Reflexivity and Reciprocity in Competition in Logoori

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Anaphora overlap

- → Reflexive and reciprocal markers **overlap** in many languages, reflecting the fact that reflexivity and reciprocity share meaning (e.g., Romance SE).
- Conversely, many languages do not exhibit an overlap between reflexive and reciprocal markers (e.g., English -self vs. each other).

Contribution here:

Lack of overlap between reflexivity and reciprocity indicates different encoding strategies, which may compete to express different situations.

"Anaphoricity" in Logoori

Logoori (Luyia, Bantu, JE 41) has reflexive (I-) and reciprocal (-AN) markers.

The reflexive marker...

- → occupies a preverbal position associated with object markers
- → is subject to binding condition A (locality, c-command)
- (1) Sira y-i-/mu-lol-i 1Sira 1SM-I-/1OM-see-FV 'Sira saw himself/him/her.'

The reciprocal marker...

- → occupies a stem final position (among the derivational suffixes)
- → is subject to binding condition A (locality, c-command)
- (2) avaana va-lol-an-i 2child 2SM-see-AN-FV 'The children saw each other.'

Cognates of both markers are widely attested across (Narrow) Bantu with functions similar to what is reported here (Nurse, 2008).

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Underspecified reflexivity

The reflexive marker I- is consistently found in "mixed" scenarios (Murray, 2008).

- (3) **Mixed scenario context**: Sira, Imali, and Kageha went hiking and got bitten by mosquitos. Sira scratched his own bug-bites while Imali scratched Kageha's and Kageha scratched Imali's.
 - a. avaana va-i-yag-i

 2child 2SM-I-scratch-FV

 'The children scratched themselves/each other.'
- b. # avaana va-yag-an-i 2child 2sm-scratch-An-fv 'The children scratched each other.'

→ I- is **underspecified**. It indicates that there is a relation in a (plural) individual, which may include reciprocal mappings (Murray, 2008)

Reciprocity and event quantification

In addition to reciprocity, -AN also marks cumulative event plurality for intransitive predicates.

(4) Sira y-ashiamul-an-i 1Sira 1SM-sneeze-AN-FV 'Sira sneezed over and over.' * Sira a-ras-an-i mpira
1Sira 1sm-throw-an-fv 3ball

[Int: Sira threw the ball over and over.']

Gluckman (2018, in prep): -AN is an event quantifier for intransitive predicates, and thus expresses a piece of the meaning of reciprocity as a whole.

 \sim Reciprocal situations minimally involve event plurality, cumulativity, distributivity, all of which are needed to calculate plural relations (e.g., *The children saw the parents*) (Langendoen, 1978; Beck, 2001). They are the sub-type of relational plural that is "intransitive" (Kemmer, 1993)

Independent (implicit) processes for creating plural relations accounts for the additional meaning (e.g., cumulativity ** and distributivity * operators (Link, 1983; Beck, 2001; Faller, 2004)

- (6) $\exists e \ [avaana\ [*[\lambda 1 \ [avaana\ [*[\lambda 2 \ [-an\ [VP\ t_1\ -lol-\ t_2\]\]\]\]\]\]]]]$ $= \exists e \forall x, y [x, y \in \text{CHILDREN} \rightarrow *(*(-AN(\text{see})))(x)(y)(e)]$
 - ≈"There is a plural event of seeing and all pairs of children are distributed among those events."

Reciprocity in Logoori is **compositional**. There is no one thing that "means" reciprocal.

Logoori uses different strategies to encode reflexive and reciprocal situations.

- → Reflexivity is encoded directly with I-, which expresses a relation in an individual.
- \leadsto Reciprocity is encoded compositionally, and -AN expresses only part of reciprocal meaning.

Consequence: co-occurrence

Because the markers are **independent**, the -I and -AN can co-occur.

'They scratched themselves/each other (a lot).'

(7) va-i-yag-an-i 2SM-I-scratch-AN-FV

- (8) avikura va-i-rum-an-i 2boy 2sm-I-bite-AN-FV
 - 'The boys bit themselves/each other (a lot).'

See Safir and Sikuku (2018) for similar data in Bukusu (in which -AN does not have a plural event meaning).

Competition

Why use -AN when I- can be used instead?

Utterances with reflexive and reciprocal marking in Logoori are in **competition**. By using -AN a speaker is signaling that the relation does not include the reflexive relation.

- (9) a. avaana va-i-yag-i 2child 2SM-I-scratch-FV 'The children scratched themselves.'
 - b. # Indiyo, va-yag-an-i
 Yes, 2SM-scratch-AN-FV
 'Yes, they scratched each other.'
- (10) a. avaana va-yag-an-i
 2child 2SM-SCRATCH-AN-FV
 'The children scratched each other,
 - b. Indiyo, yai-yag-i
 Yes, 2SM-I-scratch-FV
 'Yes, they scratched themselves.'

Note: the competition is at the **utterance level**. (I- and -AN don't compete.)

Takeaway

- → Though reciprocity and reflexivity share some meaning, a language may employ independent mechanisms for expressing each situation.
- ~ Competition may be required when one marker is compatible with both contexts.

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