

Reciprocity and similar meanings in Slavic languages and SAE

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1. Introduction

In this article, I will sketch some typologically relevant features of reciprocal constructions in Slavic languages in comparison with some other European languages. My aim is to find out whether expression of reciprocity (and similar meanings) can draw a borderline between Slavic languages and a language type which HASPELMATH (2001), following Boas, calls 'Standard Average European' (SAE) and which mainly includes languages of Central and Western Europe.

Let me recall some relevant features of this language type. First, the SAE languages are detransitivizing in terms of NICHOLS et al. (2004). In other words, they possess productive grammatical mechanisms which decrease valency or transitivity of the base verb (passivization, anticausativization) but lack productive mechanisms of valency increase – for instance, causativization.

Second, these languages are reference-dominated in terms of HASPELMATH (2001). The coding of the verb arguments is not directly related to their semantic features. For instance, in modern SAE languages canonical marking (nominative) of grammatical subjects is by far more frequent than any other one.

In the domain of reciprocity and reflexivity, SAE languages, as well as Slavic languages, are characterized by a big set of common properties.

First of all, all of them possess productive means of expressing reciprocity, and in all of these languages one of the reciprocal markers goes back to the reflexive pronoun: cf. German *sich*, French *se*, Swedish *-s* and so on in SAE languages, and Russian *-sja*, Bulgarian *se*, Polish *sebe* and *se* in Slavic languages.

Then, all of the languages under analysis have multiple reciprocal markers: in none of them reciprocity can only be expressed with a grammatical marker. In the Slavic group, Russian has also the pronouns *drug druga* 'each other' and *odin drugogo* 'one another'. Bulgarian has the pronoun *edin drug* 'each other', in Polish we find *edin drugego* 'each other', and so on. The same picture can be observed in SAE languages of Western Europe: for instance, German has *einander* 'one another', in French *l'un l'autre* 'one another' is used.

Usually one of these strategies of expressing reciprocity prevails over the other one(s) – but which one can be different for different languages.

Another feature, very relevant for the present paper is that all languages under analysis have one or several markers which combine the reciprocal meaning with other ones, for instance, middle, passive, reflexive and so on. *Sich* in Ger-

man is very productive in the anticausative meaning, *-sja* in Russian is often used in the reflexive and anticausative meanings, and so on.

However, the two groups are not homogenous inside themselves and differ significantly from each other. Below I analyze common and differential features of reciprocal markers.

In Section 1, the general features of reflexive / reciprocal markers, such as French *se* or Russian *-sja* are examined. I show that these general features are closely related to expression of reciprocity and reflexivity in the languages under analysis.

In Section 2, I analyze the properties of different mechanisms of expressing reciprocity. I consider not only purely grammatical means, but also lexical markers, such as Russian *vzaimnyj* 'mutual', and intermediate cases, for instance, the French prefix *entre* 'between'.

A particular consideration will be given to combinations of reciprocal markers of different types. I take French, German and Spanish to illustrate the SAE type; the Slavic group is illustrated by Russian, Bulgarian and Polish.

1. Properties of reflexive / reciprocal marker

1.1. Relations between meanings

As I have said, all languages under analysis have polysemous reciprocal markers. More precisely, all *se*-like markers in SAE and Slavic languages are polysemous – below I list some of possible meanings:

- passive
- anticausative
- reciprocal
- reflexive etc.

A natural question is whether the same derivative can have several meanings. The question is different for different languages.

In all languages of our sample, except Russian: Polish, Bulgarian, Serbian, French, German and so on, the meanings of the reflexive marker interfere in many cases. Even one lexeme, containing this marker, can have different readings. For instance, in Bulgarian *običam se* has at least two meanings: reflexive ('love oneself') and reciprocal ('love each other'). The latter variant is much more natural for the situation 'love', but the former is also possible.

The same is true for French marker *se*. Although the verb *s'aimer* has the main reading 'love each other' (reciprocal), the derivative has also a special reading 'feel well (somewhere, in some consequences):

- (1) *Ils s'aim-ent depuis longtemps.*
they REC-love-PRS.3PL since long
'They love each other for a long time.'
- (2) *Il s'aim-e à la campagne.*
heREFL-love-PRS.3SG in DEF village
'He feels well in the village.'

In Russian, most derivatives have one meaning. The passive meaning is an exception: it combines with most of other readings; for instance, the verb *myt'sja* means 'wash (oneself); bath' in its main meaning, but the passive meaning 'to be washed' is also possible:

Russian:

- (3) *Ja moj-u-s' v vann-e.*
I.NOM wash-PRS.1SG-REFL in bath-SG.LOC
'I bath in the bath.'
- (4) *Posud-a moj-et-sja v rakovin-e.*
dishes-PL.NOM wash-PRS.3SG-REFL in sink-SG.LOC
'The dishes are being / must be washed in the sink.'

This parameter correlates to another one: namely, **productivity of reciprocal and reflexive meanings**. Data from NEDJALCOV (2007) and NEDJALCOV (ed.) (2007) show that in most SAE languages the reflexive and reciprocal uses of the polysemous reflexive marker, such as *se* in French, are productive and are not restricted with narrow lexical classes. This seems to be a common feature of most SAE languages.

Slavic languages do not behave uniformly in this aspect. In some of them, such as Bulgarian and Polish, reflexive and reciprocal uses are productive. For instance, the following Bulgarian and Polish reflexive verbs are polysemous and can denote both reflexivity and reciprocity:

Bulgarian:

- (5) *običam se* 'love each other', 'love oneself';
vidja se 'see each other', 'see oneself' (GUENTCHÉVA, RIVIÈRE 2007);

Polish:

- (6) *instruować se* 'instruct each other', 'instruct oneself'
wynagrodzić se 'reward each other', 'reward oneself' (WIEMER 2007).

In Russian the reflexive and the reciprocal use are not highly productive. Reflexive is restricted with so-called 'body-care' verbs (cf. *myt'-sja* 'wash (oneself)', *bit'-sja* 'shave (oneself)'). It is not possible to derive *sja*-derivatives with reflexive meaning from verbs like *ljubit'* 'love', *videt'* 'see', *bit'* 'beat' and so on. The verb *ljubit'sja* exists only in colloquial Russian, and it has a special type of

reciprocal meaning: it means 'fuck'; *videt'sja* and *bit'sja* also have the reciprocal meaning – correspondingly, 'meet (see each other)' and 'fight'.

In turn, the reciprocal meaning is compatible mainly with 'inherent reciprocals', in terms of KEMMER 1993 (*obnimat'-sja* 'hug (each other)', *celovat'-sja* 'kiss (each other)', see other examples in KNJAZEV 2007). Of course, there are some inherent reciprocals which do not denote any type of physical contact: for instance, *vstrečat-sja* 'meet' (from *vstrečat'* 'meet (transitive)') and *videt'-sja* 'meet' (from *videt'* 'see') belong here.

What is really productive in Russian is the anticausative and passive readings of *-sja* (*razbit'-sja* 'break (intr)', *zakryvat'-sja* 'close (intr), be closed', etc.).

Another parameter characterizing the relation between meanings of reciprocal / reflexive marker is presence / absence of reflexively marked passives. This feature will be discussed in the following section.

1.2. Reflexively marked passives

In all of the languages under analysis, there are special markers of passives – namely, constructions with participles and verbs 'to be' / 'to become':

- (7) *L'arbre a été abattu.*
DEF-tree cut.down.PF.PASS
'The tree was cut down.'

However, many of these languages can also code the passive meaning with *se*-like markers. In general, the passive meaning, according to HASPELMATH 2001, is characteristic for reflexive and reciprocal markers. However, not all SAE and Slavic languages show this meaning in equal degree.

In Slavic languages, such as Russian and Bulgarian, *sja*-marked passive is productive. In Russian, it is possible only in imperfective forms, in Bulgarian no aspectual restrictions apply:

Russian:

- (8) a. *Dom-Ø stroi-t-sja raboč-imi.*
house-NOM build-PRS.3SG-PASS worker-PL.INS
'The house is being built by the workers.'
b. **Dom-Ø po-stroi-t-sja raboč-imi.*
house-NOM PF-build-PRS.3SG-PASS worker-PL.INS
'The house was built by the workers.'

Bulgarian:

- (9) *Kak mož-e dase po-stroi-Ø detska-ta ploštadka?*
Howcan-PRS.3SGF TO PASS PF-build-AOR.3SG children-DE area
'How can be build a children area?'

In SAE languages, according to WIEMER 2007 (German) and GUENTCHÉVA, RIVIÈRE 2007 (French) the *sja*-marked passive is not productive. For instance, (10) does not mean that the cup was broken by someone – it only means that the cup broke by itself:

French:

- (10) *La tasse s'est cassée.*
i. 'The cup broke.' (anticausative).
ii. #'The cup was broken' (passive).

The absence or low productivity of reflexively-marked passives can be considered as a common feature of SAE languages. However, the productivity of this phenomenon in Slavic languages is too different to regard it as a borderline between Slavic and SAE languages.

1.3 Decreasing derivations and transitivity

Se-like markers usually either make the base verb syntactically intransitive or decrease the number of verbal arguments. However, the relation between transitivity and valency change can be different in different languages.

In most SAE and Slavic languages, *se*-like derivatives are intransitive, independently of their semantics.

Note that this rule is valid for derivatives build with circumfixes where semantic motivation of detransitivization is weakened:

Russian:

- (11) *On na-pi-l-Ø-sja vod-y.*
he.NOMPREF-DRINK-PST-SG.M-REFL WATER-SG.GEN
'He drank enough water.'

Bulgarian:

- (12) *Toj na-pi-Ø se ot voda-ta.*
he.NOMPREF-drink-AOR.3SGREFL from water-DEF
'He drank enough water.'

Both in SAE and Slavic languages there are cases when *se*-derivatives are transitive. However, these cases are different, and this difference corresponds to more general differences between the two groups of languages.

In SAE, the group of syntactically transitive reflexive verbs includes 'indirect reciprocals', in terms of NEDJALKOV (2007) – in other words, these are reflexive verbs which denote co-reference between the subject and the indirect object. For instance, the French verb *se donner* 'give to each other' is syntactically transitive. It takes as a direct object the same argument which was the direct object of the base verb: cf. *se donner la main* 'hold each other's hand', lit. 'give each other hand'.

In Slavic languages, the transitive group of reflexive verbs includes some verbs formed by means of some circumfixes including *-sja* (see JANKO-TRINICKAJA 1962):

Russian:

- (13) Mal'čik-Ø do-žda-l-Ø-sja mam-u.
 boy-SG.NOM PREF-wait-PST-SG.M-REFL mother-SG.ACC
 'The boy waited until his mother came.'

The relation between valency-changing derivation and transitivity can serve as a borderline between SAE and Slavic languages. In SAE, valency-changing derivations are not directly correlated to transitivity, which is the case in Slavic languages.

2. Expression of reciprocal meaning

2.1 Semantics of reciprocals

In this section, I will describe the semantics of reciprocal construction which are the main topic of our article. Let me first describe briefly the ways to analyze semantics of reciprocal constructions in order to show the difference between lexical and grammatical reciprocal markers. Note that reciprocity is analyzed in different ways in formal semantics and generative linguistics.

In formal syntax, beginning from Chomsky ..., reciprocal markers, just as reflexive markers, are analyzed as a special type of co-reference marker – anaphors (just as reflexives). In other words, most reflexive / reciprocal markers require the antecedent to be expressed in the same clause. In (3), *each other* has an antecedent (*John and James*) in the same clause. For (4), only the reading i. is plausible where the antecedent (*John and James*) is in the same clause; the reading ii. where the antecedent is *we*, located in the main clause, is inapplicable:

- (14) *John and James criticized each other.*
 (15) *We asked John and James to criticize each other.*
 i. 'John and James must criticize each other'.
 ii. *'I asked John to criticize someone, and someone asked John to criticize me'.

However, this purely syntactic point of view has some shortcomings: it does not account for semantic and pragmatic effects of reciprocals. For instance, the syntactic point of view does not explain why the reciprocal from Russian *videt* 'see' means 'meet', and not just 'see each other', because the requirement of an antecedent in the same clause holds both for 'see each other' and 'meet'.

In descriptive linguistics, and partly in formal semantics: reciprocal constructions are considered from the semantic point of view. The main component of the reciprocal meaning seems to be the component of bi-directionality: 'the given situation occurs symmetrically in two directions'.

A special point of view is given in BECK 2001: the author thinks that reciprocals are definite expressions with the meaning roughly 'all the other ones'. Reciprocity proper is not a part of meaning of markers like *each other* or *drug druga*.

We adopt a view which is close to NEDJALCOV 2007: two components of reciprocity:

- bi(multi)directionality: *We criticize each other* = 'A criticizes B, B criticizes A'
- closed relation: *We criticize each other* = 'there are no C other than B and A which is included into the reciprocal relation'.

Most reciprocal markers, such as *each other*, *one another* in English, *-sja* and *drug druga* in Russian, *se* and *l'un l'autre* in French denote *closed relation*. In other words, they denote that the given situation is symmetrical and does not cover other subjects, besides the given set of subjects.

This component becomes evident in constructions like (16) where the reciprocal pronoun is in the scope of negation and is contrasted to a non-reciprocal object.

Russian:

- (16) *On-i ljub'-at ne drug drug-a,*
 they.NOM love-PRS.3SG not other other-ACC
 [*a drug-ix ljudej*].
 but other-PL.ACC people.ACC
 'They love not each other, but other people.' (each of them loves another person).

The sentence means that the relation is not restricted by the given set of people P – each of them loves a person which does not belong to P. Note that the negation of *drug druga* can only mean that the relation is not restricted by the given set. Another reading is impossible: (16) cannot mean that the relation is unidirectional – 'they do not love each other, only A loves B, but B does not love A.'

On the other hand, in many languages under analysis there exist markers which can be called *peripheral* reciprocal markers. I distinguish this class of units based on their morphological and syntactic status. The grammatical markers, such as *se* or *each other*, either occupy the syntactic position of direct object, or form a small clause where one of the components is in the object, another one in the subject position, or, finally, they can be pure detransitivizers, which is the case of Russian *-sja* and other highly grammaticalized markers.

In contrast, peripheral markers do not occupy either the subject or the object position, nor they demote the syntactic transitivity of the base verb. They are either adjectives, as Russian *vzaimnyj* 'mutual', German *gegenseitig* or English

mutual, or adverbs, as Russian *vzaimno*. Finally, there is a small class of units, including French *entre-* and Russian *vzaimo-* which are morphological prefixes, which, in contrast to suffixes like *-sja*, do not make the verb intransitive and usually cannot be used as the sole marker of reciprocity (see ... for details).

The core component of meaning of peripheral reciprocal markers is bidirectionality, rather than closeness of relation. The contrastive context yields us negation of bidirectionality, and not that of closeness.

Russian:

- (17) *Et-o ne vzaimn-aja ljubov'.*
 this-SG.N not mutual-NOM.SG.F love-SG.NOM
 'It is not mutual love (only one of them loves the other).'

This tendency seems to hold both in Slavic and in SAE languages. For instance, see the German phrase *Diese Liebe ist nicht gegenseitig* 'This love is not mutual' means that the relation is not symmetric – A loves B, but B does not love A. However, the phrase *Peter und Julia lieben nicht einander aber...* does not mean that only Peter loves Julia. It means that Peter and Julia love other people.

2.2 Interaction of 'autonomous' markers and grammatical markers

Above I analyzed mainly grammatical means of marking reciprocity. However, both SAE and Slavic languages have a very special type of construction: the one where both a grammatical and a lexical reciprocal marker occur. Below I call them constructions with double marking of reciprocity.

In general, it has been long pointed out that valency derivation can be marked with two marks in the same time. KULIKOV (1993), as well as many authors of descriptive grammars, points out that the causative derivation can be doubled in many languages of the world: for instance, causativization of the verb *tur-* 'stand up; stand' in Khakas yields a transitive causative *tur-γəs* 'put', which, in turn, can be causativized to yield *tur-γəs-tər* 'cause to put'.

However, this is not the type of doubling which we see in the domain of reciprocity. First of all, being formally 'double', reciprocity in the constructions under analysis cannot be semantically double. It is hardly possible to imagine an example like Khakas *tur-* for reciprocals: if a verb is reciprocalized (the reciprocal relation is built between two of its participants) it is impossible to reciprocalize it for the second time.¹

When the reciprocal meaning is expressed with two markers in the same sentence, the construction is usually synonymous with a simpler one, where only one lexical or grammatical item expresses reciprocity.

I will draw an example from Russian. In Russian, the double reciprocal construction denotes multiplicity of events (see LETUCHIY 2009 for details and

¹ In fact there are some special situations when

(23) below). A single event between two participants is usually not denoted by this construction:

- (18) *??? Dva čelovek-a celova-l-i-s' drug s drug-om.*
 two.M person-SG.GEN kiss-PST-PL-REC other with other-SG.INS
 'People kissed (with) each other.'

This effect, according to BEHRENS (2008), is absent in German. Languages with transitive doubling do not show this effect.

Along with semantic differences, constructions with double expression of reciprocity are syntactically different in different languages of Europe. I distinguish here two types of doubling: 'transitive' and 'intransitive' doubling.

2.2.1 'Transitive' reciprocal doubling

In the transitive doubling type, represented, for instance, by French and Bulgarian, verbs with the reciprocal/reflexive pronoun *se* can simultaneously take another reciprocal marker (the pronoun *l'un l'autre* (French) and *edin drug* in Bulgarian) without a preposition.

Bulgarian:

- (19) *Te se obič-at edin drug.*
 they.NOM REC love-PRS.3PL one another
 'They love each other.' (PENCHEV 2007)

French:

- (20) *Ils s'aiment l'un l'autre.*
 'They love each other.' (GUENTCHÉVA 2007)

In (19) and (20), the reciprocal pronoun is in the same form in which it would be if the verb was transitive without a reciprocal marker *se*. Nothing in the marking of *edin drug* and *l'un l'autre* points to the fact that the verb became intransitive. In other words, the structure in both examples is not characteristic of a European language: it seems that the direct object position of the verbs *običam* 'love' and *aimer* 'love' is occupied simultaneously by the grammatical marker *se / s* and by the pronoun *edin drug* and *l'un l'autre*, respectively.

Note, however, that (21) is ungrammatical in Bulgarian both with and without *se*:

Bulgarian:

- (21) **Kogo (se) obič-at? Edin drug.*
 who.ACC REC love-PRS.3PL one another
 'Who do they love? Each other.'

Therefore, *edin drug* is not just an object NP in constructions with transitive doubling, as it is in constructions like *They love each other* in English, where we can impress a dialog like – *Who do they love? – Each other.*

Note that all *se*-verbs in Bulgarian are intransitive. Therefore, *edin drug* can hardly be a direct object – in this case we would have to postulate an object position in the VP, which is reserved only for reciprocal markers.

Two alternative analyses can be chosen to explain this situation:

- small clause: in languages like Bulgarian, marker *edin drug* functions as a small clause: 'They love [one love other]'. Therefore, *edin drug* is not an object of the matrix verb.
- complex marker: in constructions with transitive doubling, we observe non-fixed order of derivations: *edin drug* and *se* attach to the verb simultaneously, as one complex marker:
se-love-edin drug

An interesting fact is that in constructions with *samo* 'only', both *se* and *edin drug* occur:

- (22) Te se obič-at samo edin drug.
they.NOM REC love-PRS.3PL only one another
'They love only each other.'

If *edin drug* were to any extent autonomous from *se* (for instance, if it represented a small clause), we would not expect *se* to occur in this construction. Semantically, *se* is not 'in place' here, because the situation *se običam* 'love each other' can by definition be only reciprocal, and the construction with *samo* becomes awkward at first glance (the operator 'only' is applicable only if there are other possibilities, besides the real one).

The only option is to propose that *se* and *edin drug* compose a sort of single marker where one part (*edin drug*) is autonomous and can be emphasized, but

2.2.2 'Intransitive' reciprocal doubling

In contrast to Bulgarian, in Russian transitive doubling is impossible: verbs with *-sja* can only take the reciprocal pronoun in combination with the preposition *s* 'with':

Russian

- (23) L'udi celova-l-i-s' drug s drug-om / *drug drug-a.
people kiss-PST-PL-REC other with other-SG.INS other other-SG.ACC
'People kissed (with) each other.'

In this case, the order of derivations is fixed: first, *sja*-like marker detransitivizes the verb and makes it impossible to attach anything in the direct object position. Even a reciprocal modifier cannot occupy the object slot. Afterwards, the marker *drug druga* can only be in the comitative form, since the verb is intransitive. The type of doubling does not either distinguish between Slavic and SAE languages. In both groups, there are languages with transitive doubling (Bulgarian

in Slavic group, French among SAE languages), as well as languages with intransitive doubling (Russian in Slavic group, German among SAE languages). The type of doubling is determined by the syntactic properties of reciprocal markers, rather than by the general language type. It seems that the following characteristics of markers make it possible that the given language will have a transitive, and not intransitive type of doubling:

- morphological / non-autonomous marker is not highly grammaticalized
- non-morphological autonomous marker cannot be used as the sole reciprocal marker

On the one hand, if the non-morphological marker of the type *each other* cannot be the sole marker, this means that it does not have all properties of the direct object and requires the support of another marker. On the other hand, therefore, there must be both markers in the reciprocal construction.

Note that the first characteristic is not obligatory:

- German *sich* is more autonomous than French *se*. However, transitive doubling exists in French and is very restricted in English, because German *einander*, and not French *l'un l'autre* can be used as the sole marker.

Outside Europe, both types of doubling are represented:

Adyghe: only transitive doubling:

- (24) TezE-m zE-r z-jE-wE{a-Z'E-R
we one-OBL one-ABS REC-3SG.A-WOUND -INTF-PAST
'We wounded each other.' (canonical reciprocal of a transitive verb).

Arabic: only intransitive reciprocal doubling

- (25) Y-ahubb-u ba'D-u-hum ba'D-an.
3M-love-SG some-NOM-3PLsome-ACC
'They love each other.'

One language can combine different types of doubling: in Bulgarian, we mostly find transitive doubling, but also reciprocal intransitive doubling:

- (26) Vseki pŕt se sreštn-at edin s drug.
each time REC meet-PRS.3PL one with other
'They meet each other every time.'

2.2.3 Types of 'minor' markers

As I have said, in many of SAE and Slavic languages, there are 'peripheral' reciprocal markers which occupy an intermediate position between grammatical and lexical markers. Let me list some of them:

- Russian: *vzaimo-*, *vzaimno*, *obojudo-*, *obojudno* etc.
- Bulgarian: *vzaimno*

- English: reciprocally, mutually
- French: *réciroquement*, *mutuellement*

NEDJALKOV (2007) calls units of this type 'reciprocal modifiers'. Their principal property is that they cannot be the sole markers of reciprocity in the clause – they must be supported by another (purely grammatical) productive marker. Syntactically, they are often adverbs – however, there are some exceptions when peripheral markers become morphological prefixes, such as Russian *vzaimo-* or French *entre-*.

As I will show below, the presence of peripheral also has some semantic effects – constructions with PM do not always mean the same thing as constructions with purely grammatical markers.

Therefore, in the reciprocal domain, a specific situation exists: in most languages of Europe, there are three levels of reciprocal expressions:

- morphological / clitical
- pronominal (anaphorical)
- 'minor markers' (adverbial)

Note that this situation is rather rare not only for European languages, but also for the languages of the world. Existence of three levels of synonymous markers which can occur simultaneously in many combinations is far from being a typologically frequent situation.

Each of them has its special function:

- Morphological / clitical markers not only denote reciprocity, but also serve for valency increase.
- Pronominal markers denote reciprocity. They are often used for intransitive verbs.

Bulgarian:

- (27) *Te vjarv-at edin v drug.*
 they.NOM believe-PRS.3PL one in other
 'They believe in each other.'

- minor markers denote that the situation are symmetrical.

2.2.4 Minor marker + morphological marker vs. minor marker + lexical marker

Bulgarian: minor markers can only co-occur with *se* (non-autonomous marker).

Russian: minor markers can co-occur both with *-sja* (morphological marker) and *drug druga* (lexical marker).

German:

French: the minor marker *réciroquement* can co-occur with *se*; moreover, 'triple reciprocal' construction, as in (29), exists:

- (28) *Ainsi, Maître et disciples se respectent réciroquement.*
 'Therefore, the Teacher and his pupils respect each other (mutually).'
- (29) *Ils se parlent l'un l'autre mutuellement.*
 'They talk to each other (mutually).'

Existence of complex combinations proves that the three levels of markers carry out different functions. The combinations of clitics and pronominal markers are pleonastic in that their semantic content is the same. However, as I have said, their degree of grammaticalization and syntactic properties are different. The function of 'peripheral' markers

2.2.5 Morphological status of minor marker

In most SAE languages, minor markers are autonomous (adverbs): cf. French, English, Spanish *mutuo*, *recíproco*, *mutuamente*, *recíprocamente*; German *gegenseitig*, *wechselseitig*:

German:

- (30) *sich gegenseitig berühren* 'touch each other'

French: both autonomous and morphological markers. However, the morphological marker *entre-* is not productive:

- (31) *s'entredévorer* 'eat each other'

- (32) *se flatter réciroquement* 'praise each other'

Russian: both autonomous and morphological markers

- (33) *vzaimn-aja zavisimost'-Ø = vzaimo-zavisimost'-Ø*
 mutual-N.SG.F dependence-SG.NOM REC-dependence-SG.NOM
 'mutual dependence'

Bulgarian: both autonomous and morphological markers:

- (34) *vsek-i etap e važen-Ø i vzaimo-svǎrzan-Ø s ostanal-i-te.*
 each-SG.M stage be.3SG important-SG.M and REC-concerned SG.M
 with rest-PL-DEF.PL
 'Each stage is important and related to the rest.'

2.2.6 Order of derivations

In languages with morphological minor markers, the problem of order of derivations occurs (main marker vs. minor marker).

Russian:

- (35) *Et-i kul'tur-y vzaimo-obogaščaj-ut drug drug-a.*
 this-NOM.PL culture-NOM.PL VZAIMO-enrich-3PL.PRS each.other-ACC
 'These cultures mutually enrich each other.'

- if *drug druga* is attached first, this is strange because the morphological marker *vzaimo-* is attached after the syntactic marker *drug druga*;
- if *vzaimo-* is attached first, this is strange because verbs like *vzaimoobogaščat* in (35) do not exist without *drug druga*.

Only in Russian can the prefix yield the reciprocal meaning to verbs which are otherwise non-reciprocal:

- (36) *Častic-y uničtožaj-ut-sja.*
 particle-PL.NOM annihilate-3PL.PRS-SJA
 i. 'The particles annihilate / are annihilated.'
 ii. *'The particles annihilate each other.'
- (37) *Častic-y vzaimo-uničtožaj-ut-sja.*
 particle-PL.NOM VZAIMO-annihilate-3PL.PRS-SJA
 'The particles (in physics) annihilate each other.'

In all languages, deverbal nouns can also be modified by *drug druga*-like markers.

2.2.6 Sociative/reciprocal polysemy

Comitative / sociative / reciprocal polysemy is considered to be one of the most frequent types of polysemy (see NEDJALKOV (ed.) 2007), cf. Turkic languages:

Khakas:

- (38) *Olar sařyn-(y)s-š'a-lar.*
 (s)he.PL think-REC-PRS-PL
 'They think of each other.' (reciprocal)
- (39) *Praj-zy olar xoryx-(y)s-š'a-lar dir'ektor-daj.*
 all.3SG.POSS (s)he.PL fear-REC-PRS-PL director-INS.SG
 'All of them are afraid of their director.' (associative)

In SAE and Slavic languages, it does not exist for 'main' (lexical and grammatical) markers. However, it occurs in the domain of minor markers. In (40) in Russian, the adjective *vzaimnyj* bears the reciprocal meaning, whereas in (41), it apparently shows the sociative meaning. In (42) in Bulgarian, the adjective also has the sociative meaning, while in (43) it is used reciprocally:

Russian:

- (40) *vzaimn-aja simpatij-a*
 mutual-N.SG.F sympathy-SG.NOM
 'mutual sympathy';
- (41) *vzaimn-aja vygod-a*
 mutual-F.SG.NOM advantage-SG.NOM
 'mutual advantage' (= 'advantage of all participants').

Bulgarian:

- (42) *vzaimn-a-ta radost koj-a-to dostavj-at*
 mutual-SG.F-DEF.F joy which-SG.F-SUFF give-3PL
zanjatij-a-ta nadete-to i naroditel-i-te
 seminar-PL-DEF to child-DEF.N and to parent-PL-DEF.PL
 'mutual joy which these seminars give to the child and to the parents' (not reciprocal (joy from each other); rather sociative (joy of all participants)).
- (43) *vzaimn-a-ta ljubov*
 mutual-SG.F-DEF.F love
 'mutual love'

Spanish:

- (46) *utilidad reciproca* 'mutual advantage' (advantage of all parties – sociative).
 This polysemy seems to be characteristic for the whole Europe. Note that purely grammatical markers do not demonstrate it. However, it is important to take into account that the sociative / comitative meaning demonstrated by reciprocal markers is restricted with a small set of contexts. For instance in (37), the adjective *vzaimnyj* 'mutual' cannot denote sociativity.

Russian:

- (47) **vzaimn-aja igra*
 mutual-NOM.SG.F play
 'mutual play'

I suppose that the sociative meaning is possible only if in the context there is a reciprocal component:

mutual advantage = 'advantage caused by success of a process by the two participants **together with each other**'

The reciprocal component must be present in the semantic structure: 'A gets advantage because of some B's (and A's) actions; B gets advantage because of some A's (and B's) actions'. This type of sociative can be an intermediate stage between sociative proper and reciprocal.

A question arises: Why doesn't this polysemy exist among the grammatical markers? I suppose that there are two reasons:

- *se*-like markers are derived from reflexive markers (see HASPELMATH ... for details) which are not characterized by this type of polysemy
- *drug druga*-like markers are case-marked in accordance with valency structure of the verb. Therefore, they must only denote two different arguments.

So far we have mainly analyzed cases where the reciprocal relation connects the subject and the direct object:

'A beats B' → 'A and B beat each other'.

However, in all languages under analysis it is also possible to reciprocalize arguments with other syntactic status, e.g. S and IO.

'A gives B money' → 'A and B give each other money'.

'A relies on B' → 'A and B rely on each other'.

Languages under analysis can behave in three ways in this respect.

First of all, the same marker can denote reciprocity between S and DO and reciprocity between S and IO / Oblique. This is the case in SAE languages. In French, the expression *se donner un main* 'give a hand to each other' includes the same marker *se* as in 'transitive' reciprocals. Here it is used to mark S / DO and S / IO reciprocity.

The second variant is that the indirect type of reciprocals is marked with another marker. For instance, in Bulgarian transitive reciprocals are marked with the clitic *se* in the accusative case. In indirect reciprocals, the same clitic takes the dative case form:

Bulgarian:

- (49) *Te si pomogna-xa.*
 they.NOM REFL.DAT help-AOR.3PL
 'They helped each other.'

Finally, in Russian the S / IO reciprocity cannot be marked inside the verb form. Only in one verb, namely, *(po)sovetovat*, 'indirect' reciprocity can be marked with *-sja*:

Russian:

- (50) a. *Vasj-a posovetova-l-Ø Petj-e ujexa-t*.
 Vasja-SG.NOM advise-PST-SG.M Petja-SG.DAT leave-INF
 'Vasja advised Petja to leave.'
 b. *Vasj-a i Petj-a posovetova-l-i-s*.
 Vasja-SG.NOM and Petja-SG.NOM advise-PST-PL-REFL
 'Vasja and Petja discussed the situation with each other.'

Even this example is not a pure example of indirect reciprocal. Strictly speaking, the verb *sovetovat'sja* does not mean 'advise (something) to each other'. It rather means 'to discuss something'.

Conclusions

We can conclude that reciprocal and reflexive constructions in SAE (Romance, Germanic) and in Slavic languages do not allow us to distinguish two clear-cut types: SAE reflexives / reciprocals and Slavic reflexives / reciprocals. As in many other domains, we deal with a continuum, rather than a binary opposition.

For instance, **the nature of polysemy of se-like markers** does not yield us two clear-cut types. It rather distinguishes Russian from all other languages. In Russian, the main uses are the passive and anticausative ones. The uses denoting different types of co-reference of arguments (reflexive and reciprocal) are characteristic only for a small group of verbs. In other languages, these uses are productive. Perhaps, the only property of reflexive / reciprocal marker allowing us to distinguish SAE and Slavic languages is high (Slavic) vs. low (SAE) **frequency of se-marked passives**.

Let us consider now the means of marking the reciprocal meaning. First, all languages under analysis, whether they are Slavic or represent the SAE type, have three types of reciprocal markers: (i) *se*-like markers which demote transitivity of the base verb; (ii) *each other*-like markers which do not demote transitivity but denote reciprocity and coreference between arguments and (iii) markers which we called 'peripheral' which denote that the situation is symmetrical and, thus, reciprocal. Ways of combining the (i) and (ii) types are different, but **the type of doubling the reciprocal markers** cannot serve as a borderline between the two types: the 'transitive' type of doubling is observed in French (SAE) and Bulgarian (Slavic), the 'intransitive' type can be found in German (SAE) and Russian (Slavic). As I have shown, this parameter is strongly correlated to another one: **syntactic properties of the (ii)-type markers**. In languages with transitive doubling they cannot serve the sole marker of reciprocity and seem to build a small clause or be a part of a complex marker together with a *se*-like marker.

One more parameter does not distinguish any groups at all: namely, **meaning of 'peripheral' markers**. In all languages under analysis, 'peripheral' markers get a sociative use.

In contrast, the parameter '**reciprocalization of intransitive predicates**' distinguishes more than two types. There are languages where this type of reciprocalization is (nearly) impossible (Russian); languages, where it is expressed in the same way as reciprocalization of intransitive predicates (French, German) and languages where it is expressed in another way (Bulgarian).

Therefore, we cannot speak of existence of two distinct types of reciprocal formation: one for SAE, the other one for Slavic languages. However, it is interesting that some systemic principles underlying the system of reciprocal markers are the same for European languages: namely, presence of three levels of markers and reciprocal-sociative polysemy only in the sphere of peripheral markers.

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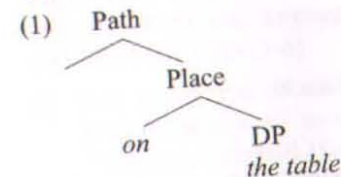
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PPs of Different Sizes¹

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1. Introduction

The syntactic structure of PPs has been debated for three decades. Since VAN RIEMSDIJK (1978), it has been recognized that spatial PPs have a complex internal structure, beyond simply [_{PP} P [NP]]. Although the many current proposals (see references below) differ in many respects, there is a consensus that at a minimum, there are at least two layers of functional structure within spatial PPs: an inner layer denoting location, and an outer layer denoting direction/motion (with authors disagreeing as to whether the outer layer is present for static/locational expressions, such as 'on the table'), as in (1)². This complexity is transparent in some constructions (e.g., Russian: 'iz-pod doma' 'from under the house', English: 'into the house') but is generally posited even where PPs are not visibly complex. Ranging from the minimum structure in (1), many proposals (especially BOŠKOVIĆ 2004, DEN DIKKEN 2006, SVENONIUS to appear) posit more articulated functional structure within PPs.



It has been previously suggested that PPs have a full clausal structure similar to CP (BOŠKOVIĆ 2004b, NOONAN 2004, DEN DIKKEN 2006). In this paper I suggest on the basis of a comparative study of Slavic and Romance languages that PP functional structure is not uniform across languages. More specifically, I propose that there may be cross-linguistic variation in the amount (but not the ordering of) functional projections in the PP, in line with similar proposals about variation in functional inventories in the inflectional domain (BOBALJIK 2002, BOBALJIK & THRÁINSSON 1998), in the size of infinitives (WURMBRAND 2001, etc.), and the DP/NP domain (CORVER 2003, BOŠKOVIĆ 2008).

¹ I am especially grateful to my language informants: Miloje Despić, Neda Todorović (both Serbo-Croatian), Magdalena Mulek (Slovak), Pavel Čaha (Czech), Krzysztof Migdalski (Polish), Simona Herdan (Romanian), Benjamin Girard-Bond (French), Carlos Buesa García (Spanish), Maria del Carmen Parafita Couto (Galician).

² However, there are proposals arguing for poor functional structure of PPs, e.g., ABELS (2003).