Inherently Reciprocal Predicates – Do They Exist At All?

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Abstract

Reciprocity and mutuality represent phenomena intensively studied both in linguistics and in formal semantics. Here we focus on inherently reciprocal predicates, i.e., predicates bearing the feature of mutuality in their lexical meaning. While there is a consensus generally accepted by linguists that such predicates most likely exist in all natural languages, a reliable criterion defining this type of predicates is still missing. The usual definition – adopted from formal semantics – appears to be too strong for natural language predicates, leading to the contraintuitive conclusion that such predicates do not exist at all. Here, inspired by [1], we redefine the criterion. The proposed weaker definition allows us to group predicates of a natural language in a more appropriate way, reflecting their syntactic behavior and thus enabling their adequate lexicographic description.

Keywords

mutuality, symmetry, reciprocity, inherently reciprocal predicates, lexical meaning

1. Motivation

Symmetry, mutuality, and reciprocity represent closely related concepts, which have been widely discussed by both linguists and logicians since the 1970s, see esp. [2, 3, 4, 5] and an immense effort underlying two big collections of studies [6, 7]. In the domain of natural languages (NL), these concepts are relevant for different layers of the language description. Here, we reserve the term mutuality for the semantic layer and reciprocity for the syntactic and morphosyntactic layer. Put it differently, when we refer to the semantic feature, we use the term reciprocity, as proposed, e.g., in [8].

In the semantic characterization of predicates of natural languages (NL predicates henceforth), the notion of a situation plays a key role. Each NL predicate denotes a situation (i.e., a state or an action) characterized by a set of participants and relationships between these participants. The situation denoted by the predicate can be syntactically structured in various ways. According to Haspelmath [8], "A mutual situation can be defined as a situation with two or more participants (A, B, ...), in which for at least two of the participants A and B, the relation between A and B is the same as the relation between B and A."

As attested cross-linguistically, most mutual situations are explicitly expressed by a specific morphosyntactic pattern, usually referred to as reciprocal constructions, where mutuality affects two syntactic positions (as exemplified in (1a) and (2a,b); compare them with the non-reciprocal patterns used in (1b) and (2c)). Morphosyntactically, reciprocal constructions are characterized by the pluralization of the subject position where both participants in the mutual relation are expressed and typically by the presence of an anaphoric expression coreferriing with the expression in the subject (as the expression each other in English (1a) and the reflexive personal pronoun se/si/sebou/soře/obě/sebou or the bipartite expression jeden – druhý in Czech, see examples (2a) and (2b), respectively).

(1) a. Aisha and Pedro pinched each other. ([8])
   b. Aisha pinched Pedro.
(2) a. Dva doplavou současně, začnou spolu zuřivě zápasit, štípat se a navzájem se topit. (SYN v10)
   b. Dva doplavou současně, začnou spolu zuřivě zápasit, štípat jeden druhého a navzájem se topit.
   “The two swim up at the same time, and begin to wrestle furiously, pinch each other and drown each other.”
   c. … plave A štípá plave B, …
   “… the swimmer A pinches the swimmer B, …”

However, we can observe that some NL predicates express mutuality between two of their participants without any overt morphosyntactic marking. For example, sentence (3a) expresses that Evek ‘Eve’ and jeden Angličan ‘one of the Englishmen’ are in the mutual relation, ‘they

Less frequently, the object position is involved, as, e.g., in example (4) below.

SYN refers to the Czech National Corpus, https://www.korpus.cz/. Examples without sources are made-up, illustrating alternative syntactic structures.
play together / against each other', even though there is no overt reciprocal marking; the mutual interpretation is supported by the fact that (3a) implies reciprocal construction (3b). Similarly, sentence (4a) expresses the mutual relation between humor 'humor' and drsné scény 'harsh scenes' (‘they alternate each other’) without the presence of reciprocal marking, compare (4a) with reciprocal construction (4b). Typological studies have revealed that – despite not being numerous – such predicates appear most likely in all natural languages [10,11]. We will call them inherently reciprocal predicates here [11,12].4

(3) a. Spatřil jsem Evku v hedvábných bílých plavkách, jak hraje ping-pong proti jednomu Anglickanovi a druhý jim souduje. (SYN v10, modified)
   'I saw Evka in a silk white swimsuit playing ping-pong against one of the Englishmen and the other judging them.'

b. Spatřil jsem Evku a jednoho Anglickanu, jak proti sobě hraje ping-pong a druhý jim souduje. (SYN v10, modified)
   'I saw Evka and one of the Englishmen playing ping-pong against each other and the other judging them.'

(4) a. A stejně tak neváhá bleskurychle střídat humor s velmi drsnými scény, . . . (SYN v10)
   'And he doesn’t hesitate to alternate humor with very harsh scenes at lightning speed, . . .'

b. A stejně tak neváhá bleskurychle střídat humor a velmi drsnými scény, . . .
   'And he doesn’t hesitate to alternate humor and very harsh scenes with each other at lightning speed, . . .'

(5) a. Avšak každé válce předchází manévry, . . . (SYN v10)
   'However, every war is preceded by maneuvers, . . .'

b. Válka a manévry se vzájemně předchází.
   'The war and maneuvers precede each other.'

As a result, NL predicates fall into three different groups with respect to mutuality, as shown in Figure 1: on the first level, we can distinguish those predicates that can express mutuality (as the verb střídat ‘pinch’ in (1), (2), the verb hrát ‘play’ in (3), and the verb střídat ‘alternate’ in (4)) and those that cannot. The latter can be exemplified, e.g., by the verb předcházet ‘to precede’, compare (5a) and (5b). Those predicates that can express mutuality further split into those that express mutuality only in reciprocal constructions (exemplified by the verb střídat ‘pinch’ in (1)) and those that beside reciprocal constructions create constructions expressing mutuality without explicit morphosyntactic marking, referred here to as inherently reciprocal predicates (as illustrated by the verb hrát (proti někomu) in (3) and the verb střídat in (4)).

Distinguishing the three groups of NL predicates with respect to mutuality is not an end in itself: it has been shown that predicates intuitively classified as inherently reciprocal ones require a less degree of linguistic marking in reciprocal constructions, see esp. [13] and for Czech [14]. Thus the ‘inherently reciprocal’ feature appears to be a syntactically relevant semantic feature, and as such, it should be captured in a syntactic lexicon.

There is a commonly cited definition of predicates expressing mutuality, adopted from formal semantics; we discuss it in Section 2. We argue that this definition is fully satisfied only by reciprocal constructions. In contrast, inherently reciprocal predicates in constructions without overt reciprocal marking, although they express mutuality as well, does not reliably meet this criterion, as discussed in Section 3. As a result, based on this definition, an inventory of NL predicates expressing mutuality can be established – but it is not capable to single out those predicates that are inherently reciprocal from this inventory. To identify inherently reciprocal predicates, we thus propose a modified version of the given criterion, on the basis of which we introduce more subtle classification of predicates expressing the relation of mutuality (Section 4). Lastly, we introduce how this classification may be applied in a syntactic lexicon, namely in the valency lexicon VALLEX (Section 5).

2. Reciprocal (Symmetric) Predicates in Formal Semantics

A formal definition of reciprocity can be found in a number of studies from formal semantics, one of the most often cited ones is given in [2]. Here the following condition of strong reciprocity for the so-called elementary reciprocal sentences $ARr$ is introduced ($A$ denotes a set of cardinality at least 2, $R$ is a relation on $A \times A$, and $r$ is a reciprocal element, e.g., each other):

$$\forall x, y \in A \ (x \neq y \rightarrow R(x, y)) \quad (*)$$

Thus, as paraphrased in [3], for specific substitutions of values $a$ and $b$ ($a, b \in A$) for the variables $x$ and $y$:  

4The terms (inherently) symmetric(al) predicates (as, e.g., in [4, 1]) or lexical reciprocals [6] are also used for the same type of predicates.

5This paper follows the study [15], where an interested reader can find a more detailed linguistic observations.
$R(a, b) \leftrightarrow R(b, a)$.

This condition is satisfied, e.g., by sentence (6) with $A$ identifying a set of people in the house, $R$ being the relation denoted by the binary predicate to know (i.e., $\text{know}(X, Y) = X \text{ knows } Y$), and $r$ being the reciprocal element each other. In Czech, the role of the reciprocal element is taken on by the reflexive pronoun, as in (2a) and sobě in (3b), or by the bipartite expression jeden – druhý ’each other’, as in (2b); all sentences (2a), (2b) and (3b) represent reciprocal constructions, see Section 1, and fulfill the criterion (\textsuperscript{(*)}).

(6) People in this house know each other. ([5])

(7) John met Mary at the station. ([4])

Despite the prerequisite of the presence of reciprocal marker $r$, some reciprocal constructions without such marker satisfy this condition as well, as (8b). In these reciprocal constructions, the pluralized subject or direct object, in which both participants involved in mutuality are expressed, is a sufficient marker of the mutual relation between participants.

However, as exemplified in (3a), (4a), and (7), inherent reciprocal predicates can express mutuality not only in reciprocal constructions but also in constructions without any overt morphosyntactic marking (i.e., without the pluralized subject or direct object and without the reflexive pronoun or the expression jeden – druhý). Distinguishing inherently reciprocal predicates thus requires such a criterion that identifies mutuality of participants also in the constructions that are not overtly marked.

As the first step, we adopt the concept of a mutual situation, as proposed in [8], see Section 1, and relate it to a predicate. We will say that predicate $P$ with participants $a$ and $b$ satisfies the condition of mutuality if and only if the situation denoted by the predicate involves (at least) two different participants and for the values $a$, $b$ of these participants, the following equivalence holds:

$$P(a, b) \leftrightarrow P(b, a) \quad \text{(\textsuperscript{**})}$$

The condition (\textsuperscript{**}) now covers also (4a) as we can consider this construction and the construction with swapped participants (i.e., the pairs střídat humor s velmi drsnými scénami ’to alternate very harsh scenes with humor’ and střídat velmi drsné scény s humorem ’to alternate humor with very harsh scenes’) as paraphrases with the same truth conditions.

However, the situation is complicated by the fact that in many cases constructions of inherently reciprocal predicates without overt reciprocal marking show a certain asymmetry between participants, as pointed out by some authors, see esp. [16, 17, 4, 12]. This asymmetry can be exemplified by the pairs in (8), where only (8a) with Radotín in subject is fully acceptable. In such cases, the condition (\textsuperscript{**}) can be hardly applied. While König and Kokutani [4, p. 273] relate this asymmetry to “power, control, initiative, or involvement”, Panevová [16] stresses the role of homogeneity of the involved participants when discussing (8).

(8) a. Radotín se sloučil s Prahou před 30 lety. ([16])

’Radotín (a small city near Prague) merged with Prague 30 years ago.’

b. ?? Praha se sloučila s Radotínem před 30 lety. ([16])

’Praha merged with Radotín 30 years ago.’

3. Source of Asymmetry with NL Predicates

Gleitman at al. [17] conducted an extensive study of the asymmetry in constructions of inherently reciprocal predicates (symmetrical in the authors’ terminology, e.g. similar, equal, meet, near). The series of psycholinguistic experiments revealed that experimental subjects interpret the pairs of sentences with swapped participants as, e.g., (9a) and (9b), in a different way, although they assess the respective predicates as symmetrical, i.e., bearing mutuality in their meaning (inherently reciprocal in our terminology). The results of their study thus revealed a paradoxical situation when inherently reciprocal predicates create constructions with the asymmetrical interpretation. Consequently, these constructions do not meet the condition (\textsuperscript{**}).

As the asymmetry manifests itself just in constructions of inherently reciprocal predicates without overt reciprocal marking (i.e., in constructions with the affected participants distributed into separate syntactic positions, as in (3a) or (7)), the authors [17] put forward the hypothesis that it is the asymmetry of syntactic constructions which causes the asymmetric interpretation of inherently reciprocal predicates. In particular, the syntactic position of participants (i.e., their distribution in the subject and object positions) imposes their interpretation as either Figure (Variant) or Ground (Referent): the subject position determines the status of a participant as Figure while object positions as Ground.

For example, in (9a) with the inherently reciprocal predicate similar, expressing comparison of two entities, North Korea in subject is interpreted as Figure, i.e., the compared entity, and China in the object position as Ground, i.e., the more prominent entity to which the former one is compared. With swapped participants in (9b), their interpretation with respect to the Figure/Ground distinction is reversed, which underlies interpretive differences between (9a) and (9b). The offered analysis – that asymmetry of (9a) and (9b) is brought about by the asymmetric syntactic structuring of the sentences – is also supported by the fact that the asymmetry disappears in constructions with both participants structured in the same way, i.e., in the single subject position, as in (9c).
The same interpretive differences between constructions with swapped participants formed by inherently reciprocal predicates are attested in Czech as well, as illustrated, e.g., by predicates denoting comparison, see examples (10a) and (10b) with the adjective srovnávatý, and space relations, see examples (11a) and (11b) with the verb sousedit, and by action predicates, see examples (12a) and (12b) with the verb setkat se. In all these examples, the difference between sentences a. and b. can be explained on the basis of the Figure/Ground interpretation of the affected participants, implied by their syntactic positions in the sentences.

Moreover, in constructions of inherently reciprocal predicates with participants distributed in different syntactic positions, the asymmetry between participants can be further stressed by context (e.g., by an adverbial modifying the verb), and thus the mutual relation between the involved participants can be even blocked. For example, although the verb bojovat ‘to fight’ can be considered as an inherently reciprocal verb in all examples in (14), only (14d) with the involved participants structured in the same position of the (plural) subject is fully symmetrical. While (14b) and (14c) are more or less exchangeable in most contexts, the modal verb chtít ‘to want’ in (14a) introduces asymmetry to the construction.

To summarize, although inherently reciprocal predicates are supposed to carry the feature of mutuality between two of their participants in their lexical meaning (and thus their mutual interpretation should not depend on special syntactic constructions), structuring these participants in different syntactic positions results in the asymmetry, which is manifested by a meaning shift when the affected participants are interchanged in the involved positions. Put it differently, “symmetry is a property of lexical items and has no special syntax”, in terms of [17], constructional properties then bring about lesser or bigger asymmetry. As a result, criterion (**) relying on the preservation of truth conditions when the affected participants are permuted cannot be used for identification of inherently reciprocal predicates. Otherwise, it would lead to an inescapable conclusion that there are no inherently reciprocal predicates at all, contradicting the generally accepted hypothesis.
4. Revised Approaches to Symmetrical Predicates

The usually cited condition of strong reciprocity (‘) [4] takes this property as a property of the given predicate, i.e., it should be applicable to all instances of this predicate – to any lexical choice of the affected participants, in any syntactic construction, in any context.\(^7\) As such, it is too strong. Of classification of NI predicates. On the other hand, the condition of mutuality (‘), inspired by [8], is applied to a predicate with a particular lexical choice of the affected participants (i.e., with a particular choice of their values in [4] and (‘)), that is, to the particular instances of the predicate. As such, it is too weak, and hence not helpful in classifying NL predicates with respect to the feature of mutuality in their lexical meaning. Neither of these criteria in isolation is thus suitable for distinguishing the set of inherently reciprocal predicates.

4.1. The Concept of Symmetry As Graded Property: Symmetrical Instances

The problem with possible asymmetry of predicates intuitively classified as inherently reciprocal predicates is addressed by Partee [18] and Gleitman and Partee [1]. The authors show that the usual linguistic test indicating ‘symmetrical’ predicates,\(^6\) the logical definition, and judgments offered by native speakers are often in contradiction. Gleitman and Partee [1] thus propose to consider – in addition to the relations satisfying the condition of strong reciprocity (‘) as a property of the whole relation \(R\), which must be valid for all instances/values of \(x, y\) – also relations symmetrical only for some instances:

- A symmetrical instance of a relation \(R\) is a pair \(a, b\) such that \(R(a, b) \& R(b, a)\).
- An asymmetrical instance of a relation \(R\) is a pair \(a, b\) such that \(R(a, b) \& \neg R(b, a)\).

Based on this consideration, we can then ask whether, for a given predicate \(P\), there is any instance \(a, b\) of its participants such that \(P\) and \(a, b\) satisfy the following condition (i):

\[
P(a, b) \& P(b, a) \quad (i)
\]

So similarly to (‘), the condition (i) makes it possible to consider a predicate together with a particular choice of its participants involved in mutuality. The difference lies in the fact that (i) generalizes over individual triplets \(P(a, b)\) and examines thus the property of the predicate \(P\) itself (instead of assessing individual instances in isolation).

In opposition to the previous approaches, where symmetry and asymmetry are treated as sharp concepts (and thus reciprocal predicates must be symmetrical in all their occurrences), in [18, 1] symmetry is treated as a graded property. Still, the authors distinguish four distinct groups of predicates:

(i) predicates expressing mutuality for all instances of participants (‘purely symmetric predicates’ in their terminology), e.g., meet, similar, sibling;
(ii) predicates expressing mutuality, which, however, can be blocked (‘mixed symmetric predicates’ in their terminology; there are both symmetric and asymmetric instances of the given predicates), e.g., kiss, opposed to friend;
(iii) predicates not expressing mutuality but enabling symmetric instances (‘mixed asymmetric predicates’ in their terminology), e.g., drawn, kill, hit;
(iv) predicates asymmetric for all their instances (‘purely asymmetric predicates’), e.g., contain, father, below.

Predicates intuitively understood as inherently reciprocal should fall under the first two types of predicates in the above given classification. However, the existence of ‘purely symmetric predicates’ seems to be questionable since for each of these predicates, one can typically find contexts in which mutuality between the affected participants is canceled.

4.2. Unary-Collective Predicates And Their Binary Counterparts

An interesting approach to the concept of predicates expressing mutuality can be found in [19] – Winter points out that reciprocity as a linguistic phenomenon is often confused with symmetry as a concept belonging to the domain of logic. To avoid this, he proposes to start (as in [1]) with those binary predicates that have also the so-called unary-collective forms (illustrated by examples as \(A\) and \(B\) dated / are identical / are cousins)\(^8\) and compare

\[^6\]Though some authors point out that this condition is fully true only for reciprocal constructions, see esp. [4] who refer to the predicates satisfying this condition as to symmetric predicates: “Perfect symmetry is only expressed by reciprocal constructions and this symmetry is often iconically signalled by the fact that the relevant semantic arguments are encoded by the same grammatical relation.” [4, p. 273].

\[^7\]The authors have the so-called Litmus Test in mind, examining pairs of constructions like John and Bill are similar/match/hug and John is similar/match/hug where the constructions with plural subject/should express, roughly speaking, the mutual relation between John and Bill. We can see certain limitation here as (like in other logic-oriented works) the authors do not distinguish between possible constructions with a predicate and the predicate as an abstract unit bearing some lexical properties as such (regardless of different syntactic construction it can create).

\[^8\]Based on the provided examples, the unary-collective forms of predicates correspond to those that satisfy the Litmus Test, see footnote 7; i.e., they have plural subject and they express the mutual relation between participants in the subject position.
them to their basic forms (i.e., to the forms illustrated by $A$ dated $B$ / $A$ is identical to $B$ / $A$ is $B$’s cousin). The author observes that for predicates that are symmetric from the logical point of view (i.e., predicates with interchangeable arguments, cf. condition (’)), these two types of constructions can serve as paraphrases with the same meaning (contrary to asymmetric predicates). For example, in (16) with the asymmetric predicate talk to, the first sentence "can be interpreted reciprocally, but also distributively: Dan talked, and Sue talked as well." [19]; the two constructions cannot be thus assessed as paraphrases (contrary to all the sentences in (15) which have only the reciprocal interpretation).

(15)  Sue and Dan dated. ↔ Sue dated Dan.  
(→ Dan dated Sue.)

(16)  Sue and Dan talked.  
↔ Sue talked to Dan. & Dan talked to Sue.

Inspired by this observation, the author define the criterion of plain symmetry (†), which is applied to an unary-collective predicates $P$ over sums of (singular) entities in $E$ (with cardinality 2 (or more)) and a binary predicate $R$ alternating with $P$, ranging over pairs of entities in $E$:

$$
∀x, y ∈ E, x ≠ y : P(x + y) ↔ R(x, y) & R(y, x)  
tag{†}
$$

In other words, Winter limits the requirement of symmetry only to constructions logically equivalent to specific constructions with plural subject and mutual meaning – the predicate $R$ is not necessarily symmetric in all its instances. The proposed criterion serves as another interesting approach addressing the problem of the discussed inadequacy of the logic-based condition (’).

Winter applies the condition (†) to English (and to a small set of other languages like Hebrew). However, it is not clear how to adapt such approach to typologically different languages. For example, Czech attests that predicates intuitively classified as inherently reciprocal predicates typically form constructions parallel to those considered as unary-collective ones, as, e.g., diskutovat (s nekým) ‘discuss with somebody’, which, however, can be interpreted distributively as well, compare (17a) and (17b).

(17)  a. … během malování portrétu Masaryka diskutovali malíř a prezident i o Komenském … (SYN v10)  
‘… during the painting of Masaryk’s portrait, the painter and the president also discussed Comenius …’

b. Bratři a Němci diskutují o věřejné službě. (SYN v10)  
‘British and Germans discuss about public service.’

5. Inherently Reciprocal Predicates in Lexicographic Practice

Let us repeat that inherently reciprocal predicates are characterized by the possibility to express mutuality between participants in constructions that are not overtly marked, see esp. examples (3) and (4) in Section 1. However, the mutuality condition (”) of this is met only by some instances of these predicates, as we have seen in Section 3. The existence of the instances violating this condition leads to the conclusion that – contrary to linguistic intuition – natural languages do not have any inherently reciprocal predicates. This well known limitation inspired researchers to seek for a weaker but reliable criterion, as discussed in Section 4, making it possible to examine not only behavior of predicates in individual constructions but (i) abstract from concrete syntactic constructions and (ii) relax the requirement of symmetry to individual instances of predicates, as in [1, 19]. Only such a criterion is applicable in lexicographic description, which takes a predicate as a language unit representing all its syntactic constructions.

These considerations led us to define inherently reciprocal predicates as such predicates for which there are attested the instances of constructions expressing mutuality without overt reciprocal marking. This approach is based on the following observation:

**Criterion.** If for a given predicate there is (even a single) example where mutuality is expressed in the construction that is not overtly marked then the feature of mutuality must be already contained in the lexical meaning of the given predicate (at least as a potential feature) and the predicate thus comes under the class of inherently reciprocal predicates.

To put it differently, the criterion abstracts from properties brought about by specific morphosyntactic constructions (constructions with overt reciprocal marking); instead, unlike [1], it examines lexical properties of examined predicates themselves.

This approach has been employed in the VALLEX lexicon [20], where three types of verbs are distinguished with respect to reciprocity:

A. inherently reciprocal predicates, i.e., predicates bearing the feature of mutuality in their lexical meaning, as defined in the previous paragraph (e.g., bojovat ‘to fight’, diskutovat ‘to discuss’, and kombinovat ‘to combine’); this type comprises predicates that typically fall under (i)-(ii) in the taxonomy defined in [1], i.e., predicates expressing mutuality for at least some of their instances even without overt reciprocal marking, see Section 4.1;
Table 1

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>VALLEX</th>
<th>lemmas</th>
<th>lexical units</th>
<th>lexemes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Type A. inherently reciprocals predicates</td>
<td>441</td>
<td>338</td>
<td>288</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Type B. mutuality just in syntactical reciprocal constructions</td>
<td>2,813</td>
<td>2,450</td>
<td>1,697</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Type C. predicates not allowing to express mutuality</td>
<td>3,400</td>
<td>4,113</td>
<td>2,009</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>4,667</td>
<td>6,869</td>
<td>2,773</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

B. predicates allowing to express mutuality only if structured in reciprocal constructions, as in (2a) (e.g., dékovať ‘to thank sbd’, dotknout se ‘to touch’, and všímat si ‘to pay attention’); this type more or less corresponds to type (iii) in [1];

C. predicates not allowing to express mutuality (e.g., předcházet ‘to precede’, bolet ‘to ache; to hurt’); this type corresponds to type (iv) in [1].

Figure 1 provides basic statistics on individual types of predicates in VALLEX.

6. Conclusion

While typological studies have revealed that inherently reciprocal predicates (i.e., predicates bearing the feature of mutuality in their lexical meaning) appear most likely in all natural languages, available formal criteria striving to define such predicates are not satisfactory as they are either too strict (applied to the whole predicate in its all instances) or too weak (applied only to individual instances of a predicate) (as exemplified on Czech predicates). In this paper, we have thus proposed the modified version of such criteria. The proposed criterion abstracts from particular syntactic constructions of examined predicates (and from features brought about by these constructions). Thus it allows us to focus on the features contained already in their lexical meaning. Based on this criterion we have introduced a more subtle classification of predicates expressing the relation of mutuality. This classification has been applied in the valency lexicon VALLEX.

Acknowledgment

The work described herein has been supported by the grant Language Understanding: From Syntax to Discourse (LUSyD) of the Czech Science Foundation (GAČR), No. GX20-16819X.

The work on the VALLEX lexicon has been using data and tools provided by the LINDAT/CLARIAH-CZ Research Infrastructure (https://lindat.cz), supported by the Ministry of Education, Youth and Sports of the Czech Republic (project No. LM2023062).

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