Bathe, shave, and dress: How reflexive events are and aren’t marked in the morphology

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Introduction
The typological description of reflexive markers in the world’s languages is almost always approached from a formal and functional perspective (e.g., Geniušienė 1987; König & Gast 2008); that is, most researchers are interested in identifying which reflexive markers exist in a particular language and subsequently exploring their various grammatical functions beyond semantic reflexivity (middle, passive, reciprocal, etc.). However, there is an alternative typological approach to the study of reflexivity, which includes more focus on the conceptual structure of reflexive events (cf. Haiman 1980, Kemmer 1993, Gast 2009). These researchers argue that some events, most notably events of self-care or grooming (i.e. bathing, shaving, and dressing) are inherently reflexive, they are canonically inwardly directed. Kemmer (1993) places grooming events at the center of a prototypically constructed middle category and offers evidence from several languages to show that these events are middle marked in some cases with the same form that marks true reflexive actions. In English, events of grooming which I will call ‘intrinsically reflexive’ events, are often unmarked while all other reflexive actions, which I will call ‘extrinsically reflexive’ events, are obligatorily marked. John shaved this morning vs. John was stabbing himself this morning. Given this conceptual distinction, I have begun a research program to investigate typological questions around how languages do and don’t overtly mark intrinsic vs. extrinsic reflexivity.

Materials and methods
Sample data for each language represented in the database comes from data cited in large typological grammars and native speaker elicitation. Each extrinsic reflexive entry in the database is represented by at least one example sentence of a verb of grooming which translates to bathe, shave, and/or dress. Each intrinsic reflexive entry is represented by at least one sentence containing an explicitly other-directed verb that partakes in an event performed on the body. (Other outward-directed verbs are included in single instances such as cover, seat, bite, pinch, ask, and praise.) Example sentences were chosen according to which reflexive data were available in the source grammars.

Examples of Types 1a, 2, 3, 4

Azerbaijani - extrinsic reflexive marked with pronoun
(1) Ana (2) jenim-e (3) həsən-e. Mother washes herself

Azerbaijani - extrinsic reflexive marked with preposition
(2) Ana (1) tax (2) ərəfən (3) həsən. Mother dresses herself

 Estonian - intrinsic reflexive marked in morphology
(3) Ema (1) õit (2) nis (3) hän. Mother dresses herself

 Estonian - extrinsic reflexive marked with pronoun
(4) Ta (1) kaad (2) -enam (3) teki. She covered herself with a blanket

Dutch - intrinsic reflexive marked with simple pronoun
(5) Jan (1) heeft zich (2) gewassen. Jan has dressed himself

Dutch - extrinsic reflexive marked with complex pronoun
(6) Jan (1) zit (2) het (3)zelf de. Jan has dressed himself

Spanish - intrinsic reflexive marked with clitic
(7) Juan se baña. Juan bathes

Spanish - extrinsic reflexive marked with clitic
(8) Juan se rinde (1) del (2) buñuelo. Juan dedicates the bread to himself

What about Type 4 Languages?
Why do Type 4 languages mark all reflexives in the same way?
The primary semantic job of the conceptually salient reflexive marker is to profile the self-directed nature of the event. However, there are many other meanings of a reflexive marker including possibility to the body perspective marking, reciprocity, benefit, etc. It is possible in a language like French where grooming verbs are decontextualized the last reflexive to be marked with the clitic, the semantic profile of the clitic had already broadened from its contrastive origin and was reinterpreted as a marker of events performed on the body.

Findings: Intrinsic and extrinsic reflexivity is usually differentially marked

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type 1a</th>
<th>Type 1b</th>
<th>Type 2</th>
<th>Type 3</th>
<th>Type 4</th>
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What is the distribution of the reflexive markers in the database?
I'm always in search of more data. And maybe my collection could be of use in your study. Please consider filling out my questionnaire and/or contacting me if you would like access to my database.

Conceptual Models of Two Reflexives
Kemmer (1983: 71) makes a distinction between reflexive events and body action middles. A direct reflexive event like stabbing oneself is one in which there are two participant roles evoked and each role is taken by one entity. On the other hand, in a middle, like shaving or bathing oneself, the event has an initiator and an endpoint, but there is minimal “conceptual differentiation” between those two event components since the event is carried out by just one participant.

In cognitive grammar, profiling refers to the perceptual information placed in focus by a particular expression and understood within a larger conceptual construct (Langacker 2013). Expressions like hub, spoke, and rim, refer to concepts that can only be understood by accessing a base or matrix construction, the wheel in this case.

Literature Cited