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REFLEXIVES AND MIDDLE IN SOME POLYNESIAN AND NEW CALEDONIAN LANGUAGES

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Introduction

Frantisek Lichtenberk (1999:31) recently showed that a number of genetically related Oceanic languages "have morphological markers used to encode reciprocal and certain other situations, but not reflexives situations". I fully agree with the first part of this sentence, but not entirely with the second part concerning reflexives.

The polysemy of the reciprocal markers in Oceanic languages has been described earlier (cf. Pawley 1973:152; Ross 1988 and two papers written in 1997 by Brill and Moyse-Faurie, still to appear in Guentchéva and Nedjalkov eds...). So-called *reciprocal markers* mainly indicate a plurality of actions ("combined or repeated action by a plurality of actors", as in Pawley 1973:152) along with a low degree of distinguishability of the participants. In some languages, they also encode middle meanings.

In the first part of this paper, I will examine how middles are marked in a few New-Caledonian and Polynesian languages, that is either by the genetically related reciprocal/middle marker or by other ways as well (inherently middle, pronominal or labile verbs; reduplication; anti-causative constructions).

Although these languages do not have reflexive pronouns/anaphors, and do not mark reflexivity with markers identical to the reciprocal/middle markers¹, they do have reflexive constructions, using what is called *intensifiers* (or intensive reflexives) to mark reflexivity. In the second part of this paper, I will present these reflexive constructions in the same groups of languages, showing the spreading, the polysemy and the position of these intensifiers.

Whereas the reciprocal/middle markers are related, coming from POC *paRi (or, according to Ross, from both POC *paRi and *pa(k)i forms), the intensifiers used to mark reflexivity are not related, having different origins (adverbs, emphatic, restrictive or deictic particles).

1. Middle constructions

1.1. Verbs conveying a middle meaning lexically

In the New Caledonian languages as well as in some Western Polynesian languages, one finds a few inherently "middle" verbs, mostly referring to grooming events, body care or injury, to

¹ Eastern Polynesian languages (at least Rapanui, Māori and Tahitian) are an exception: they seem to have lost the reciprocal prefixes and extended the use of their reflexive intensifiers to reciprocal. See §3.2.2.

collective or spontaneous events. These verbs are also inherently middle verbs in English, but they would take the reflexive/middle marker *se* in French.

Among verbs which always have a middle meaning when used intransitively, one must distinguish between labile verbs and verbs which must undergo derivation (or form a compound verb) to become active.

a) *Labile underived verbs*

Labile verbs can, without derivation, have a middle meaning with one argument, and an active meaning with two arguments. In intransitive construction, one argument is expressed which semantically corresponds to the patient and the agent in an indissociable fashion; the verb has then a middle meaning: Xârâcùù *xii* "shave", *tôôbùtù* "gather" *nèè* "fly off", Ajië *cowa* "finish", Drehu *xoxo* "scratch", etc.

In underived transitive constructions, two arguments are expressed: the subject semantically corresponding to the agent and the object to the patient. The verb has then an active meaning.

Examples in Xârâcùù:

- | | | |
|-----|---|--|
| (1) | <i>nâ xii</i>
1S shave
"I am shaving." | <i>nâ xii è</i>
1S shave 3S
"I am shaving him." |
| (2) | <i>ri tôôbùtù</i>
3P gather
"They are gathering." | <i>ri tôôbùtù ri</i>
3P gather 3P
"They are gathering them." |

Examples in Ajië:

- | | | |
|-----|--|--|
| (3) | <i>na cowa na nékaré</i>
3S finish SM summer
"Summer is ending." | <i>na wê cowa pârà pèci xi e na oyari</i>
3S PERF finish PLUR book POSS 3S SM child
"The child has finished his homework." |
|-----|--|--|

b) *Causative labile verbs*

The PPN prefix **faka-* (POC **paka*), is a very productive transitivising prefix with a causative value; it also has an adverbial value ("in the way of", "in the vicinity of"). In East Futunan, a few *faka-* derived verbs may take either a middle value or an active value when accompanied by only one argument. Example with the verb *vilô* "fall", derived in *fakavilô* "throw oneself on the ground", "make fall":

- | | |
|-----|---|
| (4) | <i>na faka-vilô a Petelo</i>
PAST CAUS-fall ABS Petelo
"Petelo fell (accidentally), threw himself on the ground " (middle value) or: "Petelo fell" (because someone made him fall : the verb is active, with a unique argument referring to the patient and a non-expressed agent.) |
|-----|---|

When two arguments are present, these *faka-* derived verbs have an active causative meaning, as in (5):

- | | |
|-----|--|
| (5) | <i>na fakavilô e ia a Petelo</i>
PAST CAUS-fall ERG 3S ABS Petelo
"S/he made Petelo fall." |
|-----|--|

There may also be coreference between the arguments entering a reflexive construction (see example 55, § 3.2.1).

Some of these *faka-* derived verbs only function as intransitive verbs, taking only one argument:

mate "die, be dead" *fakamate* "commit suicide (intransitive)"²
pe'esi "put down" *fakape'esi* "let oneself fall"

- (6) *e kau ano o faka-mate*
 NS 1S go CONJ CAUS-die
 "I am going to commit suicide."

In Samoan as well, labile causative verbs derived from non-ergative verbs with *fa'a-* and entering non-ergative constructions mean "cause oneself to be, or undergo what is denoted by the simple verb" (see Mosel & Hovdhaugen 1992):

- (7) *na fa'a-pa'ū le teine i le moega*
 PAST CAUS-fall ART girl OBL ART bed
 "The girl threw herself onto the bed." (Mosel & Hovdhaugen, 1992: 18.118)

c) *Middle verbs which must undergo derivation to become active*

Another sub-category consists in inherently middle verbs which must undergo derivation to be used transitively. They belong to the same semantical categories as labile verbs: grooming actions or body posture (e.g. Xârâcùù *sinirè* "blow one's nose", *xûnù* "hang oneself", *mwa* "to get lost"; East Futunan *ma'anu* "bathe"; Drehu *si* "wash", *eatr* "get hurt"); spontaneous events (Xârâcùù *jörö* "fall over", *ma* "untie", *pürü* "break"; East Futunan *pīpī* "spout"; Drehu *mala* "crush", *ngazo* "be spoiled", *hmu* "melt", *pi* "die out", *xeci* "be broken", etc.). The derivation through which such inherently middle verbs become active may involve:

- a causative prefix:

Xârâcùù:

- (8) *nâ sinirè* *nâ fa-sinirè* *xuu rè nâ*
 1S blow one's nose 1S CAUS-blow one's nose son POSS 1S
 "I am blowing my nose." "I am blowing my son's nose."

Ajië:

- (9) *céré piyöö* *céré pè-piyöö e*
 3P bathe 3P CAUS-bathe 3S
 "They are bathing."
 "They are bathing her/him."

- a transitivising suffix:

Drehu:

- (10) *nekönatr a si* *thin a si-ën la nekö i angeic*
 child IMPERF bath mother IMPERF wash-TR DEF child POSS 3S
 "The child is bathing."
 "The mother is bathing her child."

Ajië:

² Similarly, in Tuvaluan, *fakamate* "commit suicide" "cannot be used as a transitive non reflexive verb or as a transitive reflexive verb with an overt target:
a Lusi ne fakamate /ABS/Lusi/cause to die/ means "Lusi killed himself" and not *Lusi was killed (Besnier 2000:205). Cf. Besnier (2000:206) for the middle/reflexive use of Tuvaluan causative verbs.

- (16) *na tarhî na oyari* *na yavè-tarhî oyari na pani-e*
 3S wake up SM child 3S touch-wake up child SM mother-his
 "The child is waking up." "The mother is waking up her child by touching him."
- (17) *na mee na pèyaa* *na kê-mee pèyaa na rha kâmö*
 3S break SM stone 3S finger-break stone SM one man
 "The stone split." "Someone broke the stone with their fingers."

1.2. Derivation process as a middle marker ("anti-causative constructions")

We have just seen lexically middle verbs, some of which have to be derived to become active. We will now examine the opposite phenomenon, namely lexically transitive verbs which have to be derived in order to take a middle value.

That a number of grammatical prefixes are polysemous is a well-known fact among Oceanists. For instance, reflexes of the Proto Oceanic prefix **paRi-* may have sociative, collective, iterative, reciprocal, etc., and middle values.

Reduplication is also a semantically multivalued device in Polynesian languages. In East Futunan, this device may mark iterativity, intensivity, diminutiveness, etc., and with some verbs it has a middle value.

Such derivational devices are not systematic however: they do not apply to all verbs. On the contrary, they characterise or define very small verb classes.

We shall now examine the various derivational devices giving middle value in a few New Caledonian and Polynesian languages.

1.2.1. Reflexes of Proto Oceanic **paRi-*

a) East Futunan prefix *fe-*

Using the prefix *fe-* to express a middle event is limited to a few verbs referring to actions performed on the body. Thus the transitive verbs *lole* "rub (with a hand or a glove)", *lomi* "massage", *olo* "rub (with a pumice)", *'umo* "pinch" and *vaku* "scratch" become intransitive with a middle value when *fe-* is prefixed to them:

- (18) *e ke vaku le tu'a o lou toe*
 NS 2S scratch ART back POSS your child
 "You are scratching your child's back."
- (19) *e ke fe-vaku i le kai e namu*
 NS 2S MID-scratch OBL ART eat ERG mosquito
 "You are scratching because of mosquito bites."
- (20) *e 'umo le toe e lona tinana*
 NS pinch ART child ERG his mother
 "The mother is pinching her child."
- (21) *e kau fe-'umo pe kau moemiti fakatotonu pe le'ai*
 NS 1S MID-pinch or 1S dream really or not exist
 "I am pinching myself to know if I am dreaming or not."

This prefix has several other values, belonging to related semantic domains such as collective and chaining situations, emotive situations ("try", "do with difficulty") and reciprocity limited to two participants³:

- reciprocity:

- (22) *e fe-sogi a le tau fe'au'aki i Vele*
 NS MID-kiss ABS ART CLAS fiancés OBL Vele
 "The fiancés are kissing in Vele."

- sociative:

- (23) *e fe-kapu a toe ki le fā fitipolo*
 NS MID-chase ABS child OBL ART CLAS ball
 "The children are running together after a ball."

- adverbial:

- (24) *e kau fe-oli ke kau ano ki Mala'e*
 NS 1S MID-desire CONJ 1S go OBL Mala'e
 "I really want to go to Mala'e."

The derived verb *fe-tuli* (de *tuli* "run after") either takes a reciprocal value, when the unique argument refers to two people: "run after each other (speaking of two people)", or a middle value with a singular argument: "hurry". Here, the *fe-* prefix has the function of encoding self-directed actions:

- (25) *e kau fe-tuli*
 NS 1S MID-run after
 "I am hurrying up."

One also finds *fe* as a frozen form in verbs describing repeated noises: *fegati* or *fetatoti* "grind one's teeth", *felati* "make a cracking noise, crack one's fingers" and *fenoti* "make a clicking noise".

b) Middle prefixes in the New Caledonian languages

The middle value of the *fe-* East Futunan prefix is not a marginal phenomenon in Oceanic languages. For example, in all New Caledonian languages, there is a more or less productive prefix with varying forms (*ù-* in Xârâcùù, *pi-* in Cèmuhî, *vi-* in Ajië, *i-* in Drehu, *ü-* in Iaai, etc.)

³ With more than two participants, *fe-* must be combined with the suffix *-'aki*: *fe-sogi'aki* "kiss each other".

but rather similar values. These New Caledonian prefixes, as well as the Proto Polynesian **fe-*, are reflexes of the Proto Oceanic prefix **paRi-*.

In Xârâcùù, the prefix *ù-* is used for some grooming actions (*ù-cù* "to comb oneself", *ù-mwé* "to bathe"):

- (26) *nâ cù bwaa-rö* *nâ ù-cù*
 1S comb head-your 1S MID-comb
 "I am combing you." "I am combing my hair."⁴

This prefix *ù-* also has a collective value:

- (27) *ri cuè* *ri ù-cuè*
 3P sit 3P MID-sit
 "They are sitting." "They are sitting together."

In Cèmuhi (Rivierre, 1980:259) "the prefix *pi-* is used in order to tune down what one is saying, to show respect or to give an affective tone to one's words", an adverbial value quite similar to that of the *fe-* prefix in East Futunan": *pi-kapwa* "to get thinner" (*kapwa* "thin"); *pi-wâdo* "to get drunk" (*wâdo* "to drink"); *pi-kîrî* "to become sad" (*kîrî* "small"); *pi-timi* "to paint one's face" (*timi* "paint").

In Nêlêmwa, the middle/reciprocal prefix is *pe-*:

- (28) *hla pe-nuk du bwa doo pwâ mago*
 3P MID-fall DIR on ground fruit mango
 "Mangos are falling to the ground." (Bril, 2000:272)

In Drehu (Moyses-Faurie, 1983), the *i-* prefix presents the same middle values, along with others:

- grooming or spontaneous actions: *sej* "comb", *i-sej* "comb oneself"; *cin* "shave", *i-ciny* "shave oneself"; *atre* "know", *i-atre* "know oneself"; *dreuth* "burn something", *i-dreuth* "burn (fire)".
- depatientive function⁵ (the event only concerns the initiator, giving him a generic or habitual characteristic): *xumuth* "pinch", *i-xumuth* "to be a pincher"; *drei* "obey", *i-drei* "to be obedient"
- collective: *jun* "bone", *i-jun* "skeleton"; *koko* "yam", *i-koko* "heap of yams"
- reciprocal (with only two participants)⁶: *xatua* "help", *i-xatua* "help each other"; *aba* "kiss", *i-aba* "kiss each other"; *hnim* "love", *i-hnim* "love each other"; *wej* "run after", *wej i-wej* "run after each other"; *nu* "leave", *i-nu* "leave each other", etc.

1.2.3. Reduplication conferring a middle value

In East Futunan and East Uvean at least, total reduplication may in a few cases derive verbs expressing middle events from active transitive verbs:

tilo "look through glasses" *tilotilo* "look at oneself in a mirror"

⁴ Another way of expressing the middle is by using a transitive verb and an object coreferent with the subject. In Xârâcùù: *nâ cù bwaa-nâ* lit. I am combing my head. In Ajië: *na cui gwâ-é na bwè* lit. the woman is combing her head. In Tahitian: *'ua hahu 'ona i hona ta'a* "he is shaving" (lit. he shaves his chin). Actually, this construction is the most frequent whenever a body part is affected by the process. It is also found in kinds of idioms with reflexive meaning such as Ajië: *na kau na gwâ-Nénoâ* "Nénoâ is proud of himself" (lit. Nénoâ's head is big).

⁵ Concerning the depatientive function, see also Lichtenberk 2000:42-43 with examples in Fijian.

⁶ With more than two participants *i-* must be combined with the suffix *-keu*: *i-xatua-keu* "help each other". See note 2 pointing out the same constraint in East Futunan.

lū "swing someone"

sa'i "tie"

selu "comb"

lūlū "swing oneself"

sa'isa'i "to be tied"

seluselu "comb oneself"

PPN **fano* "wash one's hands" is only attested in East Futunan with a reduplicate form: *fanofano* which has the same meaning.

2. Expressing middle voice or reflexivity through coreference

So far, we examined situations where the middle is lexically expressed (labile or inherently middle verbs), or through affixal derivation (Proto Oceanic prefix **paRi-*), or through reduplication. In Oceanic languages, the middle may also be expressed through coreferent pronominalization, in constructions similar to reflexive constructions.

2.1. Coreference and middle value

2.1.1. Xârâcùù "pronominal verbs"

In Xârâcùù, a few verbs can only enter transitive constructions, with a pronominal object coreferring to the subject and expressing the middle. Formally, this is a direct transitive construction where two grammatical arguments referring to the same entity are obligatorily present. The object argument is obligatorily a pronominal coreferent with the subject with which it agrees in person and number. Deponent verbs that only accept this kind of construction may be called pronominal verbs: *bachëë* "fail (for speech)", *bagwéré* "succeed (for speech)", *basùù* "be blocked up", *pètù* (= *pètoa*) "boast", *pitèri* "roll on the ground". Except *basùù*, they do not accept causative derivation:

(29) *kwé basùù è rōwâ yee nâ*
 water blocked 3S against bamboo DEICT
 "Water is blocked up because of the bamboo."

(30) *nâ pitèri nâ*
 1S roll 1S
 "I am rolling on the ground."

(31) *ke pètoa rō*
 2S boast 2S
 "You are boasting."

2.1.2. Obligatorily direct transitive construction with one or two arguments

Other verbs are also obligatorily transitive from a morpho-syntactical point of view, but they have either a pronominal object coreferent with the subject, or a nominal or pronominal object non-coreferent with the subject. For such verbs, the value of the construction is related to the animate or inanimate character of the subject, and to the fact that the action is spontaneous or voluntary.

The subject refers to an inanimate, the verbs have middle meaning:

- (32) *pwâkâ gwékai è*
 papaw crush 3S
 "The papaw crushes."
- (33) *buké nä fasaa è töwâ kâmiâ nä*
 bunch PROG spoil 3S thereon sun DEICT
 "The bunch is getting spoiled in the sun."
- (34) *nèxöö wâ sache è*
 sky PERF cover 3S
 "The sky is becoming overcast."

2.2. Coreference leading to ambiguity (active or reflexive meaning)

The distinction between animate and inanimate arguments is an essential one for the type of constructions we are now going to examine. It parallels the contrast middle vs. reflexive.

Indeed, coreference in transitive constructions is also used to express reflexivity, provided both arguments refer to animates.

Therefore, if the subject is animate and if there is no possible coreference between the subject and the object, the verb has an active meaning:

- (35) *nâ gwékai pwâkâ*
 1S crush papaw
 "I crush the papaw."

If coreference is possible, however, two interpretations become available, as in the Xârâcùù sentences below where a reflexive (35-36) or reciprocal (37) as well as an active meaning may be given out of context⁷:

- (36) *anyââ sache è* Compare with (33) which only has a middle value.
 mummy cover 3S
 "Mummy covers herself." ou "Mummy covers her/him."
- (37) *è kèkè è*
 3S bite 3S
 "S/he bites herself/himself" or "S/he bites him/her."
- (38) *ri ciwi ri*
 3P help 3P
 "They help each other" or "They help them."

This construction involving coreferential pronominalization is generally described as being the only way to express a third person reflexive in Oceanic languages.

The same ambiguous constructions may be found in all other languages of New Caledonia.

In Nêlêmwa (Bril, 2000), for instance, we find it with the transitive verb *khiibai* meaning "to hit, to wound with a missile":

⁷ There is of course no ambiguity in the first and second persons. In Ajië, for instance, *gö pûgéwè nyâ* /1S/returner/1S/ can only mean "I am turning around".

- (43) *gö rhôôru nyâ (tëë)*
 1S judge 1S (again)
 "I accuse myself."

The use of intensifiers is not systematic, however, and many constructions with reflexive value show nothing but contextually induced coreference:

- (44) *na kavëtöva é na Awi cèki vi na kaa-waa arii*
 3S prepare 3S SM Awi CONJ go towards place-do prayer
 "Awi gets himself ready to go to the prayer."

In Drehu, the emphatic marker *kö* "self" has the same function in constructions with reflexive value as Ajië *tëë*:

- (45) *eni kō a huji ni eni a huji angeic*
 1S INTENS IMPERF massage 1S 1S IMPERF massage 3S
 "I massage myself." "I massage him."

There are also examples in Nengone (Maré, Loyalty Islands), where the emphatic marker is *ko*:

- (46) *bone co ridi bone kō bone co ridi bone*
 3S FUT hit 3S INTENS 3S FUT hit 3S
 "He is going to hit himself." "He is going to hit him."

In Iai (Ouvéa, Loyalty islands), the situation is somewhat more complex. One sometimes finds an intensifier (*bi*), which Ozanne-Rivierre (1984:33) describes as "une particule marquant l'insistance, le réfléchi, la simultanéité, la restriction". It is postposed to the object pronoun coreferent with the subject in constructions with reflexive value. However, these constructions necessarily also include a "verbe dépendant" (*hame-n* "to be concerned by") with an obligatory possessive suffix which, in this context, takes on the meaning of "personally":

- (47) *ötine ka hamwötin hlingö ötin bi*
 1PINCL+PRES ASS be concerned+POSS1PINCL kill 1PINCL INTENS
 "We will kill ourselves."

3.2. Polynesian intensifiers

Intensifiers in Polynesian languages differ as to forms (generally not cognate) and origins. As is the case in Ajië, some Polynesian languages (e.g., Māori, West Uvean) have two intensifiers, indifferently used in constructions with reflexive values:

- adverb "again"⁸: *anō* (Maori), *ā* (Tahitian); adverb "spontaneously": *pusu* (West Uvean)
- emphatic or restrictive particle: *lava* (Samoan, Tokelauan), *loa* (Tuvaluan), *pē* (East uvean, Tongan, Niuafo'ou), *fa'i* (East Futunan), *anake* (Maori), *(h)age* (West uvean), *nī* (Niuean)
- deictic: *'a* (Rapanui)
- directional: *iho* "downwards" (Tahitian)

Two things appear worthy of note. First, emphatic or restrictive origins are the most widespread, with extensive polysemy since the same particle may mean "really, indeed, just,

⁸ In Saliba, Margetts (1999:334) notes a similar use of *uyo* "go back, again" in reflexive constructions: *ya-kita-uyo-i-gau* /1S-see-again-applicative-1Sobj/ "I saw myself". Also note the reflexive use of *lok* "again" in Mwtolap (François 2001). Adding such facts to Ajië *tëë*, we can do little more but observe this relative frequency of "again" in Oceanic languages, a noteworthy source for intensifiers in these languages, along with restrictive or emphatic particles.

only, exclusively, even, alone" or "self" according to context. Secondly, Polynesian languages do not usually distinguish between adnominal use ("self") and exclusive adverbial use ("alone") of intensifiers (König & Siemund 1999:44).

Let me now present in detail the diverse functions of the intensifier *fa'i* of East Futunan, one of the languages I am most familiar with.

3.2.1. East Futunan intensifier: *fa'i*

The East Futunan intensifier *fa'i* occurs in diverse contexts, but it always has a restrictive value. As a verbal determiner, it means that the action is performed for itself or to the exclusive benefice of the participant involved:

- (48) *ko le tagata aia na ma'uli fa'i a ia ki le tino 'i tagata*
 PRED ART man DEICT PAST live RESTR ABS 3S OBL ART body POSS man
 "He only nourished himself with human flesh."

Applied to cognition verbs, *fa'i* indicates that the belief or knowledge expressed by the verb constitutes an intimate knowledge deeply rooted in the person:

- (49) *e kau lo'ina fa'i loku 'au'aga*
 NS 1S know RESTR my coming
 "I do know where I come from."

In an adnominal use, ɔ means "only", "self" or "own":

- (50) *ko mago fa'i kua 'oki i le kai*
 PRED mango RESTR PERF finished OBL ART eat
 "Only the mangoes have been eaten."
- (51) *ko au fa'i na seu ia le mala'e*
 PRED 1S RESTR PAST sweep ANAPH ART yard
 "I swept the yard myself."
- (52) *ko lo'oku fa'i leia a sauga*
 PRED mine RESTR DEICT APP smell
 "This is my own odour."

In East Futunan as in the other Western Polynesian ergative languages, we find different verb classes: intransitive verb with only one argument in the absolutive, indirect transitive verbs⁹, with one absolutive argument and one oblique argument; ergative or transitive verbs, with one absolutive argument and, optionally, an ergative argument.

In East Futunan, reflexivity is possible with ergative verbs as well as with indirect transitive verbs, under certain conditions:

- the argument coreferential with the absolutive argument must be a pronoun marked for the ergative or the oblique depending on verb class.
- moreover, the utterance must generally include an emphatic or restrictive particle following the coreferential ergative or absolutive pronoun, or the predicate:

⁹ Traditionally called "middle verbs" (a source for confusion!), they are mainly verbs of sentiment, perception, emotion or communication.

(53) *na ako'i le tagata e ia fa'i*
 PAST teach ART man ERG 3S RESTR
 "The man became learned by himself."

(54) *e 'ita fa'i a Petelo kiate ia* (= *e 'ita a Petelo kiate ia fa'i*)
 NS be angry RESTR ABS Petelo OBL 3S
 "Petelo is angry at himself."

I described above the conditions in which some verbs derived with the causative prefix *faka-* may be interpreted as middle when they take one argument only (see example 4), and as active when they take two (see example 5). In the following example, two arguments appear, yet the value is reflexive because of the restrictive particle *fa'i* marking coreference between the two arguments:

(55) *na faka-tilo a Petelo e ia fa'i* (= *na fakavilo fa'i a Petelo e ia*)
 PAST CAUS-fall ABS Petelo ERG 3S RESTR
 "Petelo threw himself on the ground (willfully)."

Notice on the other hand that this is the only case where a pronominal argument may be expressed after a nominal argument. Indeed, in active constructions, whenever a verb is accompanied by two arguments one of which is a pronoun, it is always the pronominal argument that is expressed first, be it absolutive or ergative.

The necessary "ingredients" for reflexive interpretation are thus:

- the presence of an intensifier, postposed to the oblique or to the ergative argument coreferent with the absolutive argument;
- unusual order, the nominal argument preceding the coreferent pronominal argument.

3.2.2. Use of intensifiers in other Polynesian languages

The use of such a restrictive/emphatic modifier seems to be quite frequent in other Polynesian languages, in association with constructions having a reflexive meaning. I give a few illustrations below, underlining the intensifier in each.

In Tokelauan, as in East Futunan, reflexive constructions are attested in oblique and ergative clauses. Hooper (2000:160) gives a series of examples showing ergative reflexive, as in (56):

(56) *...ke kitātou mafaia oi fau lava kitātou e kitātou*
 CONJ 1PINCL be possible COMP build EMPH 1PINCL ERG 1PINCL
 "...so that we may be able to develop ourselves" (Hooper:2000:161)

In Samoan, descriptions diverge concerning the expression of reflexivity with ergative verbs. According to Mosel & Hovdhaugen (1992:728), reflexive constructions with ergative verbs that are attested in Biblical Samoan only appear now with indirect transitive verbs.

Cook (1991), in contrast, claims this construction is still possible and in common usage:

(57) *e vivi'i le tama e ia lava* (**e vivi'i e ia lava le tama*)
 NS praise ART boy ERG 3S EMPH
 "The boy is praised by himself." (Cook, 1991:93)

This construction is quite similar to the constructions observed in East Futunan, as the pronominal argument with the emphatic marker *lava* follows the nominal argument.

Mosel & Hovdhaugen agree with Cook about reflexive constructions formed with oblique (indirect transitive) verbs. Here again, the oblique pronominal argument comes **after** the nominal absolutive argument and is followed by *lava*:

(58) *sa faapea Piki iate ia lava...*
 PAST think Piki OBL 3S EMPH
 "Piki thought by herself..." (Mosel & Hovdhaugen, § 18.125)

(59) *e alofa le tama iate ia lava*
 NS love ART boy OBL 3S EMPH
 "The boy loves himself." (Cook, 1991:93)

In Tongan (Churchward 1953), in Niufo'ou (Tsukamoto 1988:243) and in East Uvean, the restrictive modifier *pē* is postposed to the predicate or to the ergative argument in order to give a reflexive meaning. Churchward defines *pē* as follows: "adv., only, neither more nor less nor other nor otherwise, etc. (Often untranslatable, but never superfluous)":

(60) *na'a ne fana'i ia 'e ia pē* (= *na'a ne fana'i pē 'e ia ia*)
 PAST 3S shot 3S ERG 3S RESTR
 "He shot himself." (Churchward 1959:767)

Dukes (1998:§4.2.) disagrees with Churchward (1953, 1959) and Chung (1978), when he claims that "No speakers ever accept reflexivity interpreted ergatives."

In Eastern Polynesian languages, all with an accusative structure, we find similar phenomena. The restrictive or emphatic particle in these languages always comes after the oblique argument in order to mark coreference. Moreover, reflexive constructions are also used to denote reciprocity, apparently an innovation of this subgroup.

In Tahitian, the directional particle *iho* "downwards", often followed by the adverb *ā* "again", enters reflexive constructions where it marks coreference. According to Coppenrath & Prevost (1975:168), "Le verbe réfléchi s'exprime en faisant suivre le pronom indépendant de *iho*" and they give the following example:

(61) *'o tei aroha i tāna iho vahine 'ua aroha ia iā na iho*
 PRED ART+TAM love OBL his DIR woman PERF love 3S OBL 3S DIR
 "He who loves his own wife loves himself."

Iho also has an adnominal use, meaning "self", "only":

(62) *'o te 'orometua iho tē haere mai*
 PRED ART pastor DIR ART+NS go DIR
 "The parson himself will come." (Lazard & Peltzer 2000:173)

Coppenrath and Prevost (1975:168) add that "Malheureusement, cette tournure est aussi utilisée pour exprimer le verbe réciproque: *e aroha tātou iā tātou iho* 'Aimons-nous les uns les autres'."

In Rapanui, Veronica Du Feu describes a similar construction with what she calls an "emphatic demonstrative" (glossing it as either DEM or EMPH). In reflexive constructions, this deictic (*'a*) follows the pronominal oblique argument:

(63) *e hapa'o koe ia koe 'a*
 NS care for 2S OBL 2S DEICT
 "Look after yourself !" (Du Feu 1996:97)

'a also has an adnominal use: ...*'irote raua piha 'a* "in their own room" (Du Feu 1996:98), and as in Tahitian, it is also used to mark reciprocity:

- (64) *e hogihogi ro a maua ia maua 'a*
 NS kiss in fact PERS 1DEXCL OBL 1DEXCL DEICT
 "We shall kiss each other." (Du Feu 1996:98)

In these two languages, therefore, the marker of reflexivity was extended to the reciprocal (although not to the middle).

In Māori, two particles may function as intensifiers and mark coreference in constructions with reflexive value, viz. *anake* "only" and *anō* "again":

- (65) *i tapahi a Marama ia ia anō/anake*
 PERF cut PERS Marama OBL 3S again/only
 "Marama cut herself." (Bauer, 1997:636)

These particles also appear in reciprocal constructions: "Māori does not have special reciprocal forms, but uses the reflexive construction, but with dual or plural pronouns. Whether a dual or plural pronoun is interpreted as reflexive or reciprocal is a matter of what makes more sense" (Bauer, 1997:635).

In Eastern Polynesian languages, interpreting a construction as reflexive or reciprocal is thus a matter of context, as is the interpretation of a construction as reflexive or active in New-Caledonian languages.

In the Polynesian languages examined so far the intensifier follows the predicate or the oblique or ergative argument, but it never follows the absolutive argument. This latter ordering seems however to be possible in Tuvaluan (and in Niuean? cf. Seiter 1980), where the intensifier is *loa* "indeed". Besnier (2000:203) analyses the two following sentences as equivalent:

- (66) *ne taa nee Lusi a ia loa* (= *ne taa a Lusi nee ia loa*)
 PAST strike ERG Lusi ABS 3S indeed
 "Lusi killed himself"

The regular presence of adverbs, i.e. restrictive or emphatic particles, in transitive constructions in Polynesian languages in order to express reflexivity via coreference marking may naturally be compared with the presence of "self" in "he hits him"/"he hits himself" in Modern English. Notice that emphatic or restrictive particles indeed tend to be postposed to the pronouns corefering with the antecedent noun, as in English.

The presence of restrictive or emphatic adverbs, related to a particular ordering of the arguments (pronominals after nominals), may thus be considered an embryonic reflexive marking, even though such marking is not really specific to the function or always obligatory.

4. Conclusion

What can we conclude from these facts?

- In the Oceanic languages examined in this article, we observe separate evolutions of middle and reciprocal marking on the one hand, and reflexive marking on the other hand. The middle/reciprocal markers found in Polynesian and New Caledonian languages are cognate, being reflexes of the Proto Oceanic prefix(es) *paRi- / *pa(k)i-. They are productive *qua* reciprocal, but almost frozen *qua* middle. The middle may also be expressed in other ways: inherently middle or labile verbs, "anti-causative" constructions, etc.

- It cannot be claimed there are no reflexive constructions in the Oceanic languages. The intensifiers used to mark coreference between the two arguments of transitive or indirect transitive constructions are regular enough – not only in all Polynesian languages, but also in several New Caledonian (Melanesian) languages – that they may be considered reflexive markers, although they have other functions besides and are not always obligatory, as the context may sometimes suffice to assign reflexive interpretation to the sentence.

A systematic search for such intensive reflexives should be conducted in all Oceanic languages. They do not seem to share a common origin, but they show similar semantic values as well as converging uses.

The evolution of a reflexive marker having the form of an intensifier as it is presently observed in this language family always occurred independently from the presence of already existing middle/reciprocal markers. Finally, in Tahitian, in Rapanui, and in Māori, these reflexive markers were extended to reciprocity marking, displacing previous derivational processes.

Abbreviations

ABS absolutive; ANAPH anaphoric; APP appositive; ART article; CAUS causative prefix; CLASS classifier; CONJ conjunction; D duel; DEICT deictic; DIR directional; EMPH emphatic particle; ERG ergative; EXCL exclusive; FUT future; IMPERF imperfective; INCL inclusive; INTR intransitive; MID middle prefix; NS non specific tense aspect marker; OBL oblique; P pluriel; PERF perfective; PERS personal marker; POSS possessive; POSS.PRON. possessive pronoun; PRED predicative marker; PROG progressive; RESTR restrictive; S singular; SM subject marker; SUF suffix; TR transitive suffix.

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