ go drink tea in noqu vale 1SG.POSS house	1	***Standard***
Na ranadi e=ā sure-ti Melika me rau laki gunu ti i DET queen 3SG.SBJ=PST invite-TR Melika purpose 3DU.SBJ go drink tea in noqu vale 1SG.POSS house	1	***Standard***

Table C.82: 'Kata's parents require that Paula support himself.'

SENTENCE: 'Kata's parents require that Paula support himself.'	#	DIALECT
Rau vinaka-ta na tubutubu nei Kata me sa na qara-vi koya 3DU.SBJ want-TR DET parents POSS Kata purpose ASP DET look.after-TR 3SG.OBJ vataki koya o Paula according.to 3SG.OBJ DET Paula	1	***Standard***
Ra vina'ata a tubutubu i Kata me sa.... 3DU.SBJ want.TR DET parents POSS Kata purpose ASP	1	*Vosa vakaTunuloa*
Rau gadre-va na i-tubutubu nei Kata me sa na qara-vi koya 3DU.SBJ want-TR DET NMLZ-parent POSS Kata purpose ASP DET look.after-TR 3SG.OBJ MODIF.emphatic according.to 3SG.OBJJ DET Paula gā vakai koya o Paula	4	***Standard***
Rau vinaka-ta na i-tubutubu nei Kata me sa na qara-vi koya 3DU.SBJ want-TR DET NMLZ-parents POSS Kata purpose ASP DET look.after-TR 3SG.OBJ gā vakai koya o Paula MODIF.emphatic according.to 3SG.OBJ DET Paula	2	***Standard***
Rau vina'ata a itubutubu i Kata me sa na qaravi 'ea 3DU.SBJ want.TR DET NMLZ.parents POSS Kata purpose ASP DET look.after.TR 3SG.OBJ ga o Paula MODIF.emphatic DET Paula	2	*VosavakaQeleni* *Vosa vaka Tunuloa*
Na i-tubutubu nei Kata e=gadre-va me qara-vi koya DET NMLZ-parents POSS Kata 3SG.SBJ=want-TR purpose look.after-TR 3SG.OBJ gā o Paula MODIF.emphatic DET Paula	2	***Standard***

Table C.83: 'She heard herself on the radio.'

SENTENCE: 'She heard herself on the radio.'	**#**	**DIALECT**
Koya ā rogo-ci koya gā na retio 3SG.SBJ PST hear-TR 3SG.OBJ MODIF.emphatic DET radio	**1**	***Standard***
O 'ea rogoci 'ea ga na retio DET 3SG.SBJ hear.TR 3SG.OBJ MODIF.emphatic DET radio	**1**	*Vosa vakaTunuloa*
O koya rogo-ci koya na retio DET 3SG.SBJ hear-TR 3SG.OBJ DET radio	**1**	***Standard***
O koya e=ā rogo-ci koya e-na retio DET 3SG.SBJ 3SG.SBJ=PST hear-TR 3SG.OBJ in-DET radio	**1**	***Standard***
O koya e=a rogoci koya ena retio DET 3SG.SBJ 3SG.SBJ=PST hear.TR 3SG.OBJ in.DET radio	**1**	*VosavakaRewa*
O koya ā rogo-ci koya gā e-na retio DET 3SG.SBJ PST hear-TR 3SG.OBJ MODIF.emphatic in-DET radio	**7**	***Standard***
O kea ka rogoci kea ga na retio DET 3SG.SBJ PST hear.TR 3SG.OBJ MODIF.emphatic DET radio	**1**	*VosavakaAvea*
O 'ea e=rogoci 'ea ga na retio DET 3SG.SBJ 3SG.SBJ=hear-TR 3SG.OBJ MODIF.emphatic DET radio	**2**	*VosavakaQeleni* *Vosa vaka Tunuloa*
E=rogo-ci koya gā e na raitio 3SG.SBJ=hear-TR 3SG.OBJ MODIF.emphatic in DET radio	**3**	**Standard**

Table C.84: 'Jone tore his shirt with his hands.'

SENTENCE: 'Jone tore his shirt with his hands.'	#	DIALECT
E=vaka-basu-taka nona sote o Jone 3SG.SBJ=CAUS-break-TR 3SG.POSS shirt DET Jone	1	***Standard***
E=va'abasuta'ina a ona sote o Jone 3SG.SBJ=CAUS.break.TR DET 3SG.POSS shirt DET Jone	1	*Vosa vakaTunuloa*
E=vaka-basu-taka na nona sote o Jone 3SG.SBJ=CAUS-break-TR DET 3SG.POSS shirt DET Jone	1	***Standard***
O Jone ā basuka na nona sote vei na ligana DET Jone PST break-TR DET 3SG.POSS shirt with DET hand-3SG.POSS	1	***Standard***
O Jone e=basuka na nona sote vei na ligana DET Jone 3SG.SBJ=break.TR DET 3SG.POSS shirt with DET hand.3SG.POSS	1	*VosavakaRewa*
E=ā basu-ka o Jone na nona sote vei na liga-na 3SG.SBJ=PST break-TR DET Jone DET 3SG.POSS shirt with DET hand-3SG.POSS	2	***Standard***
E=ā vaka-basu-taka o Jone na nona sote vei na 3SG.SBJ=PST CAUS-break-TR DET Jone DET 3SG.POSS shirt with DET liga-na hand-3SG.POSS	3	***Standard***
E=basu'a o Jone a ona sote i na liga-na 3SG.SBJ=break.TR DET Jone DET 3SG.POSS shirt with DET hand-3SG.POSS	2	*VosavakaQeleni* *Vosa vaka Tunuloa*
O Jione e=vaka-yaga-taka na liga-na me vaka-basu-taka na DET Jone 3SG.SBJ=CAUS-use-TR DET hand.3SG.POSS should CAUS-break-TR DET nona siqeleti 3SG.POSS shirt	1	***Standard***
E=vaka-basu-taka na nona sote vei na liga-na o Jone 3SG.SBJ=CAUS-break-TR DET 3SG.POSS shirt with DET hand-3SG.POSS DET Jone	1	***Standard***
E=ā vaka-basu-taka o Jone na nona sote 3SG.SBJ=PST CAUS-break-TR DET Jone DET 3SG.POSS shirt	1	***Standard***
O Jone e=basu-ka na nona sote-va liga-na DET Jone 3SG.SBJ=break-TR DET 3SG.POSS shirt-with hand-3SG.POSS	1	***Standard***

Table C.85: 'I love myself.'

SENTENCE: 'I love myself.'	#	DIALECT
Au domo-ni au gā 1SG.SBJ love-TR 1SG.OBJ MODIF.emphatic	**3**	***Standard***
Au domoni au ga 1SG.SBJ love.TR 1SG.OBJ MODIF.emphatic	**1**	*Vosa vakaTunuloa*
Au loma-ni au 1SG.SBJ love-TR 1SG.OBJ	**8**	***Standard***
Au doma-ni au 1SG.SBJ love-TR 1SG.OBJ	**1**	***Standard***
Au domoni au 1SG.SBJ love.TR 1SG.OBJ	**1**	*VosavakaRewa*
Au lomani au 1SG.SBJ love.TR 1SG.OBJ	**3**	*VosavakaAvea* *VosavakaQeleni* *Vosa vaka Tunuloa*
Au loma-ni au gā 1SG.SBJ love-TR 1SG.OBJ MODIF.emphatic	**1**	***Standard***

Table C.86: 'Samu accidentally broke his leg.'

SENTENCE: 'Samu accidentally broke his leg.'	#	DIALECT
E=vaka-musu-taka vaka-cala-ka na yava-na o Samu 3SG.SBJ=CAUS-break-TR CAUS-mistake-TR DET leg-3SG.POSS DET Samu	**8**	***Standard***
E=vacala'a a ona va'amusuta'ina a yavana o Samu 3SG.SBJ=CAUS.mistake.TR DET 3SG.POSS CAUS-break.TR DET leg.3SG.POSS DET Samu	**1**	*Vosa vakaTunuloa*
ka vakamususstakina vakcalaka a yavana ko Samu 3SG.SBJ CAUS.break.TR CAUS.mistake.TR DET leg.3SG.POSS DET Samu	**1**	*VosavakaAvea*
E=varamusuta'ina va'acala'a a yavana o Samu 3SG.SBJ=CAUS.break.TR CAUS.mistake.TR DET leg.3SG.POSS DET Samu	**1**	*VosavakaQeleni*
o samu e a varamusutaka vakacalaka na yavana	**2**	***Standard***
E=varamusuta'ina va'acala'a a yavana o Samu 3SG.SBJ=CAUS.break.TR CAUS.mistake.TR DET leg.3SG.POSS DET Samu	**1**	*Vosa vaka Tunuloa*
E=ramusu vaka-cala-ka na yava-i Samu 3SG.SBJ=broken CAUS-mistake-TR DET leg-POSS Samu	**1**	***Standard***

Table C.87: 'You hate yourself.'

SENTENCE: 'You hate yourself.'	#	DIALECT
O sega ni tālei-taki iko 2SG.SBJ NEG like-TR 2SG.OBJ	**4**	***Standard***
O sega ni taleita'ini i'o 2SG.SBJ NEG like.TR 2SG.OBJ	**2**	*Vosa vakaTunuloa*
O cā-ti iko 2SG.SBJ hate-TR 2SG.OBJ	**7**	***Standard***
O cati iko 2SG.SBJ hate.TR 2SG.OBJ	**1**	*Vosavakarewa*
Ko cati iko 2SG.SBJ hate.TR 2SG.OBJ	**1**	*vosavakaAvea*
O cati i'o 2SG.SBJ hate.TR 2SG.OBJ	**1**	*vosavakaQeleni*
O iko bese-taki iko DET 2SG.SBJ hate-TR 2SG.OBJ	**1**	***Standard***
O cāti i'o 2SG.SBJ hate-TR 2SG.OBJ	**1**	***Standard***
Au seva-ki au gā 1SG.SBJ hate-TR 1SG.OBJ MODIF.emphatic	**1**	***Standard***

Table C.88: 'Isoa spoke to Kalara about herself.'

SENTENCE: 'Isoa spoke to Kalara about herself.'	#	DIALECT
O Isoa qai vosa vei Kalara baleti koya DET Isoa then speak to Kalara about 3SG.OBJ	1	***Standard***
O Isoa qi vosa vei Kalara baleti 'ea DET Isoa then speak to Kalara about 3SG.OBJ	1	*Vosa vakaTunuloa*
E=ā vosa vei Kalara o Isoa baleti koya 3SG.SBJ=PST speak to Kalara DET Isoa about 3SG.OBJ	1	***Standard***
o Isoa e=vosa vei Kalara baleti koya DET Isoa 3SG.SBJ=speak to Kalara about 3SG.OBJ	2	***Standard***
O Isoa qai vosa ki vi Kalara balti kea DET Isoa then speak to Kalara about 3SG.OBJ	1	*VosavakaAvea*
E=vosa o Iso vei Kalara baleti Kalara 3SG.SBJ=speak DET Isoa to Kalara about Kalara	3	***Standard***
E=vosa o Isoa vei Kalara baleti Kalara 3SG.SBJ=speak DET Isoa to Kalara about Kalara	2	*VosavakaQeleni* *Vosa vaka Tunuloa*
E=vosa baleti Kalara vei Kalara o Isoa 3SG.SBJ=speak about Kalara to Kalara DET Isoa	1	***Standard***
E=vosa o Isoa vei Kalara baleti Kalara 3SG.SBJ=speak DET Isoa to Kalara about Kalara	2	***Standard***
O Isoa e=vosa vei Kalara baleti Kalara DET Isoa 3SG.SBJ=speak to Kalara about Kalara	2	***Standard***

Table C.89: 'I saw myself in the mirror.'

SENTENCE: 'I saw myself in the mirror.'	#	DIALECT
Au ā tiro-vi au 1SG.SBJ PST look.at-TR 1SG.OBJ	**3**	***Standard***
Au a tirovi au 1SG.SBJ PST look.at.TR 1SG.OBJ	**2**	*vosa vakatunuloa* *vosavakaQeleni*
Au ā rai-ci au e-na iloilo 1SG.SBJ PST see-TR 1SG.OBJ in-DET mirror	**6**	***Standard***
Au a raici au ena iloilo 1SG.SBJ PST see.TR 1SG.OBJ in.DET mirror	**1**	*Vosavakarewa*
Au rai-ci au gā e-na iloilo 1SG.SBJ see-TR 1SG.OBJ MODIF.emphatic in-DET mirror	**1**	*vosavakaAvea*
Au ā rai-ci au gā vei na iloilo 1SG.SBJ PST see-TR 1SG.OBJ MODIF.emphatic with DET mirror	**3**	***Standard***
Au ā rai-ci au gā e-na iloilo 1SG.SBJ PST see-TR 1SG.OBJ MODIF.emphatic in-DET mirror	**1**	***Standard***
au raici au ga ena iloilo 1SG.SBJ see.TR 1SG.OBJ MODIF.emphatic in.DET mirror	**1**	*Vosa vaka Tunuloa*

Table C.90: 'Paula defended himself better than Kalara defended herself.'

SENTENCE: 'Paula defended himself better than Kalara defended herself.'	#	DIALECT
Nona taqo-maki koya o Paula e vinaka cake mai na 3SG.POSS take.care.of-TR 3SG.OBJ DET Paula is good up from DET tataqo-maki nei Kalara take.care.of-TR POSS Kalara	**1**	***Standard***
O Paula e=tataqo-maki koya va-vinaka cake sara DET Paula 3SG.SBJ=take.care.of-TR 3SG.OBJ ADV-good up MODIF.emphatic mai vei Kalara from Kalara	**3**	***Standard***
O Paula e=tataqo-maki koya vaka-vinaka cake sara DET Paula 3SG.SBJ=take.care.of-TR 3SG.OBJ ADV-good up MODIF.emphatic mai vei Kalara from Kalara	**1**	***Standard***
O Paula e=taqoma'ini 'ea va'avina'a sara DET Paula 3SG.SBJ=take.care.of.TR 3SG.OBJ ADV.good MODIF.emphatic mai ve Kalara from Kalara	**1**	*VosavakaQeleni*
O Paula e=taqo-maki koya vaka-vinaka cake sara DET Paula 3SG.SBJ=tak.care.of-TR 3SG.OBJ ADV-good up MODIF.empahtic mai vei Kalara from Kalara	**1**	***Standard***
O Paula e=taqoma'ini 'ea va'avina'a sara DET Paula 3SG.SBJ=take.care.of.TR 3SG.OBJ ADV.good MODIF.emphatic mai vei Kalara from Kalara	**1**	*Vosa vaka Tunuloa*
O Paula e=taqomaki koya vaka-vinaka cake sara DET Paula 3SG.SBJ=take.care.of-TR 3SG.OBJ ADV-good up MODIF.emphatic mai vei Kalara from Kalara	**1**	***Standard***

Section III: Story Translations

All of the data collected from the Story Translations part of the surveys is presented below. As has been the practice throughout this work, long vowels and morpheme boundaries have been added to the Standard Fijian translations. Words that could not be identified in the dialects are marked with a question mark (?).

The Mirror:

[a]There is a big mirror in Mere's grandmother's house. [b]Mere likes to look at herself in the mirror. [c]Sometimes she dresses herself in funny clothes and makes funny faces in the mirror. [d]Mere has a younger sister. [e]Sometimes she dresses her in funny clothes too. [f]Mere's sister is frightened of the mirror. [g]Once she saw Mere in the mirror and not herself. [h]"I saw you in the mirror before you saw yourself," she told Mere.

1) [a]E dua na iloilo levu e=tiko mai na vale ne-i Bui Mere.
one DET mirror big 3SG.SBJ=MODIF.permanence from DET house DET-POSS grandmother Mere

[b]E=dau tālei-taka o Mere na titiro.
3SG.SBJ=frequently like-TR DET Mere DET look.at.reflection

[c]Sō na gauna e=dau dara e=sō na i-sulsulu lasa qai va
some DET time 3SG.SBJ=frequently dress ASP=some DET NMLZ-clothes funny then CAUS
mata-lasalasa tū i mata-ni iloilo.
face-funny MODIF.permanently in face-POSS mirror

[d]E dua tiko na taci Mere lailai.
one MODIF.permanence DET younger.sister Mere little

[e]Sō na gauna e=dau vaisulu-taki koya talegā e-na i-susulu lasa.
some DET time 3SG.SBJ=frequently change.clothes-TR 3SG.OBJ also in-DET NMLZ-clothes funny

[f]E=dau rerevaka na iloilo na taci Mere.
3SG.SBJ=frequently afraid DET mirror DET younger.sister Mere

[g]Dua gā na gauna e=ā rai-ca na i-taba kei Mere ka sega ni
one MODIF.emphatic DET time 3SG.SBJ=PST see-TR DET NMLZ-image POSS Mere and NEG that
rai-ci koya.
see-TR 3SG.OBJ

[h]"Au rai-ci iko e-na iloilo ni bera ni o rai-ci iko," kaya o koya vei Mere.
1SG.OBJ see-TR 2SG.OBJ in-DET mirror before 2SG.SBJ see-TR 2SG.OBJ say DET 3SG.SBJ to Mere

2) [a,b]Na nona Bu o Mere e=tiko e dua na-i iloilo levu, ka
DET 3SG.POSS grandmother DET Mere 3SG.SBJ=MODIF.permanence one DET-NMLZ mirror big and
dau vaka-yaga-taka vaka levu na iloilo qō o Mere.
frequently CAUS-use-TR ADV greatly DET mirror this DET Mere

[b]Esō na gauana e=dau veisulu mai vaka fancy o Mere ka
some DET time 3SG.SBJ=frequently change.clothes from ADV fancy DET Mere and
titiro e-na na-i iloilo qō.
look.at.reflection in-DET DET-NMLZ mirror this

[c,d,e]Esō na gauana e=dau vei sulu taki gane-na ka dau vinaka-ti
some DET time 3SG.SBJ=frequently change clothes TR sister-3SG.POSS and frequently want-TR
koya me vaka-tō-mumuri taki koya.
3SG.OBJ purpose CAUS-join-after TR 3SG.OBJ

3) [a]E=tiko e dua na iloilo levu ni vale nei bui Mere.
3SG.SBJ=MODIF.permanence one DET mirror big in house POSS grandmother Mere

[b]E=dau tālei-taka o Mere na titiro.
3SG.SBJ=frequently like-TR DET Mere DET look.at.reflection

[c]Sō na gauna e=dau vaka-isulu lasa ka qai dau vaka-lasalasa
some DET time 3SG.SBJ=frequently change.clothes funny and then frequently CAUS-funny
tū i mata-ni iloilo.
MODIF.permanence POSS face-POSS mirror

[d]E dua tiko na taci Mere lailai.
one MODIF.permanence DET younger.sister Mere little

[e]Sō na gauna e=dau vakaisulu taki koya talegā va yā o Mere.
some DET time 3SG.SBJ=frequently change.clothes TR 3SG.OBJ also with that DET Mere

[f]O taci Mere e=dau rerevaka na iloilo.
DET younger.sister Mere 3SG.SBJ=frequently afraid DET mirror

[g]Dua na siga nona tiro-vi koya e-na iloilo a qai rai-ci Mere.
one DET day 3SG.POSS see-TR 3SG.OBJ in-DET mirror then see-TR Mere

[h]"Au ā rai-ci iko e-na iloilo ni bera nomu rai-ci iko" tuku-na o koya vei
1SG.SBJ PST see-TR 2SG.OBJ in-TR mirror before 2SG.POSS see-TR 2SG.OBJ say-TR DET 3SG.SBJ to
Mere.
Mere

4) [a,b]E=tiko e dua na iloilo-levu e-na vale nei tubui Mere ka
3SG.SBJ=MODIF.permanence one DET mirror-big in-DET house POSS grandmother Mere and
dau tālei-taka o Mere na titiro.
frequently like-TR DET Mere DET look.at.reflection

[c]Sō na gauna e=dau vakaisulu lasa ka dau vaka-lasalasa
some DET time 3SG.SBJ=frequently change.clothes funny and frequently CAUS-funny
tū i mata-ni iloilo.
MODIF.permanence POSS face-POSS mirror

[d,e]E dua tiko na taci Mere lailai ka sō-na gauna e=dau
one MODIF.permanence DET younger.sister Mere little and some-DET time 3SG.SBJ=frequently
vaisulu lasataki koya talegā o Mere.
change.clothes funny 3SG.OBJ also DET Mere

[f]Ia o taci Mere e=dau rerevaka na iloilo.
but DET younger.sister Mere 3SG.SBJ=frequently afraid DET mirror

[g]Dua na siga e=ā rai-ca na i-taba kei Mere e-na iloilo ka sega ni raici
one DET day 3SG.SBJ=PST see-TR DET NMLZ-image of Mere in-DET mirror and NEG see-TR
koya rawa.
3SG.OBJ able

[h]"Au e=rai-ci iko e-na iloilo ni bere ni o rai-ci iko," tuku-na o koya vei
1SG.SBJ ASP=see-TR 2SG.OBJ in-DET mirror before DET see-TR 2SG.OBJ say-TR DET 3SG.SBJ to
Mere.
Mere

5) [a]E dua na iloilo levu e=tiko-mai vei na vale ni nona bu
one DET mirror big 3SG.SBJ=MODIF.permanence-from to DET house POSS 3SG.POSS grandmother
o Mere.
DET Mere

[b]O Mere dau vaka-rai-ci koya gā va-na i iloilo.
DET Mere frequently CAUS-see-TR 3SG.OBJ MODIF.emphatic in-DET NMLZ mirror

[c]Sō na i gauna, e=dau veisulu taki koya-gā
some DET NMLZ time 3SG.SBJ=frequently change.clothes TR 3SG.OBJ-MODIF.emphatic
vaka-lasa, qai dau caka-va e sō na i mata=lasa mai va-na iloilo.
CAUS-funny then frequently make-TR some DET NMLZ face-funny from in-DET mirror

[d]E=tiko a dua na taci-na yalewa o Mere.
3SG.SBJ=MODIF.permanence one DET younger.sister-3SG.POSS female DET Mere

[e]Sō na gauna e=dau vakasulu taki koya vaka-lasa talegā ko Mere.
some DET time 3SG.SBJ=frequently change.clothes TR 3SG.SBJ CAUS-funny also DET Mere

[f]Na taci Mere e=dau lamutaka na iloilo.
DET younger.sister Mere 3SG.SBJ=frequently ? DET mirror

[g]dua na gauna e=rai-ci Mere kina iloilo, qai sega tū ni rai-ci
one DET time 3SG.SBJ=see-TR Mere ADV.thereby mirror then NEG MODIF.permanence see-TR
koya.
3SG.OBJ

[h]Au rai-ci iko mai va-na i iloilo i liu qai rai-ci au i muri. o koya
1SG.SBJ see-TR 2SG.OBJ from in-DET NMLZ mirror before then see-TR 1SG.OBJ after DET 3SG.SBJ
tuku-na vei Mere.
tell-TR to Mere

6) [a]E dua na tamani iloilo levu e=tū na vale nei tubui Mere.
one DET ? mirror big 3SG.SBJ=MODIF.permanece DET house POSS grandmother Mere

[b]Mere dau tālei-taka na rai-ci koya na iloilo.
Mere frequently like-TR DET see-TR 3SG.OBJ DET mirror

[c]E-na sō-na gauna e=dau vasuluo koya ka dau va lasalasa i
in-DET some-DET time 3SG.SBJ=frequently change.clothes 3SG.OBJ and frequently CAUS funny POSS
mata-ni iloilo.
face-POSS mirror

[d,e]E dua tale tiko na tacina gone o koya tale gā e=dau
one also MODIF.permanence DET younger.sister child DET 3SG.SBJ also 3SG.SBJ=frequently
va-lasalasa niu tokara na-i me rairai lasa.
CAUS-funny POSS put.on DET-POSS purpose look funny

[f]Oi o-koya e-gone vei Mere e=rere vaka na iloilo levu yā.
DET DET-3SG.SBJ 3SG.SBJ-child to Mere 3SG.SBJ=afraid CAUS DET mirror big this

[g]Baleta edua na gauna yā ā-rai na iloilo qai rai-ci Mere ia ā dodonu me rai-ci
because one DET time this PST-see DET mirror then see-TR Mere but PST straight purpose see-TR
koya.
3SG.OBJ

[h]Au ā rai-ci iko i lui tuku-na o, Mere.
1SG.SBJ PST see-TR 2SG.OBJ before say-TR DET Mere

7) [a]E dua na iloilo levu e=tiko i na vale ni nona bu o Mere.
one DET mirror big 3SG.SBJ=MODIF.permanence in DET house of 3SG.POSS grandmother DET Mere

[b]O Mere e=dau vaka-rai-ci koya gā i na iloilo.
DET Mere 3SG.SBJ=frequently CAUS-see-TR 3SG.OBJ MODIF.emphatic in DET mirror

[c]Sō na gauna e=dau veisulu vaka-lasa qai dau caka-va e sō na
some DET time 3SG.SBJ=frequently change.clothes CAUS-funny then frequently make-TR some DET
mata-lasa i na iloilo.
face-funny in DET mirror

[d]O tiko e dua na taci-na yalewa o Mere.
DET MODIF.permanence one DET younger.sisger-3SG.POSS female DET Mere.

[e]O koya dau veisulu vaka-lasalasa talegā.
DET 3SG.SBJ frequently change.clothes CAUS-funny also

[f]Na taci Mere e=dau rerevaka na iloilo.
DET sister Mere 3SG.SBJ=frequently afraid DET mirror

[g]Dua na gauna o koya rai-ci Mere i na iloilo sebera ni rai-ci koya vataki koya
one DET time DET 3SG.SBJ see-TR Mere in DET mirror before see-TR 3SG.OBJ according.to 3SG.OBJ
gā o Mere.
MODIF.emphatic DET Mere

[h]"Au rai-ci iko i lui, sebera ni o rai-ci iko vataki iko," tuku-na o
1SG.SBJ see-TR 2SG.OBJ before before DET see-TR 2SG.OBJ according.to 2SG.OBJ tell-TR DET
koya vei Mere.
3SG.SBJ to Mere

8) [a]E dua na iloilo levu e=tiko i na vale ni nona bu o Mere.
one DET mirror big 3SG.SBJ=MODIF.permanence in DET house of 3SG.POSS grandmother DET Mere

[b]O Mere dau rai-ci koya gā ki na i iloilo.
DET Mere frequently see-TR 3SG.OBJ MODIF.emphatic with DET NMLZ mirror
[c]Va gauna e=dau veisulu vaka-lasa qai dau caka-va e sō na
CAUS time 3SG.SBJ=frequently change.clothes CAUS-funny then frequently make-TR some DET
mata-lasa ki na iloilo.
face-funny with DET mirror

[d]E=tiko e dua na ticina lailai ko Mere.
3SG.SBJ=MODIF.permanence one DET younger.sister little DET Mere.

[e]E=dau vei sulu lasa talegā.
3SG.SBJ=frequently change clothes funny also

[f]Na taci Mere e=dau rerevaka na iloilo.
DET younger.sister Mere 3SG.SBJ=frequently afraid DET mirror

[h]"Au rai-ci iko ki na i iloilo sebera ni o rai-ci iko vataki iko,"
1SG.SBJ see-TR 2SG.OBJ with DET NMLZ mirror before DET see-TR 2SG.OBJ according.to 2SG.OBJ
tukuna o koya vei Mere.
tell-TR DET 3SG.SBJ to Mere

9) [a]E dua na i iloilo levu e=tiko i na vale ni nona bu
one DET NMLZ mirror big 3SG.SBJ=MODIF.permanence in DET house POSS 3SG.POSS grandmother
o Mere.
DET Mere

[b]O Mere e=dau vaka-rai-ci koya i na iloilo.
DET Mere 3SG.SBJ=frequently CAUS-see-TR 3SG.OBJ in DET mirror

[c]Sō na gauna e=dau veisulu vaka-lasa qai dau caka-va e sō na
some DET time 3SG.SBJ=frequently change.clothes CAUS-funny then frequently make-TR some DET
mata-lasa ki na i iloilo.
face-funny with DET NMLZ mirror

[d]E=tiko na taci-na lailai ko Mere.
ASP=MODIF.emphatic DET younger.sister-3SG.POSS little DET Mere

[e]E=dau veisulu vaka-lasa talegā o koya.
3SG.SBJ=frequently change.clothes CAUS-funny also DET 3SG.SBJ

[f]Na taci Mere e=dau rerevaka na iloilo.
DET younger.sister Mere 3SG.SBJ=frequently afraid DET mirror

[g]Dua na gauna e=rai-ci Mere ki na i iloilo sega ni koya.
once DET time 3SG.SBJ=see-TR Mere with DET NMLZ mirror NEG 3SG.OBJ

[h]"Au rai-ci iko ki na iloilo sebera ni o rai-ci iko vatali iko.
1SG.SBJ see-TR 2SG.OBJ with DET mirror before 2SG.SBJ see-TR 2SG.OBJ according.to 2SG.OBJ
tukuna koya vei Mere.
tell-TR 3SG.SBJ to Mere

10) [a]E dua na i iloilo e=tiko i na vale ni nona bu ko
one DET NMLZ mirror 3SG.SBJ=MODIF.permanence in DET house POSS 3SG.POSS grandmother DET
Mere.
Mere
[b]O Mere e=dau tālei-taka na vaka-rai-ci koya tiko e-na iloilo.
DET Mere 3SG.SBJ=frequently like-TR DET CAUS-see-TR 3SG.OBJ MODIF.permanence in-DET mirror

[c]Sō na gauna, o koya dau veisulu vaka-lasa qai dau caka-va e sō
some DET time DET 3SG.SBJ frequently change.clothes CAUS-funny then frequently make-TR some
na mata-lasalasa.
DET face-funny

[d]O Mere e=tiko na taci-na yalewa.
DET Mere 3SG.SBJ=MODIF.permanence DET younger.sister-3SG.POSS female

[e]O koya dau veisula vaka-lasa talegā.
DET 3SG.SBJ frequently change.clothes CAUS-funny also

[f]Ne taaci Mere e=dau rerevaka na iloilo.
DET younger.sister Mere 3SG.SBJ=frequently afraid DET mirror

[g]Dua na siga e=rai-ci Mere gā e-na iloilo, e=sega ni rai-ci koya.
one DET day 3SG.SBJ=see-TR Mere MODIF.emphatic in-DET mirror 3SG.SBJ=NEG see-TR 3SG.OBJ

[h]"Au ā rai-ci iko va-na iloilo sebera ni o rai-ci iko," o koya tuka-na vei
1SG.SBJ PST see-TR 2SG.OBJ in-DET mirror before 2SG.SBJ see-TR 2SG.OBJ DET 3SG.SBJ tell-TR to
Mere.
Mere

The Craft Room:

[a]Welcome to the craft room. [b]Here we can do many projects. [c]Some people like to do handicrafts. [d]They help themselves to the pandanus leaves and yarn. [e]Other people like to take photographs. [f]If you come here often you might see a picture of yourself hanging on the wall. [g]The man sitting in the corner next to the mirror is Jone. [h]He likes to draw. [i]Right now he is drawing a picture of himself. [j]He is looking at himself in the mirror to help with the drawing. [k]Would you like to draw a picture of yourself. [l]I tried to draw a picture of myself once but I did not like it so I threw it away. [m]Instead of drawing I like to make statues. [n]On the shelf you can see a statue I made of myself. [o]I used to keep my statue near the front door but I did not like seeing myself standing there every time I entered the room. [p]Anyway, make yourself at home. [q]You are welcome here anytime.

1) [a]Bula, curu mai e na rumu ni vuli cakacaka.
hello enter to in DET room POSS study work

[b]Eda rawa ni caka-va e levu na cakacaka i kē.
1PL.INCL.SBJ able to make-TR ASP much DET work in here

[c,d]E sō era vinaka-ta na cakacaka ni liga, ka ra vaka-yaga-taka sara yani na
some 3PL.SBJ want-TR DET work of hands and 3PL.SBJ CAUS-use-TR MODIF.emphatic away DET
voivoi se wā (valagi).
pandanus.leaves or string foreign

[e]E sō era via veitaba.
some 3PL.SBJ want take.pictures

[f]Ke o dau lako mai ikē vaka-levu, o na rai-ca e dua na kemu
if 2SG.SBJ frequently come go here ADV-greatly 2SG.SBJ DET see-TR one DET 2SGPOSS
i-taba ni na lili toka i lālaga.
NMLZ-photo POSS DET hang situated POSS wall.of.native.house

[g,h]O Jone na turaga dabe toka yā i na kona vōleka e na iloilo e dau
DET Jone DET man sit situated that in DET corner near to DET mirror 3SG.SBJ=frequently
tālei-taka me droini.
like-TR purpose draw

[i]E=droini-taki koya sara tiko gā na gauna qō.
3SG.SBJ=draw-TR 3SG.OBJ MODIF.emphatic MODIF.permanece MODIF.emphatic DET time this

[j]E=raici koya tiko i na iloilo me vuke-i koya e na nona
3SG.SBJ=see-TR 3SG.OBJ MODIF.permanence in DET mirror purpose help-TR 3SG.OBJ in DET 3SG.POSS
droini.
drawing

[k]O via tovole-a mo droini-taki iko gā?
2SG.SBJ want try-TR 2SG.SBJ draw-TR 2SG.SBJ MODIF.emphatic

[l]Au ā saga e na dua na gauna me-u droini-taki au gā ia
1SG.SBJ PST strive in DET one DET time purpose-1SG.SBJ draw-TR 1SG.OBJ MODIF.emphatic but
au qai sega ni tālei-taka na droini, au sa mani viritaka tani.
1SG.SBJ then NEG like-TR DET drawing 1SG.SBJ ASP then throw away

[m]Au talei-taka sara na caka matakau mai na droini.
1SG.SBJ like-TR MODIF.emphatic DET work statue from DET drawing

[n]Iko na rai-ca i na vata e dua na matakau au bulia me baleti yau
2SG.SBJ DET see-TR on DET shelf one DET statue 1SG.SBJ make purpose of 1SG.OBJ
gā.
MODIF.emphatic

[o]Au ā dau biu-ta tiko na kequ matakau i na yasa ni katuba,
1SG.SBJ PST frequently put-TR MODIF.permanence DET 1SG.POSS statue in DET place POSS door
ia au sega ni dau tālei-taka me-u rai-ci au tiko
but 1SG.SBJ NEG frequently like-TR purpose-TR see-TR 1SG.OBJ MODIF.permanence
gā e na vei-gauna au dau curu mai kina i loma ni rumu.
MODIF.emphatic in DET PL-time 1SG.SBJ frequently enter in ADV.thereby in middle POSS room

[p]Veitalia, curu mai, nomu vale qō.
do.as.you.please enter come 2SG.POSS house here

[q]E na dola tū gā na katuba na gauna cava gā o
is DET open MODIF.permanence MODIF.emphatic DET door DET time what MODIF.emphatic 2SG.SBJ
via lako mai kina.
want go come ADV.thereby

2) [b]E levu na kā e=rawa ni-o caka e-kē.
ASP big DET thing 3SG.SBJ=able POSS-DET make in-here

[c]Esō ra dau tāli-taka na cakacaka ni liga.
some 3PL.SBJ frequently like-TR DET work of hands

[d]Era dau vaka-yaga-taka na voivoi ka ra qai vei-talanoa
3PL.SBJ frequently CAUS-use-TR DET pandanus.leaves and 3PL.SBJ then PL-tell.story
tū.
MODIF.permanence

[e]Esō tale ra dau tāli-taka na veitaba.
some also 3PL.SBJ frequently like-TR DET take.pictures

[f]Ke o gole mai kē o na rawa ni rai-ca na kemu i-taba ni lili
if DET favourable.to come here DET DET able to see-TR DET 3SG.POSS NMLZ-image POSS hang
tū i lālaga.
MODIF.permanence POSS wall.of.native.house

[g]Na turaga dabe tiko i yassa-ni iloilo na o Jone.
DET man sit MODIF.permanence at side-POSS mirror there DET Jone

[h]Dau tālei-taka o koya na droini.
frequently like-TR DET 3SG.SBJ DET drawing

[i]Na gauna saragā qō e=droini-taki koya tiko gā.
DET time MODIF.empathic here 3SG.SBJ=drawing-TR 3SG.OBJ MODIF.permanence MODIF.empathtic

[j]O tirovi koya tiko e-na iloilo me rawa ni droini-taki koya vaka-vinaka.
DET look.at 3SG.OBJ MODIF.permanence in-DET mirror purpose able to draw-TR 3SG.OBJ ADV-good

[k]O via droini-taki iko-gā vakai iko?
2SG.SBJ want draw-TR 2SG.OBJ-MODIF.emphatic according.to 2SG.OBJ

[l]Au ā droini-taki au gā vakai au ia au ā sega ni mani
1SG.SBJ PST draw-TR 1SG.OBJ MODIF.emphatic according.to 1SG.OBJ but 1SG.SBJ PST NEG finally
tālei-taka au ā qai viritaka laivi.
like-TR 1SG.OBJ PST then throw away

[m]Au dau tāli-taka na caka matakau.
1SG.SBJ frequently like-TR DET work statue

[n]E na vatavata e na rawa ni o rai-ca dua na kequ matakau gā o
on DET shelf ASP DET able that 2SG.SBJ see-TR one DET 1SG.POSS statue MODIF.emphatic DET
au, au ā caka-va gā o au.
1SG.OBJ 1SG.SBJ PST work-TR MODIF.emphatic DET 1SG.OBJ

[o]Au ā dau maroro-ya tū na kequ vatakarakara e
1SG.SBJ PST frequently take.care.of-TR MODIF.permanence DET 3SG.POSS statue in
yasa-na katuba iliui ia au ā sega ni tālei-taka na rai-ca na kequ
side-3SG.POSS door before but 1SG.SBJ PST NEG like-TR DET see-TR DET 3SG.POSS
i-vakatakarakara na vei-gauna au curu mai kina iliu.
NMLZ-statue DET PL-time 1SG.OBJ enter from ADV.thereby before

[p]Talia yā, vaka tāulei taki iko e loma-ni-vale qō, e=dola
do.as.you.please here CAUS like TR 1SG.SBJ ASP middle-POSS-house here 3SG.OBJ=open
tū vei iko na loma-ni-vale qō e na gauna cava gā
MODIF.permanence to 2SG.OBJ DET middle-POSS-house here in DET time what MODIF.emphatic
o gole mai kina.
DET face from ADV.thereby

3) [a]Ni curu e-mai e-na rumu na cakacaka ni liga.
2SG.SBJ enter in-from in-DET room DET work of hands

[b]E kā eda rawa ni caka-va kina esō na mataqali cakacaka.
ASP thing 3PL.SBJ able make-TR ADV.thereby some DET types work

[c]E sō era dau tālei-taka na cakacaka ni liga ka radu vaka-yaga-taka nadrau
some 3PL.SBJ frequently like-TR DET work of hands and 3PL.SBJ CAUS-use-TR 3PL.POSS
ni voivoi ka ra dau mai veitalanoa toka yani.
POSS panadnus.leave and 3PL.SBJ frequently from PL-stories continuance yarn

[e]E sō tale era dau veitaba.
some also 3PL.SBJ frequently take.pictures

[f]Ke o lako mai kē vawāsomā ona rawa ni rai-ca na kemu i-taba ni
if 2SG.SBJ go to here frequently 3SG.SBJ-DET able POSS see-TR DET 2SG.POSS NMLZ-image that
na lili toka i lālaga.
DET hang continuance POSS wall.of.native.house

[g]O Jone na yaca-i koya na turaga dabe toka e yasa-ni iloilo na yā.
DET Jone DET name-POSS 3SG.SBJ DET man sit continuance in side-POSS mirror DET here

[h]O koya e=dau tālei-taka na droini.
DET 3SG.SBJ 3SG.SBJ=frequently like-TR DET drawing

[i]Na gauna e=droini-taki koya tiko gā.
DET time 3SG.SBJ=drawing-TR 3SG.SBJ MODIF.permanence MODIF.emphatic

[j]E=rai-ci koya tiko gā e-na me rawa ni rarawa vua.
3SG.SBJ=see-TR 3SG.OBJ MODIF.permanence MODIF.emphatic in-DET purpose able that easily succeed

[k]O via droin-taki iko gā vakai iko?
2SG.SBJ want draw-TR 2SG.OBJ MODIF.emphatic according.to 2SG.OBJ

[l]Au ā tovolea meu droini-taki au gā ia au ā sega ni.
1SG.SBJ PST try purpose-1SG.SBJ draw-TR 1SG.OBJ MODIF.emphatic but 1SG.SBJ PST NEG
tālei-taka
like-TR.3SG.OBJ

[m]Au dau tāli-taka na caka matakau.
1SG.SBJ frequently like-TR DET work statue

[n]O-na rai-ca e dua na kequ ..
2SG.SBJ-DET see-TR one DET 3SG.POSS

The Wild Pig:

[a]One day Salote and Paula were walking in the forest. [b]As they walked Paula began to sing a song to himself. [c]"Why are you singing to yourself?" Salote asked him. [d]"I am singing to myself because I have been told there are wild pigs in this forest. [e]I hope they will hear me singing and stay away from us," he answered. [f]"Wow," said Salote, "Do you think you could defend yourself from a wild pig? [g]"I don't think I could defend myself very well." [h]"I would try to defend us both," Paula said, "but I think it would be very difficult." [i]Just then a wild pig did come out of the forest. [j]Salote was very frightened and ran away. [k]Paula defended himself better than Salote defended herself. [l]That night Paula had wild pig for dinner.

1) [a]Dua na siga rau ā taubale tiko i veikau o Salote kei Paula.
one DET day 3DU.SBJ PST walk MODIF.permanence in forest DET Salote and Paula

[b]nodrau taubale tiko sa qai laga-sere cake mai o Paula.
3DU.POSS walk MODIF.permanence ASP then sing-song up from DET Paula

[c]"cava o laga sere tiko gā kina vei iko?" taro-gi koya o
what DET sing song MODIF.permanence MODIF.emphatic ADV.thereby to 2SG.OBJ ask-TR 3SG.OBJ DET
mere.
Mere

[d]"au laga-sere tiko gā baleta ni-u rogo-ca ni bini tū i
1SG.SBJ sing-song MODIF.permanence MODIF.emphatic because that-1SG.SBJ hear-TR that abundant in
kē na vuaka ni veikau.
here DET pig of forest

Au nui-taka ni ra na rogo-ca na domo-ni sere ka ra toso yani vaka yawa,"
1SG.SBJ hope-TR that 3PL.SBJ DET hear-TR DET voice-POSS song and 3PL.SBJ move away CAUS distant
sau-ma yā-ni o koya.
answer-TR thus-POSS DET 3SG.SBJ

[f]"io e," sau-ma yā-ni o Salote, "o nanu-ma ni o na rawa ni taqomak-i iko
wow answer-TR thus-POSS DET Salote DET think-TR that 2SG.SBJ DET able that look.after-TR 2SG.OBJ
vei dua na vuaka ni veikau?
with one DET pig of forest

[g]Au sega ni vakabauta niu na rawa ni taqo-maki au sara
1SG.SBJ NEG think-TR that-1SG.SBJ DET able POSS look.after-TR 1SG.OBJ MODIF.emphatic
vakavinaka."
CAUS-good

[h]"Au na saga me-u taqomaki kedaru ruarua," tukuna o Paula," ia au
1SG.SBJ DET try.hard purpose-1SG.SBJ look.after-TR 3DU.OBJ both tell-TR DET Paula but 1SG.SBJ
kila ni na drēdrē sara".
know that DET difficult MODIF.emphatic

[i,j,k]Oti gā yā qai basika mai e dua na vuaka ni veikau. levu ni rere nei
finish MODIF.emphatic that then to.pass.through from one DET pig of forest big the fear POSS
Salote qai dro, ia o Paula e=taqo-maki koya va-vinaka sara mai vei
Salote then flee but DET Paula 3SG.SBJ=look.after-TR 3SG.OBJ CAUS-good MODIF.emphatic from to
Salote.
Salote

[l]Bogi yā vakayakavi vuaka o Paula.
night that have.evening.meal pig DET Paula

2) [a]Dua na siga rau ā taubale tiko i veikau o Salote kei Paula.
one DET day 3DU.SBJ PST walk MODIF.permanence in forest DET Salote with Paula

[b]Nodrau taubale tiko sa qai laga-sere mai ko Paula.
2DU.POSS walk MODIF.permanence ASP then sing-song from DET Paula

[c]"Cava o laga-sere tiko gā kina vei iko?" taro-ga yāni o
what DET sing-song MODIF.permanence MODIF.emphatic ADV.thereby to 2SG.OBJ ask-TR there DET
Salote.
Salote

[d]"Au laga-sere tiko gā vei au baleti niu ā rogo-ca
1SG.OBJ sing-song MODIF.permanence MODIF.emphatic to 1SG.OBJ because that-1SG.SBJ PST hear-TR
ni ra bini tū ikē na vuaka ni veikau.
that 3PL.SBJ abundant MODIF.permanence here DET pig of forest

[e]Au nui-taka ni ra na rogo-ca noqu laga-sere ka ra yawaki kedaru.."
1SG.SBJ hope-TR that 3PL.SBJ DET hear-TR 3SG.POSS sing-song and 3PL.SBJ put.distance-TR 3DU.OBJ
sau-ma yani o koya.
answer-TR thus DET 3SG.OBJ

[f]"Oiauwe" sauma ko Salote, "O vabau-ta ni o rawa ni dro rawa mai vei dua na
wow answer-TR DET Salote DET think-TR that DET able to flee able from to one DET
vuaka ni veikau?
pig of forest

[g]Au kila ni au na sega ni rawa."
1SG.SBJ know that 1SG.SBJ DET NEG able

[h]Au saga me-u taqao-maki daru ruarua," tukuna o Paula, "ia au kila
1SG.SBJ try.hard purpose-1SG.SBJ look.after-TR 3DU.OBJ both tell-TR DET Paula but 1SG.SBJ know
ni drēdrē".
that difficult

[i]Oti gā yā sa bāsika mai e dua na vuaka ni veikau.
after MODIF.emphatic that ASP pass.through from one DET pig of forest

[j]Ā rere vaka-levu o Salote qai dro tani.
PST afraid ADV-greatly DET Salote then flee elsewhre

[k,l]O Paula ā tataqomaki koya va-vinaka cake sara mai vei Salote, ka
DET Paula PST look.after-TR 3SG.OBJ ADV-good up MODIF.emphatic from to Salote and
qai vakayakavi vuaka na bogi yā.
then have.evening.meal pig DET night then

3) [a]Dua na siga rau ā taubale tiko i veikau o Salote kei Paula.
one DET day 3DU.SBJ PST walk MODIF.permanence in forest DET Salote and Paula

[b]Oti yā sa qai tekivū laga-sere cake mai o Paula.
after that ASP then start sing-song up from DET Paula

[c]Taro sara mai o Salote" cava o laga sere tiko kina.
ask MODIF.emphatic from DET Salote what DET sing song MODIF.permanence ADV.thereby

[d,e]Au laga-sere tiko baleta ni-u ā rogo-ca ni ra bini
1SG.SBJ sing-song MODIF.emphatic because that-1SG.SBJ PST hear-TR that 3PL.OBJ abundant
tū ikē na vuaka ni veikau, kau au nui-taka ni ra na rere kera
MODIF.permanence here DET pig of forest and 1SG.SBJ hope-TR that 3PL.SBJ DET afraid if-3PL.SBJ
hear-TR DET voice-1SG.POSS
rogoca na domo-qu.

[f]Sa dina sau-ma mai ko Salote, o nanu-ma ni o rawa ni taqomaki iko mai vei
ASP truly answer-TR from DET Salote DET think-TR that DET able that look.after-TR 2SG.OBJ from to
dua na vuaka ni veikau.
one DET pig of forest

[g]Au kila au na sega ni rawa ni taqo-maki au.
1SG.SBJ know 1SG.OBJ DET NEG able to look.after-TR 1SG.OBJ

[h]Au na qai saga meu taqo-maki kedaru ruarua, tukuna o Paula.....
1SG.SBJ DET then try.hard purpose-1SG.SBJ look.after-TR 3DU.OBJ both tell-TR DET Paula

4) [a]E na dua na siga rau ā gādi tiko i veikau o Salote kei Paula.
in DET one DET day 3DU.SBJ PST walk MODIF.permanence in forest DET Salote with Paula

[b]Rau taubale tiko sa qai laga-sere cake mai o Paula.
3DU.SBJ walk MODIF.permanence ASP then sing-song up from DET Paula

[c]"Cava o laga-seretaka tiko," taro-ga o Salote.
what DET sing-song MODIF.permanence ask-TR DET Salote

[d]"Au laga-sere-tiko belta ni ra bini tū ikē na
1SG.SBJ sing-song-MODIF.permanence because that 3PL.SBJ abundant MODIF.permanence here DET
vuaka kīla ni veikau, au nui-taka ni ra na dro ke ra rogo-ci au." sau-ma
pig wild of forest 1SG.SBJ hope-TR that 3PL.SBJ DET flee if 3PL.OBJ hear-TR 1SG.OBJ answer-TR
yāni o Paula.
thus DET Paula

[f]"O nanu-ma ni o rawa ni taqo-maki iko mai vei dua na vuaka kīla?
2SG.SBJ think-TR that DET able POSS look.after-TR 2SG.OBJ from to one DET pig wild

[g]Au vabauta au sega ni rawa."
1SG.SBJ think-TR 1SG.OBJ NEG able

[h]"Au na qai taqomaki kedaru," Tuku-na o Paula, " ia au kila na drēdrē."
1SG.SBJ DET then take.care.of 3DU.OBJ tell-TR DET Paula but 1SG.SBJ know DET difficult

[i,j,k]Oti gā yā basika mai e dua na vuaka kīla, qai dro o Salote e-na levu
after MODIF.emphatic that pass.through from one DET pig wild then flee DET Salote in-DET big
ni rere, ia o Paula e=tataqo-maki va-vinaka cake sara mai vei Salote.
POSS fear but DET Paula 3SG.SBJ=look.after-TR ADV-good up MODIF.emphatic from to Salote

[l]E-na bogi yā sa vakayakavi vuaka saragā o Paula.
in-DET night there ASP have.evening.meal pig MODIF.emphatic DET Paula

5) [a]E dua na siga o Salote kei Paula e taubale tiko na veikau.
one DET day DET Salote and Paula ASP walk MODIF.permanence DET forest

[b]Rau taubale tiko o Paula sa tekivū laga-sere tiko vei koya.
3DU.SBJ walk MODIF.permanence DET Paula ASP begin sing-song MODIF.permanence to 3SG.OBJ

[c]Baleta cava o laga-sere tiko vei iko? taroga o Salote.
because what DET sing-song MODIF.permanence to 2SG.OBJ ask DET Salote

[d]Au laga-sere tiko baleta e=dau tuku-ni na vuaka kīla
1SG.SBJ sing-song MODIF.permanence because 3SG.SBJ=frequently tell-TR DET pig wild
e=tiko e loma ni veikau.
3SG.SBJ=MODIF.permanence in middle of forest

[e]I vabauta ni na rogo-ci au era na sega ni lako mai vei keidaru, kakaya ko Paula.
POSS hope that DET hear-TR 1SG.OBJ 3PL.SBJ DET NEG go come to 3PL.OBJ answer DET Paula

[f]wouuu!!! kaya o Salote. Nomu o iko ni iko rawa ni taqomaki iko mai vei
wow say DET Salote 3SG.POSS DET 2SG.SBJ that 2SG.SBJ able that take.care.of 2SG.OBJ from to
ira na vuaka kīla?
3PL.OBJ DET pig wild

[g]Au sega ni vakabauta ni-u na rawa ni taqomaki au vaka-vinaka.
1SG.SBJ NEG think that-1SG.SBJ DET able to take.care.of 1SG.OBJ ADV-good

[h]Au na tovole-a mo taqomaki keidaru, koya o Paula, au kīla na ve drēdrē,
1SG.SBJ DET try-TR purpose take.care.of 3DU.OBJ 3SG.SBJ DET Paula 1SG.SBJ know DET ? difficult

[i]Oti-gāyā e dua na vuaka kīla e qai basika e matadrāu.
after-MODIF.emphatic-that one DET pig wild ASP then pass.through in undergrowth

[j]Salote sa rere, qai dro.
Salote ASP afraid then flee

[k]O Paula qai taqomaki koya vaka-vinaka cake vei Salote.
DET Paula then take.care.of 3SG.OBJ ADV-good up to Salote

[1]Kei na bogi ā vakayakavi vuaka kīla o Paula.
then DET night PST have.evening.meal pig wild DET Paula

The Photographer:

[a]Jone is a farmer and a photographer. [b]He grows pineapples and taro on his farm. [c]In his free time Jone likes to take pictures of people, places, and animals. [d]Many of his friends ask Jone to photograph them and their homes. [e]Everyone wants a picture of himself to send to friends. Kalara has two of Jone's photos of her. [f]Jone has three of his photographs of himself. [g]Melika has one of Jone's pictures. [h]Melika has a sister named Tulia. [i]One day she saw a picture of herself with her and asked Jone if she could keep it. [j]Recently Jone took a picture of Waisale Serevi and now everybody wants the picture of him.

1) [a]O Jone edua na dau teitei ka dau veitaba talegā.
DET Jone one DET frequently farm and frequently takes.pictures also

[b]E tei painapiu kei na dalo o koya.
3SG.SBJ farm pineapple and DET taro DET 3SG.SBJ

[c]E-na nona gauna galala, dau tālei-taka o Jone na vataba-ki ira na
in-DET 3SG.POSS time free frequently like-TR DET Jone DET take.pictures-TR 3PL.OBJ DET
manumanu,tamata kei na veivanua.
animals people and DET PL-land

[d]E levu nona i-tokani era dau kere-a vua me taba-ki
ASP big 3SG.POSS NMLZ-companions 3PL.SBJ frequently request-TR point purpose photograh-TR
ira kei na nodra vale.
3PL.OBJ and DET 3PL.POSS house

[e]O ira kece qō era vinaka-ta esō na kedra i-taba me rawa ni vakau vei
DET 3PL.SBJ all here 3PL.SBJ want-TR some DET 3PL.POSS NMLZ-photo purpose able to take to
ira na nodra i-tokani.
3PL.OBJ DET 3PL.POSS NMLZ-comanion

[f]E=tiko vei Kalara erua na kena i-taba gā o
3SG.SBJ=MODIF.permanence with Kalara two DET 3SG.POSS NMLZ-photo MODIF.emphatic DET
koya ka taba-ka o Jone.
3SG.SBJ PST photograph-TR DET Jone

[g]O Jone e=tiko vua e tolu na kena i-taba gā
DET Jone 3SG.SBJ=MODIF.permanence produce three DET 3SG.POSS NMLZ-photo MODIF.emphatic
o koya.
DET 3SG.OBJ

[h]O Melika e=tiko vua e dua na i-taba nei Jone.
DET Melika 3SG.SBJ=MODIF.permanence produce one DET NMLZ-photo POSS Jone

[i]E dua na taci Melika o Tulia.
one DET sister Melika DET Tulia

[j]Dua na siga e=ā rai-ca o koya e dua na kena i-taba, qai kere-a vei
one DET day 3SG.SBJ=PST see-TR DET 3SG.SBJ one DET 3SG.POSS NMLZ-photo then request-TR to
Jone ke rawa ni maroroya.
Jone if able to look.after-TR.3SG.OBJ.

[k]Wale tiko gā qā, o one ā taba-ki Waisale Serevi, na gauna qō era sa vinaka-ta kece
recently there DET Jone PST photo-TR Waisale Serevi DET time now 3PL.SBJ ASP want-TR all
na nona i-tokani na i-taba yā.
DET 3SG.POSS NMLZ-companion DET NMLZ-photo there

2) [a]O Jone e=dau teieti ka dau veitaba talegā.
DET Jone 3SG.SBJ=frequently farm and frequently take.pictures also

[b]O koya tei painapiu kei na dalo.
DET 3SG.SBJ farm pinapple and DET taro

[c]E-na nona gauna galala e=dau veitaba wāvoki o koya ka dau
in-DET 3SG.POSS time free 3SG.SBJ=frequently take.pictures about DET 3SG.SBJ and frequently
tabaki ira na tamata, sō na vei-vanua kei ira na manumanu.
photograph-TR 3PL.OBJ DET people some DET PL-land and 3PL.OBJ DET animal

[d]O ira na nona i-tokani era dau vinaka-ta me dau mai
DET 3PL.SBJ DET 3SG.POSS NMLZ-companion 3PL.SBJ frequently want-TR purpose frequently from
tabaki ira o Jone i-na nodra dui vale.
photograph-TR 3PL.OBJ DET Jone in-DET 3PL.POSS different house

[e]Era dau vinaka-ta gā na na kedra i-taba me rawa ni
3PL.SBJ frequently want-TR MODIF.emphatic DET DET 3PL.POSS NMLZ-photo purpose able to
vakau vei ira na nodra i-tokani.
CAUS-bring to 3PL.OBJ DET 3PL.POSS NMLZ-comanion

[f]E=tiko vei Kalara e rua na kena i-taba, ka taba-ki koya
3SG.SBJ=MODIF.permanence with Kalara two DET 3SG.POSS NMLZ-photo that photograph-TR 3SG.OBJ
kina o Jone.
ADV.thereby DET Jone

[g]E=tiko vei Jone e tolu na kena i-taba gā o-koya.
3SG.SBJ=MODIF.permanence with Jone three DET 3SG.POSS NMLZ-photo MODIF.emphatic DET-3SG.SBJ

[h]O tiko vei Melika e dua na i-taba kei Jone.
DET MODIF.permanence with Melika one DET NMLZ-photo POSS Jone

[i]E dua na taci Melika o Tulia.
one DET sister Melika DET Tulia

[j]Dua na siga e=ā rai-ca o koya e dua na kedrau i-taba vaka
one DET day 3SG.SBJ=PST see-TR DET 3SG.SBJ one DET 3DU.INCL.POSS NMLZ-photo with
veitaci-ni ā qai kere-a vei Jone me maroro-ya.
sister-3SG.POSS PST then request-TR to Jone purpose take.care.of-TR.3SG.OBJ

[k]Wale tiko gā qō ā taba-ki Serevi kina o Jone ka-ra sa vaka-taro-ga
recently there PST photograph-TR Serevi ADV.thereby DET Jone and-3PL.SBJ ASP CAUS-ask-TR
kece tiko na tamata na i-taba yā.
all MODIF.permanece DET people DET NMLZ-photo that

3) [a]O Jone e=dau teitei ka sau veitaba talegā.
DET Jone 3SG.SBJ=frequently farm and ? take.picture also

[b]O koya e=tei paina piu kei na dalo.
DET 3SG.SBJ 3SG.SBJ=farm pineapple and DET taro

[c]Ni galala tū o Jone edau va-taba-ki ira na tamata, sō na
POSS free MODIF.permanence DET Jone one CAUS-photograph-TR 3PL.OBJ DET people some DET
vei vanua ka vaka kina na manumanu.
PL land and with ADV.thereby DET animal

[d]O ira na nona i-tokani e ra kere-i koya me taba-ki
DET 3PL.SBJ DET 3SG.POSS NMLZ-companion 3PL.SBJ request-TR 3SG.OBJ purpose photograph-TR
ira kei na nodra vale.
3PL.OBJ and DET 3PL.POSS house

[e]Era vinaka-ta kece me dua na kedra i-taba me va-kau vei ira na
3PL.SBJ want-TR all purpose one DET 3PL.POSS NMLZ-photo purpose CAUS-take to 3PL.OBJ DET
nodra i-tokani.
3PL.POSS NMLZ-companion

[f]E=tiko vei Kalara e rua na kena i-taba ka taba-ka o
3SG.SBJ=MODIF.permanence with Kalara two DET 3SG.POSS NMLZ-photo that photograph-TR DET J
Jone.
Jone

[g]E=tiko vei Jone e tolu na kena i-taba gā
3SG.SBJ=MODIF.permanence with Jone three DET 3SG.POSS NMLZ-photo MODIF.emphatic
o-koya ka taba-ka gā o-koya.
DET-3SG.SBJ that photograph-TR MODIF.emphatic DET-3SG.SBJ

[h,i]Ka tiko vei Melika e dua na i-taba kei Jone ka tiko
PST MODIF.permanence with Melika one DET NMLZ-photo POSS Jone and MODIF.permanence
yalegā dua na ganena o Tulia na yaca-na.
also one DET sister-3SG.POSS DET Tulia DET name-3SG.POSS

[j]Dua na siga e=ā rai-ca o koya e dua na kedrau i-taba vaka vei
one DET day 3SG.SBJ=PST see-TR DET 3SG.SBJ one DET 3DU.INCL.POSS NMLZ-photo together with
taci-ni ā qai kere-a vei Jone me maroro-ya.
sister-3SG.POSS PST then request-TR from Jone purpose take.care.of-TR.3SG.OBJ

[k]O Jone ā sa qai taba-ki Serevi wale tiko gā qō ka-ra vinaka-ta kece
DET Jone PST ASP then photograph-TR Serevi recently there and-3PL.SBJ want-TR all
tiko na nona ilala na i-taba yā.
MODIF.permanence DET 3SG.POSS group DET NMLZ-photo that

4) [a]O Jone e dua na tamata dau teitei ka du vei taba talegā.
DET Jone one DET person frequently farm and ? take.pictures also

[b]O-koya e=tei painapiu vata-kei na dalo i na nona teitei e-na gauna
DET-3SG.SBJ 3SG.SBJ=farm pineapple together-with DET taro in DET 3SG.POSS farm in-DET time
galala e=dau vei taba kina koya me taba kina na
free 3SG.SBJ=frequently take.pictures ADV.thereby 3SG.SBJ purpose photograph ADV.thereby DET
tamata, vanua, manumanu.
people land animal

[d]E sō na nona i lawalawa taro-gi Jone me-rea taba ki mada-gā
some DET 3SG.POSS NMLZ attendants ask-TR Jone purpose-3PL.POSS photo of please-MODIF.emphatic
o-ira kei na nodra vale.
DET-3PL.OBJ and DET 3PL.POSS house

[e]Ira ā dau veinakata na taba me rawa ni va-kau vei sō tale na tamata
3PL.SBJ PST frequently want-TR DET photo purpose able that CAUS-take to some also DET people
era vei klia-i tū
3PL.SBJ PL know-TR MODIF.permanence

[f]Kalara e=ru ā tiko vei koya e rua taba kei Jone.
Kalara 3SG.SBJ=? PST MODIF.permanence with 3SG.OBJ two photo POSS Jone

[g]O Jone e tolu na kena-i taba vataki koya gā.
DET Jone three DET 3SG.POSS-NMLZ photo according.to 3SG.OBJ MODIF.emphatic

[h,i]Melika edua na-i taba kei Jone e dua na taci Melika o Tulia.
Melika one DET-NMLZ photo POSS Jone one DET sister Melika DET Tulia

[j]Dua siaga ā-rai-ca o-koya e dua na kena-i taba qai kere-a vei Jone
one day PST-see-TR DET-3SG.SBJ one DET 3SG.POSS-NMLZ photo then request-TR from Jone
kevakā e=rawa ni mororo-ya na taba yā.
if 3SG.SBJ=able to look.after-TR DET photo that

[k]O Jone ā-qai taba-ki Waisale Serevi era sa qai veinaka-ta kece na-i taba yā
DET Jone PST-then photo-TR Waisale Serevi 3PL.SBJ ASP then want-TR all DET-NMLZ photo that

5) [a]O Jone na dau teitei kei na dau taba.
DET Jone DET frequently farm and DET frequently photograph

[b]O koya dau tei na painapiu kei na dalo i nona teitei.
DET 3SG.SBJ frequently farm DET pineapple and DET taro in 3SG.POSS farm

[c]O Jone dau i taba-ka na tamata, vanua kei na manumanu e-na gauna galala.
DET Jone frequently then photograph-TR DET people land and DET animal in-DET time free

[d]E=levu na nona i to dau kere-i koya me taba-ki
3SG.SBJ=big DET 3SG.POSS NMLZ companion frequently request-TR 3SG.OBJ purpose photograph-TR
ira ki na nodra i vale.
3PL.OBJ and DET 3PL.POSS NMLZ house

[e]Na tamata kece e dau vinaka-ta na nona i taba me dau vo-kau i
DET people all ASP frequently want-TR DET 3SG.POSS NMLZ photo purpose frequently CAUS-take to
nodra i to.
3PL.POSS NMLZ companion

[f]O Kalara e=tiko vei koya e rua na i taba nei Jone baleti
DET Kalara 3SG.SBJ=MODIF.permanence to 3SG.OBJ two DET NMLZ photo POSS Jone about
koya.
3SG.OBJ

[g]O Jone e tolu na nona i taba baleti koya gā.
DET Jone three DET 3SG.POSS NMLZ photo about 3SG.OBJ MODIF.emphatic

[h]E=tiko vei Melika e dua na i taba nei Jone.
3SG.SBJ=MODIF.permanence with Melika one DET NMLZ photo POSS Jone

[i]E=tiko e dua na taci Melika o Tulia.
3SG.SBJ=MODIF.permanence one DET sister Melika DET Tulia

[j]E dua na siga e=rai-ca na nona i taba ko tiko vei koya, qai
one DET day 3SG.SBJ=see-TR DET 3SG.POSS NMLZ photo DET MODIF.permanence with 3SG.OBJ then
tarogi Jone kēvaka me rawa ni maroro-ya tiko.
ask-TR Jone if pupose able to look.after-TR MODIF.permanence

[h]Wale tikogā qō o Jone e=tau-ra na i taba nei Waisale Serevi,
recently there DET Jone 3SG.SBJ=take-TR DET NMLZ photo POSS Waisale Serevi
ko sa vinaka-ta tiko na tamata kece-gā.
DET ASP want-TR MODIF.permanence DET people all-MODIF.emphatic

The Television:

[a]Josese has been interviewed on television. [b]After the interview he went out with his friends Jone, Marika, Ualita, and Kalara. [c]They watched him on the television. [d]Josese saw himself on the television. [e]He was very happy. [f]"Did you like seeing yourself on the television?" Kalara asked him. [g]"I liked seeing myself on television very much," he told her. [h]Kalara knew he would be happy because it was himself he had seen on the television. [i]Two days ago she had heard herself speaking with a friend on the radio and enjoyed it very much. [j]When Josese returned home after watching television with his friends he looked at himself in the mirror. [k]"I sure look good" he told himself as he waved goodbye to his friends.

1) [a]Sa qai vaka-taro-gi o Josese e-na raitio yaloyalo.
ASP then CAUS-question-TR DET Josese in-DET television

[b]Na gauna sa oti kina vei-taro-gi sa qai gole vata kei na nona
DET time ASP finish ADV.thereby PL-question-TR ASP then face together with DET 3SG.POSS
tokani o Jone, Marika, Ualita vata kei Kalara.
companion DET Jone Marika Ualita together with Kalara

[c]Eratou ā sara-vi koya e-na raitio yaloyalo.
3PAUC.SBJ PST watch-TR 3SG.OBJ in-DET television

[d]Ia o Josese e=ā rai-ci koya talegā e-na raitio yaloyalo.
but DET Josese 3SG.SBJ=PST see-TR 3SG.OBJ also in-DET television

[e]E=ā mārau-taka sara vaka-levu.
3SG.SBJ=PST happy-TR MODIF.emphatic ADV-greatly

[f]"O ā talei-taka beka ni-ko ā rai-ci iko tū e-na raitio yaloyalo"
DET PST like-TR perhaps POSS-DET PST see-TR 2SG.OBJ MODIF.permanence in-DET television
e=taro gi koya o Kalara.
3SG.SBJ=ask TR 3SG.OBJ DET Kalara

[g]"Au ā talei-taka vaka-levu noqu ā rai-ci au e-na raitio yaloyalo, me
1SG.SBJ PST like-TR ADV-greatly 1SG.POSS PST see-TR 1SG.OBJ in-DET television purpose
sauma kina na taro nei Kalara.
answer-TR ADV.thereby DET question POSS Kalara

[h]E=kila o Kalara ni ā marau-taka vaka-levu nia ā rai-ci koya e-na
3SG.SBJ=know DET Kalara that PST happy-TR ADV-greatly POSS PST see-TR 3SG.OBJ in-DET
raitio yaloyalo o Josese.
television DET Josese

[i]Na rua na siga sa oti e=ā rogo-ci koya ni ā vosa tiko e-na
DET two DET day ASP finish 3SG.SBJ=PST hear-TR 3SG.OBJ POSS PST speak MODIF.permanence in-DET
walesi qai tālei-taka vaka-levu.
radio then like-TR.3SG.OBJ ADV-greatly

[j]Na nodratou sa lesu yani i vale o Josese kei ratou na nona i lala ni oti na
DET 3PAUC.POSS ASP return back to house DET Josese with 3PAUC.OBJ DET 3SG.POSS group after DET
sara-vi koya tiko e-na raitio yaloyalo e=ā qai rai-ci koya e-na
watch-TR 3SG.OBJ MODIF.permanence in-DET television 3SG.SBJ=PST then see-TR 3SG.OBJ in-DET
iloilo nme vaka gā ni ā sara-vi koya tiko e-na
mirror ? go MODIF.emphatic POSS PST watch-TR 3SG.OBJ MODIF.permanence in-DET
raitio yaloyalo.
television

[k]E=totoka dina-na kequ rairai e-na gauna ā tavumami tiko
3SG.SBJ=handsome truly-DET 3SG.POSS see in-DET time PST ? MODIF.permanence
gā e-na sa va moce tiko kina vei ira na nona
MODIF.emphatic in-DET ASP CAUS goodbye MODIF.permanence ADV.thereby to 3PL.OBJ DET 3SG.POSS
i tokani.
NMLZ companion

2) [a]O Josese sa vaka taro-gi e-na retioyaloyalo.
DET Josese ASP CAUS ask-TR in-DET television

[b]Otia o Josese kei nona i tokani era lako era sara-vi Josese na
after DET Josese and 3SG.POS NMLZ companion 3PL.SBJ go 3PL.OBJ watch-TR Josese DET
television
reitio yaloyalo.

[c]O Josese ā qai sara-vi koya e yā qai tālei taka.
DET Josese PST then watch-TR 3SG.OBJ 3SG.SBJ that then like TR

3) [a]E=ā vaka-tarogi e-ne retio yaloyalo ko Josese.
3SG.SBJ=PST CAUS-ask-TR in-DET television DET Josese

[b]Ni oti nona vaka-taro-gi ea mani gole kei-na nona i tokani o Jone,
after 3SG.POSS CAUS-ask-TR 3SG.OBJ then face with-DET 3SG.POSS NMLZ companion DET Jone
Ualita, kei Kalara.
Ualita and Kalara

[c]E ratou ā sara-vi koya e-na retio yaloyalo.
3PAUC.SBJ PST watch-TR 3SG.OBJ in-DET television

[d]E=ā sara-vi koya talegā ko Josese e-na retio yaloyalo.
3SG.SBJ=PST watch-TR 3SG.OBJ also DET Josese in-DET television

[e]E=ā dua na kā na nona mārau.
3SG.SBJ=PST one DET thing DET 3SG.POSS happy

[f]"O talei-taka na rai-ci iko e-na retio yaloyalo?" taro-ga ko Kalara.
DET like-TR DET see-TR 2SG.OBJ in-DET television ask-TR DET Kalara

[g]"Au tālei-taka na rai-ci au e-na retio yaloyalo," sau-ma ko Josese.
1SG.SBJ like-TR DET see-TR 1SG.OBJ in-DET television answer-TR DET Josese

[h]E=kila ko Kalara ni talei-taka sara vakalevu baleta ni sara-vi
3SG.SBJ=know DET Kalara that like-TR MODIF.emphatic ADV-greatly because POSS watch-TR
koya gā e-na retio yaloyalo.
3SG.OBJ MODIF.emphatic in-DET television

[i]Rua na siga sa oti e=ā rogo-ca sara-gā ko Kalara mai vei
two DET day ASP finish 3SG.SBJ=PST hear-TR MODIF.emphatic-MODIF.emphatic DET Kalara from to
dua na nona i tokani e-na retio ka tālei-taka sara vaka-levu.
one DET 3SG.POSS NMLZ companion in-DET radio and like-TR MODIF.emphatic ADV-greatly

[j]Ni lesu tale ki nodratou ko Josese ni oti nona sara-vi koya e-na retio yaloyalo kei
POSS return to 3PAUC.POSS DET Josese after 3SG.POSS watch-TR 3SG.OBJ in-DET television with
na nona-i tokani, e=ā lai tiro-vi koya e-na iloilo.
DET 3SG.POSS-NMLZ companion 3SG.SBJ=PST go see-TR 3SG.OBJ in-DET mirror

[k]"Au sa rui rairai vinaka dina" e=ā tuku-na lo gā va-kai-koya
1SG.SBJ ASP very look good truly 3SG.SBJ=PST tell-TR ? MODIF.emphatic together-with-3SG.OBJ
e-na gauna e=ā vaka-moce kina vei iratou na nona i tokani.
in-DET time 3SG.SBJ=PST CAUS-goodbye ADV.thereby to 3PAUC.OBJ DET 3SG.OBJ NMLZ companion

4) [a,b,c,d]Ni oti na nona vaka-taro-gi e-na retio yaloyalo e ratou veikau
after DET 3SG.POSS CAUS-question-TR in-DET television 3PAUC.SBJ go.in.number
sara o Josese kei na nona i-tokani o Jone, Marika, Ualita, Kalaara
MODIF.emphatic DET Josese and DET 3SG.POSS NMLZ-companion DET Jone Marika Ualita Kalara
me ratou lai sara-va na vei-taro-gi ā caka vei Josese.
purpose 3PAUC.SBJ go watch-TR DET PL-quesiton-TR PST do to Josese

[f]Taro sara o Kara "O ā tālei-taka na nomu sara-vi iko
ask MODIF.emphatic DET Kalara 2SG.SBJ PST like-TR DET 3SG.POSS watch-TR 2SG.OBJ
tale tiko Josese?"
MODIF.inclusion MODIF.permanence Josese

[g]Sauma yani vakamālua o Josese "io au tālei-taka na sara-vi au tale
answer-TR thus slowly DET Josese yes 1SG.SBJ like-TR DET watch-TR 1SG.OBJ MODIF.inclusion
tiko."
MODIF.permanence

[h]Kila vinaka sara tuga o Kalara ni tālei-taka o Josese na nona sara-vi
know well MODIF.emphatic ? DET Kalara that like-TR DET Josese DET 3SG.POSS watch-TR
koya.
3SG.OBJ

[j]Nona qai lesu e vale o Josese, iro-vi koya e-na iloilo ka kaya "Au sa rairai
3SG.POSS then return to house DET Josese see-TR 3SG.OBJ in-DET mirror and say 1SG.SBJ ASP look
vinaka dina."
good truly

The Villain:

[a]Paul Bucket was a super-hero. [b]He worked hard to save the world from evil. [c]Everybody loved him. Paul Bucket's greatest enemy was The Villain. [d]Paul believed The Villain wanted to kill him. [e]The Villain was very good at disguising himself. [f]His favorite disguise was to make himself look like an old, one-eyed man. [g]He loved himself in that disguise because nobody could recognize him in it. [h]He couldn't even recognize himself. [i]One day the police found the dead body of an old, one-eyed man and a note that said "I killed myself" pinned to the body. [j]The police believed that The Villain had killed himself so that no one would be able to catch him. [k]"You bad man," the police said, "You killed yourself before we could catch you." [l]Paul Bucket did not believe The Villain had killed himself. [m]He believed The Villain would return one day.

1) [a]O Paula Vokete e dua na tamata qāqā.
DET Paul Bucket one DET person strong

[b]E=cakacaka vakaukaua o koya me valuta na cā e delani vuravura qō.
3SG.SBJ=work hard DET 3SG.SBJ purpose cause.to.fall DET bad on.top-POSS world here

[c]Tamata kece ra tālei-taki koya.
people all 3PL.SBJ like-TR 3SG.OBJ

[d]Na meca levu duadua nei Paula Vokete o koya na Vilani.
DET enemy big alone POSS Paul Bucket DET 3SG.SBJ DET Villain

[e]Vabau-ta o Paula ni o Vilanai e=via vaka-mate-i koya.
believe-TR DET Paula that DET Villain 3SG.SBJ=want CAUS-death-TR 3SG.OBJ

[f]E=mātai o Vilani na va-mata-vuni taki koya me kua ni kilai.
3SG.SBJ=skilled DET Villain DET CAUS-face-hide TR 3SG.OBJ purpose NEG know

[g]Na nona ubi talei-duadua me dau veisau me vaka-taka e dua na qase matadua.
DET 3SG.POSS disguise like-most purpose frequently change purpose CAUS-spread one DET elder eye-one

[h]Dau tālei-taka o koya na ubi yā ni sega ni dua e=bau kila ni o koya.
frequently like-TR DET 3SG.SBJ DET disguise that NEG one 3SG.SBJ=believe know that DET 3SG.SBJ

[i]O koya mada-gā e=sega ni kila-i koya tale.
DET 3SG.SBJ please-MODIF.emphatic 3SG.SBJ=NEG know-TR 3SG.OBJ MODIF.inclusion

[j]Dua na siga ratou kune-a na ovisa na yago idua na qase mata-dua sa mate
one DET day 3PAUC.SBJ find-TR DET officer DET body one DET elder eye-one ASP dead
tū, qai pini taki tū i yago-na e dua na i-vola ka
MODIF.permanemce then pin TR MODIF.permanence in body-3SG.POSS one DET NMLZ-letter that
vola-i tū kina "Au ā vaka-mate-i au.
write-TR MODIF.permanence ADV.thereby 1SG.SBJ PST CAUS-death-TR 1SG.OBJ

[k]Ratou vabau-ta na ovisa ni o Vilani e=ā va-mate-i koya
3PAUC.SBJ believe-TR DET officer that DET Villain 3SG.SBJ=PST CAUS-death-TR 3SG.OBJ
gā vakataki koya me kua ni dua e=tobo-ki koya rawa.
MODIF.emphatic according.to 3SG.OBJ purpose NEG one 3SG.SBJ=catch-TR 3SG.OBJ able

[l]"Tamata cā o iko" ratou kaya na ovisa," o ā vaka-mate-i iko
person bad DET 2SG.OBJ 3PAUC.SBJ say DET officer DET PST CAUS-death-TR 2SG.OBJ
gā me keitou kua ni tobo-ki iko rawa".
MODIF.emphatic purpose 2PAUC.PL NEG catch-TR 2SG.OBJ able

[m]Sega ni vabau-ta o Paula Vokete ni ā va-mate-i koya gā vakai
NEG believe-TR DET Paul Bucket that PST CAUSE-death-TR 3SG.OBJ MODIF.emphatic according.to
koya o vilani.
3SG.OBJ DET Villain

[n]Vabau-ta o koya ni dua na siga e-na lesu mai o Vilani.
believe-TR DET 3SG.SBJ that one DET day in-DET return from DET Villain

2) [a,b]O Paula Vokete e dua na tamata qāqā ka dau cakacaka o koya me valuta
DET Paul Bucket one DET person strong and frequently work DET 3SG.SBJ purpose cause.to.fall
na cā e na vuravura qō.
DET bad in DET world here

[c]Na tamata kece era tāli-takai koya.
DET people all 3PL.SBJ like-TR 3SG.OBJ

[d]Na nona meca levu duadua o Paula o Vilani.
DET 3SG.POSS enemy big alone DET Paul DET Villain

[e]E=vabau-ta o Paula ni ā via va-mate-i koya tiko o vilani.
3SG.SBJ=believe-TR DET Paula that PST want CAUS-death-TR 3SG.OBJ MODIF.permanence DET Villain

[f]O vilani e=dau mātai na vei-veisau-taka na kena i-rairai.
DET Villain 3SG.SBJ=frequently skilled DET PL-change-TR DET 3SG.POSS NMLZ-appearance

[g]Dau tālei-taka vaka-levu o vilani me dau veisau-taka koya me vaka
frequently like-TR ADV-greatly DET Villain purpose frequently change-TR 3SG.OBJ purpose CAUS
e dua na rairai ni dua na turaga qase mata-dua.
one DET appearance of one DET man old eye-one

[h]E=dau tālei-taka o koya baleta ni sega ni dua e=dau kida-va ni
3SG.SBJ=frequently like-TR DET 3SG.SBJ because NEG one 3SG.SBJ=frequently know-TR that
o koya dina.
DET 3SG.SBJ truly

[i]O koya mada-gā e=dau kidacala-taka tale.
DET 3SG.SBJ please-MODIF.emphatic 3SG.SBJ=frequently surprise-TR MODIF.inclusion

[j]Dua na siga era kune-a na ovisa e dua na qase sa mate tū-na yago
one DET day 3PAUC.SBJ find-TR DET officer one DET elder ASP dead MODIF.permanence-DET body
i dua na qase mata-dua sa mate tū ka voli toka vua e na dua na tikini
one DET elder eye-one ASP dead MODIF.permanence and write situated purpose one DET piece
pepa "Au ā va-mate-i au."
paper 1SG.SBJ PST CAUS-death-TR 1SG.OBJ

[k]Era vabau-ta na ovisa ni ā va-mate-i koya gā vaki
3PAUC.SBJ believe-TR DET officer that PST CAUS-death-TR 3SG.OBJ MODIF.emphatic according.to
koya o vilani me rawa ni kou ni tobo.
3SG.OBJ DET Villain purpose able that NEG POSS catch

[l]"Tamata cā o iko," re tuku-na na ovisa, "o va-mate-i iko ni bera ni
person bad DET 2SG.OBJ 3PAUC.SBJ tell-TR DET officer 2SG.SBJ CAUS-death-TR 2SG.OBJ before
keitou vesuki iko."
1PAUC.EXCL.SBJ catch-TR 2SG.OBJ

[m]E=sega ni vabauta o Paula Vokete ni ā va-mate-i koya gā o
3SG.SBJ=NEG believe-TR DET Paul Bucket that PST CAUS-death-TR 3SG.OBJ MODIF.emphatic DET
Vilani.
Villain

[n]Ka vabauta o koya ni dua na siga e-na lesu tale mai o koya.
ASP believe-TR DET 3SG.SBJ that one DET day in-DET return MODIF.inclusive from DET 3SG.OBJ

3) [a]O Paul Bucket e=tamata kaukauwa.
DET Paul Bucket 3SG.SBJ=person strong

[b]O koya e=va-bula-i ira na tiko qō i vuravura.
DET 3SG.SBJ 3SG.SBJ=CAUS-live-TR 3PL.OBJ DET MODIF.permanence here in world

[c]Era tālei-taki koya na tamata.
3PL.SBJ like-TR 3SG.OBJ DET people

[d,e]Na tama-cā se na tēvoro e=dau mātai na lasu kei na veisulu vuni.
DET person-bad ASP DET devil 3SG.SBJ=frequently skilled DET lie and DET change.clothes hide

[f,g]E=dau veisulu vaka na qase mata dua, baleta ni sega ni dua dau
3SG.SBJ=frequently change.clothes like DET elder eye one because NEG one frequently
kila-i koya ni dau veisulu va-yā.
know-TR 3SG.OBJ that frequently change.clothese like-that

[i]O koya sega mada gā ni kila-i koya tale.
DET 3SG.SBJ NEG please MODIF.emphatic POSS know-TR 3SG.OBJ MODIF.inclusion

[j]E dua na siga e=rai-ca na ovisa e dua na qase mata cā, qai rai-ca dua na note
one DET day 3SG.SBJ=see-TR DET officer one DET elder eye bad then see-TR one DET note
e=vola-i tukina ni au vaka-mate-i au vakai au gā,
3SG.SBJ=write-TR tell-TR that 1SG.SBJ CAUS-death-TR 1SG.OBJ according.to 1SG.OBJ MODIF.emphatic
na note e=ka pini taki tū e-na nona sulu.
DET note 3SG.SBJ=ASP pin TR MODIF.permanence in-DET 3SG.POSS clothes

[k]O ira na ovisa sa ra nonu-ma sara ni sa mate ko koya,
DET 3PAUC.SBJ DET officer ASP 3PAUC.SBJ think-TR MODIF.emphatic that ASP death DET 3SG.OBJ
me sega ni dua tobo-ki koya.
purpose NEG one catch-TR 3SG.OBJ

[l]Iko tamata cā, tuka-na na ovisa, iko vaka-mate-i iko sebera ni keitou
2SG.SBJ person bad tell-TR DET officer 2SG.SBJ CAUS-death-TR 2SG.OBJ before that 1PAUC.EXCL.SBJ
tobo-ki iko.
catch-TR 2SG.OBJ

[m]O Paul Bucket e=sega ni vakabau-ti koya ni sa vaka-mate-i koya gā.
DET Paul Bucket 3SG.SBJ=NEG believe-TR 3SG.SBJ that ASP CAUS-death-TR 3SG.OBJ MODIF.emphatic

[n]E=kila o koya ni na lako tale mai e dua na siga na tamata cā qō.
3SG.SBJ=know DET 3SG.SBJ that DET go MODIF.inclusive from one DET day DET person bad there

Section IV: Illustrations

All of the data collected from the Illustrations part of the surveys is presented below. As has been the practice throughout this work, long vowels and morpheme boundaries have been added to the Standard Fijian translations. Words that could not be identified in the dialects are marked with a question mark (?).

Miss Hibiscus:

1) Na yabaki sa oti ratou sa lai lewena na veisivisivi ni hibiscus pageant na
DET year ASP finish 3PAUC.SBJ ASP come participants DET competition of hibiscus pageant DET
marama e 3 o Kalara, Mere kai Siteri.
lady three DET Kalara Mere and Siteri
'Last year there were three participants in the hibiscus pageant: Kalara, Mere, and Siteri.'

Na gauna na veidigidigi o Mere e=digi-taki koya gā, o Kalara
DET time DET election DET Mere 3SG.SBJ=choose-TR 3SG.OBJ MODIF.emphatic DET Kalara
e=digi-taki koya gā ia o Siteri wau digi-taki Mere mai vakavūna
3SG.SBJ=choose-TR 3SG.OBJ MODIF.emphatic but DET Siteri ? choose-TR Mere from give.rise.to
nona qāqā o Mere e-na hibiscus.
3SG.POSS victorious DET Mere in-DET hibiscus
'At the time of the election Mere voted for herself, Kalara voted for herself, but Siteri voted for Mere giving rise to Mere's victory in the hibiscus.'

2) O Kalara, Mere kei Siteri e ratou lewena tiko na veisivsivi ni Miss
DET Kalara Mere and Siteri 3PAUC.SBJ participants MODIF.permanence DET competition of Miss
Hibiscus.
Hibiscus
'Kalara, Mere and Siteri are participants in the Miss Hibiscus competition.'

Na gauna ni veidigitaki, o Mere e=digi koya gā, o Siteri
DET time of election DET Mere 3SG.SBJ=choose 3SG.OBJ MODIF.emphatic DET Siteri
e=digi Mere tale o Kalara qai digi-taki koya gā.
3SG.SBJ=choose Mere MODIF.inclusion DET Kalara then choose-TR 3SG.OBJ MODIF.emphatic
'At the time of the election Mere voted for herself, Siteri voted for Mere, Kalara voted for herself.'

Ni sa wili sa qai laurai ni sa wini o Mere ka māraua sara vaka-levu o
POSS ASP count ASP then visible POSS ASP win DET Mere and happy MODIF.emphatic ADV-greatly DET
koya.
3SG.OBJ
'On counting the votes it became visible that Mere won and she was very happy.'

3) Kalara, Mere, Siteri rautou ā curu-ma na veisisivi ni Adi Sēnitoa
Kalara, Mere, Siteri 3PAUC.SBJ PST enter-TR DET competition of Miss Hibiscus
'Kalara, Mere, and Siterei entered the Miss Hibiscus competition.'

Kalara vata-kei Siteri rau atoqo ruarua na yaca-i Mere ni qai cava na
Kalara together-with Siteri 3DU.SBJ ? both DET name-POSS Mere POSS then what DET
veisisivi levu qō sa mai wini taka o Mere na Adi Sēni toa
competition big here ASP come win TR DET Mere DET Miss Hibiscus
'Kalara and Siteri both -, the name of Mere had many in the competition and Mere won the Miss Hibiscus.'

4) E na dua na yabaki yā eratou ā vaitavi e-na Adi Sēni toa o Kalara, Mere, Siteri.
in DET one DET year that 3PAUC.SBJ PST receive in-DET Miss Hibiscus DET Kalara Mere Siteri
'In that year Kalara, Mere, and Siteri were received in the Miss Hibiscus.'

Ni sō vōleka ni mai cava na veisisivi oqō sa mani caka na toqa ..
that some close that come what DET competition here ASP finally do DET ?
'With a close competition the - are finally done.'

Erau sa qai toqa ruarua na yaca-i Mere mai va vūna na nona mai wini taka na
3DU.SBJ ASP then ? both DET name-POSS Mere from give.rise.to DET 3SG.POSS come win TR DET
Adi Sēni toa.
Miss Hibiscus
'They then – both, Mere's name gives rise to her winning the Miss Hibiscus.'

5) E tolu na gone yalewa dau veisivisivi, o Kalara, o Mere kei Siteri.
three DET child female frequently competition DET Kalara DET Mere and Siteri
'Three young women take part in the competition: Kalara, Mere and Siteri.'

O Mere did-taki koya gā, o Siteri e=digi-taki Mere, kei Kalara
DET Mere choose-TR 3SG.OBJ MODIF.emphatic DET Siteri 3SG.SBJ=choose-TR Mere and Kalara
e=digi-taki koya gā....
3SG.SBJ=choose-TR 3SG.OBJ MODIF.emphatic
'Mere votes for herself, Siteri votes for Mere, and Kalara votes for herself.'

Īo sa na wini gā o Mere baleta ni sa digi-taki vaka-rua o koya...
yes ASP DET win MODIF.emphatic DET Mere because that ASP choose-TR ADV-twice DET 3SG.OBJ
'Mere wins because she was voted for twice.'

Na Miss Hibiscus o Mere....
DET Miss Hibiscus DET Mere
'Mere is Miss Hibiscus.'

6) O Kalara, Mere kei Siteri, o-ratou veisivisivi e-na Miss Hibiscus.
DET Kalara Mere and Siteri DET-3PAUC.SBJ competition in-DET Miss Hibiscus
'Kalara, Mere and Siteri are competing in the Miss Hibiscus.'

O Mere e=digi-taki koya gā, o Siteri e=digi-taki Mere, o
DET Mere 3SG.SBJ=choose-TR 3SG.OBJ MODIF.emphatic DET Siteri 3SG.SBJ=choose-TR Mere DET
Kalara e=digi-taki koya gā,
Kalara 3SG.SBJ=choose-TR 3SG.OBJ MODIF.emphatic
'Mere votes for herself, Siteri votes for Mere, and Kalara votes for herself.'

Kena balebale sa na wini o Mere, baleta ni wini-taka o koya e rua na vote.
the.meaning.of.it ASP DET win DET Mere because POSS win-TR DET 3SG.SBJ two DET vote
'In the end Mere wins because she has two of the votes.'

Na Miss Hibicus sa-na lako vei Mere....
DET Miss Hibiscus ASP-DET go to Mere
'The Miss Hibiscus goes to Mere.'

7) e tolu na dau veisivisivi, o kalara, mere, kei siteri.
three DET frequently competition DET Kalara Mere and Siteri
'Three are competing: Kalara, Mere and Siteri.'

O Mere e=digi-taki koya gā, o Siteri e=digi-taki Mere talegā, īo
DET Mere 3SG.SBJ=choose-TR 3SG.OBJ MODIF.emphatic DET Siteri 3SG.SBJ=choose-TR Mere also yes
o Kalara e=digi-taki koya gā,
DET Kalara 3SG.SBJ=choose-TR 3SG.OBJ MODIF.emphatic
'Mere votes for herself, Siteri votes for Mere also, but Kalara votes for herself.'

Kena balebale, sa na wini o Mere, baleta ni e rua na nona digidigi.
the.meaning.of.it ASP DET win DET Mere because POSS two DET 3SG.POSS votes
'In the end Mere wins because she has two of the votes.'

Vinaka Miss Hibiscus.....
good Miss Hibiscus
'Good job Miss Hibiscus.'

8) O Kalara, Mere kei Siteri e ratou a lewena na veisisivi levu ni Adi Sēnitoa se
DET Kalara Mere and Siteri 3PAUC.SBJ DET participants DET competition big of Miss Hibiscus or year
Hibiscus e-na yabaki sa oti.
hibiscus in-DET year ASP finish
'Kalara, Mere and Siteri were participants in the big competition of Adi Sēnitoa or Hibiscus last year.'

Eratou yalewa rairai vinaka taucoko ia na gauna sa caka kina na veidigidigi, o
3PAUC.SBJ women look good whole but DET time ASP do ADV.thereby DET election DET
Mere e=digi koya gā, o Kalara talegā e=digi koya
Mere 3SG.SBJ=choose 3SG.OBJ MODIF.emphatic DET Kalara also 3SG.SBJ=choose 3SG.OBJ
gā ia o Siteri e qai dia-taki Mere.
MODIF.emphatic but DET Siteri then choose-TR Mere
'All the women look beautiful but during the election Mere voted for herself, Kalara also voted for herself but Siteri then voted for Mere.

Ka mani taura na cōcōvi ni Adi Sēnitoa o Mere.
ASP finally tally DET prize POSS Miss Hibiscus DET Mere
'At the final tally the prize for Miss Hibiscus is Mere's.'

9) Na yabaki qō eratou ā curu-ma na Adi Sēnitoa o Kalara, Mere kei Siteri.
DET year here 3PAUC.SBJ PST enter-TR DET Miss Hibiscus DET Kalara Mere and Siteri
'This year Kalara, Mere and Siteri enterd the Miss Hibiscus.'

Ni sa caka na veidigidgi o Mere ā digi-taki koya gā, o Kalara talegā ā
POSS ASP do DET election DET Mere PST choose-TR 3SG.OBJ MODIF.emphatic DET Kalara also PST
digi-taki koya gā ia o Siteri ā qai digi-taki Mere ka vakavūna me
choose-TR 3SG.OBJ MODIF.emphatic but DET Siteri PST then choose-TR Mere and give.rise.to should
win-TR
wini-taka
'At the election Mere voted for herself, Kalara also voted for herself but Siteri then voted for Mere with the result that she would win.'

O Mere na Adi Sēnitoa.
DET Mere DET Miss Hibiscus
'Mere is Miss Hibiscus.'

10) Ratou ā curu-ma na Hibiscus Festivala na yabaki sa oti o Mere Kalara kei Siteri.
3PAUC.SBJ PST enter-TR DET Hibiscus Festival DET year ASP finish DET Mere Kalara and Siteri
'Mere, Kalara and Siteri enterd the Hibiscus Festival last year.'

Na gauana sa caka kina na veidigidigi, o Mere e=ā digi-taki vaka-levu.
DET time ASP do ADV.thereby DET election DET Mere 3SG.SBJ=PST choose-TR ADV-greatly
'When the election is held Mere had many votes.'

O Siteri mada-gā e=digi-taki Mere tale ia o Kalara ā
DET Siteri please-MODIF.emphatic 3SG.SBJ=choose-TR Mere MODIF.inclusive but DET Kalara PST
digi koya gā.
choose 3SG.OBJ MODIF.emphatic
'Siteri also voted for Mere but Kalara voted for herself.'

Ni sa wili na kena macala sa qai wini-taka o Mere na Miss Hibiscus.
POSS ASP count DET 3SG.POSS become.clear ASP then win-TR DET Mere DET Miss Hibiscus
'From the counting of the votes it became clear that Mere won the Miss Hibiscus.'

11) Dua na siga eratou tikotiko kina e tolu na veitacini yalewa rairai totoka
one DET day 3PAUC.SBJ are ADV.thereby three DET sibling female look beautiful
sara.
MODIF.emphatic
'One day there were three beautiful sisters.'

Ratou dau veibā taka se o-cei e=yalewa rairai vinaka duadua.
3PAUC.SBJ frequently dispute TR whether DET-who 3SG.SBJ=woman look good alone
'They frequently disputed which sister was the most beautiful.'

Dua na siga ratou sa vei-naki me ratou sa na curu-ma na veisisivi levu ni
one DET day 3PAUC.SBJ ASP PL-intend purpose 3PAUC.SBJ ASP DET enter-TR DET competition big of
Adi Sēnitoa me qai lewai kina o cei e=totoka duadua.
Miss Hibiscus purpose then judgement ADV.thereby DET who 3SG.SBJ=beautiful alone
'One day they entered the big Miss Hibiscus competition with the intention of determining who was the most beautiful.'

E=qase duadua vei ratou o Siteri sa qai tarava o Kalara ka gone duadua
3SG.SBJ=elder alone to 3PAUC.OBJ DET Siteri ASP then follow DET Kalara and child alone
sara o Mere.
MODIF.emphatic DET Mere
'The eldest of the three was Siteri, followed by Kalara, and Mere was the youngest.'

Ni sa caka na veidigidigi sa laurai sara ni sa droa tū na
POSS ASP do DET election ASP visible MODIF.emphatic that ASP draw MODIF.permanence DET
kedratou wiliwili na veitacini, sa qai lewai me ratou sa na veidigidigi
3PAUC.POSS count DET sisters ASP then judgement purpose 3PAUC.SBJ ASP DET election
sara-gā o ratou me qai lewai kina o koya
MODIF.emphatic-MODIF.emphatic DET 3PAUC.SBJ purpose then judgement ADV.thereby DET 3SG.SBJ
na wini.
DET win
'The election was held and the count resulted in a draw amongst the sisters, it was then decided that the sisters would vote that they might thereby contribute to the final judgement of who should win.'

I a vei ratou na tacini rau dau vei-lomani vaka-levu o Mere kei Siteri ia o
but to 3PAUC.OBJ DET sisters 3DU.SBJ frequently PL-love ADV-greatly DET Mere and Siteri but DET
Kalara e=dau yalewa kocokoco ka sega ni dau varorogo.
Kalara 3SG.SBJ=frequently woman greedy and NEG frequently to.hear
'But between the sisters Mere and Siteri love each other greatly but Siteri was often greedy and didn't hear.'

Ni sa caka na veidigidigi sa liu sara o Kalara ka mani digi-taki koya
POSS ASP do DET election ASP precede MODIF.emphatic DET Kalara and then choose-TR 3SG.OBJ
gā.
MODIF.emphatic
'The election began and Kalara voted first, she voted for herself.'

Tarava sara o Mere ka digi-taki koya gā.
follow MODIF.emphatic DET Mere and choose-TR 3SG.OBJ MODIF.emphatic
'Mere followed and voted for herself.'

Sa qai otioti o Siteri ka qai digi-taki Mere o koya kani dau loman-i Mere
ASP then last DET Siteri and then choose-TR Mere DET 3SG.OBJ because frequently love-TR Mere
vakalevu.
ADV-greatly
'Mere then went last and she voted for Mere because she greatly loved her.'

Sa qai soli vei Mere na cōvicōvi levu ni ranadi ni Adi Sēnitoa.
ASP then give to Mere DET prize big POSS queen of Miss Hibiscus
'Then it was given to Mere the big prize of queen of Miss Hibiscus.'

12) Dua na siga e ratou tikotiko-kina e lewe tolu na yalewa rairai vinaka o Mere Kalara kei
one DET day 3PAUC.SBJ stand-ADV.thereby three DET women look good DET Mere Kalara and
Siteri.
Siteri
'One day there were three beautiful women: Mere, Kalara and Siteri.'

Dua na siga sa qai loma-dratou me ratou curu e na veisisivi ni Hibiscus
one DET day ASP then middle-3PAUC.SBJ purpose 3PAUC.SBJ enter in DET competition of Hibiscus
festival mai Suva.
Festival from Suva
'One day they entered the Miss Hibiscus competition.'

Sa caka na veidigidigi sa lewai me raotu sa na vidigidigi mada gā
ASP do DET election ASP judgement purpose 3PAUC.OBJ ASP DET election please MODIF.emphatic
o-raotu.
DET-3PAUC.OBJ
'At the election they determine the judgement.'

Liu o Mere ka digi-tyaki koya gā.
precede DET Mere and choose-TR 3SG.OBJ MODIF.emphatic
'Mere went first and voted for herself.'

Tarava ko Kalara ka digi-taki koya gā .
follow DET Kalara and choose-TR 3SG.OBJ MODIF.emphatic
'Kalara followed and voted for herself.'

Sa qai otitoi o o Siteri ka qai digi-taki Mere mai vavūna nona wini-taka na icōvi levu
ASP then last DET Siteri and then choose-TR Mere from give.rise.to 3SG.POSS win-TR DET prize big
ni Adi Sēnitoa.
of Miss Hibiscus
The last was Siteri and she voted for Mere which gave rise to her winning the big prize of Miss Hibiscus.'

13) O Kalara, Siteri kei Mere ā via curu-ma na soqo ni veisivisivi ni Adi Sēnitoa.
DET Kalara Siteri and Mere PST want enter-TR DET assemble of competition of Miss Hibiscus
'Kalara, Siteri and Mere wanted to enter the Miss Hibiscus competition.'

Ni caka na veidigidigi e=ā dua levu kai kei Kalara ka 2 na kei Mere mani
POSS de DET election 3SG.SBJ=PST one big point POSS Kalara and two DET point Mere finally
winitaka kina na Adi Sēnikau
win-TR ADV.thereby DET Miss Hibiscus
'From the election there was one point for Kalara and two for Mere thus Mere won the Miss Hibiscus.'

14) E na soqo ni Hibiscus na yabaki qō eratou ā veisisivi kina e tolu na
in DET assemble of Hibiscus DET year now 3PAUC.SBJ PST competition ADV.thereby three DET
marama mai Vanua Levu. O Kalara, Mere kei Siteri.
women from Vanua Levu. DET Kalara Mere and Siteri
'In the Hibiscus assembly this year three women from Vanua Levu took part in the competition: Kalara, Mere and Siteri.'

Ni sa yaco-va mai na gauna me sa digi-taki kina na Adi Senitoa sa
POSS ASP happen-TR from DET time purpose ASP choose-TR ADV.thereby DET Miss Hibiscus ASP
laurai ni sa ratou liu kece tū na marama totoka ni Vanua Levu oqō.
visible POSS ASP 3PAUC.SBJ first all MODIF.permanence DET women beautiful from Vanua Levu here
'The time came about to vote for the Miss Hibiscus and make it known which of the beautiful women from Vanua Lev would come first.'

Sa qai tuku-na vei ratou me ratou sa veidigidigi sara-gā
ASP then tell-TR to 3PAUC.OBJ purpose 3PAUC.SBJ ASP vote MODIF.emphatic-MODIF.emphatic
o ratou.
DET 3PAUC.SBJ
'They were told they could vote.'

O Mere na marama ni Macuata sa qai tuku-na vei Siteri na marama ni Savusavu me
DET Mere DET woman from Macuata ASP then tell-TR to Siteri DET woman from Savusavu purpose
digi-taki koya (Mere) o koya me na qai digi-taki Siteri.
choose-TR 3SG.OBJ Mere DET 3SG.SBJ purpose DET then choose-TR Siteri
'Mere, the woman from Macuata, then told Siteri, the woman from Savusavu, that if she voted for her (Mere) she would then vote for Siteri.'

Ni sa caka na veidigidigi o Kalara e=digi-taki koya gā o Siteri sa
POSS ASP do DET election DET Kalara 3SG.SBJ=choose-TR 3SG.OBJ MODIF.emphatic DET Siteri ASP
qai digi-taki Mere me vaka rau ā vaitalanoataka ia o Mere na yalewa lawaki cā
then choose-TR Mere purpose CAUS 3DU.SBJ PST conversation but DET Mere DET woman false bad
sa qai digi-taki koya gā vakataki koya.
ASP then choose-TR 3SG.OBJ MODIF.emphatic according.to 3SG.OBJ
'When the election was held Kalara voted for herself, Siteri then voted for Mere because of her conversaton with Mere earlier but Mere, a false and bad woman, voted for herself.'

ka mai vakavūna sara na nona wini-taka na icōcōvi levu.
ASP from give.rise.to MODIF.emphatic DET 3SG.POSS win-TR DET prize big
'That gave rise to her winning the big prize.'

15) Tikotiko kina e tolu na marama ni Vuda tokatoka sara o Kalara, Mere kei.
there.are ADV.thereby three DET women from Vuda beautiful MODIF.emphatic DET Kalara Mere and
Siteri.
Siteri
'There are three very beautiful women from Vuda: Kalara, Mere and Siteri.'

dua na siga ratou sa vei-naki me ratou sa curu-mu na Hibiscus Festival i Suva.
one DET day 3PAUC.SBJ ASP PL-intend purpose 3PAUC.SBJ ASP enter-TR DET Hibiscus Festival in Suva
'One day they intend to enter the Hibiscus Fetival in Suva.'

Ni sa caka na vei digidigi o Kalara ā digi-taki koya gā, o Mere talegā
POSS ASP do DET election DET Kalara PST choose-TR 3SG.OBJ MODIF.emphatic DET Mere also
ā digi-taki koya gā, ia o Siteri ā qai digi-taki Mere tale ka
PST choose-TR 3SG.OBJ MODIF.emphatic but DET Siteri PST then choose-TR Mere MODIF.inclusive and
mai vakavūna me wini taka o Mere na cōcōvi levu ni Miss Hibiscus.
from give.rise.to purpose win TR DET Mere DET prize big of Miss Hibiscus
'When the election was held Kalara voted for herself, Mere also voted for herself but Siteri then voted for Mere and that gave rise to Mere's wining the big prize of Miss Hibiscus.'

Mere and Jone:

1) Suka mai na beti painapiu o Jone sa gole sara mai i vale me
return.home from DET harvest pineapple DET Jone ASP face MODIF.emphatic from to house purpose
laki va-varau na nodrau sota kei Mere ni yakavi.
go CAUS-prepare DET 3DU.POSS meet with Mere that evening
'Jone returns home from harvesting pineapples in order to prepare for his meeting with Mere that evening.'

Baleta ni ā tubu levu tū na kumi-na ā mai tiro-vi koya
because POSS PST grow big MODIF.permanence DET beard-3SG.POSS PST from look.at-TR 3SG.OBJ
sara yani i valenisili me torotoro.
MODIF.emphatic away in bathroom purpose shave
'Because he had grown a big beard he looked at himself in the mirror for the purpose of shaving.'

Ia o Mere na vata yā ā tū mai waitui qai rawa-ta mai e vica na
and DET Mere DET same that PST MODIF.permanence from sea then able-TR from how.many DET
kanace.
fish
'Mere at the same time was at the sea where she caught several fish.'

Lesu gā mai yā o koya mani sili sara me sava-ta laivi
return MODIF.emphatic from that DET 3SG.SBJ finally bathe MODIF.emphatic purpose wash-TR utterly
na boi sisiga.
DET smell fishy.smell
'On her return from there she finally bathed to utterly clean off the fishy smell.'

Via rauta toka na 8 ni bogi rau sa veikau sara i valenikana me
want suffice.TR situate DET eight in night 3DU.SBJ ASP escort MODIF.emphatic to restaurant purpose
rau lai vakayakavi.
3DU.SBJ go have.evening.meal
'By eight in the evening they went together to a restaurant for their dinner.'

2) O Jone e=dau tei painapiu.
DET Jone 3SG.SBJ=frequently farm pineapple
'Jone farms pineapples.'

Na yakavi sa torotoro sara o koya baleta ni ā va-tubu kumi
DET evening ASP shave MODIF.emphatic DET 3SG.SBJ because POSS PST CAUS-grow beard
tu.
MODIF.permanence
'In the evening he shaved because his beard had grown.'

Ia o Mere na wati-na e=lako tū i qoli.
and DET Mere DET wife-3SG.POSS 3SG.SBJ=go MODIF.emphatic to fish
'And Mere, his wife, goes fishing.'

Lesu mai o Mere sa qai sili me rau lai sota sara i vale ni kana
return from DET Mere ASP then bathe purpose 3DU.SBJ go meet MODIF.emphatic in restaurant
'On Mere's return she bathes so that they can meet at the restaurant.'

3) O Jone na dau tei painapiu e=tamata kumi levu.
DET Jone DET frequently farm pineapple 3SG.SBJ=person beard big
'Jone grows pineapples, he is a man with a big beard.'

Suka mai na teitei o koya sa mai torotoro sara baleta ni na
return.home from DET farm DET 3SG.SBJ ASP come shave MODIF.emphatic because POSS DET
sota-vi Mere tiko e-na yakavi.
meet-TR Mere MODIF.permanence in-DET evening
'On his return from the farm he shaves because he will meet with Mere in the evening.'

Ia o Mere e=ā tū mai waitui na siga yā.
and DET Mere 3SG.SBJ=PST MODIF.permanence from sea DET day there
'And Mere was at the sea that day.'

Na gauna sa bau vica toka na kena ika sa gole cake sara mai i
DET time ASP please several stand DET 3SG.POSS fish ASP face upwards MODIF.emphatic from to
nodratou mai sili ni bera ni rau sota kei Jone e-na vale ni kana mai tauni.
3DU.POSS to bathe before 3DU.SBJ meet with Jone in-DET restaurant in town
'When she had several fish she returned toward their home to bathe before her meeting with Jone at a restaurant in town.'

4) Dua na siga tikotiko kina o Jone, na dau teitei.
one DET day stand MODIF.thereby DET Jone DET frequently farm
'One day Jone was at the farm.'

Lako o Jone me lai vāqara painapiu me kena, ia ni sa yakavi mai na vanua,
go DET Jone purpose go seek pineapple purpose 3SG.POSS but POSS ASP evening from DET land
sa gole sara o koya i vale me laki torotoro kavavarau e-na
ASP face MODIF.emphatic DET 3SG.SBJ to house purpose go shave that-CAUS-prepare in-DET
nodrau sota kei Mere na nona daulomani e-na yakavi.
3DU.POSS meeting with Mere DET 3SG.POSS girlfriend in-DET evening
'He gathered pineapples, but when evening came to the land he returned home to shave and prepare for his meeiting with his girlfriend Mere that night.'

Ia o Mere ā siwa tiko na siga yā.
and DET Mere PST fish MODIF.permanence DET day there
'And Mere spent the day fishing.'

Na gauna gā sarawa kina va-levu na ika, sō lako sara
DET time MODIF.emphatic ? ADV.therey ADV-greatly DET fish some go MODIF.emphatic
i-nodratou me lai sili, ni boi sisiga va levu na yago-na.
to-3DU.POSS purpose come bathe that smell fishy ADV greatly DET body-3SG.POSS
'She had caught many fish then returned to their house to wash the fishy smell from her body.'

Qai 9 na kaloko e-na bogi yā, rau sa dadanisi tiko mai valenikana
then nine DET o'clock in-DET night there 3DU.SBJ ASP ? MODIF.permanence from restaurant
na veitau erua.
DET friends.together two
'Then at nine o'clock that night they – at the restaurant two friends.'

5) Ni suka mai o Jone e-na cavu kakana mai na i-teitei, sa lesu talegā mai Mere
POSS return from DET Jone in-DET pull.up food from DET NMLZ-farm ASP return also from Mere
e-na siwa.
in-DET fishing
'When Jone returns from harvesting food at the farm, Mere also returns from fishing.'

Ni rauta na 10 na kaloko erau dau sisili kina ni bera ni rau dau
POSS suffice DET ten DET o'clock 3DU.SBJ frequently bathe ADV.thereby before 3DU.SBJ frequently
laki dola-va na nodrau valenii kana e-na veimāmā ni tinikadua e-na mataka.
go open-TR DET 3DU.POSS restaurant in-DET middle of eleven in-DET morning
'It suffices at ten o'clock that they bathe before they open their restaurant at half eleven in the morning.'

Ni sa dau oti na nodra mai vakasigalevu na nodrau vulagi erau dau
POSS ASP frequently finish DET 3SG.POSS come have.lunch DET 3DU.POSS visitor 3DU.SBJ frequently
mai tala-ci ira sara na veiwatini e-na mata-ni nodrau valenikana.
come clear.up-TR 3PL.OBJ MODIF.emphatic DET married.couple in-DET front-POSS 3DU.POSS restaurant
'After their visitors have had lunch they clear up. [Here they are] the married couple in front of their restaurant.'

6) Dua na siga e=teitei tiko kina o Jone.
one DET day 3SG.SBJ=farm MODIF.permanence DET Jone
'One day Jone worked on the farm.'

Oti yā qai lei torotoro.
finish that then go shave
'After that he left to shave.'

O Mere ma lesu mai na siwa qai lei sili.
DET Mere PST come.back from DET fishing then go bathe
'Mere returned from fishing to bathe.'

Oti yā rau qai lei kana ko Mere kei Jone.
finish that 3DU.SBJ then go eat DET Mere and Jone
'After that Mere and Jone went to eat.'

7) O Jone e=tamata va loga-ni painapiu levu-mai Sigatoka.
DET Jone 3SG.SBJ=person CAUS prepare.for.planting-TR pineapple big-from Sigatoka
'Jone works growning pineapples in Sigatoka.'

Na noa oti nona qaera-va nona i-teitei sa gole sara mai vel o
yesterday finish 3SG.POSS attend-TR 3SG.POSS NMLZ-farm ASP face MODIF.emphatic from house DET
Jone sili ka torotoro sara.
Jone bathe and shave MODIF.emphatic
'Yesterday, after attending to his farm, he returned home to bathe and shave.'

O Mere na gonedau, ā siwa talgā en gauna vata-yā.
DET Mere DET expert.fisherman PST fish also in time same-there
'At the same time, Mere, an expert fisherman, was fishing.'

Ni sa rawa na kena ika sa gole sara mai o koya me lai sili.
POSS ASP able DET 3SG.POSS fish ASP face MODIF.emphatic from DET 3SG.SBJ purpose go bathe
'After catching her fish she left to go bathe.'

Via rauta tiko na 8 ni bogi rau sa laki sota na veitau erua
want enough MODIF.permanence DET eight in night 3DU.SBJ ASP go meet DET friends.together two
e-na mata-ni vale ni kana nei ming mai Sigatoka me rau vakayakavi.
in-DET front-POSS restaurant POSS ? from Sigatoka purpose 3DU.SBJ have.evening.meal
'By eight in the evening they met each other as frends in front of a restaurant in Sigatoka to have their dinner.'

8) dua na siga ā laki cvu painapiu o Jone.
one DET day PST go ? pineapple DET Jone
'One day Jone went to – pineapple.'

Na gauna qō ā se vatubu kumi tū kina o koya.
DET time here PST ? CAUS-grow beard MODIF.permanence ADV.thereby DET 3SG.SBJ
'At the time he had grown a beard.'

E-na yakavi sa torotoro sara o koya baleta ni rau na laki sota kei
in-DET evening ASP shave MODIF.emphatic DET 3SG.SBJ because that 3DU.SBJ DET go meet with
Mere ni yakavi.
Mere that evening.
'In the evening he shaved because he was going to meet with Mere later.'

O Mere ā siwa tiko na mataka yā ā qai yaco gā mai vale
DET Mere PST fish MODIF.permanence DET morning there PST then arrive MODIF.emphatic from house
ni sa yakavi.
that ASP evening
'Mere went fishing that morning and returned home that evening.'

Nona yaco gā mai sa sisili sara ka rau ā qai sota yani
3SG.POSS return MODIF.emphatic from ASP bathe MODIF.emphatic and 3DU.SBJ PST then meet away
kei Jone e-na yakavi i vale ni kana
with Jone in-DET evening at restaurant
'After her bathe she then left to meet with Jone at the restaurant.'

9) E na siga Varaubuka ā teitei tiko kina o Jone.
in DET day Friday PST farm MODIF.permanence ADV.thereby DET Jone
'On Friday Jone farmed.'

Levu na vei-mataqali kā e=tea o koya ia e levu duauda na loga ni
big DET PL-type thing 3SG.SBJ=farm DET 3SG.SBJ but 3SG.SBJ big alone DET beds of
painapiu.
pineapple
'He farms many things but greatest of all are the pineapples.'

Ni sa yakavi sa lesu sara o koya i vale kei na kena paina piu kei
POSS ASP evening ASP return MODIF.emphatic DET 3SG.SBJ to house and DET 3SG.POSS pineapple and
na nona i-sivi.
DET 3SG.POSS NMLZ-spade
'In the evening he returned home with his pineapples and spade.'

Na levu ni katakata, sa gole tū gā mai o koya
DET big POSS pungent/hot ASP head.towards MODIF.permanence MODIF.emphatic from DET 3SG.SBJ
sa gole sara i valenisili.
ASP turn.towards MODIF.emphatic in bathroom
'Very smelly/hot, he heads towards the bathroom.'

O Jone talegā ā vatūbu kumi tiko ka sa nanuma sara me
DET Jone also PST CAUS-grow beard MODIF.permanece that ASP think-TR MODIF.emphatic purpose
toro-ya laivi na kumi-na na vakavūna tiko na nona katakata.
shave-TR utterly DET beard-3SG.POSS DET give.rise.to MODIF.permanence DET 3SG.POSS pungent/heat
'Jone had also grown a beard and he thought that he should shave his beard since it contributes to his smell/heat.'

O Mere na wati Jone e dua na marama dau qoli.
DET Mere DET spouse Jone one DET woman frequently fish
'Mere, Jone's wife, frequently goes fishing.'

Na siga yā o koya ā tiko i waitui qai via yakavi mai na vanua sa
DET day there DET 3SG.SBJ PST MODIF.permanence in sea then want evening from DET land ASP
gole talegā mai o koya ka kau-ta mai vakle na kena ilava.
turn.towards also from DET 3SG.SBJ and bring-TR from ? DET 3SG.POSS ?
'She spent that day at the sea; when evening came to the land she also returned and brought - .

Nona gole tū gā mai sa mai sili sara
3SG.POSS turn.towards MODIF.permanence MODIF.emphatic from ASP from bathe MODIF.emphatic
me kau ta-ni na-i boi ni waitui kei na māsima i yago-na.
purpose bring TR-POSS DET-NMLZ smell of sea and DET salt POSS body-3SG.POSS
'She returned home to bathe the smell of sea and salt from her body.'

Qai via rauta toka na 8 na kaloko e-na bogi yā rau sa
then want suffice proclaim DET eight DET o'clock in-DET evening there 3DU.OBJ ASP
tū mai na vale ni kana mai suve na veiwatini e rua.
MODIF.permanence come DET restaurant from ? DET PL-couple two
'At eight o'clock that evening the married couple went to a restaurant.'

10) Dua na siga ā beti painipiu tiko o Jone.
one DET day PST harvest pineapple MODIF.permanence DET Jone
'One day Jone harvested pineapples.'

Ni sa via butō mai na vanua sa suka sara mai o koya ka sa
POSS ASP want dark from DET land ASP return MODIF.emphatic from DET 3SG.SBL and ASP
gole sara i vale.
turn.towards MODIF.emphatic to house
'When it became dark he returned to his house.'

Na gauna qō ā sa kā-levu tū kina na kumi-na ka sa
DET time here PST ASP thing-big MODIF.permanence ADV.thereby DET beard-3SG.POSS and ASP
toro-ya laivi sara o koya ni sa nanu-ma mai na nona vei buku kei
shave-TR utterly MODIF.emphatic DET 3SG.SBJ POSS ASP think-TR from DET 3SG.POSS plan with
Mere me rau na laki sota i tauni e-na bogi.
Mere purpose 3DU.SBJ DET go meet in town in-DET night
'At that time he had a very big beard and he shaved it since he remembered his plans with Mere that evening to meet in town.'

O Mere ā siwa tiko na siga, ka gole tale gā
DET Mere PST fish MODIF.permanence DET day and turn.towards MODIF.inclusive MODIF.emphatic
mai nodratou ni sa yakavi na vanua.
from 3PAUC.POSS POSS ASP evening DET land
'Mere fished during the day, and returned home when evening fell.'

Mai sili saa yani vaka-vinaka baleta ni boi vaka-levu vua na waitui kei na boi
come bathe ? away ADV-good because POSS smell ADV-greatly purpose DET sea and DET smell
ni māsima.
of salt
'She bathed well because she smelled greatly of the sea and salt.'

Ni qai cabe mai na vula e-na bogi yā rau sa vei-tau-ri liga tū
POSS then rise come DET moon in-DET night there 3DU.SBJ ASP PL-take-TR hands MODIF.permanece
mai vale ni kana o rau na veiwatini.
from restaurant DET 3DU.SBJ DET couple
'That night the married couple held hands at the restaurant.'

11) Tikotiko kina o Jone na dau tei paina piu.
stand ADV.thereby DET Jone DET frequently farm pineapple
'Jone farms pineapples.'

Ni suka mai o koya na cakacaka sa mai duri sara i na siqi ka sa
POSS return from DET 3SG.SBJ DET work ASP come rise.up MODIF.emphatic in DET sink and ASP
nanu-ma sara me sa na torotoro.
think-TR MODIF.emphatic purpose ASP DET shave
'On returning home from work he rises up in the sink and thinks he should shave.'

Ia o Mere na wati-na ā laki waitui na siga yā yaco-va sara na
but DET Mere DET spouse-3SG.POSS PST go sea DET day that arrive-TR MODIF.emphatic DET
evening
yakavi.
'That day Mere, his wife, went to the sea until evening came.'

Ni sa levu mai na ika sō gole tale mai o koya i vale sisili
POSS ASP big come DET fish several turn.towards MODIF.inclusive from DET 3SG.SBJ POSS house bathe
ni bera ni laki sota-vi Jone e-na bogi yā mai na vale ni kana mai Suva.
before go meet-TR Jone in-DET night that come DET restaurant from Suva
'She caught several big fish then went home to bathe before meeting Jone that night at a restaurant in Suva.'

12) O Jone na dau teitei e=ā cakacaka tiko e na nona teitei e na
DET Jone DET frequently farm 3SG.SBJ=PST work MODIF.permanence in DET 3SG.POSS farm in DET
mataka lailai.
morning little
'Jone, a farmer, worked in his farm early in the morning.'

Ni sa oti na vakasigalevu sa soqo-na mai o koya na kā sa rawa-ta ka sa
POSS ASP finish DET lunch ASP gather to DET 3SG.SBJ DET things ASP able-TR and ASP
suka teli ki nona vale.
return ? to 3SG.POSS house
'After lunch he gathered everything he could and returned to his house.'

Na gauna qō ā sa va-tubu kumi tū kina o koya ka sa na
DET time now PST ASP CAUS-grow beard MODIF.permanence ADV.thereby DET 3SG.SBJ and ASP DET
numa sara me sa na torotoro.
think-TR MODIF.emphatic purpose ASP DET shave
'At the time he had grown a beard and he thought he should shave.'

Mai duri sara o koya i mata-ni iloilo ka toro-ya savasava vakadua na
come rise.up MODIF.emphatic DET 3SG.SBJ in front-POSS mirror and shave-TR clean in.one.go DET
kumi-na.
beard-3SG.POSS
'He stood in front of the mirror and shaved clean his beard in one go.'

Ia o Mere na wati-na ā tū mai siwana, a qai lesu talegā mai na yakavi.
but DET Mere DET spouse-3SG.POSS PST stand come fish PST then return also from DET evening
'And Mere, his wife, fished and came home, also, that evening.'

Mai sisili sara vaka-vinka me sava-ta laivi na māsima kei na i-boi ni
come bathe MODIF.emphatic CAUS-good purpose clean-TR utterly DET salt and DET NMLZ-smell of
waitui.
sea
'She bathed well, utterly cleaning off the salt and the smell of the sea.'

Na bogi yā rau ā lai kana kina i vale ni kana na veiwatini ka rau savasava
DET night that 3DU.SBJ PST go eat ADV.thereby in restaurant DET couple ASP 3DU.SBJ clean
vinaka tu.
good MODIF.permanence
'That night the well cleaned couple went to eat at a restaurant.'

13) Na noa nona lesu mai beti painapiu o Jone, sa va-kila sara o
yesterday 3SG.POSS return from harvest pineapple DET Jone ASP CAUS-know MODIF.emphatic DET
koya na valeqa tiko nona cakacaka na kumi-na levu.
3SG.SBJ DET CAUS-problem MODIF.permanence 3SG.POSS work DET beard big
'Yesterday on returning home from harvesting pineapples Jone realized a problem resulting from his work was a large beard.'

Nona yaco gā i vale sa toro-ya laivi sara o koya na
3SG.POSS arrive MODIF.emphatic to house ASP shave-TR utterly MODIF.emphatic DET 3SG.SBJ DET
kumi-na taucoko.
beard-3SG.POSS completely
'On his arrival at his house he shaved his beard off completely.'

Na nona itau o Mere ā laki sawana na siga yā.
DET 3SG.POSS friend DET Mere PST go fishing DET day that
'That day his friend Mere had gone fishing.'

Nona lesu mai sa va-kila sara-gā o koya ni sa boi
3SG.POSS return from ASP CAUS-know MODIF.emphatic-MODIF.emphatic DET 3SG.SBJ that ASP smell
sisiga sara-gā o koya ka sa lade sara i valenisili ka
fishy MODIF.emphatic-MODIF.emphatic DET 3SG.SBJ and ASP leap MODIF.emphatic to bathroom and
mai masi-raka ka sava-ta vinaka na yago-na.
come scrub-TR and wash-TR good DET body-3SG.POSS
'On her return she knew well that she smelled fishy and lept to the bathroom to scrub and wash her body well.'

E na bogi yā rau ā lai sota kina i na valenikana mai Lami na lewe rua.
in DET night that 3DU.SBJ PST go meet ADV.thereby in DET restaurant from Lami DET people two
'That night they met at a restaurant in Lami.'

14) Jone ā sa teitei tiko e-na katakata ni siga.
Jone PST ASP farm MODIF.permanence in-DET heat POSS day
'Jone farmed in the heat of the day.'

mere a vari ika tiko ebatini matasawa ,
Mere PST scale fish MODIF.permanence ?

Rau ā sa veitalanoa taka oti me rau na lai vakayakavi kain dua vale nikana.
3DU.SBJ PST ASP chat.together TR finish purpose 3DU.SBJ DET go have.dinner ? one restaurant
'They had earlier decided to have dinner at a restaurant.'

Sa oti na-i tavi nei Jone kei Mere rau sa qai sili ka vaka i sulu ka rau
ASP finish DET-NMLZ ? POSS Jone and Mere 3DU.SBJ ASP then bathe and dress and 3DU.SBJ
mani lako sara i-tauni
finally go MODIF.emphatic to-town
'After Jone shaved and Mere bathed they dressed and finally went to town.'

15) E dua na matakalailai, o Jone lei cavu painapiu, o Mere lei tobo ika.
one DET early.morning DET Jone go pull.up pineapple DET Mere go catch fish
'Early one morning Jone pulls up pineapples and Mere catches fish.'

Oti-gā-yā, o rau sa lei vakarau, o Jone e=toro-i koya
after-MODIF.emphatic-that DET 3DU.SBJ ASP go prepare DET Jone 3SG.SBJ=shave-TR 3SG.OBJ
vataki koya, o Mere sa lei sili.
according.to 3SG.OBJ DET Mere ASP go bathe
'After that they go prepare, Jone shaves himself and Mere bathes.'

O rau sa qai veisulu vaka-vinaka na bogi, sa qai rau lako kina
DET 3DU.SBJ ASP then change.clothes ADV-good DET night ASP then 3SG.SBJ go ADV.thereby
vale ni kana.
restaurant
'They then change into nice clothes for the evening; they then go to a restaurant.'

16) E tei vainaviu vamataka o jone.
3SG.SBJ=farm pineapples delicious DET Jone
'Jone grows delicious pineapples.'

Ni oti na teitei e ia i vale ka tabaka e dua na torotoro.
after DET farm 3SG.SBJ=? to house and ? one DET shave
'After the farm he – to house and – the shave.'

Ia o Mere e=sou vakamataka ki matasawa me lai tataga.
and DET Mere 3SG.SBJ=? in.the.morning to fish purpose go fish.with.hand.nets
'And Mere – in the morning to fish with hand nets.'

Ni lesu mai ena siga levu e sisili ka vakacegu.
POSS return from in-DET afternoon 3SG.SBJ=bathe and rest
'On her return in the afternoon she bathes and rests.'

Sa yakavi na vanua o Mere kei Jone rau sa lai sota e na dua na vale ni kana.
ASP evening DET land DET Mere and Jone 3DU.SBJ ASP go meet in DET on DET restaurant
'When evening falls Mere and Jone meet at a restaurant.'

17) Oti gā na nona cakacaka mai na teitei sa betia sara mai o
after MODIF.emphatic DET 3SG.POSS work from DET farm ASP harvest MODIF.emphatic from DET
Jone e dua na painapiu sa gole mai i vale me mai sili, torotoro me
Jone one DET pineapple ASP turn.towards from NMLZ house purpose from bathe shave purpose
baleta na nodrau sota ni yakavi.
because DET 3DU.POSS meet in evening
'After his work in the farm Jone harvested a pineapple and returned home to bathe and shave because of their meeting in the evening.'

O Mere suka mai na qōli sa mai sili talegā baleta ni sa butō tiko
DET Mere return from DET fishing ASP go bathe also because POSS ASP dark MODIF.permanence
na vanua.
DET land
'After dark Mere returned from fishing and also bathed.'

Qai 8 na kaloko rau sa sota yani i mata-ni valeni kana o rau na lewe rua.
then eight DET o'clock 3DU.SBJ ASP meet away in front-POSS restaurant DET 3SG.SBJ DET people two
'At eight o'clock the two met in front of the restaurant.'

18) Ni cadra cake mai na matanisiga ni matakalailai e=sa teitei tū ko
POSS rise up from DET sun POSS morning 3SG.SBJ=ASP farm MODIF.permanence DET
tama-qu.
father-1SG.POSS
'At the rising of the sun in the morning my father farmed.'

Ni oti nona tetei sa vaka-vakarau sara ko tama-qu
POSS finish 3SG.POSS farm ASP CAUS-prepared MODIF.emphatic DET father-1SG.POSS
e=nona vakarau gole ki tauni.
3SG.SBJ=3SG.POSS prepare turn.towards to town
'After his farming is well done my father prepare to go to town.'

ia ko tina-qu e=na gauna vataga e=teitei tiko o
and DET mother-1SG.POSS 3SG.SBJ=DET time ? 3SG.SBJ=farm MODIF.permanence DET
tama-qu, e=ā gole sobu ki waitui ko tina-qu me lako i siwa.
father-1SG.POSS 3SG.SBJ=PST turn.towards down in sea DET mother-1SG.POSS purpose go to fish
'And my mother, at the time my father was farming my mother went to the sea to go fishing.'

Oti sa qai mai vavarau talegā o koya me rau sa na gāde ki tauni.
after ASP then come prepare also DET 3SG.SBJ purpose 3SG.SBJ ASP DET stroll to town
'Afterwards she also prepared for their stroll into town.'

sa nodrau inakinaki tiko me rau lai marau-taka na nodrau yabaki
ASP 3SG.POSS intention MODIF.permanence purpose 3DU.SBJ go celebrate-TR DET 3DU.POSS year
30 nodra vakamu me rau lai kana vata i vale kana.
thirty 3DU.POSS marriage purpose 3DU.SBJ go eat together at restaurant
'It is their intention to celebrate their thrity year wedding anniversary together at the restaurant.'

19) Ni seqai mataka cācā e=a gole sobu yani ko Jone ki-nai teitei me-a laki
POSS NEG morning early 3SG.SBJ=PST turn.towards back away DET Jone to-DET farm purpose-PST go
kau-ta mai na painapiu me nona i voli gauni sala.
bring-TR come DET pineapple purpose 3SG.POSS price road
'Before it was yet morning Jone went to the farm to bring back pineapples for the price of the road.'

Ia e-na mataka vata tiko gā koya e=ā gole sobu
and in-DET morning same MODIF.permanence MODIF.emphatic 3SG.SBJ 3SG.SBJ=PST turn.towards back
talegā o Mere i wai me lai siwa.
also DET Mere to water purpose come fish
'And on the same morning Mere went to the water to go fishing.'

e rau qai lesu ruarua mai ni sebera na vakasiga levu.
3DU.SBJ then return both from before DET lunch
'They both returned before lunchtime.'

Rau gole sara kina nodrau dui vale me-rau laki
3DU.SBJ turn.towards MODIF.emphatic ADV.thereby 3DU.POSS different house purpose-3DU.SBJ go
sili ni sebera ni rau qai gole sobu yani ki tauni me-rau laki vakayagataka
bathe before that 3DU.SBJ then turn.towards back away to town purpose-3DU.SBJ go CAUS-use-TR
nai vakasiga levu e-na dua na vale ni kana
DET lunch in-DET one DET restaurant
'They each went to their homes to bathe before they went to town to have lunch together in the restaurant.'

20) e rau ā veivosaki-taka o Mere kei Jone me-rau yādua nai tavi e-na mataka ni
3DU.SBJ PST tell-TR DET Mere to Jone purpose-3DU.SBJ each DET sweep in-DET morning of
vakarauwai.
Saturday
'While doing their morning chores Mere and Jone talked Saturday morning.'

O Jone me gole ki-nai teitei ka-o Mere gole i wai me laki siwa.
DET Jone purpose turn.towards to-DET farm and-DET Mere turn.towards in water purpose go fishing
'Jone went to the farm and Mere went to the water to go swimming.'

E-na gauna sa oti kina na nodrau tavi erau ā navuvnavu me rau
In-DET time ASP finish ADV.thereby DET 3DU.POSS chores 3DU.SBJ PST ? purpose 3DU.SBJ
gole i-tauni me-rau laki vakayakavi vata.
turn.towards NMLZ-town purpose-3SG.SBJ go eat.dinner together
'When they finished their chores they – to go to town for the purpose of eating dinner together.'

Erau sisili vaka-vinaka erau dara e dua na nodraui sulu tāleitaki ka-rau mani
3DU.SBJ bathe CAUS-good 3DU.SBJ put.on one DET 3DU.POSS clothes like and-3DU.SBJ finally
vei-tauri liga sara yani ka-rau laki vaka-yaga-taka vata na vakayavi.
PL-take hands MODIF.emphatic away and-3DU.SBJ go CAUS-use-TR together DET have.dinner
'They bathed well, put on their favorite clothes and they took each other's hands to go look for a place where they could have dinner together.'

21) E lesu mai na teitei na yakavi o Jone.
3SG.SBJ return from DET farm DET evening DET Jone
'In the evening Jone returned from the farm.'

Sa lako sara lai torotoro.
ASP go MODIF.emphatic go shave
'He went to shave.'

E=lesu mai na siwa o Mere ka sa kati sara vaka-levu na nona
3SG.SBJ=return from DET fishing DET Mere and ASP bite MODIF.emphatic ADV-greatly DET 3SG.POSS
siwa.
fishing
'Mere is returning from her fishing and there were lots of bites while she was fishing.'

Oti sa lai sisili sara o Mere sava nona chebe.
after ASP go bathe MODIF.empahtic DET Mere wash 3SG.POSS ?
'Afterwards she went to bathe.'

Rau sa vei kau sara yani i valenikana me rau laki vakayakavi
3DU.SBJ ASP PL carry MODIF.emphatic away to restaurant purpose 3DU.SBJ go eat.dinner
kina.
ADV.thereby
'After they went to a restaurant for dinner.'

22) dua na matakalailai lai beti painapiu o Jone me mei Mere.
one DET early.morning come harvest pineapples DET Jone purpose POSS Mere
'One early morning Jone harvests pineapples for Mere.'

Oti mai na teitei lako sara i sisili ka tiro-vi koya e-na iloilo me
after from DET farm go MODIF.emphatic to bathe and shave-TR 3SG.OBJ in-DET mirror purpose
toro-a na kumi-na.
shave-TR DET beard-3SG.POSS
'After coming from the farm he goes to bathe and shave himself in the mirror. He shaves his beard.'

Ia ko Mere ā lako i siwa ā mani levu sara na ika e=rawa-ta.
and DET Mere PST go to fish PST finally many MODIF.emphatic DET fish 3SG.SBJ=able-TR
'And Mere went fishing and was finally able to catch many fish.'

Ni yaco mai nodratou ko Mere ā mani va-sili-mi koya sara sa dua na
POSS return from 3DU.PL DET Mere PST then CAUS-bathe-TR 3SG.SBJ MODIF.emphatic ASP one DET
kā na kena boi vinaka.
thing DET 3SG.POSS smell good
'On her return to their house Mere bathed herself to give herself a good smell.'

Ni sa bogi mai ā mani kau-ti Mere sara ko Jone me rau lai kana e
POSS ASP night come PST finally take-TR Mere MODIF.emphatic DET Jone purpose 3DU.SBJ go eat in
na dua na valenikana dau dodomo taka tū o Mere.
DET one DET restaurant frequently desire TR MODIF.permanence DET Mere
'That night Jone brought Mere to a restaurant that Mere loved.'

23) Buci-na o Jone dua nona teitei, ka me rawa ni tauyavu kina nona
plant-TR DET Jone one 3SG.POSS farm and purpose able that carry.want ADV.thereby 3SG.POSS
bisinisi.
business
'Jone plants his farm that he may achieve his desire to start his own business.'

E=na vuni ni nona bisinisi sa dau yadra kina vamataka o Jone
3SG.SBJ=DET hide POSS 3SG.POSS business ASP frequently wake.up ADV.thereby morning DET Jone
me lai qara-va nona itavi.
purpose come look.after-TR 3SG.POSS chores
'To hide his business he often wakes up early in the morning to do his chores.'

Ko Mere e=nona itavi na sasalu ni waitui e-na nodrau bisinisi, e-na vuku
DET Mere 3SG.SBJ=3SG.POSS chores DET fetch POSS sea in-DET 3SG.POSS business in-DET wise
ni bisinisi e=yadra talegā vamatakalailai o koya me gole i waitui.
POSS business 3SG.SBJ=wake.up also early.morning DET 3SG.SBJ purpose turn.towards to sea
'Mere's chores were to go to gather from the sea for her business; she is knowledgeable about business and also wakes up early in the morning to go to the sea.'

Rau sa mai tauca na vua ni nodrau cakacaka ni sa mai tauyavu
3DU.SBJ ASP come fall DET purpose of 3DU.POSS work that ASP come carry.want
tū kina nodrau bisinisi vaka valenikana.
MODIF.permanece ADV.thereby 3DU.POSS business CAUS restauraunt
'They come to the point of their work that they may have their restaurant business.'

24) O Jone ā lako nai teitei me lai cavu painapiu īo ko Mere ā lako lai siwa i
DET Jone PST go DET farm purpose come harvest pineapple and DET Mere PST go go fish in
waitui.
ocean
'Jone went to the farm to harvest pineapple and Mere went to fish in the ocean.'

Ni sa oti na nodrau cakaka rau lesu mai ki vale sisili ka me rau lai sota
POSS ASP finish DET 3DU.POSS work 3DU.SBJ return from to house bathe and purpose 3DU.SBJ go meet
e-na dua na vale ni kana.
in-DET one DET restaurant
'After their work they returned home to bathe in order to meet at the restaurant.'

25) O Jone e=dau teitei, ia o Mere e=dau siwa.
DET Jone 3SG.SBJ=frequently farm and DET Mere 3SG.SBJ=frequently fish
'Jone farms and Mere fishes.'

E na dua na mataka sa tiro-vi koya ko Jone e-na iloilo, e-na gauna e=sili
in DET one DET morning ASP look.at-TR 3SG.OBJ DET Jone in-DET mirror in-DET time 3SG.SBJ=bathe
tiko kina o Mere.
MODIF.permanence ADV.thereby DET Mere
'One morning Jone looked at himself in the mirror at the same time Mere bathed.'

ia ko Mere kei Jone rau dua na matavūvale dau-vei-lomani.
and DET Mere and Jone 3DU.SBJ one DET family frequently-PL-love
'Mere and Jone are a family in love.'

Nodrau bisinisi na volivoli-taki e nodrau valenikana.
3DU.POSS business DET sell-TR in in 3DU.POSS restaurant
'Their business is the selling at their restaurant.'

26) Siga Moniti lei teitei o Jone, e=yā qai cavu-ta mai sō na painabiu me
day Monday go farm DET Jone 3SG.SBJ=that then harvest-TR from some DET pineapple purpose
kendrau kei Mere.
3DU.POSS with Mere
'On Monday Jone goes to the farm in order to harvest pineapples for himself and Mere.'

siga vata tiko gā yā ā lei siwa o Mere, e=yā qai
day together MODIF.permanence MODIF.emphatic that PST go fish DET Mere 3SG.SBJ=that then
siwa-ta mai e=va na-kedrau ika kei Jone.
fish-TR come 3SG.SBJ=four DET-3DU.POSS fish with Jone
'That same day Mere went fishing and caught four fish for herself and Jone.'

Ni sa oti kece na kā kece, o Jone kei Mere sa va-varau me sa varau caka
POSS ASP finish all DET thing all DET Jone and Mere ASP CAUS-prepare purpose ASP prepare do
na vakayakavi.
DET eat.dinner
'After they have finished everything Jone and Mere prepare to make dinner.'

27) Dua na tamata dau teitei o Jone.
one DET person frequently farm DET Jone
'Jone is a farmer.'

Dua na siga lako Jone i na teitei me lai beti painapiu.
one DET day go Jone to DET farm purpose go harvest pineapple
'One day Jone went to the farm to harvest pineapples.'

Lesu mai na teitei sa mai torotoro sara o koya i valenisili.
return from DET farm ASP come shave MODIF.empathic DET 3SG.SBJ in bathroom
'On his return from the farm he goes to the bathroom to shave.'

Ia o Mere ā cabe mai na siwa na siga.
and DET Mere PST come.back.from.fishing from DET fishing DET day
'And Mere came back from a day of fishing.'

Ā mani lai sili sara o Mere i vale nisili.
PST finish go bathe MODIF.emphatic DET Mere in bathroom
'Mere finished bathing in the bathroom.'

E-na bogi rauta na 8 rau sa sota sara mai valenikana na lewe rua.
in-DET night 3DU.SBJ DET eight 3DU.SBJ ASP meet MODIF.emphatic from restaurant DET people two
'In the evening the two meet at eight at the restaurant.'

28) E na vei-siga kece, Jone kei Mere dau cakacaka e vei-mataka kece sara.
in DET PL-day all Jone and Mere frequently work in PL-morning all MODIF.emphatic
'Every day Jone and Mere work every morning.'

O Jone e=nona i tavi me dau teitei e-na loga-ni dalo, ka
DET Jone 3SG.SBJ=3SG.POSS chore purpose frequently farm in-DET bed-POSS taro and
vakakina o Mere me dau lai siwa me rawa-ta mai kina na sasalu
in.the.same.way DET Mere purpose frequently go fish purpose able-TR come ADV.thereby DET fetch
ni waitui.
from sea
'Jone's work is farming in the beds of taro, and Mere, in the same, way goes to catch fish from the sea.'

Ni sa oti kece na i qara-vi tavi , e rau dau lai sisili kaya ni sa bera ni
POSS ASP finish all DET POSS look.after-TR chore 3DU.SBJ frequently go bathe ? before
rau katalau.
3DU.SBJ breakfast
'Having finished all of their chores they go bathe before they have their breakfast.'

29) Lesu mai na cavu painapiu o Jone, vaka talegā kina nona lesu mai wai
return from DET harvest pineapple DET Jone with also ADV.thereby 3SG.POSS return from water
o Mere.
DET Mere
'Jone returns from harvesting pineapples and Mere returns from the sea.'

Torotoro tiko o Jone sili sara tiko o Mere ka
shave MODIF.permanence DET Jone bathe MODIF.emphatic MODIF.permanence DET Mere and
rau vakarau e-na nodrau kana me baleta na nodrau vakamau
3DU.SBJ prepare in-DET 3DU.POSS eat purpose because DET 3DU.POSS marriage
'Jone shaves and Mere bathes and they prepare to go to their wedding meal.'

30) Dua na siga ā lai beti paina piu o Jone mai na nona i-teitei.
one DET day PST come harvest pineapple DET Jone form DET 3SG.POSS NMLZ-farm
'One day Jone went to harvest pineapple from his farm.'

Nona suka mai na yakavi sa nanu-ma sara o koya me sa na
3SG.POSS return from DET evening ASP think-TR MODIF.emphatic DET 3SG.SBJ purpose ASP DET
torotoro rawa baleta na nodrau na laki kana i vale ni kana kei Mere nea yakavi.
shave able because DET 3DU.POSS DET go eat in restaurant with Mere DET evening
'On his return in the evening he though he should shave because he was eating in a restaurant with Mere that evening.'

Omere e dau qoli ka dau siwa o koya ena veisiga.
DET-Mere 3SG.SBJ=frequently fishing and frequently line.fishing DET 3SG.SBJ in-DET PL-day
'Mere goes fishing, often line fishing, every day.'

Nona suka mai o Mere sa mai sili sara va-vinaka me rawa kau-ta
3SG.POSS return from DET Mere ASP come bathe MODIF.emphatic ADV-good purpose able bring-TR
laivi na boi sisiga ni waitui.
utterly DET smell fishy POSS sea
'On her return, Mere bathed in order to properly remove the fishy smell of the sea.'

rauta toka na walu ni bogi rau sa sota mai valeni kana na veiwatini e rua.
suffice situated DET eight in night 3DU.SBJ ASP meet come restaurant DET married.couple two
'When it was eight that night the couple met at the restaurant.'

31) E-nanoa e=ā betia mai e dua na painapiu mai nona teitei o Jone bera
in-yesterday 3SG.SBJ=PST harvest from one DET pineapple come 3SG.POSS farm DET Jone later
nona suka mai vale.
3SG.POSS return to house
'Yesterday Jone harvested a pineapple from his farm before he returned home.'

Baleta ni ā tubu levu tū na kumi-na e=torotoro sara
because POSS PST grow big MODIF.permanence DET beard-3SG.POSS 3SG.SBJ=shave MODIF.emphatic
baleta ni sa kila tiko nodrau veibuku kei Mere.
because POSS ASP know MODIF.permanence 3DU.POSS plan with Mere
'Because he had grown a large beard and he knew he had plans with Mere he shaved.'

O Mere nona suka mai na siwa e=mai sili sara vaka-vinaka ka
DET Mere 3SG.POSS return from DET fishing 3SG.SBJ=come bathe MODIF.emphatic ADV-good and
rau lai sota sara kei Jone e-na valeni kana e-na bogi yā.
3DU.SBJ go meet MODIF.emphatic with Jone in-DET restaurant in-DET night that
'On her return from fishing Mere bathed and that evening she and Jone went to the restaurant.'

32) E=ā gole ki nai teitei ko Jone ka lako ki cakau o Mere me lai siwa
3SG.SBJ=PST turn.towards to DET-POSS farm DET Jone and go to reef DET Mere purpose go fish
'Jone went to his farm and Mere went to the reef to go fishing.'

33) O Jone na dau tei painapiu e=ā vatubu kumi tū.
DET Jone DET frequently farm pineapple 3SG.SBJ=PST grow beard MODIF.permanence
'Jone farms pineapple; he grew a beard.'

Nona suka mai na teitei sa mani toro-ya laivi na nona kumi baleta ni rau
3SG.POSS return from DET farm ASP then shave-TR utterly DET 3SG.POSS beard because that 3DU.SBJ
na laki sota tiko kei Mere e-na yakavi.
DET go meet MODIF.permanence with Mere in-DET evening
'On his return from the farm he completely shaved his beard because of his meeting with Mere that evening.'

O Mere na siga vata ya ā siwa tiko, ia ni sa rawa mai na ika sa
DET Mere DET day together that PST fish MODIF.permanence and POSS ASP able come DET fish ASP
cabe sara i vanua o koya.
come.ashore MODIF.emphatic to land DET 3SG.SBJ
'That same day Mere was fishing and she had many fish when she came ashore.'

Yaco gā yani i vale sa sisili sara me sava laivi na boi sisiga,
arrive MODIF.emphatic away to house ASP bathe MODIF.emphatic purpose wash utterly DET smell fishy
before 3DU.SBJ go meet with Jone in-DET restaurant in town
ni bera ni rau laki sota kei Jone e-na valenikana mai tauni.
'Arriving home she thoroughly washed off the fishy smell before going to meet with Jone at the restaurant in town.'

34) O Jone na dau tei painapiu e=ā cakacaka tū i na nona
DET Jone DET frequently farm pineapple 3SG.SBJ=PST work MODIF.permanence in DET 3SG.POSS
teitei na siga taucoko nanoa.
farm DET day whole yesterday
'Jone worked on his pineapple farm the entire day yesterday.'

Sa via yakavi mai na vanua, sa gole sara o koya i vale me
ASP want evening come DET land ASP turn.torwards MODIF.emphatic DET 3SG.SBJ to house purpose
lai sili ka torotoro baleta ni rau ā veibuku tū kei Mere ni rau
come bathe and shave because that 3DU.SBJ PST plan MODIF.permanence with Mere that 3DU.SBJ
na sota ni yakavi.
DET meet that evening
'When evening came to the land he returned to his house to bathe and shave because he had plans to meet with Mere that evening.'

Ia o Mere na gauna vata yā e=tū mai waitui, ni marama
but DET Mere DET time together that 3SG.SBJ=MODIF.permanence from sea that woman
dau qoli.
frequently fish
'At that same time Mere, a fisherwoman, was at the sea.'

Ni sa via yakavi talegā mai na vanua sa gole sara mai ki vale
POSS ASP want evening also from DET land ASP turn.towards MODIF.emphatic from to house
me mai sili ni bera na bogi.
purpose come bathe before DET night
'When evening came to the land for her as well she went home to bathe before the night.'

Qai rauta toka na 8 ni bogi rau sa sota tale mai i valenikana o
then suffice situate DET eight in night 3DU.SBJ ASP meet MODIF.inclusive from in restaurant DET
rau na veitau.
3DU.SBJ DET friends
'Then by eight that night the friends met at the restaurant.'

35) E-na matakalailai ni Moniti e=ā cakacaka tiko i-na nona teitei
in-DET morning.early that Monday 3SG.SBJ=PST work MODIF.permanence in-DET 3SG.POSS farm
o Jone me yacova sara na yakavi.
DET Jone purpose arrive MODIF.emphatic DET evening
'Early Monday morning Jone worked in his farm until evening came.'

Nona yaco mai vale sa va-kila sara gā o koya na
3SG.POSS arrive to house ASP CAUS-know MODIF.emphatic MODIF.emphatic DET 3SG.SBJ DAT
katakata ni siga ka sa mai sili sara ka toro-ya laivi na kumi-na levu.
heat of sun and ASP go bathe MODIF.emphatic and shave-TR utterly DET beard-3SG.POSS big
'On his return home he knew the heat of the sun and went to bathe and shave his big beard.'

Ia o Mere e=ā siwa tiko e-na gauna vata yā.
and DET Mere 3SG.SBJ=PST fish MODIF.permanence in-DET time together that
'At the same time Mere was fishing.'

Nona yaco gā mai sa sisili sara me rau qai laki sota
3SG.POSS arrive MODIF.emphatic from ASP bathe MODIF.emphatic purpose 3DU.SBJ then go meet
sara kei Jone i vale ni kana.
MODIF.emphatic with Jone in restaurant
'On her return she bathed so that she could meet with Jone at the restaurant.'

36) O Jone e=ā laki cavu painapiu e-na matakalailai.
DET Jone 3SG.SBJ=PST go harvest pineapple in-DET morning.early
'In the early morning Jone went to harvest pineapple.'

E-na vuka ni katakata ni siga kei na nona vakarau lai sota kei Mere e-na yakavi
in-DET mold of heat of day with DET 3SG.POSS prepare go meet with Mere in-DET evening
sa lewā sara o Jone me sa na toro-ya laivi na kumi-na levu.
ASP judgement MODIF.emphatic DET Jone purpose ASP DET shave-TR utterly DET beard-3SG.POSS big
'Musty from the heat of the day during his preparations to meet Mere in the evening he made the decision to completely shave his big beard.'

Sa qai gole i vale ni sili o koya ka tirovi koya vinaka e-na iloilo qai
ASP then turn.towards that bathroom DET 3SG.SBJ and look.at 3SG.OBJ good in-DET mirror then
toroya laivi na kumi-na.
shave-TR utterly DET beard-3SG.POSS
'He then went to the bathroom, looked in the mirror and completely shaved his beard.'

O Mere ā laki qoli e-na mataka yā.
DET Mere PST go fish in-DET morning that
'Mere went fishing that morning.'

Na gauna sa rawa mai kina e levu na ika sa gole sara i vale
DET time ASP able come ADV.thereby many DET fish ASP turn.towards MODIF.emphatic to house
o koya me laki sili bera nodaru laki sota kei Jone i na valeni kana levu mai
DET 3SG.SBJ purpose go bathe before 3DU.POSS go meet with Jone in DET restaurant big from
suva.
Suva
'When she had caught many fish she returned home to bathe before her meeting with Jone at the big restaurant in Suva.'

37) O Jone na dau teitei e=laki beti painapiu mai nanoa.
DET Jone DET frequently farm 3SG.SBJ=go harvest pineapple from yesterday
'Jone went to harvest pineapples yesterday.'

Ā vatatabu ka va-tubu kumi tale tū
PST impose.a.taboo.on.self and CAUS-grow beard MODIF.inclusive MODIF.permanence
gā o-koya ka me qai tara na siga yā.
MOIDIF.emphatic DET-3SG.SBJ and purpose that follow DET day that
'He had imposed a taboo on himself to grow a beard until that day.'

Lesu mai na teitei o koya sa taura sara mai na nona i-toro
return from DET farm DET 3SG.SBJ ASP take.hold MODIF.emphatic from DET 3SG.POSS NMLZ-shave
gata duadua, ka duri e mata-ni iloilo ka qai toro-ya laivi kece na kumi-na levu
knife alone and rise.up in face-POSS mirror and then shave-TR utterly all DET beard-3SG.POSS big
yā.
that
'On his return from the farm he took hold of his shaving knife, stood up at the mirror and then shaved off his big beard completely.'

Ia o Salote ā siwa tiko na gauna yā.
and DET Salote PST fish MODIF.permanence DET time that
'At that time Salote was fishing.'

Sa rai-ca gā o koya ni sa levu na ika sa va liuliu sara mai
ASP see-TR MODIF.emphatic DET 3SG.SBJ that ASP big DET fish ASP CAUS lead MODIF.emphatic come
ka mai sili sara vaka-vinaka baleta me sava laivi kece na boi sisiga.
and come bathe MODIF.emphatic ADV-good because purpose wash utterly all DET smell fishy
'She saw and trapped many fish and then bathed well to wash off the fishy smell.'

Rau ā qai laki sota na veitau erua e-na vale nikana mai Suva e na bogi yā.
3DU.SBJ PST then go meet DET friends two in-DET restaurant from Suva in DET night that
'That night the two friends then met in the restaurant in Suva.'

38) Nona beti balawa mai o Jone, sa nanu-ma sara o koya me mai
3SG.POSS harvest pineapple from DET Jone ASP think-TR MODIF.emphatic DET 3SG.SBJ purpose go
torotoro baleta ni ā se tubu levu tū na kumi-na, baleta talegā na
shave because POSS PST ASP grow big MODIF.permanence DET beard-3SG.POSS because also DET
nodrau sota vata kei nona tau mai valenikana.
3DU.POSS meet together with 3SG.POSS friend at restaurant
'While harvesting pineapples Jone thought he should go shave because his beard had grown long and also because he was to meet with his friend at a restaurant.'

O nona itau o Mere ā tū mai waitui ka lesu mai ka mani sili
DET 3SG.POSS friend DET Mere PST MODIF.permanence from sea and return from and then bathe
sara baleta me sava laivi na masima.
MODIF.emphatic because purpose wash away DET salt
'His friend Mere was at the sea and returned to bathe in order to wash off the salt.'

Bogi rau ā-qai lai vayakavi mai tauni o rau na veiwatini.
night 3DU.SBJ PST-then come eat.dinner from town DET 3DU.SBJ DET married.couple
'That night the couple then had dinner in town.'

39) O Jone lei cavu balawa.
DET Jone go harvest pineapple
'Jone harvests pineapple.'

Īo o Mere lei siwa ika mai....,.
and DET Mere go fish fish come
'And Mere goes fishing.'

O rau sa qai mai sili, o Jone sa lei totoi koya gā, o Mere sa lei
DET 3DU.SBJ then go bathe DET DET Jone ASP go shave 3SG.OBJ MODIF.emphatic DET Mere ASP go
sili.....
bathe
'They then go bathe, Jone shaves himself, Mere bathes.'

O rau sa qai vakarau, veisulu vinaka, sa qai rau lako kina
DET 3DU.SBJ ASP then prepare change.clothes good ASP then 3DU.SBJ go ADV.thereby
restaurant
vale ni kana.
'They then prepare, change into nice clothes, and go to a restaurant.'

40) Dua na matakalailai o Jone e=lako tū e-na teitei me lai cavu-ta
one DET morning.early DET Jone 3SG.SBJ=go MODIF.permanence in-DET farm purpose go harvest-TR
na painapiu.
DET pineapple
'One early morning Jone goes to the farm to harvest pineapple.'

O Mere sa qai lei siwa ika mai....
DET Mere ASP then go fish fish come
'Mere then goes to catch fish.'

Oti yā o rau sa qai lei vakarau.....
after that DET 3DU.SBJ ASP then go prepare
'After that they then go prepare.'

O Jone sa lei toro-i koya, o Mere sa lei sili....
DET Jone ASP go shave-TR 3SG.OBJ DET Mere ASP go bathe
'Jone goes to shave himself, Mere goes to bathe.'

O rau sa qai vakarau me rau lako ki na vale ni kana e-na yakavi....
DET 3DU.SBJ ASP then prepare purpose 3DU.SBJ go to DET restaurant in-DET evening
'Then they prepare for the purpose of going to the restaurant in the evening.'

Bibliography

Abraham, Werner. 2000. The structural and lexical space between reflexive binding and logophorics: Sundry paradigms of reflexives and anaphora. In Zygmunt Frajzyngier and Traci Curl, eds., *Reflexives: Forms and Functions*, 75-102. Amsterdam: Benjamins.

Ahn, Hyug. 2006. The Semantics of SJA in Russian: Focus on the Action. Ph.D. thesis, The University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill.

Ahn, Byron. 2008. The Prosody of Emphatic Reflexives in English. Ms., University of California Los Angeles.

Alencar, L. and C. Kelling. 2005. Are reflexive constructions transitive or intransitive? Evidence from German and Romance. In Miriam Butt and Tracy Holloway King, eds., *Proceedings of the LFG05 Conference*, 1-20. Stanford: CSLI Publications.

Amiridze, Nino. 2005. Georgian Reflexives in Subject Function in Special Contexts. In Stefan Müller, ed., *Proceedings of the HPSG05 Conference*, 449-466. Stanford: CSLI Publications.

Anagnostopoulou, Elena and Martin Everaert. 1999. Towards a More Complete Typology of Anaphoric Expressions. *Linguistic Inquiry* 30: 97-119.

Anderson, Stephen R. 1986. The Typology of Anaphoric Dependencies: Icelandic (and other) Reflexives. In L. Hellan and K. Koch-Kristensen, eds., *Papers in Scandinavian Syntax*, 65-88. Dordrecht: Reidel.

Aoun, Y. 1986. *Generalized Binding, the Syntax and Logical Form of Wh-interrogatives*. Dordrecht: Foris.

Austin, Peter and Joan Bresnan. 1996. Non-configurationality in Australian Aboriginal Languages. *Natural Language and Linguistic Theory* 14: 215-268.

Babby, Leonard. 1975. A Transformational Analysis of Transitive –SJA Verbs in Russian. *Lingua* 35: 297-332.

Bartlett, S. and P. Suber, eds. 1987. *Self-Reference: Reflections on Reflexivity*. Dordrecht: Boston.

Bailyn, J. F. 1992. LF movement of anaphors and the acquisition of embedded clauses in Russian. *Language Acquisition* 2: 307-335.

Becker, Henrietta and Lewis Rhoades. 1909. *Elements of German: A Practical Course for Beginners in German*. Chicago: Scott, Foresman and company.

Benedicto, Elena. 1991. Latin long-distance anaphora. In Jan Koster and Eric Reuland, eds., *Long-distance anaphora*, 171-184. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Borgman, Donald. 1991. Sanuma. In Desmond Derbyshire and Geoffrey Pullum, eds., *Handbook of Amazonian languages*, vol. 2, 15-258. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.

Branco, António and Palmira Marrafa. 1996. Subject-oriented and non Subject-oriented Long-distance Anaphora: an integrated approach. *Language, Information and Computation (PACLIC 11)*, 21-30.

Bresnan, Joan. 1982a. Polyadicity. In Joan Bresnan, ed., *The Mental Representation of Grammatical Relations*, 149-172. Cambridge, MA: MIT press.

—. 1982b. Control and Complementation. *Linguistic Inquiry* 13(3): 343-434.

Bresnan, Joan, Per-Kristian Halvorsen, and Joan Maling. 1985. *Logophoricity and Bound Anaphors* Ms., Stanford University.

Büring, Daniel. 2005. *Binding Theory.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Cantrall, William R. 1974. *View point, reflexives and the nature of noun phrases*. The Hague: Mouton.

Capell, A. 1941. *The Fijian Dictionary*. Suva, Fiji: The Government Printer.

Carnie, Andrew. 2005. Flat Structure, Categorial Uncertainty and Non-Verbal Predication in Irish. *Journal of Celtic Linguistics* 9: 13-31.

Chapman, Shirley and Desmond C. Derbyshire. 1991. Paumarí. In Desmond Derbyshire and Geoffrey Pullum, eds., *Handbook of Amazonian Languages*, vol. iii, 161-352. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.

Chierchia, Gennaro. 1989. Anaphora and Attitudes *De Se*. In Renate Bartsch, Johan van Benthem, and Peter van Emde Boas, eds., *Semantics and contextual expressions*, 1-33. Dordrecht: Foris.

Chomsky, Noam. 1965. *Aspects of the Theory of Syntax*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.

—. 1976. On the nature of language. In S.R. Harnad, H.D. Steklis and J. Lancaster, eds., *Origins and Evolution of Language and Speech: Annals of the New York Academy of Sciences,* Vol. 280, 46-57.

—. 1980. On Binding. *Linguistic Inquiry,* 11(1): 1-46.

—. 1981. *Lectures on Government and Binding*. Dordrecht: Foris.

—. 1982. *Some Concepts and Consequences of the Theory of Government and Binding*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.

—. 1986a. *Knowledge of Language, its Nature, Origin, and Use*. New York: Praeger.

—. 1986b. *Barriers*. Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press.

—. 1995. *The Minimalist Program*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.

Chomsky, Noam , Marc Hauser, and W. Fitch. 2002. The Faculty of Language: What is it, Who has it, and How did it evolve? *Science,* 298: 1569-1579.

Chung, Taegoo. 2003. Reflexive Constructions in English. *Studies in Generative Grammar* 13(3): 461-480.

Clements, George N. 1975. The Logophoric Pronoun in Ewe: Its Role in Discourse. *Journal of West African Languages* 10(2): 141-177.

Comrie, Bernard. 1976. The syntax of causative constructions: Cross-language similarities and divergencies. In Shibatani, ed., *The grammar of causative constructions*, 261-312. New York: Academic Press.

Conroy, Anastasia. 2007. The Personal Dative in Appalachian English as a Reflexive Pronoun. In A. Omaki, I. Ortega-Santos, J. Sprouse and M. Wagers, eds., *University of Maryland Working Papers in Linguistics* 16: 63-88.

Cowart, Wayne. 1997. *Experimental syntax: applying objective methods to sentence judgments*. London, UK: Sage Publications.

Culbertson, Jennifer. 2010. Convergent evidence for categorical change in French: from subject clitic to agreement marker. *Language* 86: 85-132.

Culy, Christopher. 1994. Aspects of Logophoric Marking. *Linguistics* 35: 1055-1094.

—. 1997. Logophoric pronouns and point of view. *Linguistics* 35: 845-859.

Crystal, David. 2003. *A Dictionary of Linguistics & Phonetics, fifth edition*. Oxford: Blackwell.

Dalrymple, Mary. 1993. *The Syntax of Anaphoric Binding*. Stanford, CA: CSLI.

—. 2001. *Syntax and Semantics: Lexical Functional Grammar (volume 34)* Boston, MA: Academic Press.

Dixon, R.M.W. 1988. *A Grammar of Boumaa Fijian*. Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press.

Dixon, R. M. W. and A. Aikhenvald. 2000. *Changing Valency: Case Studies in Transitivity*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Donaldson, Bruce. 1997. *Dutch: A Comprehensive Grammar*. London: Routledge.

Dukes, Michael. 1996. *On the Non-existence of Anaphors and Pronominals in the Grammar of Tongan*. University of California Los Angeles, Ph.D. thesis.

Duranti, A. 1985. Famous Theories and Local Theories: The Samoans and Wittgenstein. *The Quarterly Newsletter of the Laboratory of Comparative Human Cognition* 7(2): 46-51.

Estudo linguísticos crioulos. 1967. ReediCão de artigos publicados no Boletim da Sociedade de Geografía de Lisboa. Lisbon: Academia Internacional da Cultura Portuguesa.

Everaert, Martin. 1980. Inherent reflexive verbs and the zich/zichzelf-distribution in Dutch. *Utrecht Working Papers in Linguistics* 10: 3-48.

—. 1986. *The Syntax of Reflexivization*. Dordrecht: Foris.

—. 1991. Contextual Determination of the Anaphor/Pronominal Distinction. In J. Koster and E. Reuland, eds., *Long-distnce Anaphora*, 49-76. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Everaert, M and H. van Riemsdijk. 2006. *The Blackwell Companion to Syntax*. Oxford: Blackwell.

Falk, Y. 2001. *Lexical Functional Grammar*. Stanford, CA: CSLI.

Faltz, L. M. 1985. *Reflexivization: a study in universal syntax*. Dordrecht: Foris.

Fedorova, O. and I. Yanovich. 2006. Early preferences in relative clause attachment: The effect of working memory differences. In J. E. Lavine, S. Franks, M. Tasseva-Kurktchieva, and H. Filip, eds., *Formal Approaches to Slavic Linguistics (FASL)* 14: 113-128. Ann Arbor, MI: Michigan Slavic Publications.

Fehringer, Carol. 1999. *A reference grammar of Dutch: With exercises and key*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Fellbaum, Christiane and Anne Zribi-Hertz. 1989. *The middle construction in French and English: A comparative study of its syntax and semantics*. Indiana University Linguistics Club, Bloomington.

Frajzyngier, Zygmunt and Traci Curl, eds. 2000. *Reflexives: Forms and Functions*. Amsterdam: Benjamins.

Fromm, Hans. 1982. *Finnische Grammatik*. Heidelberg: Carl Winter Universitätsverlag.

Geniušienė, Emma. 1987. *The Typology of Reflexives*. Berlin: Walter de Gruyter & Co.

Geraghty, Paul. 1976. Fijian Prepositions. *The Journal of the Polynesian Society* 85(4): 507-520.

—. 1983. *The History of the Fijian Languages*. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press.

—. 1984. Language Policy in Fiji and Rotuma. *Duivosavosa, Fiji's languages: Their use and their future,* Bulletin 8: 32-84. Fiji Museum, Suva.

Giorgi, Alessandra. 1984. Towards a Theory of Long Distance Anaphors: a GB approach. *The Linguistic Review* 3: 307-59.

—. 1991. Prepositions, binding and θ-marking. In Jan Koster and Eric Reuland, eds., *Long-distance anaphora*, 185-208. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Gordon, Raymond G., Jr., ed. 2005. *Ethnologue: Languages of the World, Fifteenth edition*. Dallas, Tex.: SIL International. [Online: web]. Cited 15 March 2007. URL: http://www.ethnologue.com

Grimshaw, Jane. 2005. *Words and Structure*. Stanford, CA: CSLI.

Haegeman, Liliane. 1994. *Government and Binding Theory, second edition*. Oxford: Blackwell.

Harbert, Wayne. 1995. Binding theory, control and pro. In G. Webelhuth, ed., *Government binding theory and the minimalist program*. Oxford: Blackwell.

Haspelmath, Martin. 2004. Explaining the Ditransitive Person-Role Constraint: a usage-based account. *Constructions* 2. Free online journal, University of Düsseldorf. Cited 18 September 2010. URL: http://www.eva.mpg.de/lingua/staff/haspelmath/pdf/2004dpr.pdf

—. 2008. A frequentist explanation of some universals of reflexive marking. *Linguistic Discovery* 6(1): 40-63.

Hatcher, Anna Granville. 1942. *Reflexive Verbs: Latin, Old French, Modern French*. Paris: Les Belles-Lettres.

Hazlewood, D. 1872. *A Fijian and English and an English and Fijian dictionary*. London, Sampson Low, Marston.

Heine, Bernd. 1999. Polysemy involving reflexive and reciprocal markers in African languages. In Zygmunt Frajzygier and Traci Curl, eds., *Reciprocals: Forms and Functions*, 1-29. Amsterdam: Benjamins.

—. 2005. On reflexive forms in creoles. *Lingua* 115: 201-257.

Hestvik, A. 1991. Subjectless binding domains. *Natrual Language & Linguistic Theory* 9(3): 455-496.

Hellan, Lars. 1988. *Anaphora in Norwegian and the Theory of Grammar*. Dordrecht: Foris.

Higginbotham, J. 1983. Logical Form, Binding, and Nominals. *Linguistic Inquiry* 14: 395-420.

—. 1984. English is Not a Context-Free Language. *Linguistic Inquiry* 15: 119-126.

—. 1985. On Semantics. *Linguistic Inquiry* 16: 547-593.

Hong, Sungshim. 1985. *A and A' Binding in Korean and English: Government-Binding Parameters* Ph.D. thesis, University of Connecticut.

Huang, C.-T. James. 1982. Logical relations in Chinese and the theory of grammar. Ph.D. thesis, MIT.

—. 1983. A note on the binding theory. *Linguistic Inquiry* 14: 554-61.

Huang, Yan. 2000. *Anaphora*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Jackendoff, Ray. 1992. Mme. Tussaud meets the binding theory *Natural Language and Linguistic Theory* 10: 1-31.

—. 2002. *Foundations of language.* Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Jespersen, Otto. 1924. *The philosophy of grammar*. London: Allen & Unwin.

—. 1933. *Essentials of English grammar*. London: Allen & Unwin.

Klima, E. 1964. Negation in English. In J. Fodor and J. Katz, eds., *The Structure of Language*, 246-323. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall.

Kayne, Richard. 1975. *French Syntax: The Transformational Cycle*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.

Kazenin, Konstantin. 2001. Verbal reflexives and the middle voice. In Martin Haspelmath, ed., *Language Typology and Language Universals* Vol. 2, 916-927. Berlin: Walter de Gruyter.

Keenan, Edward. 1988. On semantics and the binding theory. In John Hawkins *Expanding Language Universals*, 105-144. Oxford: Blackwell.

Keesing, Roger. 1985. *Kwaio grammar* [*Pacific Linguistics, Series B,* 88]. Canberra: The Australian National University.

Kemmer, Suzanne. 1992. Grammatical prototypes and competing motivations in a theory of linguistic change. In Garry Davis and Gregory Iverson, eds., *Explanation in historical linguistics*, 145-166. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Keyser, Samuel J. and Thomas Roeper. 1984. On the Middle and Ergative Constructions in English. *Linguistic Inquiry* 15: 381-416.

Kiss, Katalin. 1991. The primacy condition of anaphora and pronominal variable binding. In Koster and Reuland, eds., *Long-distance anaphora*, 245-262. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Klenin, Emily. 1975. The Pronoun sebja, Particle sebe, and Affix –sja. *Slavic and East European Journal* 19: 188-99.

König, E. and P. Siemund. 2000. Intensifiers and reflexives: A typological perspective. In Zygmunt Frajzyngier and Traci Curl, eds., *Reflexives: Forms and Functions*, 41-74. Amsterdam: Benjamins.

Koster, Jan. 1985. Reflexives in Dutch. In J. Guéron, H.G. Obenauer and J. Pollock, eds., *Grammatical Representation*, 141-167. Dordrecht: Foris.

—. 1987. *Domains and Dynasties: The Radical Autonomy of Syntax*. Dordrecht: Foris.

—. 1994. Predicate incorporation and the word order of Dutch. In Guglielmo Cinque, Jan Koster, Jean-Yves Pollock, Luigi Rizzi, and Raffaella Zanuttini, eds., *Paths towards Universal Grammar: studies in honor of Richard S. Kayne*, 255-277. Washington DC: Georgetown University Press.

Koster, Jan and Eric Reuland, eds. 1991. *Long-distance anaphora*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Kroeger, Paul. 2005. *Analyzing Grammar: An Introduction*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Kruisinga, E. 1932. *A Handbook of Present-Day English*. P.2. *English Accidence and Syntax*. Groningen: Noordhoff.

Kuno, S. 1987. *Functional Syntax: Anaphora, discourse & empathy*. Chicago, IL: The University of Chicago Press.

Labelle, Marie. 2008. The French Reflexive and Reciprocal *se*. *Natural Language and Linguistic Theory* 26: 833-876.

Lebeaux, D. 1983. A Distributional Difference between Reciprocals and Reflexives. *Linguistic Inquiry* 14: 723-730.

Lebeaux, D. 1985. Locality and Anaphoric Binding. *The Linguistic Review* 4(4): 343-364.

Lees, R and E. Klima. 1963. Rules for English Prnominalization. *Language* 39: 17-28.

Lehmann, Christian. 1982. *Thoughts on Grammaticalization. A prgrammatic sketch*, vol. i. AKUP 48. Cologne: University of Cologne.

Leipzig Glossing Rules. URL: http://www.eva.mpg.de/lingua/pdf/LGR08.02.05.pdf

Les Parapluies de Cherbourg. Dir. Jacques Demy. Landau Releasing Organization (LRO), 1964. Film.

Levin, Beth. 1993. *English Verb Classes and Alternations: A Preliminary Investigation*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.

Lichtenberk, Frantisek. 1994. Reflexives and reciprocals. In R.E. Asher and J.M.Y. Simpson, eds., *The Encyclopedia of Language and Linguistics* vol. vii, 3504-9. Oxford: Pergamon Press.

—. 2000. 'Reciprocals without Reflexives' In Frajzyngier Zygmunt and Traci Curl *Reciprocals: Forms and Functions,* 31-62. Amsterdam: Benjamins.

Lidz, Jefrey. 1997. When is a Reflexive not a Reflexive? Near Reflexivity and Condition R. *Proceedings of North East Linguistics Society* 27: 251-261. Amherst: GLSA.

—. 1999. The Morphosemantics of Object Case in Kannada. *Proceedings of West Coast Conference on Formal Linguistics* 18: 325-336. Cambridge: Cacadilla Press.

—. 2001a. The Argument Structure of Verbal Reflexives. *Natural Language and Linguistic Theory* 19(2): 311-353.

—. 2001b. Condition R. *Linguistic Inquiry* 32(1): 123-140.

—. 2001c. Anti-Antilocality. In G. Hermon P. Cole and J.C.-T. Huang, eds., *Long Distance Reflexives: Syntax and Semantics 33*, 227-254. New York: Academic Press.

—. 2003. Causation and Reflexivity in Kannada. In V. Dayal and A. Mahajan, eds., *Clause Structure in South Asian Languages*, 93-130. Dordrecht: Kluwer.

Liu, Chen-Sheng Luther. 2003. Pure Reflexivity, Pure Identity, Focus and Chinese *Ziji-Benshen. Journal of East Asian Linguistics* 12: 19-58.

Lynch, John, Malcom Ross, and Terry Crowley, eds. 2002. *The Oceanic Languages*. Richmond, Surrey: Curzon.

Lyons, Christopher. 1982. Pronominal Voice in French. In Nigel Vincent and Martin Harris, eds., *Studies in the Romance Verb*, 161-184. London: Croom Helm Ltd.

Lyutikova, Ekaterina. 2000. Reflexives and emphasis in Tsaxur (Nakh-Dagestanian). In Zygmunt Frajzyngier and Traci Curl, eds., *Reflexives: Forms and Functions*, 227-256. Amsterdam: Benjamins.

Maling, Joan. 1984. Non-Clause-Bounded Reflexives in Modern Icelandic. *Linguistics and Philosophy* 7(3): 211-241.

Mangubhai, Francis and France Mugler. 2003. The language situation in Fiji. *Current Issues in Language Planning* 4(3): 367-459.

Manzini, Maria Rita and Kenneth Wexler. 1987. Parameters, Binding Theory, and Learnability. *Linguistic Inquiry* 18(3): 413-444.

Miller, Philip H. 1992. Postlexical Cliticization vs. Affixation: Coordination Criteria. *Proceedings of the 28th Meeting of the Chicago Linguistic Society*, 382-396. Chicago: CLS.

Miller, Philip H. and Ivan A. Sag. 1995. Une analyse lexicaliste des affixes pronominaux en Francais. *Revue Quebecoise de Linguistique* 24: 135-171.

Milner. G. B. 1956. *Fijian Grammar*. Suva, Fiji: Government Press.

Mosel, Ulrike. 1991. Transitivity and reflexivity in Samoan. *Australian Journal of Linguistics* 11: 175-194.

Moyse-Faurie, Claire. 2008. Constructions expressing middle, reflexive and reciprocal situations in some Oceanic languages. In E. König and V. Gast, eds., *Reciprocals and reflexives. Theoretical and Typological explorations*, 105-168. Mouton de Gruyter, Trends in Linguistics.

Offord, Malcolm. 2006. *A Student Grammar of French*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Pawley, Andrew and Timoci Sayaba. 1971. Fijian dialect divisions: Eastern and Western Fijian. *Journal of the Polynesian Society* 80: 405-36.

Payne, Thomas. 2006. *Exploring language structure – A student's guide*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Pica, Pierre. 1985. Subject, tense and truth: towards a modular approach to Binding. In J. Guéron, H.G. Obenauer and J. Pollock, eds., *Grammatical Representation*, 259-292. Dordrecht: Foris.

—. 1987. On the nature of the reflexivization cycle. *Proceedings of the North East Linguistic Society* 17(2): 483-500.

—. 1991. On the interaction between antecedent-government and binding: the case of ling distance reflexiviztion. In Jan Koster and Eric Reuland, eds., *Long distance anaphora*, 119-135. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Pica, Pierre and William Snyder. 1997. In A. M. Di Sciullo, ed., *Projections and Interface Conditions: Essays on Modularity*, 235-250. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Pollard, Carl and Ivan A. Sag. 1992. Anaphors in English and the Scope of Binding Theory. *Linguistic Inquiry* 32(2): 261-303.

—. 1994. *Head-driven phrase structure grammar* Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.

Postal, P. M. 1970. On coreferential complement subject deletion. *Linguistic Inquiry* 1: 439-500.

Poutsma, H. 1904. *A Grammar of Late Modern English*. Groningen: P. Noordhoff.

Price, Glanville. 2003. *A Comprehensive French Grammar*. Oxford: Blackwell Publishing.

Progovac, Ljiljana. 1992. Nonnegative Polarity Licensing Must Involve Comp. *Linguistic Inquiry* 23: 341-47.

Quirk, R., S. Greenbaum, G. Leech, and J. Svartvik. 1972. *A Grammar of Contemporary English*. London: Seminar Press.

Quist, G. and D. Strik. 2003. *Teach Yourself Dutch*. London: Hodder Headline.

Rappaport, M. 1983. On the nature of derived nominals. In L. Levin, M. Rappaport, and A. Zaenen, eds., *Papers in Lexical-Functional Grammar*, 113-142. Bloomington, IN: University Linguistics Club.

Rappaport, G. 1986. On Anaphor Binding in Russian. *Natural Language and Linguistic Theory* 4(1): 97-120.

Reinhart, T. and E. Reuland. 1993. Reflexivity. *Linguistic Inquiry* 24: 657-720.

Reinhart, T. and T. Siloni. 2004. Against the unaccusative analysis of reflexives. In A. Alexiadou, E. Anagnostopoulou, and M. Everaert, eds., *Unaccusativity Puzzle: Explorations of the Syntax-Lexicon Interface*, 159-180. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Renier, Fernand G. 1941. *Learn Dutch!* London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner.

Reuland, Eric. 2000. The fine structure of grammar: Anaphoric relations. In Zygmunt Frajzyngier and Traci Curl, eds., *Reflexives: Forms and Functions*, 1-40. Amsterdam: Benjamins.

—. 2001. Primitives of Binding. *Linguistic Inquiry* 32(3): 439-492.

Reuland, Eric and J. Koster. 1991. Long Distance Anaphora: An Overview. In J. Koster and E. Reuland, eds., *Long Distance Anaphora*, 1-26. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press

Reuland, Eric and Martin Everaert. 2006. Deconstructing Binding. In Mark Baltin and Chris Collins, eds., *The Handbook of Contemporary Syntactic Theory*, 634-669. Oxford: Blackwell Publishing.

Richards, Norvin. 1996. Toward a Feature-Movement Theory of Long-Distance Anaphora. Ms, MIT.

Roberge, Yves. 1990. *The syntactic recoverability of null argument*. Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press.

Rooryck, J. and G. Vanden Wyngaerd. 1998. The Self as Other: a Minimalist account of zich and zichzelf in Dutch. In Pius N. Tamanji and Kiyomi Kusumoto, eds., *Proceedings of NELS 28*, 359-373. Amherst, MA: GLSA.

Rooryck, J. and G. Vanden Wyngaerd. 1999. Simplex and complex reflexives in French and Dutch. In Martine Coene, Walter De Mulder, Patrick Dendale and Yves D'Hulst, eds., *Studia lingvistica in honorem Lilianae Tasmowski*, 617-638. Padova: Unipress.

Ross, John R. 1970. On declarative sentences. In Roderick Jacobs and Peter S. Rosenbaum, eds., *Readings in English Transformational Grammar*, 222-72. Waltham, MA: Ginn & Co.

Rowlett, P. 2007. *The syntax of French*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Rowling, J.K. 2000. *Harry Potter and the Goblet of Fire*. London: Bloomsbury.

Ruigendijk, Esther, Baauw S., Avrutin S. and N. Vasic. 2004. The production of SE- and SELF-anaphors in Dutch child language. In A. Brugos, Micciulla L. and C.e. Smith, eds., *BUCLD 28: Proceedings of the 28th annual Boston University Conference on Language Development*. URL: http://www.bu.edu/bucld/files/2011/05/28-Ruigendijk-et-al-BUCLD03.pdf

Safir, Kenneth. 2004. *The Syntax of Anaphora*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Schladt, Mathias. 2000. The typology and grammaticalization of reflexives. In Zygmunt Frajzyngier and Traci Curl, eds., *Reflexives: Forms and Functions*, 103-124. Amsterdam: Benjamins.

Schütz, Albert J. 1985. *The Fijian Language*. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press.

Sells, Peter. 1987. Aspects of Logophoricity. *Linguistic Inquiry* 18(3): 445-479.

Sells, Peter; Annie Zaenen, and Draga Zec. 1987. Reflexivization Variation: Relations between Syntax, Semantics, and Lexical Structure. In M. Iida, S. Wechsler, and D. Zec, eds., *Working Papers in Grammatical Theory and Discourse Strucutre*, 169-238. Stanford, CA: CSLI.

Scott, Fred and Gertrude Buck. 1906. *A Brief English Grammar*. Chicago: Scott, Foresman and company.

Shetter, William Z. 1994. *Dutch: An essential grammar*. London: Routledge.

Shore, B. 1982. *Sala'ilua: A Samoan mystery*. New York: Columbia University Press.

Stern, Henry R. 1984. *Essential Dutch Gramar*. Mincola, NY: Dover Publications, Inc.

Tallerman, Maggie (2005) *Understanding Syntax, second edition* Malta: Hodder Arnold.

Tang, Chih-Chen Jane. 1989. Chinese Reflexives. *Natural Language and Linguistic Theory* 7: 93-121.

Thráinsson, Höskuldur. 1976. Reflexives and Subjunctives in Icelandic. *Proceeding of the Northeast Linguistics Society Conference* 6: 225-239.

—. 1991. Long Distance Reflexives and the Typology of NPs. In J. Koster and E. Reuland, eds., *Long-Distance Anaphora*, 49-75. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

The British National Corpus, version 3 (BNC XML Edition). 2007. Distributed by Oxford University Computing Services on behalf of the BNC Consortium. URL: http://www.natcorp.ox.ac.uk/

Toman, J. 1991. Anaphors in binary trees: an analysis of Czech reflexives. In Jan Koster and Eric Reuland, eds., *Long-distance anaphora*, 151-170. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Tornos, Alberto. 1900. *The combined Spanish method*. New York: D. Appleton & co.

Townsend, C. E. 1967. Voice and Verbs in –sja. *Slavic and East-European Journal* 11(2): 196-203.

Tucker, Archibald and Margret Bryan. 1966. *Linguistic Analyxes. The non-Bantu languages of North-eastern Africa*. London: Oxford University Press.

van Gelderen, Elly (2000) 'Bound pronouns and non-local anaphors: The case of Earlier English' in Zygmunt Frajzyngier and Traci Curl (eds.) *Reflexives: Forms and functions* pp 187-226 Amsterdam: Benjamins.

Veraart, Fleur. 1996. On the distribution of Dutch reflexives. Ph.D. thesis, MIT.

Weerman, Fred. 2003. Nominative-dative Inversion and the Decline of Dutch. In Jan Koster and Henk van Riemsdijk, eds., *Germania et alia: A linguistic Webschrift for Hans den Besten*. URL: http://www.let.rug.nl/koster/DenBesten/Weerman.pdf

Wexler, Kenneth and Maria Rita Manzini. 1987. Parameters and Learnability in Binding Theory. In T. Roeper and E. Williams, eds., *Parameter Setting*, 41-76. Dordrecht: Reidel.

White, Renée. 2007. *Barron's Foreign Language Guides: Complete French Grammar Review*. Hauppauge, NY: Barron's Educational Series, Inc.

Williams, Edwin. 1994. *Thematic Structure in Syntax*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.

Wiltschko, Martina. 2004. Reflexives in Upriver Halkomelem. *International Journal of American Linguistics* 70(2): 101-27.

Xue, Ping, C. Pollard, and I. Sag. 1994. A New Perspective on Chinese *ziji*. In *Proceedings of the 13th Annual Meeting of the West Coast Conference on Formal Linguistics*, 432-447. Stanford: CSLI.

Yang, Dong-Whee. 1983. The Extended Binding Theory of Anaphors. *Language Research* 19(2): 169-192.

Yu, William Xian-Fu (2000) *Chinese Reflexives* Leuven, Belgium: Peeters.

Zribi-Hertz, Anne. 1989. Anaphor binding and narrative point of view: English reflexive pronouns in sentence and discourse. *Language* 65: 695-727.

—. 1993. On Stroik's analysis of English middle constructions. *Linguistic Inquiry* 24: 583-589.

—. 1995. Emphatic or reflexive? On the endophoric character of French *lui-même* and similar complex pronouns. *Journal of Linguistics* 31: 333-374.