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Reflexive and Reciprocal Constructions in Modern Irish

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Abstract

This paper examines reflexive (and reciprocal) constructions in modern Irish, a VSOX language for which the generative analysis using c-command is problematic. Reflexive and reciprocal constructions are best reflected in the inherent VSOX word order. The reflexive occurs in transitive constructions with the reflexive marker féin, which can also be used non-reflexively but emphatically. A continuum is observed with a human/animate participant as the subject argument at the reflexive pole and a non-human inanimate at the emphatic end. Motion is an ingredient in reflexivity. Fictive or non-translational motion are both non-reflexive. Translational motion alone allows reflexivity. Reciprocals are complex in virtue of the set of subject members that have the ability to act upon each other, simultaneously or sequentially. Reciprocity distributes over transitive, but also intransitive constructions using a heavy vs. light marking. Light reciprocals occur in intransitive clauses with lexically reciprocal verbs with the light marker le/a chéile. Heavy reciprocals in transitive clauses are specifically signalled by the marker iad féin in linear word order. The role of event structure and associated situation types has a bearing on our understanding of reflexive and reciprocal constructions with some implications for valency.

Introduction

This paper is concerned with reflexive and reciprocal voice, such phenomena being closely related. The major themes examined are: emphatic versus reflexive uses of féin “self”, the reflexive marker, and reciprocal constructions.

In the literature, reflexive behaviour is generally explicated by binding theory and, in the generative tradition, with c-command. For purposes of our discussion, the binding domain for an anaphor is the minimal S containing the anaphor and where the following three conditions apply:

- (1) a. An anaphor must be A-bound within its binding domain
- b. A pronominal must be A-free within its binding domain.
- c. An R-expression must be A-free

The notion of c-command depends crucially on tree structural requirements for its operation. It is usually defined in terms similar to the following, adapted from Borsley (1999: 96ff):

- (2) A node X c-commands a node Y iff neither dominates the other and the first branching node (i.e. node with more than one daughter) above X dominates Y.

A reflexive must have a c-commanding antecedent

In the generative tradition the use of c-command has been broadly successful, particularly with regard to languages where the word order is SVO (English) or SOV (Japanese). In languages such as these, the tree structures that may be drawn to represent a typical well formed clause follow the usual binary branching with x-bar intermediate categories encapsulating a mix of NP and VP categories. Terminal nodes at the tree endpoints represent the lexical categories of N, V etc. The orientation of the trees reflects a pre- or post-positional bias according to the constituent word order. These essentially deliver a generalised top down tree structural account of the grammatical relations hierarchy of subject > direct object > indirect object > oblique.

In Irish, this grammatical relations hierarchy is reflected more accurately in linear word order and not in a tree structural account because the language always maintains a VSO order in its finite clauses. Not only does this not easily facilitate the use of a notion such as c-command, it also poses a serious question over the nature of, and the use of, a category such as VP in relation to Irish. The notion of a VP may not actually be viable in its usually understood form. Stenson (1981:40) notes that “*because of the basic word order, with the subject intervening between the verb and object, the notion ‘verb phrase’ as a syntactic category is meaningless for Irish. ... It should be noted that the association between the verb and subject is in fact much tighter than that between verb and object, apart from the closeness inherent in the linear order. Although elements such as adverbs and prepositional phrases can sometimes precede the object nothing can ever intervene between the subject and verb.*” (For alternative discussion, McCloskey 1983).

Irish does not lend itself to a binary tree structural account of grammatical relations without substantial re-arrangement of the constituents to enable the c-command machinery to work. Such transformations operate with a base word order of SVO upon which the transformations are applied in a procedural manner until the desired word order is arrived at. This holds in Principles and Parameters theory and also within the Minimalist program where the subject is internal to the VP, but crucially, within the VP, is left of the V which is in turn left of the O, thereby positing an underlying SVO order (Radford 1997). Bobaljik and Carnie (1996:223ff) undertake such an analysis within the Minimalist program of Chomsky (1993) in which “*the overt movement consists of head movement $V \rightarrow \text{AgrO} \rightarrow T \rightarrow \text{AgrS}$, and the NP movement of the object to the specifier of AgrOP with the subject to the specifier position of the Tense phrase (TP)*” [Bobaljik and Carnie 1996:230]. (Within the MP there is an ongoing discussion on the dynamics leading to the achievement of VSO word order from a supposed underlying SVO . See McCloskey (1996:241ff) for alternative discussion to Bobaljik and Carnie of subjects and subject positions in Irish within the Minimalist program).

A number of researchers and authors have commented on the limitations of both tree structural approaches and the notion of c-command and have suggested an alternative based on the notion of obliqueness, that is, of *o-command* (Sag and Wasow 1999; Pollard and Sag 1994; Borsley 1999). In particular, Borsley (1999:102) suggests, in relation to HPSG, the following:

- (3) o-command
An argument structure list member X is less oblique than another argument structure list member Y if X preceded Y.

In our formalism the logical structure of the verbal predicate in the clause is an analogue of the argument structure list. We will therefore appeal to this notion of obliqueness to our analysis, rather than c-command, and refer to it as the *Obliqueness Condition within the Binding Domain*. The use of obliqueness would appear to sit more naturally with the linear word order determination of the grammatical relations' hierarchy of a VSO specific language such as Irish. We will refer to this as the following:

- (4) Obliqueness Condition within the Binding Domain
- a. A logical structure participant X is less oblique than another logical structure participant Y is X precedes Y.
 - b. An anaphor must be coindexed with a less oblique member of the same logical structure argument in the minimal S containing the verb.
 - c. The binding domain for a verb is the parameters within the scope of predication of the verb in logical structure.

Jackendoff (1990) argues that reflexivisation is sensitive to the thematic hierarchy and that certain thematic roles tend to control the antecedents for reflexives. This suggests that the antecedent of a reflexive has to be higher on the thematic hierarchy than the reflexive particle. Specifically, "*A reflexive may not be higher on the thematic hierarchy than its antecedent*" (Jackendoff 1972:148). In support of this, Wilkins (1988:211ff) has determined that the thematic hierarchy must include both patient and affected roles while Kuno (1987:176ff) argues that reflexivisation must be sensitive to a hierarchy that includes undergoer categories such as experiencer and benefactive. We will call this the *Thematic Hierarchy Constraint* and refer to it as such in our analysis.

- (5) Thematic Hierarchy Constraint
A reflexive may not be higher on the thematic hierarchy than its antecedent.

Role and Reference Grammar (RRG) takes a somewhat different but more coherent approach which subsumes the notion of obliqueness discussed above and the thematic hierarchy constraints of Jackendoff (1972, 1990). In the Role and Reference framework (RRG) of Van Valin (Van Valin 1993, Van Valin & LaPolla 1997) the semantic representation of sentences is based on the lexical representation of the verb or other predicating element. RRG is a decompositional representation based on the theory of Aktionsart of Vendler (1967). This theory has the four basic aktionsart classes of state, activity, accomplishment and achievement to which Van Valin has identified another class, that of active accomplishment. Each of these basic classes has a causative version of it.

The semantic representation of an argument is a function of its position in the logical structure of the predicate and the RRG linking system refers to an element's logical structure position. Thematic relations play no direct role in the theory and where used, the traditional thematic role labels are simply used as a "shorthand" for the logical structure argument positions. RRG posits two generalised semantic roles, or in Van Valin's terminology, "semantic macroroles", which play a central role in the linking system. The macroroles are actor and undergoer. They are the primary arguments of a transitive predication. In an intransitive predicate, the single argument can be either an actor or an undergoer, depending on the semantic properties of the predicate. The relationship between the logical structure argument positions and macroroles is captured by the Actor-Undergoer Hierarchy (AUH). In this, the leftmost argument in terms of the hierarchy will be the actor and the rightmost argument will be the undergoer. Strictly (Van Valin & LaPolla 1997: Chapter 7), the leftmost argument is always the actor but the rightmost argument in logical structure is only the default choice for undergoer.

Transitivity is defined semantically in RRG in terms of the number of macroroles of a predicate. A major claim of RRG is that no syntactic subcategorisation information is required in the lexical entries for verbs. For regular verbs, all that is required is the logical structure. For irregular verbs, only the macrorole number needs to be specified. All of the major morphosyntactic properties of verbs and other predicates follow from their logical structure together with the linking system (Van Valin & LaPolla 1997: Chapter 7.3.2).

The linking between semantics and syntax has two phases. The first phase consists of the determination of semantic macroroles based on the logical structure of the verb (or other predicate) in the clause. The second phase is concerned with the mapping of the macroroles and other arguments into the syntactic functions. The traditional grammatical relations have no particular status in RRG in that the theory posits a single construction-specific grammatical relation called the Privileged Syntactic Argument, or PSA, of the construction. The non-PSA syntactic arguments in the clause are referred to as direct or oblique core arguments. The PSA for most constructions is the traditional subject. Individual languages have selection hierarchies to determine the PSA.

For a syntactically accusative language such as Irish, the highest ranking direct core argument in terms of the Actor-Undergoer Hierarchy (AUH) is default, that is, the leftmost argument in the AUH. Case and agreement rules are also formulated with reference to the linking system. The highest ranking core macrorole takes nominative case (in Irish), other core macroroles take accusative case and non-macrorole direct core arguments take dative as their default case. The agreement rules work in a similar manner for Irish with the finite verb agreeing with the highest core macrorole in person and number. For Irish this must take into account the synthetic and analytic forms of the verbs. The default PSA can be overridden and a different argument can be selected to function as PSA.

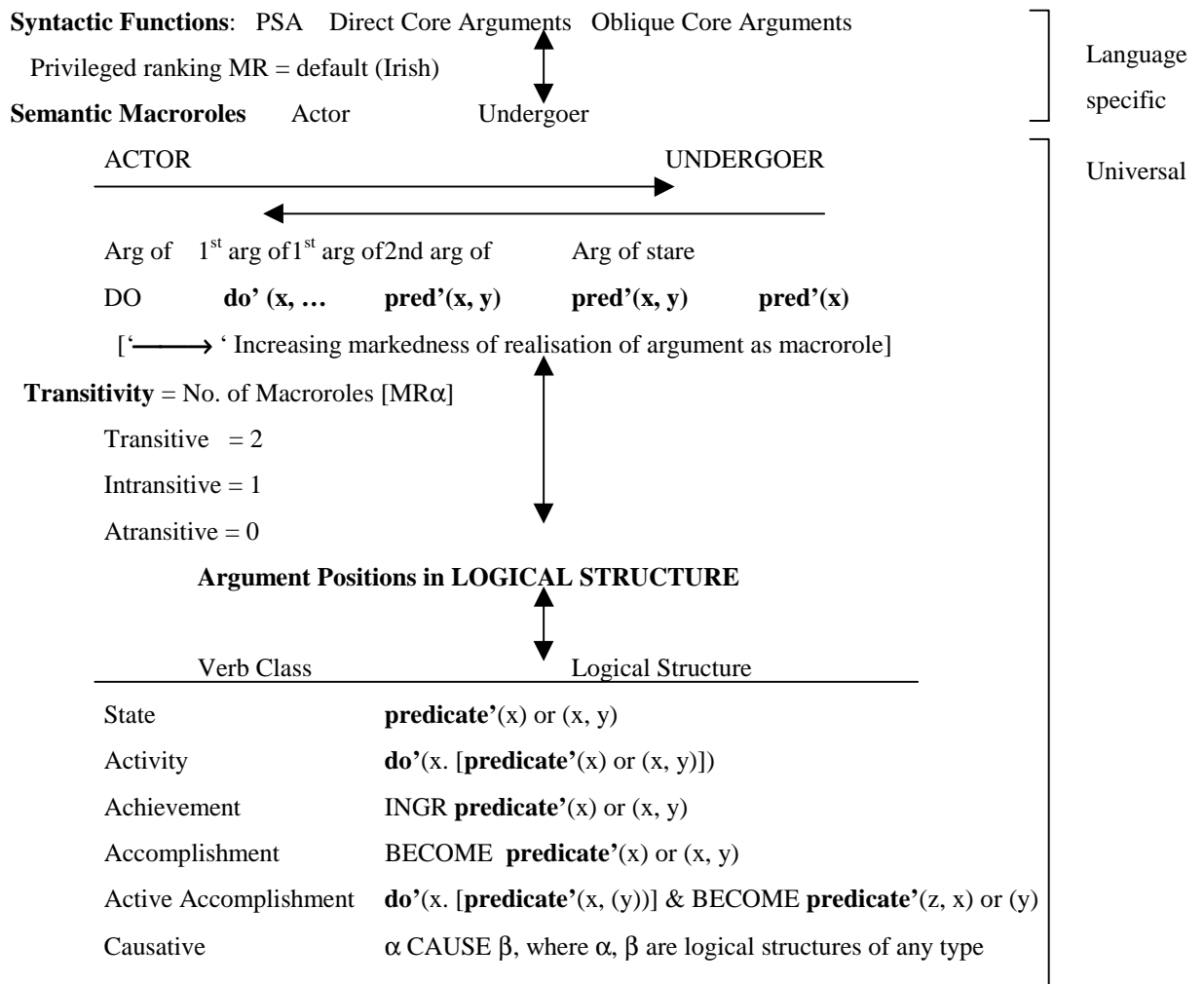


Figure 1. The System linking semantic and syntactic representations of Irish in RRG

(After Van Valin & LaPolla (1997))

The linking system of RRG is divided into two parts, (See Figure 1) one of which is labelled “universal” with the other “language specific”. RRG claims that what it calls the lexical phase of the linking, the determination of the macrorole assignments based on the lexical structure of the verb, is virtually universal and subject to limited cross-linguistic variation. The second phase, the syntactic phase, deals with the mapping of the macroroles and other arguments into the syntax and as such, is

subject to considerable cross language variation. As we have seen in our earlier discussion in this section, many, if not most, linking theories go directly from thematic relations to grammatical relations and posit universal constraints on the linking to the effect that “highest ranking thematic relation maps to the grammatical subject”. The RRG linking system has two discrete steps: first, relate logical structure to macroroles and second, relate macroroles to syntactic functions. By achieving the linking in this manner RRG captures a number of generalisations across languages that are not possible with other approaches (Van Valin 1993, Van Valin & LaPolla 1997).

There is a particular and principled reason why the lexical phase of the linking system of RRG is universal. The aktionsarten distinctions underlying the decomposition are universal in that, as far as can be determined, all languages have them. The actor and undergoer notions are also valid across languages and the relationship between macroroles and logical structure is governed by the Actor-Undergoer hierarchy and associated principles.

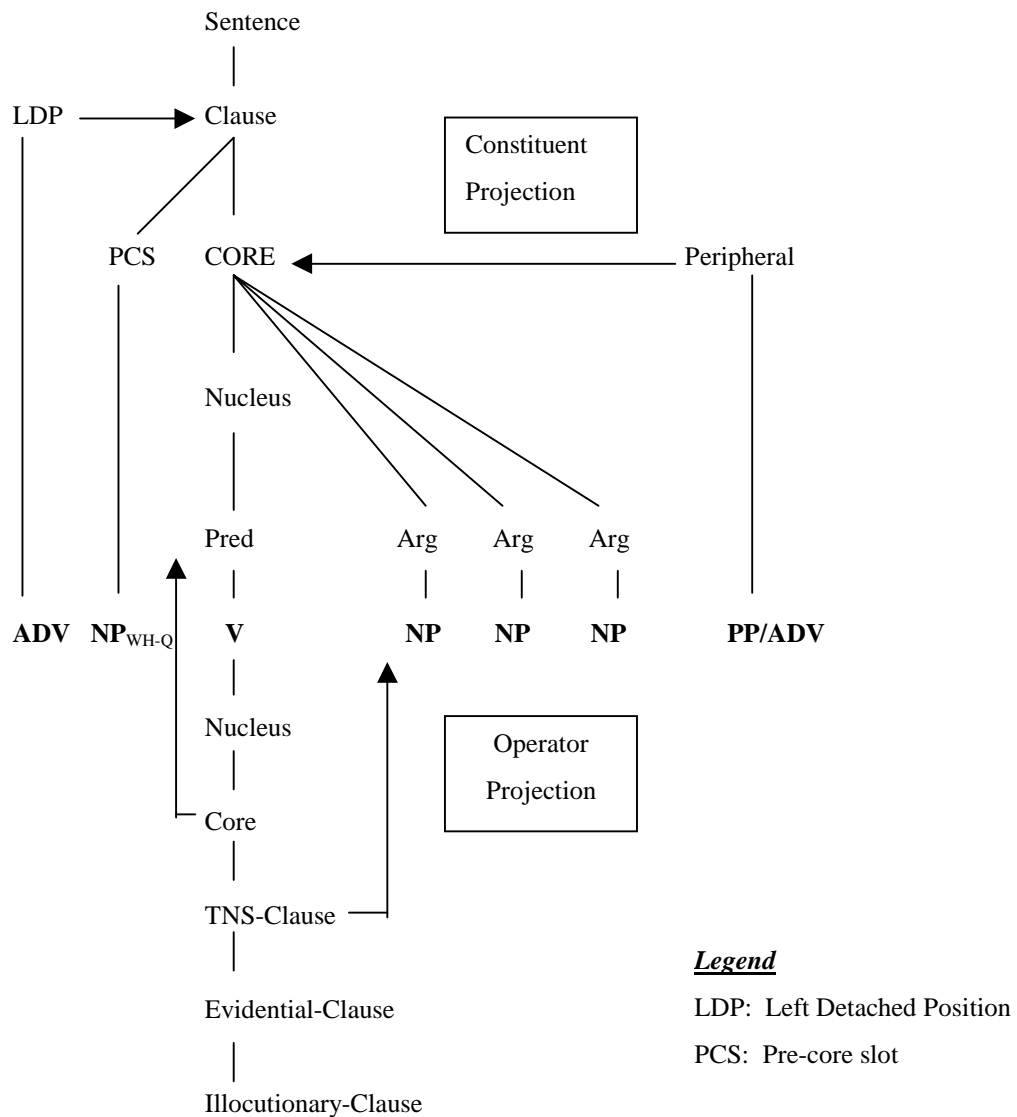


Figure 2: The structure of the finite clause of Irish in RRG

Most cross-linguistic variation is found in the syntactic phase and the factoring of the RRG linking into two phases, one lexical and the other syntactic, allows the linking system to handle this and universally work. Role and Reference Grammar provides “a coherent framework in which linguistically significant generalisations about the relationship between the semantic argument structure of the verb and the morphosyntactic realisation of the arguments can be readily captured and explained” (Van Valin 1998). In RRG, the structure of the clause with a finite verb reflecting the VSOX word order is indicated in Figure 2. The scope of predication for the matrix verb of a clause in relation to the binding domain is the logical structure of the core, in RRG terms. We will use the RRG approach to the analysis.

Reflexivity can be found under a number of **conditions**, in particular in constructions that make use of the particle *féin* “self. In the syntax, this particle *féin* has the purpose of acting as a reflexive marker on a grammatical relation in a predicate argument position. The particle *féin* may also be used simply for emphasis, that is, non-reflexively. This same reflexive marker can operate in constructions requiring single or plural number agreement with no overt marking for this on the particle. The reflexive marker can also be used with lexically reflexive verbs, that is, verbs of included or understood object.

Van Hoek (1997:172-174) notes that when the marker is used *emphatically* it tends to exhibit a number of characteristics. These are: 1) proximity, when the reflexive marker occurs directly adjacent to a nominal with which it corresponds, 2) prominence, where the antecedent is the most prominent nominal in relationship to the reflexive, and 3) contrast, where there is some implied contrast between the entity designated by the reflexive and some other (typically unspecified) set of possible entities. In contrast, she finds that when the marker is used in a *reflexive* construction the following characteristics hold: 1) proximity, where the antecedent and reflexive code arguments of the same verb, 2) prominence, where the antecedent is the most prominent nominal in relation to the reflexive, and 3) the recipient of the action is perceived differently than in a non-reflexive event involving two distinct participants.

Reciprocity is closely related to reflexivity and both can be found to exist in the context of the same utterance, as we shall see. In relation to the phenomenon of reciprocals we will find that this can occur in both intransitive and transitive contexts, with the transitive being the more prototypical. We look at how reciprocals are reflected in semantics in logical structure and explore the implications for macrorole assignment, and valency with respect to argument structure at the level of syntax. In the next section we examine the reflexive marker.

The Reflexive Marker

One method by which the expression of reflexivity can be used requires the use of the reflexive marker *féin* “self”. This marker *féin* can attach to a nominal, pronoun, verbal noun or prepositional pronoun.

The Position of the Reflexive Marker in the Clause

With respect to word order, the reflexive/emphatic marker *féin* is a free standing word but which adheres to an underlying schema with two template positions within which *féin* can occur reflexively and one in which it can occur emphatically. Used reflexively, the marker *féin* therefore does not have a free word order. The template positions that motivate the word order are generalised as follows:

- (6) verb Actor₁ *féin*₁
Emphatic
- (7) verb Actor₁ ((Undergoer₂) *féin*₁)₁
Reflexive
- (8) verb Actor₁ Undergoer₂ ((prepositional pronoun₃) *féin*₁)₁
Reflexive

The Use of the RM under Single and Plural Agreement

The use of the reflexive marker supports single and plural agreement without any marking on the reflexive marker itself. That is, the same reflexive marker is utilised and any necessary agreement marking is on core antecedent referent having the same index (“left upstream”) in logical structure, that is, in the binding domain of the clause.

We open the discussion by initially highlighting, through some examples, the deployment of the particle *féin* in a number of reflexive and emphatic constructions. Later, in the course of the analysis we will treat in detail the factors at work in these constructions. For now, we simply indicate with a brief comment some salient points relevant to the particular construction.

In this example (9), sentence1 is conjoined with sentence2 and the antecedent of the reflexive marker *féin* is in the 3rd person plural delivering a reciprocal reading.

Chuir mé₁ ceisteanna orm₁ féin₁
 put:V-PAST I:PN questions:N to:PN+me:PN self

atá gan fhuascladh go fóill.
 that:REL+be:SUBV-PRES without:PP solution:N to:PP yet:PART
 I put questions to myself that are without answer yet.

The matrix verb is in the impersonal passive form and the marker *féin* is adjacent to the grammatical object of the sentence giving an emphatic interpretation. Note that even though the impersonal passive is deployed, the matrix clause has two participants. We discuss why this is so in our analysis later in the chapter.

(13) *Tréigeadh an seanteampall é féin agus fágadh ina bhallóig é.*

Tréigeadh an seanteampall é féin
 (someone) deserted:V-IMP-PER-PAST the:DET old:ADJ+church:N it:PN self:PART

agus fágadh ina bhallóig é.
 and:CONJ (someone) left: V-IMP-PER-PAST in:PP ruin:N it:PN

LIT: “(Someone) deserted the old church itself and (someone) left it in ruins”
 The old church itself was deserted and left in ruins

The sentence in (14) has the impersonal passive form of the matrix verb with *féin* adjacent to the object, signalling emphatic use.

(14) *Tugadh é féin chun na modh-scoile i mBaile Átha Cliath ina dhiaidh sin.*

Tugadh é féin chun na modh-scoile.
 came:V-IMP-PERS-PAST he:PN self:PART to:PP the:DET model-school:N

i mBaile Átha Cliath ina dhiaidh sin
 in:PP Dublin:N in:PP after:ADV that:DET
 He himself came to the model school in Dublin after that.

This sentence (15) has a transitive verb with subject and object. The reflexive marker is associated with the object signalling reflexive use. The grammatical subject is the antecedent.

(15) *D'éalaih Seán é féin go Toraigh le dhaichead fear*

D'éalaigh Seán é féin.
do:PVT+escape:V-PAST Seán:N him:PN self:PART

go Toraigh le dhaichead fear
to:PP Tory:N with:PP forty:QTY men:N
LIT:” Seán escaped himself to Tory with forty men”.
Seán himself escaped to Tory with forty men

The use of reflexive *féin* in this sentence (16) serves to denote the conjunction of ownership and possession in relation to the subject of the sentence.

(16) *Bhí a₁ chuid éadaigh féin₁ leis₁.*
is:SUBV-PAST his:POSS-ADJ pieces:QTY clothes:N self:PART with:PP+him:PN
LIT:”His₁ own₁ clothes₂ were with him₁”
He had his own clothing with him

The example below (17) demonstrates the deployment of an inanimate entity with emphatic use of *féin*.

(17) *Bhí an gleann féin uaigneach.*
be:SUBV-PAST the:DET glen:N self:PART lonely:ADJ
The glen itself was lonely

This sentence below (18) has a subject and a complex direct object that consists of two entities related by conjunction. The first entity of the pair in the complex object carries the emphatic use of *féin*.

(18) *Tá mé bodhruighthe agat féin agus ag Nóra.*

Tá mé bodhruighthe agat féin_z.
Be-SUBV-PRES I:PN deadened:VADJ with:PP+you:PN self:PART
agus ag Nóra
and:CONJ with:PP Nóra:N
I am bored with yourself and Nóra

This sentence (19) has a grammatical subject, direct object and path and codes actual motion. The plural subject is the antecedent for the direct object against which the reflexive marker is associated. The plural antecedent of the reflexive also delivers a reciprocal reading.

(19) *Chaith siad iad féin thart fá'n teinidh annsin agus thoisigh an ceól.*

Chaith siad₁ iad₁ féin₁ thart fá'n teinidh
 throw:V-past they:PN them:PN self:PART around:ADV about:ADV+the:DET crowd:N

annsin agus thoisigh an ceól.
 then:ADV and:CONJ started:V-past the:DET music:N
 They threw themselves into the crowd then and the music started

The copula verb in this sentence (20) codes a double emphasis by use of two syntactic devices. The first of these is the emphatic form on prepositional pronoun (-sa) and the second is the emphatic use of *féin* deployed on the conflated object of the prepositional pronoun in the subject position.

(20) *Is agam-sa féin atá fhios sin uilig.*

Is agam-sa féin
 is-COP at:PP+me:PN+EMPHATIC-PART self:PART

atá fhios sin uilig.
 that:REL+be:SUBV-PRES knowledge that:DET of:PP+it:PN
 It is only myself that has knowledge of it

The sentence in (21) has a subject which consists of two entities, one is animate and the other inanimate, both of which are related by conjunction in the clause. The particle is adjacent to the animate entity coding for emphatic use. The sentence also codes for fictive motion, as against actual motion, in the sense of Talmy (1996b).

(21) *D'imthigh an stáisiún agus í féin as a amharc i mbomaite.*

D'imthigh an stáisiún agus í féin.
 do:PVP+went:V-PAST the:DET station:N and:CONJ she:PN self:PART

as a amharc i mbomaite
 from:PP his:PN_POSS view:N in:PP+a:DET moment:N
 The station and she herself went from his view in a second.

The next example (22) has two sentences related by conjunction. Each sentence codes for reflexive use of *féin*, additionally coding for possession, in relation to the subject antecedent of each sentence which has a common identity.

- (22) *Tharraing sé suas a bhrístí air féin agus theann sé a bheilt air féin go gasta.*

Tharraing sé₁ suas a₁ bhrístí air₁ féin₁.
 pull:V-PAST he:PN up:ADV his:POSS-ADJ trousers:N on:PP+him:PN self:SELF

agus theann sé₁ a₁ bheilt air₁ féin₁
 and:CONJ tightened:V-PAST he:PN his:POSS-ADJ belt:N on:PP+him:PN self:PART

go gasta
 to:PP fast:ADV

He₁ pulled his₁ trousers up on himself₁ and rapidly he₁ tightened his₁ belt on himself₁

The sentence below (23) uses the negative form of the substantive verb and has the incorporated object of the prepositional pronoun reflexive with the subject antecedent in virtue of its use of *féin*.

- (23) *Ní rabh Mícheál leis féin ina smaointe.*

Ní rabh Mícheál leis féin
 not:NEG be:SUBV-PAST Mícheál:N with:PP+him:PN self:PART

ina smaointe.
 in:PP+his:POSS-ADJ thoughts:N

Mícheál was not alone with himself in his thoughts

The sentence in (24) codes the substantive verb with a subject, verbal noun and a prepositional phrase indicating possession with ownership by the reflexive use of *féin*.

- (24) *Bhí Sighle₁ ag tarraingt ar a₁ doras féin₁.*
 be-SUBV-PAST Síle:N at:PP pulling:VN on:PP her:POSS-ADJ door:N self:PART
 Síle₁ was pulling on her own₁ door

Having introduced the **distribution** of the marker *féin* in reflexive and emphatic usages, we now examine representative examples in more detail. We start our analysis by observing in example (25) an instance of double emphatic use of *féin* occurring within the same clause. With constructions such as these, the marker *féin* is found to occur twice in sequence in an utterance. This is a device that allows for increased emphasis on the part of the speaker. Double emphasis can also be found in other constructions involving the copula verb, the emphatic particle *-sa* and the emphatic use of particle *féin* (see example 20). The construction in (25) is ditransitive with three participants in the semantic logical

structure and three arguments in argument structure in the syntax. It has a situation type of active-accomplishment.

- (25) *Duir* *Éamann* *sin liom* *féin* *féin*
 Said:V-PAST Eamonn:N that to:PP+me:PN self:PART self:PART
 Eamonn said that to me myself

[**do'**(Éamann₁, [**duirt'**(Éamann₁(féin₁), (**le'**(mé₂'(féin₂), sin₃)))))]
 [**do'**(x₁, [**duirt'**(x₁(féin₁), (**le'**(y₂'(féin₂), sin₃)))))]

Example (26) is reflexive in the sense that two participants are coded but the second participant, the undergoer and object of the sentence, is pointing back reflexively to the first participant, the actor and its antecedent. The reflexive connection between the actor and undergoer is facilitated by use of the reflexive marker *féin*. This captures the insight that the initiator and endpoint participants are distinct while co-referential. The verb *mol* “praise” is not inherently reflexive but is made so in this utterance by the coding by a speaker of *féin* “self” against the participant in the second participant position. That is, the verb *mol* can be either intransitive or transitive. Reflexive use of the marker *féin* requires that the construction, at minimum, be transitive with two arguments in argument structure. If *féin* is used with an intransitive matrix verb then its usage can only be emphatic as there is only one argument.

- (26) *Mholfainn* *mé* *féin*
 praise:V-COND+I:PN me:PN self:PART
 I would praise myself

[**do'**(mé₁, [**mol'**(mé₁, (mé₁'(féin₁)))])]
 [**do'**(x₁, [**mol'**(x₁, (y₁'(féin₁)))])]

In relation to the above example, the leftmost participant in logical structure is actor and syntactic subject while the rightmost participant is the undergoer and grammatical object. We can observe that the actor *mé*, the syntactic subject morphologically incorporated in the verb, is antecedent to the reflexive, that is, the grammatical object *mé* (overtly expressed in the syntax) and associated reflexive marker *féin*. As the verb in the conditional tense uses a synthetic form, the personal pronoun is incorporated as a postfix on the verb. The actor and the undergoer, antecedent and reflexive respectively, are both within the binding domain, that is, the scope of predication of the matrix verb. In addition, the obliqueness condition that we adopted predicts that the reflexivity is well formed as the controller of the reflexivity is the grammatical subject and the reflexive is oblique within the binding domain. The thematic hierarchy constraint predicts that the thematic role of the reflexive will be lower on the hierarchy than the antecedent. We can observe that this is so by noting that the actor is leftmost or higher and the undergoer is oblique to the right and therefore lower. Example (26) has two participants in logical structure and two arguments in argument structure. The leftmost participant in

logical structure maps to the first argument, the subject. The rightmost participant in logical structure maps to the second argument, the object. The clause is transitive and, with an achievement situation type is bounded by the second argument. This second argument is marked in the syntax as co-referential with the first argument in virtue of the deployment of *féin* in one of the template positions.

In contradistinction to the previous example, (27) below does not exhibit these characteristics. The marker *féin* is simply adjacent to the subject and not downstream and oblique from the subject within an argument position. That it cannot be reflexive is predicted by obliqueness condition and theta hierarchy constraint. This example therefore is emphatic only, demonstrating the veracity of Van Hoek's proximity principle, as mentioned in the introduction to this chapter. The logical structure has two participants which link into two arguments in argument structure. The clause is transitive and has a situation type of accomplishment. The use of *féin* here does not signal reflexivity, merely emphasis.

- (27) *Mholfainn féin é*
 praise:V-COND+I:PN self:PART him:PN-3sg
 I myself would praise him

[**do'**(mé₁, [**mol'**(mé₁(féin₁), é₂)])]

[**do'**(x₁, [**mol'**(x₁(féin₁), é₂)])]

Example (28) is a causative utterance with the reflexive marker associated with the actor and, in word order sequence, occurring immediately following the actor participant. Here the reflexive marker *féin* is used emphatically, that is, simply for emphasis. We can note that while (26) also has a similar word order of nominal followed by *féin*, in that example the nominal plus reflexive marker crucially occupies an argument position while in (28) it does not. The clause is transitive and the underlying logical structure has two participants which map into two arguments in argument structure. As can be seen from the logical structure, the situation type is that of a causative achievement with the second argument providing the boundary. The particle *féin* is proximate to the first argument.

- (28) *Bhris an fear féin an gloine*
 break-V-PAST the:DEF man:N self:PART the:DEF glass:N
 The man himself broke the glass

[**do'**(an fear_{1,0}) CAUSE [INGR **bris'** (an fear'₁(féin₁), an gloine₂)]]

[**do'**(x_{1,0}) CAUSE [INGR **bris'** (x'₁(féin₁), y₂)]]

We find a similar word order pattern in example (29) with the subject nominal immediately followed by the marker *féin*. Here again, the use is emphatic rather than reflexive. We can additionally note that the subject nominal here is inanimate whereas previously (when reflexive) they were animate. This then is a

clause indicating a situation type of state with one participant in logical structure and a corresponding single participant in argument structure. Reflexivity cannot play a part in this construction as it violates our obliqueness condition within the binding domain.

- (29) *Bhí an gleann féin uaigneach.*
 is:SUBV-PAST the:DET glen:N self:PART lonely:ADJ
 The glen itself was lonely

[be'(an gleann'₁(féin₁), [uaigneach'])]

[be'(x'₁(féin₁), [uaigneach'])]

We can see that the examples of (28) and (29) do not strictly adhere to this reflexive schema outlined in relation to (26). They make use of the element *féin* for simple emphatic effect only. Not all uses of *féin* function, therefore, in the reflexive sense. The reflexive marker *féin* can refer to entities that are animate or inanimate in emphatic mode. What therefore can the referent of the reflexive marker be? We can hypothesise that, as there are two poles of use of the marker *féin* with reflexivity at one end and emphasis at the other, the ranges of referent attributes (human, animate, animal, inanimate, etc.) maps on to this continuum. We can expect to find the key attribute of human at the reflexive pole and inanimate at the emphatic pole. This indeed is what the examples suggest.

We mentioned earlier that the reflexive marker can operate reflexively over single or plural number agreement and examples (30) and (31) illustrate this. Something very interesting can, however, be observed when the marker *féin* is reflexively used in the context of plural agreement. That is, the participants appear to act on each other. Reflexivity coded with *féin* under plural agreement codes for, and triggers, reciprocity. This means that any of the initiators of the action, the actors, can also be considered as the endpoint of the action, the undergoers. The clause is transitive with an achievement situation type. It has two participants in logical structure, which map into two arguments in argument structure.

- (30) *Chonaic na cailíní iad féin*
 saw:V-PAST the:DET girls:N them:PN self:PART
 The girls saw themselves.

[do'(na cailíní₁, [INGR conaic'(na cailíní₁, [iad'(féin₁)])])]

[do'(x₁, [INGR conaic'(x₁, [iad'(féin₁)])])]

This reciprocity does not exist when the same utterance has single instead of plural agreement as in example (31). In this case, we have simple reflexivity coded by the reflexive marker *féin*. The reflexive marker is adjacent to and immediately following the undergoer participant and indicates that it is co-

referential with the actor. The clause is transitive with a situation type of achievement as with the previous example. It is reflexive but not reciprocal.

- (31) *Chonaic sé é féin*
 saw:V-PAST he:PN him:PN self:PART
 He saw himself

[do'(sé₁, [INGR **conaic'**(sé₁, [é₂'(féin₁)])])]
 [do'(x₁, [INGR **conaic'**(x₁, [é₂'(féin₁)])])]

When the speaker refers to the non-reflexive 3rdSG undergoer, as in example (32), the actor and undergoer are not co-referenced. We can see this in (32) which is transitive with an achievement situation type. It is not reflexive, as *féin* is not utilised, and not reciprocal because there is no reciprocal marking and the agreement on the nominals is singular.

- (32) *Chonaic sé é*
 saw:V-PAST he:PN him:PN
 He saw him

[do'(sé₁, [INGR **conaic'**(sé₁, é₂)])]
 [do'(x₁, [INGR **conaic'**(x₁, y₂)])]

That some verbs are optionally reflexive can be observed from the previous examples. The reflexivity is introduced, and its use marked, by use of the reflexive marker *féin*. This is a feature of *féin* when used in reflexive mode. Such optionally reflexive verbs have non-reflexive correlates and can be conjoined with a non-reflexive object, as in example (33). The theta hierarchy constraint applies in this example. Reflexivity is predicted to be well-formed also by the obliqueness condition in the binding domain. This construction is reflexive, transitive, with an achievement situation type having two participants in logical structure and two arguments in argument structure. The second participant is complex in that it is elaborated by two conjoined human animate entities which map as a unit into the second argument position.

- (33) *Chonaic sé é féin agus a chara*
 saw:V-PAST he:PN him:PN self:PART and:CONJ his:PN-POSS friend:N
 He saw himself and his friend

[do'(sé₁, [INGR **conaic'**(sé₁, [[é₂'(féin₁)] & [a₂'(cara₃)])])]
 [do'(x₁, [INGR **conaic'**(x₁, [[é₂'(féin₁)] & [a₂'(y₃)])])]

Reflexive with Motion Constructions

In this section we look at examples of encoding of motion, specifically we look at fictive motion, non-translational and translational motion. We find that reflexive use is to be found with translation motion only. We start by examining non-reflexive constructions involving fictive motion and then move to non-translational motion before identifying the use of the reflexive marker with translation motion.

Fictive motion

Constructions involving fictive motion can be understood to be metaphorical in the sense of Talmy (1996b). Motion appears to be involved but it is not actual motion. The facts are presented as if motion was occurring, hence fictive motion. In example (41), thoughts are moving entities which move to/into the passive thinker. The sentence relates, in particular, to cognition on behalf of the human animate undergoer and that phenomena of cognition is represented as a macrorole participant, that of an inanimate actor. The phenomenon hinges around the actor role in a transitive clause. The actor is cognitively a necessary part of the undergoer. The phenomenon implies a subjective motion on the part of the actor towards the undergoer. This construction has two participants in logical structure and two arguments in argument structure linking one to one. The matrix verb is transitive and the situation type is that of an accomplishment with the second argument serving to bound the activity of the verb. Of interest is the fact that the first argument is elaborated by an inanimate non-human participant. The first participant has a theme role and the second participant is that of patient. While *féin* is not deployed here, the conditions do not otherwise exist to facilitate reflexivity. In particular the thematic constraint does not hold.

- (34) *Bhuail an smaoinéamh mé*
 hit:V-PAST the:DET thought:N me:PN
 The thought hit me

[do'(0, [buail'(an smaoinéamh₁, mé₂))] & INGR (be'(an smaoinéamh₁, (ag'(mé₂))))]
 [do'(0, [buail'(x₁, y₂))] & INGR (be'(x₁, (ag'(y₂))))]

The actor is inanimate in examples (35) and (36) and construed as having agent-like qualities. Again we see implied or subjective motion towards the undergoer. The actor is cognitively a part of the undergoer as in the previous example.

- (35) *Chuir smaoinéamh isteach orm*
 put:V-past thought:N in:PP on:PP+me:PN
 LIT: "A thought put in on me"

A thought intruded on me

[do'(0, [cuir'(smaoineamh₁, [isteach'(ar'(mé₂))])])]

[do'(0, [cuir'(x₁, [isteach'(ar'(y₂))])])]

(36) *Thainigh réiteach i mo cheann*

came:V-PAST solution:N in:PP my:POSS-ADJ head:N

A solution came into my head

[do'(0, [thainigh'(reiteach₁, [i'(mo₂'(ceann₃))])])]

[do'(0, [thainigh'(x₁, [i'(mo₂'(y₃))])])]

Characteristic of these constructions appears to be that they contain an inanimate non-human actor and an animate human undergoer. The actor is a part of the undergoer with respect to cognition but is viewed as separate. The actor has no independent existence apart from the undergoer. The undergoer may be coded as a destination or location, possibly within a prepositional pronoun, or prepositional phrase with an N or PN. There is a subjective implied motion of the inanimate non-human actor to the animate human undergoer.

The phenomena of fictive motion with resultative meaning has to do with the satisfaction of bodily needs or desires and the explicit recording of the attainment of that condition through fictive motion. We can see this in the first of our examples, (37) below, which is transitive having coded for an accomplishment situation type. The second participant in this construction is the more interesting in that it serves as the device that codes for a resultative endpoint condition. Possession is also a factor and is explicitly encoded. The combination of possession with resultative state codes the “until” condition which denotes the termination of the activity of the verb. The actor is human and animate but the undergoer is not. The undergoer is a *dhótheann* “her fill” which is resultative in the sense that the condition or state recorded has no independent existence apart from the actor. The actor is fictively moving towards possession of the resulting state, which is eventually accomplished in a manner appropriate to the action of the matrix verb.

(37) *Íth sí a dhótheann*

eat:V-PAST she:PN her:POSS-ADJ fill:N

She ate her fill

[do'(sí₁, [ith'(sí₁, [a₁'(dótheann₂))])])]

[do'(x₁, [ith'(x₁, [a₁'(y₂))])])]

Similarly, example (38) is transitive. Here the undergoer participant is *codhail sámh* “restful sleep”, and codes a resultative state. In line with the previous example, possession is also a factor here in that the state, as an entity, comes into the possession of the human and animate actor, the first participant, following the culmination of the verbal action. The second participant is intrinsically bound to the first by its very nature, that of coding a human activity with resultative meaning. In each of these examples, the actor is in control of the action denoted by the verb.

- (38) *Thóg sé codhail sámh*
 take:V-past he:PN sleep:N tranquil:ADJ
 LIT: “He took a tranquil sleep”
 He had a good sleep
- [do'(sé₁, [tóg'(sé₁, [sámh'(codhail₂)])])]
- [do'(x₁, [tóg'(x₁, [sámh'(y₂)])])]

Non-Translational Motion

A non-translational motion construction is intransitive with a single participant, that of actor. The clause has one participant in logical structure and a corresponding argument in argument structure. The actor undergoes the self-initiated, motivated and controlled action. The motion path is expressed via the adverb but the motion is not translational as it not directed, as is the case with translational motion. The actor does not move from one place to another. The scope of the (motion path) adverb is therefore narrower than it is with translational motion and the logical structure underpinning the construction illustrates this by use of embedded, rather than leftmost (and hence wide-scope adverb) position. A characteristic of non-translation motion is that the type of motion involved appears to be implicit in the verbal action denoted. Like the reflexive translational motion examples to be discussed following, the non-translational construction concerns the whole body of the actor.

- (39) *Suí mé síos*
 Sit:V-PAST I:PN down:ADV
 I sat down.
- [do'(mé₁, [sios'(suí'(mé₁))])]
- [do'(x₁, [sios'(suí'(x₁))])]

This is an active accomplishment with the adverb defining the limit, extent and termination point of the activity. As this clause only has one participant it cannot by definition be reflexive.

Reflexive with Translational Motion

In a reflexive construction with translational motion, we engage the notion of self-movement along a path. This requires that an actor, undergoer, and path be coded in the construction. Use of the reflexive marker is required to signal co-reference between the actor and the undergoer. In this construction actual and not implied subjective motion is coded. These constructions are reflexive because of the necessary shared reference of the undergoer with the actor.

The example in (40) illustrates the required triplet needed i.e. Actor, Undergoer, Path. Constructions of this kind cannot be intransitive and must always be transitive. The translational motion is that used in Talmy (1985, 1996b) and additionally concerns the whole body of the actor. The participants denoting the reflexive translational motion must be contiguous in the clause, as in the example above. The reflexive marker *féin* signals the *é* undergoer and grammatical object as co-referential with the actor and grammatical subject. The transitive construction has two participants in logical structure and two arguments in argument structure. The situation type is that of an accomplishment. Because of the use of *féin*, the transitivity is weakened in the sense that the second argument is co-referential with the first argument. The first argument, the sentence subject, is animate and human. The implication therefore is that the second argument, the grammatical object, must also be animate and human for reflexivity to occur, as indeed it is.

- (40) *Chaith sé é féin ar aghaidh*
 throw:V-PAST he:PN him:PN self:PART on:PP forward:ADV
 He threw himself forward

[**ar'**(agaidh, [**do'**(sé₁, [cait'(sé₁, é₂'(féin₁))])])]

[**ar'**(agaidh, [**do'**(x₁, [cait'(x₁, é₂'(féin₁))])])]

While single agreement is coded in (40), both single or plural agreement usage's can be used with the reflexive marker but when plural agreement is introduced then we have an instance where both reflexive and reciprocal hold. The relation changes in that the participants are still co-referential and reflexive but act on each other in a particular reciprocal way. We see this in (41) below. In this example of a transitive clause with a situation type of accomplishment, we again have two participants in logical structure and two arguments in argument structure. The deployment of the marker *féin* on the second argument, the object, signals that this is co-referential with its antecedent, the first argument and sentence subject. There is one important difference between example (41) and the previous example

(40), that of number agreement. In this example we have plural agreement on both the first and second arguments. This triggers the additional reciprocal reading. We have therefore in this example, simultaneous but multiple events where each member of the set of subject participants acted on the others.

- (41) *Chaith siad iad féin ar agaidh*
 throw:V-past they:PN them:PN self:PART on:PP forward:ADV
 They threw themselves forward

[**ar'**(agaidh, [**do'**(siad₁, [**cait'**(siad₁, (iad₂'(féin₁))))))]]
 [**ar'**(agaidh, [**do'**(x₁, [**cait'**(x₁, (iad₂'(féin₁))))))]]

The Non-Sanction of Reflexives in impersonal passives

Impersonal passive constructions utilising lexically reflexive verbs are sanctioned but not, apparently, impersonal passive constructions with the marker *féin* “self” in reflexive use. The marker *féin* cannot be co-referential with the unspecified or impersonal initiator of the action. The use of the reflexive marker *féin* with the impersonal form of a verb is therefore not possible. The simple and unsurprising reason for this is the reflexive has no upstream antecedent argument in the syntax to which it can be bound, as predicted by the thematic hierarchy constraint and the obliqueness condition within the binding domain. This is also not available at the level of semantics as we can see with example (42) illustrates the use of an impersonal passive matrix verb with an accomplishment situation type. This clause has two participants in logical structure but a single argument in argument structure. The first participant in logical structure, the actor, is recorded as indefinite and unspecified. This is visible to the syntax as it causes the impersonal marking on the verb, but is not sufficiently specific or elaborated at the level of logical structure to allow the participant to be recorded in argument structure as the grammatical subject. The (impersonal) argument is semantically present but syntactically unexpressed as subject and it is this fact that delivers the impersonal passive marking on the verb. The second participant in logical structure is elaborated and is mapped into argument structure as the second argument and the grammatical object of the sentence.

- (42) *Dírítear a shuile ar an pictiúir*
 Focus:V-IMPERS-PASS-PAST **his**:POSS-ADJ on:PP the:DET picture:N
 LIT: “(Someone) focused his eyes on the picture”
 His eyes were focused on the picture

[**ar'**(an pictiúir₃), **do'**(x₁, (**díriugh'**(x₁, [**a**₁'(suile₂))))))]]
 [**ar'**(z₃), **do'**(x₁, (**díriugh'**(x₁, [**a**₁'(y₂))))))]]

Where : x_1 is an unspecified individual of animate and human type, and interpreted as “someone”

Impersonal passives are “functionally equivalent to indefinite personal constructions” (Geniusiené 1987:275), with a “human agent” (Geniusiené 1987:278) but the reflexive marker requires a specific and not indefinite antecedent in the binding domain. The personal passive “serving to transpose focus on the referent of the promoted direct object and the impersonal passive serving to focus on the verbal action. Both however, serve to defocus the subject referent by deleting it or demoting it to a minor syntactic position.” In addition, the “impersonal, which is always agentless, and the personal passive with a deleted agent can be used, to a varying degree, to imply a generalised, or indefinite (unspecified, non-individuated), or specific agent”. (Geniusiené 1987:279).

Emphatic use of *féin* with grammatical object is sanctioned, as simple proximity to the object entity is all that is required. The example in (43) illustrates the use of *féin* with impersonal passive constructions but deployed in emphatic mode only and not reflexively.

(43) *Tugadh é féin chun na modh-scoile i mBaile Átha Cliath ina dhiaidh sin.*

Tugadh é féin chun na modh-scoile.
 came:V- IMPERS-PASS-PAST he:PN self:PART to:PP the:DET model-school:N

i mBaile Átha Cliath ina dhiaidh sin
 in:PP Dublin:N in:PP after:ADV that:DET
 LIT: (Someone) brought him (self) to the model school in Dublin after that
 He himself came to the model school in Dublin after that.

[**cun'**(na modh-scoile₃, [**i'**(BAC₄, [**ina'**(diadh sin, [**do'**[x_1 , [**tugadh'**(x_1 , [**é₂'**(féin₂)]))]))]))]]
 [**cun'**(w₃, [**i'**(z₄, [**ina'**(diadh sin, [**do'**[x_1 , [**tugadh'**(x_1 , [**é₂'**(féin₂)]))]))]))]]

Where : x_1 is an animate and human entity.

The sentence in example (44) at first glance appears unusual in that it contains two conjoined clauses, both with the impersonal passive form of their respective verbs. In addition, the first clause has apparently has two arguments and the marker *féin* associated with the second of these in post adjacent position. The second clause has only one argument, the clausal object. This is a complex sentence and the cause of the complexity is these two arguments in the first clause which look like subject and object. This cannot be as the clause verb is in the impersonal passive and cannot therefore promote the object to subject position. The verb has two participants in logical structure, the first of which is indefinite and

unspecific but human and animate. The second participant in logical structure is specific but non-human and inanimate. The problem lies with a potential ambiguity in the clause, which is only removed by the insertion of *é féin*. A speaker uttering *Tréigeadh an seanteampall féin ...* would be ambiguous between these two readings 1) “The old church itself was abandoned ... ” and 2) “Even the old church was abandoned ... ”. To disambiguate the meaning to the intended first reading it is necessary to replace *féin* with *é féin* in the clause, hence the strangeness of the clause. The treatment of the first participant in logical structure is identical to that of the previous example and results in the marking of impersonal passive on the verb. The second participant is linked to the available argument position as the clause object. The additional “argument” is a dummy and does not take an argument position or increase the valency in any way. The marker *féin* is used emphatically in both of the clauses in this sentence and not reflexively. In the first clause, there is no visible human subject to act as antecedent, thereby breaching both the obliqueness condition within the binding domain and the thematic hierarchy constraint.

- (44) *Tréigeadh an seanteampall é féin agus fágadh ina bhallóig é.*
-
- (someone) deserted:V- IMPERS-PASS-PAST the:DET old:ADJ+church:N it:PN self:PART
- agus fágadh ina bhallóig é.*
- and:CONJ (someone) left: V-IMP-PER-PAST in:PP ruin:N it:PN
- LIT: “(Someone) deserted the old church itself and (someone) left it in ruins”
- The old church itself was deserted and left in ruins

[do'(x₁, [tréig'(x₁, [an seanteampall₂'(é₂'(féin₂))])])] &
 [do'(x₁, fág'(x₁, [é₂, [in'[a'₂(ballóig)]]])])]

[do'(x₁, [tréig'(x₁, [y₂'(é₂'(féin₂))])])] &
 [do'(x₁, fág'(x₁, [é₂, [in'[a'₂(ballóig)]]])])]

Where **x** is an animate and human entity, but unknown or irrelevant to the context

All Irish verbs, whether inherently reflexive or not, have an impersonal passive form. Use of *féin* in emphatic mode with the impersonal passive form of a verb is sanctioned, and exhibits simple proximity to its argument in the syntax.

With the impersonal passive form of a verb, no specific and definite actor is elaborated in logical structure and hence there is no subject available in argument structure to act as the reflexive antecedent in the binding domain.

Some additional comments on the reflexive marker

At the semantic level, two participant roles may exist for a verb and in many instances this is reflected in syntax as two argument in a transitive clause. The reflexive marker *féin* preserves the two participant roles at the semantic level but also encodes the fact that both roles share the same reference, that of the antecedent. In the syntax, the leftmost role is reflected as the grammatical subject and the rightmost role that is co-referenced with it attracts the reflexive marker *féin*. The clause is still transitive but the transitivity is weakened, not reduced. This is because two participants are found in logical structure and two arguments are found in argument structure with the reflexive marker immediately after the second argument in the syntax. What is important is that the second argument is still recorded in the syntax, it is not deleted or replaced by *féin* but flagged as co-referential by the deployment of *féin* with it. Reflexivity weakens the transitivity and hence the valency, it does not reduce it. Semantically and syntactically the valency is still two (in a transitive clause) but the identification of the human and animate participant in the second argument is reflexively linked to the human and animate participant in the first argument. In a ditransitive construction, the same holds for the third and first arguments.

Reflexivity and possession

Givon (1990:639) has noticed that a variant of reflexivity occurs within a specific semantic context where “*the subject is the possessor of the object*”. In this type of construction, the subject and object are not co-referential. They are “*semantically more transitive than true reflexives*” and, as no argument is lost from argument structure, they are not valence decreasing and therefore “*syntactically more transitive than true reflexives*”.

The verb in example (45) is a member of that verbal class that codes for an understood object. In this example, the actor and undergoer are both explicit in logical structure. The clause, however, is ambiguous and lends itself to two different interpretations, that is, a reading with an understood object which is additionally possessed by the actor or, a reading with an explicit syntactically realised object not possessed by the actor. The two glosses and logical structures below differentiate the two possible readings of this example. The reflexive marker *féin* can be used to disambiguate between the two readings.

- (45) *Coirigh Mairéad a gruaige*
 brush:V-past Mairéad:N her:POSS-ADJ hair:N
 Mairéad₁ brushed her₂ hair

(a) Object which is possessed by the clausal subject

[do'(Mairéad₁, [cóirigh'(Mairéad₁, [a'₁(gruaigh₂))]) & BECOME [cóirigh'(a'₁(gruaigh₂))]]

[do'(x₁, [cóirigh'(x₁, [a'₁(y₂)])]) & BECOME [cóirigh'(a'₁(y₂)]

(b) Object explicit and syntactically realised but not possessed by the clausal subject

[do'(Mairéad₁, [cóirigh'(Mairéad₁, [a'₂(gruaigh₃)])]) & BECOME [cóirigh'(a'₂(gruaigh₃)]]

[do'(x₁, [cóirigh'(x₁, [a'₂(y₃)])]) & BECOME [cóirigh'(a'₂(y₃)]]

We have seen that the marker *féin* may be used and associated with the undergoer participant in order to indicate to reflexivity with the actor as antecedent. We then understand that the undergoer as marked by *féin* is co-referential with the actor. This is precisely what occurs in example (46). The actor and undergoer are explicit and the reflexive marker is deployed following the undergoer *í* “her”. This is a transitive clause in which two roles are coded for but which only has one reference. While a specific undergoer is indicated in the clause, an implicit undergoer is understood, that is, the *gruaigh* “hair” affected and owned by the syntactically realised object of the clause and which is possessed by the actor/subject. The activity denoted by the verb is bounded and the situation type is therefore an accomplishment.

- (46) *Cóirigh Mairéad í féin*
 brush:V-past Mairéad:N her:PN self:PART
 Mairéad brushed her self

[do'(Mairéad₁, [cóirigh'(Mairéad₁, [í'₁(féin₁)])]) & BECOME [cóirigh'(í'₁(féin₁)]]

[do'(x₁, [cóirigh'(x₁, [í'₁(féin₁)])]) & BECOME [cóirigh'(í'₁(féin₁)]]

The example in (47) is also transitive with an explicit actor and undergoer coded. Here however, the actual patient is explicit, rather than the possessor as in the previous example. The reflexive marker is used appropriately signalling that the undergoer is co-referential with the actor. Again, the entity that elaborates the undergoer is a component body part of the actor and therefore necessarily possessed by the actor. This example is therefore reflexive in virtue of the deployment of the marker *féin* immediately post adjacent to the undergoer NP and the clause has an accomplishment aktionsart.

- (47) *Cóirigh Mairéad a gruaige féin*
 brush:V-past Mairéad:N her:PN-POSS hair:N self:PART
 Mairéad brushed her own hair

[do'(Mairéad₁, [cóirigh'(Mairéad₁, [a'₁(gruaigh'₂(féin₁))])])

& BECOME [cóirigh'(a'₁(gruaigh'₂(féin₁)]]

[do'(x₁, [cóirigh'(x₁, [a'₁(y'₂(féin₁))])]) & BECOME [cóirigh'(a'₁(y'₂(féin₁)]]

When reflexivity is coded, the reflexive relationship is one of necessary possession of the undergoer by the actor and that undergoer partakes of the action expressed by the verb.

The possessed entity in example (48) is not a part of the undergoer but an external entity in the world. As such, this possessed external entity may be worn by, or carried on, the actor. Body parts can consist of ones hand, hair and such like. Wearable possessed entities can be clothes, coins or rings. Use of the marker *féin* relates the possessed inanimate entity back to the actor under this relationship.

- (48) *d'Oscail sé₁ a₂ chota féin₁*
 open:V-past he:PN his:PN-POSS coat:N self:PART
 LIT: "He opened his own coat"
 He opened his coat

[do'(sé₁, [oscail'(sé₁, [a₂'(cota₂(féin₁))]))] & CAUSE [BECOME [oscail'(a₂'(cota₂(féin₁)))]]
 [do'(x₁, [oscail'(x₁, [a₂'(y₂(féin₁))]))] & CAUSE [BECOME [oscail'(a₂'(y₂(féin₁)))]]

This example is transitive with a specific actor/subject and a specific undergoer/object and has a situation type of achievement. Without use of the reflexive marker *féin*, ambiguity with respect to reference of the possessed undergoer/object would exist, for which see example (49), but this is immediately disambiguated when the reflexive marker is deployed. Example (49) can be interpreted in a possessive-reflexive or possessive non-reflexive manner, depending on whether one interprets the possessed entity as owned by the actor or owned by some other non-referenced individual. Both interpretations are shown in logical structure below, with the differences denoted by the indices.

- (49) *d'Oscail sé a chota*
 open:V-past he:PN his:PN-POSS coat:N
 He opened his coat

Possessive-Reflexive interpretation

[do'(sé₁, [oscail'(sé₁, [a₁'(cota₂))]))] & CAUSE [BECOME [oscail'(a₁'(cota₂))]]
 [do'(x₁, [oscail'(x₁, [a₁'(y₂))]))] & CAUSE [BECOME [oscail'(a₁'(y₂))]]

Possessive Non-reflexive interpretation

[do'(sé₁, [oscail'(sé₁, [a₂'(cota₃))]))] & CAUSE [BECOME [oscail'(a₂'(cota₃))]]
 [do'(x₁, [oscail'(x₁, [a₂'(y₃))]))] & CAUSE [BECOME [oscail'(a₂'(y₃))]]

Reciprocal

In a way somewhat analogous to the distribution of the reflexive, the reciprocal can manifest itself in a number of different constructions, intransitive and transitive, and with several different reciprocal markers. Following Givon (1990:628ff volume 2), we will use the terms light and heavy reciprocals to describe these constructions.

Light reciprocals are constructions which appear to be inherently reciprocal under the normal or prototypical reading. These constructions utilise verbs such as *póg* “kiss” or *pós* “marry” where the common understanding is that at least two human animate entities are involved in the action of the verb and that the entities act upon each other in some way. Givon (1990:628 volume 2) defines the reciprocal in this way: “two like events are at issue, with the subject of the first being the object of the second, and vice versa. The two participants thus act upon each other (reciprocally)”. In a light reciprocal construction we find that the actor/undergoer of the clause, the sentence subject, is plural. The subjects are conjoined and there is no reciprocal marking. Similar to the class of reflexive verbs with an understood object, here we find that the plural subject is the (plural) understood object of the sentence.

Verbs that are lexically reciprocal are used in intransitive clauses with a plural subject nominal. A typical example (50) of such a verb is *póg* “kiss”. In this example, the normal reading is reciprocal and the understood object is *iad féin* “each other”, represented as underlined in the logical structure. The understood object is *visible to the semantics* but not manifest in the syntax. Under this reading the action is simultaneous and constitutes a single event.

- (50) *Phóg siad*
 kiss:V-past they:PN
 They kissed
- [do'(siad₁, [póg'(siad₁, (iad₂'(féin₁)))]))]
- [do'(x₁, [póg'(x₁, (iad₂'(féin₁)))]))]

The interpretation of this construction, assuming that *siad* “them” contains two human entities, *m* and *n*, would be as follows:

- (51) **póg'**(*m*₁ ∧ *n*₂, *n*₂ ∧ *m*₁) & [not **póg'**(*m*₁, *m*₁)] & [not **póg'**(*n*₂, *n*₂)] & *m*₁ ≠ *n*₂

Simply, this can be read as **m** and **n** kissed each other, **m** did not kiss **m**, **n** did not kiss **n** and **m** is not **n**.

The heavy reciprocals are more marked in the syntax and can be intransitive or intransitive. We will examine the intransitive form of these constructions first followed by the transitive variant. The intransitive heavy reciprocals, like the light intransitive reciprocals, code for a single event with

simultaneous action. They have a plural subject that is human and animate. They differ specifically from the light reciprocal in that they use the reciprocal marking *le chéile* “together”.

An example of this is (52) where the participants equally act upon each other and each can be equally considered as actor and undergoer. This construction is stative in nature in virtue of its use of the substantive verb *tá* “be”. One participant role is involved which is elaborated by a prepositional pronoun *orainn* “on+us” with plural number agreement. Reciprocity is invoked by use of the reciprocal marker *le chéile*. The prepositional pronoun *orainn* with the marker *le chéile* denotes a reciprocal relationship between the referents. The verbal noun form of the verb *obair* “work” is used. In its finite form, this intransitive verb would take a subject in the normal manner and could be used with the heavy reciprocal marker *le chéile*. In this construction (52), the subject is adjacent in template position to the substantive verb.

- (52) *Tá orainn obair le chéile*
 is:SUBV-pres on:PP+us:PN work:VN with:PP self:PART
 We must work with each other

[**be'** (**ar'**(muid₁), [**obair'**(**le'**(céile₁))])]]

[**be'** (**ar'**(x₁), [**obair'**(**le'**(céile₁))])]]

In example (53) and (54) we have a similar example where a variation on the heavy reciprocal marker, *lena chéile*, is used in an intransitive construction. The construction is intransitive, expressing an activity with a plural subject. No object is expressed in the syntax. The action is simultaneous and denotes a single event. Each of the members of the plural subject act on each other. The context to the utterance in (53) is provided by (54)

- (53) *Níor réitigh siad lena chéile*
 Not:Neg agree:V-past they:PN with:PP+in:PP+to:PP together:PART
 They did not get on together

[not [**do'**(siad₁, [**réitigh'**(siad₁, [**lena'**(céile₁))])]]

- (54) *Bean chéile gan aon tuiscint aici dó. Níor réitigh siad lena chéile, agus ní théadh sé abhaile ach go déanach agus é ólta.*

“A wife without any understanding of him. They did not agree with each other and he never went home until late and drunk.”

Not all deployments of the phrase *le chéile* denote a reciprocal construction. In example (55) and (56), we have such a deployment in a transitive construction with a situation type of accomplishment. The subject is human, animate and plural. The object of the sentence is complex and specified in the syntax as plural but crucially, non-human and inanimate. The phrase *le chéile* qualifies the complex object and cannot signal reciprocity between the subject and object because the subject and object have completely different references. This construction is not reciprocal and the simple use of *le chéile* alone cannot be considered a sufficient diagnostic, on its own, as a marker of a reciprocal construction.

- (55) *Chuir siad cnámha an divan le chéile, déanta mar bhéadh trí thaobh cearnóige ann,*

“They put three supports of the divan together, made as if there were three squares there”

- (56) *Chuir siad cnámha an divan le chéile,*
put:V-past they:PN bones:N of:GEN+the:DET divan:N with:PP each+other:PART

“They put three supports of the divan together”

[do'(siad₁, (cuir'(siad₁, (le'(céile'(cnámha an divan₂)))))))]

[do'(x₁, (cuir'(x₁, (le'(céile'(y₂)))))))]

We have considered the intransitive variant of the heavy reciprocal. At this point we can proceed to an examination of the transitive heavy reciprocal. This construction is always transitive and its use is marked by the phrase *iad féin* “them self”. These constructions tend to code multiple events where the action can either be simultaneous or sequenced in some way. The subject of the clause must be human, animate and plural.

The construction in (57) is transitive, having human and animate actor participants with plural number agreement. The undergoer participants necessarily agree with the attributes of the actor in virtue of the reflexive coreference signalled by use of the reflexive marker *féin*. The action is additionally reciprocal in virtue of the coreference of plural subject and object, and the overt coding of the fact of the unfolding of the action generated by the subject onto the objects, that is, onto themselves. The subject pronoun *siad* “they” has nominate case and the object pronoun *iad* “them” has accusative case. The object is not understood and covert in this example but overt and explicitly represented in logical structure and in argument structure within the syntax. This use of *iad* and *féin* together constitutes the heavy reciprocal marker for transitive constructions.

- (57) *Phóg siad iad féin*
kiss:V-past they:PN them:PN self:PART
LIT: “They kissed themselves”
They kissed each other

[do'(siad₁, [póg'(siad₁, (iad₂'(féin₁)))))]
 [do'(x₁, [póg'(x₁, (iad₂'(féin₁)))))]

The example in (58) is transitive, codes for translational motion and deploys the reciprocal marker *iad féin*. The coding of translational motion in the clause requires that the clause have a path along which the motion of the object undergoing the verbal is directed. This means that the triplet of actor, undergoer and path must be expressed in the syntax. While reflexive, the construction is also reciprocal by virtue of the plural number agreement of the participants. Specifically, the construction is transitive accomplishment coding for actual translation motion with a plural subject, an object that is coreferential with the subject in all respects, and a path. The subject codes for two or more people. The construction is reciprocal. The multiple reciprocal events of the action of the verb over the participants may encompass simultaneous or serial actions. For a quantity of two people we may assume that the actions are simultaneous, but for more than two people this need not be so and remains unspecified.

(58) *Chaith siad iad féin thart fá'n teinidh annsin agus thoisigh an ceól.*

Chaith siad iad féin thart fá'n teinidh
 Throw:V-past they:PN them:PN self:PART around:ADV about:ADV+the:DET crowd:N
annsin agus thoisigh an ceól.
 then:ADV and:CONJ started:V-past the:DET music:N

They threw themselves into the crowd then and the music started

[ansin'(faoi'(an teinidh₃, [do'(siad₁, [caith'(siad₁, (iad₂'(féin₁)))))))]
 & [do'(0, [thoisigh'(an ceól₄)))]
 [ansin'(faoi'(w₃, [do'(x₁, [caith'(x₁, (y₂'(féin₁)))))))] & [do'(0, [thoisigh'(z₄)))]

Example (59) is transitive, an accomplishment and reciprocal. The plural object is coreferential with the plural human animate subject. The subject set has two or more participant members. The construction codes for multiple events with simultaneous action.

(59) *Ansin shocair siad iad féin go seascair ina ngabháltas.*

Ansin shocair siad iad féin.
 then:Adv settle:V-past they:PN them:PN self:PART
go seascair ina ngabháltas
 to:PP comfortably:ADV in:pp+their:POSS holdings:N

[**ansin'**[**do'**(siad₁, (**socair'**(siad₁, (**go seascair ina ngabhaltas'**(iad'₂(féin₁))))))]]
 [**ansin'**[**do'**(x₁, (**socair'**(x₁, (**go seascair ina ngabhaltas'**(iad'₂(féin₁))))))]]

The example in (60) is a complex sentence having two conjoined clauses. The first of these clauses has the matrix verb *pós* “marry” which we discussed earlier as inherently reflexive with an understood plural object coreferential with, and identical to, the overt plural human animate subject. The first clause is intransitive, signalling an activity at the level of the syntax but is inherently reciprocal with a semantically present understood object that is not expressed in the syntax. The subject of the first clause has two or more members. The action is simultaneous with a single event if the set of members of the subject is two, but this codes multiple events with simultaneous action when the number under consideration is say, four or more. The subjects in the first clause are conjoined with respect to the action of the verb *pós*. The verb in the second clause is *socair* “settle”. The subject of this second clause is in fact the subject of the first clause, that is *cuid acu*. The subject of the first clause is therefore the controller of the action of the second clause. The subject of this clause is present in the semantics in logical structure but not expressed in the syntax. It is however visible to the syntax. Evidence for this is to be found in the accusative marking on the plural pronoun *iad* “them”. This demonstrates that the subject, and controller, is in the matrix verb in the first of the conjoined clauses and the undergoer of the second clause, the object, takes the appropriate marking in the syntax. In the second clause we have multiple events and the action is simultaneous.

(60) *Phós cuid acu agus shocair iad féin ar thalamh na mainistreach.*

Phós cuid acu agus.

Marry:V-past some:qty of:PP+them:PN and:CONJ

shocair (pro) iad féin ar thalamh na mainistreach

settle:V-past them:PN self:PART on:PP ground:N of:GEN+the:DET monastery:N

[**do'**(cuid acu₁, **pós'**(cuid acu₁, (**iad'**₂(féin₁)))) & **do'**(x₁, (**socair'**(x₁, (**iad'**₂(féin₁)))))]

[**do'**(x₁, **pós'**(x₁, (**iad'**₂(féin₁)))) & **do'**(x₁, (**socair'**(x₁, (**iad'**₂(féin₁)))))]

The example in (61) and (62) is stative in nature in virtue of the use of the substantive verb. It codes an activity that is ongoing and, as such, deploys a verbal noun form of the action verb *tóg*. The action verb in finite form is transactional in nature and therefore ditransitive with three participants' i.e., it has a subject, an object and theme. These same participants are to be found in the construction of (61) albeit with the participants in different template positions. The subject of (61), *na siopadóirí*, is now found in this construction immediately to the right of the substantive verb in linear word order and to the

immediate left of the *ag tógáil* verbal noun phrase. The sentence is reciprocal in virtue of the use of *iad féin* and denotes an ongoing activity that is still progressing in the state described in the construction.

- (61) *Bhí na siopadóirí iad féin*
 be:SUBJ-past the:DET-pl shopkeepers:N them:PN self:PART

ag tógáil earraidh ar cáirde
 at:PP taking:VN goods:N from:PP+their:PN friends:N

[**be'**(na siopadóirí₁, [**ag'**(**tóg'**(**ar'**(**cairde'**(earraidh₃)), (**iad'**₂(féin₁)))))]

- (62) *Bhí na siopadóirí iad féin ag tógáil earraidh ar cáirde agus ag díol bisigh air leis na margaitheoirí.*

“The shopkeepers were themselves each taking goods from their friends and increasingly selling them to the marketgoers”

Similar examples of the use of the reciprocal marker *iad féin* are to be found in the complex sentence (63). The relevant component clauses within this are in (64) and (65). The underlying behaviour of these examples is as with the other *iad féin* constructions. The clause in example (64) is transitive and an accomplishment, reciprocal in virtue of the prototypical deployment of *iad féin*. Multiple simultaneous events take place. A difference with (64) is that, as well as utilising the *iad féin* marker, the phrase *a chéile* is also used. We previously found the phrase *a chéile* as the heavy reciprocal marker in intransitive clauses; here we find it used in a transitive clause in addition to the heavy reciprocal marker *iad féin*. The phrase *a chéile* in this clause serves to denote the manner in this already reciprocal action took place, in the sense of delivering a spatial configuration to the reciprocity. We also find the phrase *a chéile* in the second clause, shown in example (65), and used with the inherently reflexive *póg* “kiss”. Even though the verb is inherently reflexive, the use in this context is that of a heavy reciprocal marker on a syntactically intransitive construction.

- (63) *Shnaidhm siad iad féin ina chéile; phóg siad a chéile agus na deóra leo; acht focal agus ní rabh siad ábalta a labhairt ar feadh chupla bomaite.*

“They embraced each other together; they kissed each other together and their tears with them; but a word and they were not able to talk for several moments”

- (64) *Shnaidhm siad iad féin ina chéile*
 embrace:V-past they:PN them:PN self:PART in:PP+their:POSS together:PART

They embraced each other together

- (65) *phóg siad a chéile*
 kiss:V-past they:PN to:PP together:PART

They kissed each other together

It is not uncommon to find this type of usage of reciprocal constructions in complex sentences consisting of multiple clauses. Additional examples of this usage is to be found in the passage in (66) where the heavy reciprocal marker, *iad féin*, is demonstrated in transitive constructions and reflects the prototypical utilisation of this marker.

- (66) "Och, chuala tú faoin bheirt leads óga a **mharaigh iad féin** toisc nach raibh siad in ann obair a fháil. Bhuel . . . tá Cóilín agus cara leis i ndiaidh an cleas céanna d'imirt. **Mharaigh siad iad féin - phlúch siad iad féin** istigh i ngaráiste agus gás ag teacht ó inneall gluaisteáin. Maidin inniu."

"... have you heard about the two young lads that killed themselves because they could not find any work. Well ... Cóilín and a friend have played the same trick. They killed themselves – they suffocated each other inside a garage with the fumes coming from a car engine. This morning."

In example (67) a causative verb *rinne* "make" is deployed with the reflexive marker *féin*. The utterance is transactional in nature and codes for three participants. The roles denoted are generalised as actor, undergoer and beneficiary. The actor participant role is elaborated by a plural nominal and the utterance is otherwise similar to the *indirect reflexive with reflexive marker* construction discussed in the previous section. The major difference is that the referent has plural number agreement. This plural number agreement, when used with the reflexive marker, sanctions both a reflexive and reciprocal interpretation, as illustrated in this example.

- (67) *Rinne na daoine an tseirbhís sin uilig dóibh féin.*
 made:V-past the:DET people:N the:DET service:N there:DET for:PP+them:PN self:PART
 The people made the service for themselves

[**do'**(na daoine₁, [**rinne'**(na daoine₁, an tseirbhís sin uilig₂))
 & CAUSE **be'**(an tseirbhís sin uilig₂, [**do'**(**siad**₁'(féin₁)))]
 [**do'**(x₁, [**rinne'**(x₁, y₂)) & CAUSE **be'**(y₂, [**do'**(**siad**₁'(féin₁)))]]

In this example, the actors that initiate the action cause the beneficial effects of the action to unfold on themselves as undergoers. The plural subject of the sentence causes the action to beneficially effect the coreferential objects.

Summary and Discussion

We introduced this paper with a necessarily brief discussion on the traditional approaches to the analysis of reflexivity and found that this was problematic for languages with a VSOX word order. We discussed some alternative approaches from the literature, including approaches by Jackendoff and Van Valin that have more coherent applicability to VSOX languages such as Irish and a greater explanatory power. We posited that the behaviours of reflexive and reciprocal constructions are reflected in the inherent word order of VSOX. We proceeded to examine the distribution of reflexive constructions and found that these occur in transitive constructions signalled by the reflexive marker *féin*. This marker can also be used non-reflexively in emphatic constructions.

We examined the distributional facts of the reflexive constructions and found that, of necessity, they bind the subject. Givón (1990:628 volume 2) defines the reflexive construction as applying where “*the subject is co-referent with the object, and this acts upon itself (reflexively)*”. Reflexives cannot occur in personal passive or impersonal passive constructions. Reflexives take part in control constructions where the actor/agent control reflexives at the semantic level and subjects control reflexivity at the syntactic level. The reflexive construction was found to maintain the valency count at the semantic and syntactic levels. Reflexives require local antecedents and, as such, are amenable to a clause/sentence internal analysis where the domain of applicability, the binding domain, is constrained accordingly.

In relation to subject properties and control of reflexivity, Givón (1990:628) notes that “*The closer the clausal subject is to the prototypical syntactic subject, the more it is likely to retain control of co-reference of reflexivation*”. In the situation with two clauses in a sentence, control is likely to be vested in the subject of the main clause. We found that reflexives cannot occur in subject position. We explained this by use of the obliqueness condition within the binding domain, the thematic hierarchy constraint and the constraints implicit in the RRG approach that we applied to the analysis.

The prototypical transitive verb has an agentive subject and a patient direct object. Reflexives (and reciprocals) are restricted to those that take (ideally) human subjects, but at minimum animate subjects. This dictates that the object of the clause must be also ideally human and animate but at least animate if it is to be co-referenced with the subject. A continuum may be observed to exist with a possibly human, but necessarily animate, participant in the subject argument at the reflexive end of the scale, and non-human and inanimate at the absolute other pole, the emphatic end of the continuum.

Human/animate reflexive use----- non-human/inanimate emphatic use

The prototypical transitive clause with patient/object is not human but inanimate. Therefore it is more natural for dative/benefactive (i.e. human) objects to occur with reflexive or reciprocals. In relation to subject properties and the control of reflexivity, it appears that in sentences with two clauses, control is more likely to occur in the main clause subject. We considered the reasons why reflexivity cannot apply in constructions involving impersonal passives due to the visibility of the antecedent to the reflexive marker in the syntax. A diagnostic of reflexives is therefore that they cannot be expressed in passive constructions. The issue of motion as an ingredient with reflexivity led us to consider fictive, non-translational and translational motion. Translational motion alone allows reflexivity.

We completed this analysis with an examination of reciprocal constructions and the different conditions that apply to their use. We discovered that reciprocal constructions have a restricted distribution over a number of different construction types and specific constraints apply. One of these constraints is that the relevant subject nominal must have plural number agreement. The attributes that reflect the distribution of the reciprocal are summarised in (68) in relation to transitive and intransitive constructions.

(68)

Reciprocal	
<i>Transitive</i>	<i>Intransitive</i>
Not inherently reciprocal	May be inherently reciprocal
Multiple events	Single event, simultaneous action
Markings	May or may not have markings
Makes use of <i>iad féin</i>	May make use of <i>le/a chéile</i>
Plural subject	Plural subject

With reflexives, the object is co-referential with the subject and the subject therefore acts upon itself reflexively. With reciprocals, this is somewhat complex in virtue of the plurality of the set of subject members, with the subject of the first action being the object of the second, and vice versa such that the participants act upon each other. Reciprocity can be introduced when a reflexive construction has nominal with plural number in argument structure positions. Givon (1990:628 volume 2) defines the reciprocal as “two like events are at issue, with the subject of the first being the object of the second, and vice versa. The two participants thus act upon each other (reciprocally)”. We found in this analysis that reciprocity distributes over transitive, but also intransitive, constructions and reflects what Givon (1990:628ff) calls light vs. heavy marking. Light reciprocal constructions occur in intransitive clauses with either lexically reciprocal verbs, or in constructions that employ any of the variants of the light reciprocal marker, *le/a chéile*. The use of the phrase *le/a chéile* must occur with an intransitive clause with plural subject for reciprocity to occur. Heavy reciprocal constructions in syntactically

transitive clauses are restricted to, and specifically signalled by, the marker *iad féin* in template position in linear word order.

The role of event structure and the underpinning situation types has a direct bearing on understanding the distribution of, and the behaviours of, the reflexive and reciprocal constructions. The relationship between semantic and syntactic valency and aktionsarten is very strong. Interestingly, in some situations the semantic valency is visible to the syntax but in other cases it is not, thereby directly influencing the transitivity of the clause.

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