The Role of the Reflexives in Valency: Evidence from Czech

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Reflexives in Czech

• Long and short (clitic) forms: se/sebe, si/sobě/sebou
• Ambiguity: various functions
  A. Reflexive personal pronoun: se/sebe, si/sobě/sebou
  B. Grammatical (inflectional) morpheme: only se
  C. Lexical (derivational) morpheme: only clitic forms se or si
Reflexives in Czech

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- Ambiguity: various functions
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  B. Grammatical (inflectional) morpheme: only se
  C. Lexical (derivational) morpheme: only clitic forms se or si

- Functional Generative Description (FGD) (Sgall et al. 1986)
- Valency theory of FGD (Panevová 1994)
A. Reflexive personal pronoun

- Forms analogous syntactic structures as other personal pronouns

Petr přemýšlí o nich.
Peter thinks about LOC
‘Peter thinks about them.’

Petr přemýšlí o sobě.
Peter thinks about REFL.LOC
‘Peter thinks about himself.’
A. Reflexive personal pronoun

- Forms analogous syntactic structures as other personal pronouns
- Clitic and long forms
  - sensitive to changes in TFA
  - clitic forms available only in DAT (si) and ACC (se)

Partneři se nařkli z nevěry.
partners RECP.ACC accused from infidelity
‘These partners accused each other from infidelity.’

Sebe by z nevěry nikdy nenařkli.
RECP.ACC COND from infidelity never accused.
‘These partners would never accuse each other from infidelity.’
A. Reflexive personal pronoun

- Forms analogous syntactic structures as other personal pronouns
- Clitic and long forms
  - sensitive to changes in TFA
  - clitic forms available only in DAT (si) and ACC (se)
- Marks reflexivity and/or reciprocity: coreference

\[ Petr, \text{ přemýšlí o sobě.} \]
Peter thinks about REFL.LOC
‘Peter thinks about himself.’

\[ Partneři, se, nařkli z nevěry. \]
parents RECP.ACC accused from infidelity
‘Partners accused each other from infidelity.’
A. Reflexive personal pronoun

• Forms analogous syntactic structures as other personal pronouns
• Clitic and long forms
  • forms sensitive to changes in TFA
  • clitic forms available only in DAT (si) and ACC (se)
• Marks reflexivity and/or reciprocity: coreference
• Source of ambiguity btw reflexivity and reciprocity

Žáci si věří.
pupils REFL/RECP.DAT believe
‘The pupils believe themselves/each other.’
A. Reflexive personal pronoun

- Forms analogous syntactic structures as other personal pronouns
- Clitic and long forms
  - sensitive to changes in TFA
  - clitic forms available only in DAT (si) and ACC (se)
- Marks reflexivity and/or reciprocity: coreference
- Source of ambiguity btw reflexivity and reciprocity

B. Grammatical (inflectional) morpheme se

- Part of reflexive verb form in deagentive diathesis (reflexive passive)
- Reflexive verb form: 3rd person of a verb + se
- ACTor is shifted from subject, its surface expression is blocked
- Human actor is presupposed

\[ V \ těto \ vědecké \ oblasti \ se \ dosáhlo \ velkého \ pokroku. \]
\[ in \ this \ research \ area \ REFL \ achieved \ big \ progress \]

‘Great progress has been achieved in this research area.’
C. Lexical (derivational) morphemes se and si

- Distant morpheme deriving reflexive verb lemmas from irreflexive ones
- Only clitic forms are available
- Part of reflexive verb lemmas → derived reflexive verbs

Ruce se mu třásly zimou.
hand REFL him trembled cold

‘His hands were trembling with cold.’

*Sebe ruce mu třásly zimou.
REFL hands him trembled cold
C. Lexical (derivational) morphemes se and si

- Middle marker (Kemmer, 1993)
- Typically systemic changes in meaning and valency of verbs
- Four main types reflecting a relation btw. irreflexive and reflexive verb
  - decausative, reciprocal, conversive, intransitive
- Most of them represent metaphorical or metonymical shifts
  - related to reflexive verbs
Example of the verb *třástit se* ‘to tremble’

1. *třástit* ‘to shake’
   Matka mu třásla rukama.  
   ‘His mother shook his hands.’

2. *třástit se* ‘to tremble’
   Ruce se mu třásly.  
   ‘His hands were trembling.’

3. *třástit se* ‘to be afraid’
   Jan se třese o peníze.  
   ‘John is afraid of losing his money.’

4. *třástit se* ‘to be eager’
   Jan se třese jen na peníze.  
   ‘John is eager only to have money.’
Frequency of derived reflexive verbs
Decausative type

• Both reflexive derivational morphemes se and si
• An entity affected by an action of irreflexive verbs is shifted to subject
• Initiating and affected entities conflated
• The valency position of the affected entity is dropped from valency frames
  → valency frames of reflexive verbs reduced by one position
• Other valency positions are preserved in valency frames
Decausative type with se

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type</th>
<th>decausative se</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Action</td>
<td>Irreflexive verb lemma + SE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>$X_{acc</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

$nalepít$ ‘to stick’:

$ACT_1$ $PAT_4$ $DIR3_{do+2,...}$

Matka $nalepovala$ fotky $do$ albumu.

‘Mother stuck photos to the album.’

$nalepít$ se ‘to stick’:

$ACT_1$ $DIR3_{na+4,...}$

Odstřížky $se$ nalepily na kabát.

‘Clippings stuck to his coat.’
## Decausative type with si

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type</th>
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</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Action</td>
<td>Irreflexive verb lemma + SI</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>$X_{dat} \rightarrow Y_{nom}$</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Example

**Acupuncture relieves patients from pain.**

**Jogging relieved John from stress.**

### Diagram

```
Agent/ Causer       Patient       Affliction
      ↓                    ↓                    ↓
      ACT                  PAT       ORIG

Sb/ nom       Inobj/ dat       Inobj/ na+loc,od+gen
```

### Notes
- $ulevit$ ‘to relieve’: $\text{ACT}_1 \text{PAT}_3 \text{ORIG}_{na+6,od+2}$
- $\text{Akupunktur-a ulevuje pacient-úm od bolest-i.}$
  - ‘Acupuncture relieves patients from pain.’
- $\text{Během si Jan-Ø ulevoval od stres-u.}$
  - ‘Jogging relieved John from stress.’
Decausative semantic types

522 LUs represented by 723 verb lemmas, contained in 411 lexemes
150 out of them manually analyzed

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Decausative type</th>
<th>Number of LUs</th>
<th>Example</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Spontaneous events</td>
<td>85</td>
<td>polepšit se ‘to change one's ways’ ← polepšit ‘to reform’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Translational motion</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>hnát se ‘to hurry’ ← hnát ‘to rush sb into’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nontranslational motion</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>položit se ‘to lie down’ ← položit ‘put down’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Change in body posture</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>opřít se ‘to lean’ ← opřít ‘to lean’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grooming</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>připravit se ‘to get ready’ ← připravit ‘to prepare’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Decausative semantic types

150 manually analyzed
Reciprocal type

- Both reflexive derivational morphemes *se* and *si*
- They derive reflexive verbs with inherent reciprocal meaning from irreflexive verbs with asymmetrical meaning
- A less prominent valency position with irreflexive verbs changes into the prepositional group *s+INSTR*
- Number of valency positions is preserved
Reciprocal type with se

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type</th>
<th>reciprocal se</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Action</td>
<td>Irreflexive verb lemma + SE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>$X_{acc} \rightarrow X_{s+instr}$</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**oslovovat** ‘to call’: $ACT_1 \ PAT_4 \ EFF_{5,7}$

John-NOM called colleague-ACC first name-INSTR

‘John called his colleague first name.’

**oslovovat se** ‘to call each other’: $ACT_1 \ PAT_{s+7} \ EFF_{5,7}$

John-NOM REFL called with colleague-INSTR first name-INSTR

‘John and his colleague called each other with first name.’
**Reciprocal type with si**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type</th>
<th>reciprocal si</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Action</td>
<td>Irreflexive verb lemma + SI</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>$X_{dat} \rightarrow X_{s+instr}$</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

### Diagram

- **Speaker**
- **Recipient**
- **Message**

#### Table

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>$slíbit$ ‘to promise’:</th>
<th>$ACT_1$ $ADDR_3$ $PAT_{4,inf,dcc}$</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Peter-Ø</td>
<td>$slíbil$ Mari-í</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>promised Mary-DAT fidelity-ACC</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘Peter promised Mary fidelity.’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

$SI$

#### Table

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>$slíbit$ si ‘to promise’:</th>
<th>$ACT_1$ $ADDR_{s+7}$ $PAT_{4,inf,dcc}$</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Peter-Ø REFL</td>
<td>$slíbil$ s Mari-í</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>promised with Mary-INSTR fidelity-ACC</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘Peter and Mary promised fidelity to each other.’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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SLE 2019, Leipzig

24th August 2019
Reciprocal semantic types

57 LUs represented by 77 verb lemmas, contained in 56 lexemes

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Reciprocal type</th>
<th>Number of LUs</th>
<th>Example</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Social actions</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>navštěvovat se ‘to visit each other’ ← navštěvovat ‘to visit’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Communication</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>povídat si ‘to talk with each other’ ← povídat ‘to say’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Antagonistic actions</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>bit se ‘to fight’ ← bit ‘beat’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Affectionate actions</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>líbat se ‘to kiss each other’ ← líbat ‘to kiss’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Exchange</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>střídat se ‘to change’ ← střídat ‘to change’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agreement</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>rozumět si ‘to get along’ ← rozumět ‘to understand’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Physical contact</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>protínat se ‘to cross each other’ ← protínat ‘to cross’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Reciprocal semantic types

![Pie chart representing reciprocal semantic types with various categories such as social_act, communication, antagonistic_act, affectionate_act, exchange, dis/agreement, and contact.](image)
Conversive type

• Reflexive derivational morpheme *se*, sporadically also the morpheme *si*
• It derives reflexive verbs from irreflexive ones
  → the same situation but presented from a different perspective
• Number of valency positions is preserved
• Conversion affects subject
### Conversive type with se

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type</th>
<th>conversive, verbs of exchange</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Action</td>
<td>Irreflexive verb lemma + SE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>$\text{ACT}<em>{\text{nom}} \rightarrow X</em>{\text{od}+2,z+2}$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>$\text{Y}<em>{\text{acc}} \rightarrow \text{ACT}</em>{\text{nom}+\text{instr}}$</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### informovat ‘to inform’: $\text{ACT}_1 \text{ ADDR}_4 \text{ PAT}_{o+6,\text{dcc}}$

Spoluhráč-i Petr-a informovali o průběhu utkání.

‘Teammates informed Peter about the course of the match.’

#### informovat se ‘to get information’: $\text{ACT}_1 \text{ PAT}_{na+4,o+6,\text{dcc}} \text{ ORIG}_{od+2}$

Petr-Ø se informoval od spoluhráčů na průběh utkání.

‘Peter got informed from his teammates on the course of the match.’

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**Conversive type with si**

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<tr>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>$\text{ACT}<em>{\text{nom}} \rightarrow \text{ORIG}</em>{\text{od+2}}$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>$\text{ADDR}<em>{\text{dat}} \rightarrow \text{ACT}</em>{\text{nom}}$</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\[
půjčit \text{ ‘to lend’: } \text{ACT}_1 \text{ ADDR}_3 \text{ PAT}_4
\]

**Parents-NOM lent Peter-DAT car-ACC**

‘Parents lent a car to Peter.’

\[
půjčit \text{ si ‘to borrow’: } \text{ACT}_1 \text{ PAT}_4 \text{ ORIG}_{\text{od+2}}
\]

**Petra-NOM REFL půjčil od rodič-ů aut-o.**

‘Peter borrowed a car from his parents.’
## Conversive semantic types

44 LUs represented by 62 verb lemmas, contained in 42 lexemes

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Conversive type</th>
<th>Number of LUs</th>
<th>Example</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Emotion</td>
<td>29</td>
<td><em>sužovat se</em> ‘to be annoyed’ ← <em>sužovat</em> ‘to annoy’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Moving_in_place</td>
<td>7</td>
<td><em>třást se</em> ‘to quiver’ ← <em>třást</em> ‘to shake’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cognition</td>
<td>4</td>
<td><em>zajímat se</em> ‘to be interested in’ ← <em>zajímat</em> ‘to interest’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Exchange</td>
<td>4</td>
<td><em>půjčit si</em> ‘to borrow’ ← <em>půjčit</em> ‘to lend’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Conversive semantic types
**Intransitive type**

- Reflexive derivational morpheme *se*
- It derives reflexive verbs from irreflexive ones with the same meaning
- Number of valency positions is preserved
- The same situation is surface syntactically structured in a different way
  → changes affect only surface structure
Intransitive type

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type</th>
<th>intransitive</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Action</td>
<td>Irreflexive verb lemma + SE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>$X_{\text{acc}} \rightarrow X_{\text{gen</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**domluvit 'to arrange':** $ACT_1 \ ADDR_{s+7} \ PAT_{4,dcc}$

- Peter-NOM agreed with bank-INSTR loan-ACC
- Peter arranged a loan in a bank.

**SE**

**domluvit se 'to arrange':** $ACT_1 \ ADDR_{s+7} \ PAT_{na+6,o+6,dcc}$

- Peter-NOM REFL agreed with bank-INSTR on loan-LOC
- Peter arranged a loan in a bank.

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Intransitive type

47 LUs represented by 79 verb lemmas, contained in 44 lexemes

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Intransitive type</th>
<th>Number of LUs</th>
<th>Example</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Interlocution</td>
<td>15</td>
<td><em>zmínit se</em> ‘to mention’ ← <em>zmínit</em> ‘to mention’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Physical_contact</td>
<td>14</td>
<td><em>tahat se</em> ‘to pull’ ← <em>tahat</em> ‘to pull’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cognition</td>
<td>8</td>
<td><em>pamatovat se</em> ‘to remenber’ ← <em>pamatovat</em> ‘to remember’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Exchange</td>
<td>7</td>
<td><em>odměnit se</em> ‘to reward’ ← <em>odměnit</em> ‘to reward’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Proximity</td>
<td>3</td>
<td><em>dotáhnout se</em> ‘to catch up with’ ← <em>dotáhnout</em> ‘to catch up with’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Conclusion

• Four main functions of the reflexives in derivational processes in Czech, with respect to semantic and/or syntactic changes
• Exemplified on the data from the valency lexicon of Czech verbs
• SE and SI as derivational means associated with systemic syntactic changes, often accompanied with semantic changes
• Syntactic changes can be captured by grammatical rules
Bibliography

Thank you for your attention!

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