

Reflexives and middles in Homer revisited

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Delbrück Colloquium, Verona, Nov. 9–12, 2022

Introduction

- (1) Reflexivization strategies for (direct) reflexive predicates in ancient IE languages
 - a. Reflexivization through middle/nonactive voice morphology (Anatolian, Ir., Greek, Latin, Tocharian...)
 - b. Middle morphology + weak/ ϕ -deficient reflexive pronoun or “particle” (Hittite, Vedic, Tocharian...)
 - c. Middle morphology + strong reflexive pronoun ...?
 - d. Active morphology + weak/ ϕ -deficient reflexive pronoun or “particle” (Hittite, late Vedic)
 - e. Active morphology + strong reflexive pronoun (Hittite, Greek, Latin)

Which ones are “cognate”/inherited?

Background: Pronominal typology

- ▶ **strong** vs. **weak** pronouns (Cardinaletti and Starke 1999):
 - ▶ Deficient pronouns are morphologically reduced w.r.t. strong ones
 - ▶ Strong pronouns are arguments, deficient pronouns are restricted w.r.t. their surface position
 - ▶ Deficient pronouns cannot be co-ordinated or modified
 - ▶ Deficient pronouns may prosodically restructure (clitics, etc.)

→ this extends to reflexive pronouns as well (Reuland 2011, Rooryck and Vanden Wyngaerd 2011, Déchaine and Wiltschko 2017)

Background: Pronominal typology

Examples:

- a. Engl., Gm., It. ... Gk., Skt., Hitt. etc. personal pronouns (*I, you, he/she/it* ...)
- b. Engl. *my-self, your-self*, etc., Greek ἐγώ/ἐξ αὐτόν, etc.
- c. Dutch *zichself*, Ved. *svá- tanú-* (?), Toch. A *ṣñi-āñcām*, Toch. B *ṣañ-añm*
- d. Fr. *se*, It. *si* ... Lat. *sē*, Hitt. *-z(a)*, Ved. *tanú-* (?), Toch. A *āñcām* (?)

a. strong, ϕ -complete, b. strong, ϕ -complete, **complex reflexive**, c. (strong?), ϕ -deficient, **complex reflexive**, d. weak, ϕ -deficient

- Crucially, different types of reflexive pronouns lead to different types of reflexivization strategies cross-linguistically

Reflexivization strategies in IE

- (2) Cotticelli Kurras and Rizza (2013: 10): Combinations of pronominal and verbal reflexivization strategies (RM = reflexive marker)

RM	middle voice
-	+
+	+
+	-

- More fine-grained distinction between different types of pronominals necessary

Goals of this talk

- ▶ Discuss reflexivization strategies in Homer; focus on coargument reflexives/**reflexive predicates** (Reinhart and Reuland 1993), specifically **direct reflexives**.
- ▶ Three subtypes:
 - ▶ reflexivization through middle/nonactive voice morphology alone
 - ▶ transitive “indirect reflexives” (self-benefactives)
 - ▶ coargument/direct reflexives with active morphology and simple or complex reflexive pronoun
- ▶ Argument structure (subj =/≠ agent) and pronominal structure (ϕ -features, case on refl.) must be taken into account to accurately predict the distribution of the different pieces that are involved
- ▶ Implications for PIE

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Acknowledgements:

- ▶ Based on work for the chapter on Greek in the *Mouton Handbooks of Indo-European Typology 2: Reflexivity and the Middle in Indo-European*, ed. by Wolfgang Hock, Götz Keydana & Paul Widmer (Mouton de Gruyter, forthcoming)

The actual goal of the talk

...is to explain this one line in Homer:

- (3) αὐτὰρ ἐγὼν ἐμὲ λύσομαι
then I.NOM me.ACC release.1SG.PRES.MID
“then I will release myself” (*Il.* 10.378)

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- Both the voice morphology on the verb and the choice of pronoun are unexpected.

Reflexivization strategies in Homeric Greek

Middle endings

Reflexivization via middle morphology alone is primarily used with body action/grooming verbs (or “naturally reflexive” verbs), (4).

- (4) Verbs of grooming & body action in Homer (Allan 2003: 89); oppositional actives given in brackets
- a. ἀλείφωμαι ‘anoint oneself’ (ἀλείφω ‘anoint’)
 - b. ἔννυμαι ‘get dressed; dress (oneself)’ (ἔννυμι ‘dress, clothe’)
 - c. ζώννυμαι ‘gird oneself’ (ζώννυμι ‘gird’)
 - d. ?κείρωμαι ‘cut off one’s hair’ (κείρω ‘cut’) — abs. use is post-Homeric
 - e. λούωμαι (λοῦμαι) ‘wash myself, bathe’ (λούω ‘wash sth.’)
 - f. νίζωμαι ‘wash one’s hands/feet’ (νίζω ‘wash, clean’)

Middle endings

- (5) ... ἐς ῥ' ἀσαμίνθους βάντες ἐϋ-ξέστας
 into PTCL bathtub.ACC.PL go.AOR.PTCP.NOM.PL well-polished.ACC.PL
 λούσαντο. τὼ δὲ λοεσσαμένω καὶ
 bathe.AOR.MID.3PL they.NOM.DU PTCL bathe.AOR.PTCP.MID.NOM.DU and
 ἀλειψαμένω λίπ' ἐλαῶ δείπνω ἐφιζανέτην, ...
 anoint.AOR.PTCP.MID.NOM.DU richly oil.DAT dinner.DAT sit.IPF.3DU
 "... having gone into the polished bathtubs **they bathed**. And **having bathed and anointed themselves** richly with oil, they sat down for dinner ...” (*Il.* 10.576–8)

Middle endings

Middle morphology is also used in transitive body action reflexives in which the object is in a part-of-relation to the subject:

- (6) Τηλέμαχος ... χεῖρας νιψάμενος πολιῆς
 Telemachus.NOM hand.ACC.PL wash.AOR.PTCP.**MID**.NOM.SG grey.GEN.SG
 ἁλὸς εὔχετ' Ἀθήνη
 seawater.GEN.SG pray.IPF.3SG.MID Athena.DAT
 “Telemachus ..., **having washed his hands** with the grey seawater, prayed to Athena.” (*Od.* 2.261–2)

= transitive version of (5).

Middle endings in indirect reflexives

- (7) Alternating self-benefactives, Homer
- Act. φέρω ‘carry, bring’ — mid. φέρομαι ‘carry (away) for myself; win’
 - Act. ποιέω ‘make, do’ — mid. ποιέομαι, ποιούμαι ‘make for myself’
 - Act. ἐντύνω ‘prepare, make ready’ — mid. ἐντύνομαι ‘prepare sth./make sth. ready for myself’
 - Act. τίθημι ‘put, place’ — mid. τίθεμαι ‘place for oneself’
- (8) Non-alternating self-benefactives (*media tantum*)
- αἴνυμαι ‘take, seize’
 - ἄρνυμαι ‘acquire’
 - δέχομαι ‘receive, accept’
 - κτάομαι ‘acquire’
 - ὠνέομαι (aor. 3sg. (ἐ)πρίατο) ‘buy’

Middle endings in indirect reflexives

- (9) a. αἶ κ' ἀποκηδεσσαντε φερώμεθα χεῖρον
 if be.careless.PTCP.NOM.DU.M bring.SUBJ.MID.1PL inferior.ACC.N
 ἄεθλον
 prize.ACC.N
 “if (because of you two) being careless **we shall win an inferior prize.**”
 (*Il.* 23.413)
- b. οὔτε γὰρ ἰφθιμοὶ Λύκιοι Δαναῶν
 neither for mighty.NOM.PL Lycian.NOM.PL Trojan.GEN.PL
 ἐδύναντο τεῖχος ῥηξάμενοι
 be.able.IPF.3SG.MID wall.ACC.SG break.AOR.PTCP.MID.NOM.PL
 θέσθαι παρὰ νηυσὶ κέλευθον ...
 put.AOR.INF.MID by ship.DAT.PL path.ACC.SG
 “For neither were the mighty Lycians able to break the wall of the Trojans
 and **make a path for themselves** to the ships, (nor ...)” (*Il.* 12.417–8)

Co-argument reflexives/canonical direct reflexives

- ▶ Prototypically agentive transitives (*kill, hit, throw...*) do not reflexivize with middle endings alone (\rightarrow *louómai*, etc. \neq coargument reflexives)
- ▶ Instead, active morphology + ϕ -complete complex reflexive pronouns are used
 - ▶ simple = personal pronouns of the 1st & 2nd person; 3rd person $\xi/\acute{\epsilon}\acute{\epsilon}$ ($\mu\nu$), (10).
 - ▶ complex = PRON + SELF ($\alpha\upsilon\tau\acute{o}$ -), (11).

(10) Simple pronouns in epic Greek

	1	2	3
Sg.	$\acute{\epsilon}\mu\acute{\epsilon}$	$\sigma\acute{\epsilon}$	$\xi, \acute{\epsilon}\acute{\epsilon}$
Du.	$\nu\acute{\omega}$ ($\nu\acute{\omega}\iota$)	$\sigma\varphi\acute{\omega}$ ($\sigma\varphi\acute{\omega}\iota$)	($\sigma\varphi\omega\acute{\epsilon}$)
Pl.	$\eta\mu\acute{\alpha}\varsigma$ ($\alpha\mu\mu\epsilon, \eta\mu\acute{\epsilon}\alpha\varsigma$)	$\upsilon\mu\acute{\alpha}\varsigma$ ($\upsilon\mu\mu\epsilon$)	$\sigma\varphi\acute{\alpha}\varsigma$ ($\sigma\varphi\acute{\epsilon}\alpha\varsigma$)

Co-argument reflexives/canonical direct reflexives

(11) AG complex reflexives (Classical/Attic)

	1	2	3
Sg.	ἐμαυτόν (m., n.), ἐμαυτήν (f.)	σ(ε)αυτόν (m., n.), σ(ε)αυτήν (f.)	(ἐ)αυτόν (m., n.), (ἐ)αυτήν (f.)
Pl.	ἡμᾶς αὐτούς (m.), ἡμᾶς αὐτάς (f.)	ὕμᾶς αὐτούς (m.), ὕμᾶς αὐτάς (f.)	ἐαυτούς (m.), ἐαυτάς (f.) / σφᾶς αὐτούς (m.), σφᾶς αὐτάς (f.)

In Homer, the singular forms are not yet contracted; αὐτό- can be placed before or after the pronoun (and other material can intervene)

Co-argument reflexives/canonical direct reflexives

Canonical use in post-Homeric Greek:

- (12) ἐπι-κατασφάζει τῷ τύμβῳ ἐ-ωυτόν
 over-slay.3SG.ACT ART.DAT grave.DAT 3SG-self.ACC
 “he killed himself over the grave.” (Hdt. 1.45.3)

- The *communis opinio* is that in the third person (sg.), uncontracted ἑ /ἐέ + αὐτόν (m.)/αὐτήν (f.) is used (e.g., Petit 1999: 12, 161, Viti 2009; Kiparsky 2012)

- (13) a. ἐέ δ’ αὐτόν ἐποτρύνει
 3SG.PRON.ACC PART SELF.ACC.M prepare.3SG.PRES.ACT
 μαχέσασθαι
 fight.PRES.INF.MID
 “He stirs himself up to fight” (*Il.* 20.171)
- b. εὖ ἐντύνασαν ἑ αὐτήν
 well adorn. AOR.PTCP.ACT.ACC.F 3SG.PRON.ACC self. ACC.F
 “Having well adorned herself” (*Il.* 14.162)

Simple pronouns in coargument contexts?

- ▶ Simple pronouns of the first and second person as well as “simple” 3sg. ἑ/ἐέ (and its dual and plural equivalents) are found as objects of prepositions, (14a), and in ECM/AcI constructions, (14b) (cf. Viti 2009, Kiparsky 2012: 86–87), and other participial and infinitival constructions, possessive genitives, genitive and ablative arguments of the verb, comparatives ... etc. (cf. Bolling 1947).

- (14) a. ἀμφὶ ἑ παπτήνας
 around **him** glancing.AOR.PTCP.ACT
 “glancing around himself” (*Il.* 15.574)
- b. ἐμὲ φημι πολὺ προφερέστερον εἶναι
me.ACC declare.1SG.PRES.ACT much more.excellent be.PRES.INF
 “I declare myself to be the best”/“I declare that I am best by far” (*Od.* 8.221)

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me.ACC declare.1SG.PRES.ACT much more.excellent be.PRES.INF
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But these are usually (and rightly) *not* treated as equivalent to coargument contexts.

Simple pronouns in coargument contexts?

The only examples of 1st and 2nd person pronouns in coargument contexts usually mentioned (e.g., Bolling 1947, Schwyzer 1950, Viti 2009, Kiparsky 2012) are:

- (15) αὐτὰρ ἐγὼν ἐμὲ λύσομαι
 then I.NOM **me**.ACC release.1SG.PRES.MID
 “then I will release myself” (*Il.* 10.378)
- (16) τὼ σέ θ’ ἄμα κλαίω καὶ ἔμ’
 therefore you.ACC.SG and both lament.PRS.1SG.ACT and me.ACC.SG
 ἄμμορον ἀχθυμένη κῆρ
 ill.fated.ACC.SG grieving.NOM.SG.F heart.ACC.SG.N
 “Therefore I bewail [both you and my own ill-fated self] with grief at heart.”
 (*Il.* 24.773)

Simple pronouns in coargument contexts?

Whereas (17) suggests that complex reflexives were used in these contexts already in Homer.

- (17) ἄλλ' ἦτοι ἐπὶ νυκτὶ φυλάξομεν ἡμέας αὐτούς,
 but surely at night.DAT guard.FUT.ACT.1PL 1PL.PRON.ACC self.ACC.PL.M
 πρωὶ δ' ὑπηροῖοι σὺν τεύχεσι
 morning.ADV PTCL early.NOM.PL with armour.DAT
 θωρηχθέντες νηυσὶν ἐπὶ γλαφυρήσιν
 wear.armour.AOR.PASS.PTCP.NOM.PL ship.DAT.PL at hollow.DAT.PL
 ἐγείρομεν οἷον Ἄρηα.
 arouse.SUBJ.1PL sharp.ACC Ares.ACC
 “But surely tonight **we will guard ourselves**, and early in the morning
 dressed in our armour let us arouse sharp battle at the hollow ships.” (*Il.*
 8.529–31, Hector to the Trojans)

- ▶ Note that this use of the complex reflexive isn't “emphatic” in any sense
- ▶ Bolling 1947: ‘guard our position’, ‘guard the camp’ - ‘that and no other’ (contrastive or anti-obviative?)

Simple pronouns in coargument contexts?

- *Il.* 24.773 isn't really a problem because the pronoun occurs inside a co-ordinated phrase with a collective reading, a context that has independently been argued to license reflexive interpretation where we would otherwise expect obviation (Kiparsky 2012: 94), cf. (18).

- (18) οἷ τε κατ' αἴσχος ἔχευε καὶ
REFL.DAT and down shame.ACC.N pour.AOR.3SG.ACT and
ἐσσομένησιν ὀπίσσω θηλυτέρησι γυναιξί
be.FUT.PTCP.MID.DAT.PL hereafter female.DAT.PL.F woman.DAT.PL
“she has shed shame [on herself and on women yet to be]” (*Od.* 11.432–434)

... where we would otherwise expect (οἷ) αὐτῇ, e.g.:

- (19) a. μέγα μὲν κλέος αὐτῇ ποιεῖτ'
“She brings great fame to herself” (*Od.* 2.125–6)
b. οἷ τ' αὐτῷ κῦδος ἄροιτο
“and (who) would win glory for himself.” (*Il.* 10.307)

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This leaves *Il.* 10.378, to which we will return.

Summary

- ▶ **Middle voice** is used to reflexivize “naturally reflexive” predicates such as body action/grooming verbs in which the argument bound by the inflectional endings seems to corresponds to an accusative object
- ▶ ... as well as indirect reflexives in which the argument bound by the inflectional endings seems to corresponds to a dative object
- ▶ **Active** + PRON + SELF is used to reflexivize canonical agentive transitives in Homer & Classical Greek
 - ▶ PRON are used in non-coargument contexts
 - ▶ ... but most likely not (any more?) in coargument contexts (*Il.* 10.378?)

Analysis: Active vs. middle in Homeric reflexives

Active vs. middle

→ non-active morphology marks lack of an external argument (= agent), but is not valency-reducing itself

(E.g., Embick 2004, Alexiadou et al. 2015, Schäfer 2017, Grestenberger 2018, Kastner 2020)

(20) Spell-Out condition on non-active morphology (Alexiadou et al. 2015: 101–2)
Voice → **Voice[NonAct]/_ No DP specifier**

► active morphology = “elsewhere”

→ Predicts that middle-marked reflexives are syntactically (though not necessarily semantically) unaccusatives (= intransitives with an internal theme/patient argument)

Middle-marked reflexives

Alexiadou (2014) and Spathas et al. (2015) propose such an analysis for Modern Greek (MG) middle-marked body action reflexives, (21a), and middle-marked reflexives with *afto*-prefixation, (21b) (ex. from Spathas et al. 2015: 1297–8).

- (21) a. O Janis pli-thike.
 the John.NOM wash-PFV.NONACT.3SG
 ‘John was washed/ John washed.’
 b. O Janis afto-katijori-thike.
 the John.NOM self-accuse-NONACT.3SG
 ‘John accused himself.’

Like in Ancient Greek, middle morphology alone does not reflexivize canonical transitive predicates like (21b):

- (22) O Janis katijori-thike.
 the John.NOM accuse-PFV.NONACT.3SG
 ‘John was accused/ *John accused himself.’

Middle-marked reflexives

Spathas et al. (2015) argue that in both types of middle-marked reflexives in MG, the surface subject is (syntactically and semantically) not an agent, but a theme/patient (= an internal argument of the verb), (23).

(23) [Middle VoiceP Middle Voice [_{vP} v [$\sqrt{\text{pli}}$ [_{DP} o *Janis*]]]]

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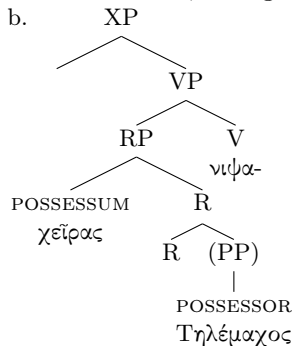
(23) [Middle VoiceP Middle Voice [_{VP} v [$\sqrt{\text{pli}}$ [_{DP} o *Janis*]]]]

- ▶ Strictly speaking, these are therefore not “coargument reflexives” because there is only one argument.
- ▶ “The results of our analysis are rather surprising to the extent that they show that there exist reflexivization strategies that involve no reflexivization operation” (Spathas et al. 2015: 1346)

Body part reflexives

Rooryck and Vanden Wyngaerd (2011): Body part reflexives are unaccusatives with an R(elational)P containing both the possessum (= the body part NP)

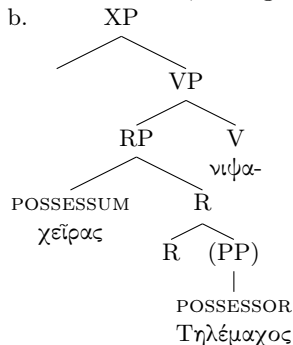
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Interestingly, Delbrück (1897: 428) also describes this as a “possessive genitive middle”.

Body part reflexives & Self-benefactives

- ▶ Body-part reflexives are analyzed as lacking an external argument/agent (the subject = possessor), therefore non-active morphology is predicted in these constructions by (20) (non-active morphology marks lack of an external argument)
- ▶ Transitive structures can be underlyingly unaccusative (in the sense that their surface subject is not an agent) → self-benefactives

Body part reflexives & Self-benefactives

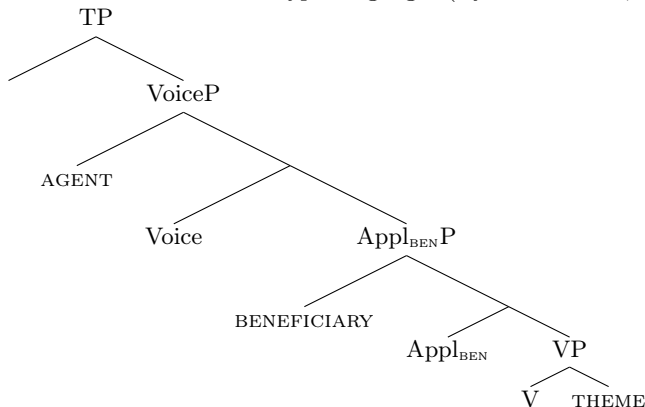
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- ▶ Transitive structures can be underlyingly unaccusative (in the sense that their surface subject is not an agent) → self-benefactives
- ▶ Self-benefactives look like they *should* have an agent argument—they're usually formed to transitive, passivizable verbs in languages like (Modern) Greek.
- ▶ But there is some cross-linguistic evidence that self-benefactives differ syntactically from their corresponding (active/transitive) non-(self-)benefactives, e.g., Romance AUX-selection:

(25) French AUX-SELECTION in self-benefactives & benefactives

- a. Jeanne_i si' **-est** achetée une tortue
 Jeanne REFL-AUX.BE bought a turtle
 “Jeanne bought a turtle for herself/bought herself a turtle”
- b. Jeanne_i lui_j **a** acheté une tortue
 Jeanne her AUX.HAVE bought a turtle
 “Jeanne bought her a turtle”

Self-benefactives

(26) Benefactives in a “Greek-type language” (Pylkkänen 2008, Bosse et al. 2012):



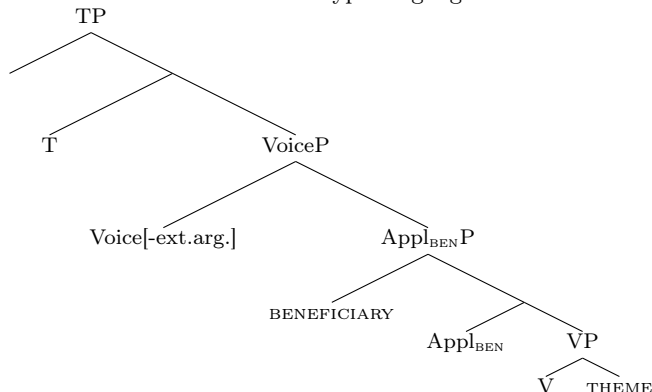
Self-benefactives

- ▶ In self-benefactives, the surface subject = the beneficiary
- ▶ One way of modeling this is to assume that there is no external argument/agent in self-benefactives: the benefactive argument raises to the surface subject position (“movement analysis of self-benefactives”, cf. Grestenberger 2014)

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(27) Self-benefactives in a “Greek-type language”:



Summary

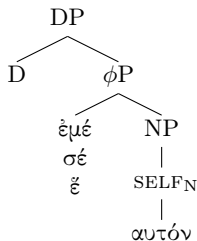
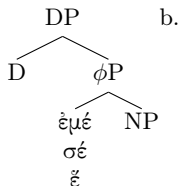
- ▶ Middle-marked “inherent” reflexives, body part reflexives, and self-benefactives are syntactically unaccusative: their surface subject is not an agent (more abstractly: Voice[-ext.arg.])
- ▶ Middle morphology is conditioned by the lack of an agent argument; *semantically* it “existentially binds the argument it introduces” (Spathas et al. 2015: 1315)
- ▶ Middle-marked reflexive constructions are therefore not coargument reflexives in the traditional sense, where two arguments of the verb are coindexed.

Active-marked reflexives

- ▶ Active-marked reflexives are coargument reflexives, consisting of an (accusative) object bound by an (agent) subject.
- ▶ Because the surface subject is a canonical external argument, condition (20) does not hold → active morphology

(28) Pronominal structure in AG (first pass), cf. Déchaine and Wiltschko 2017, Patel-Grosz and Grosz 2017

a.



Active-marked reflexives

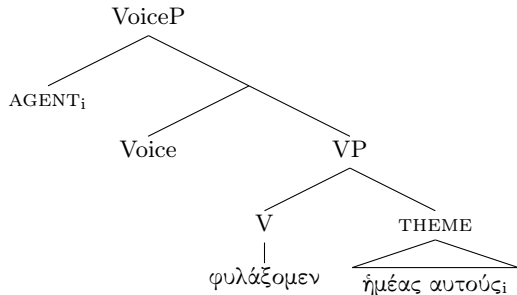
- Additional assumption: personal pronouns (incl. 3rd person pronouns) are *obviative* (require disjoint reference between coarguments) → coargument reflexives require the [-OBVIATIVE] “modifier” αὐτό- (Kiparsky 2012)

(29) Homeric anaphora, Kiparsky (2012: 101)

a.	Homeric	Domain	Obviation
	ἐ-	Discourse	+
	ἐ-	Finite	+
	ἐμέ	—	+
	αὐτό-	—	-

Active-marked reflexives

(30) Active verb + complex reflexive in Greek:

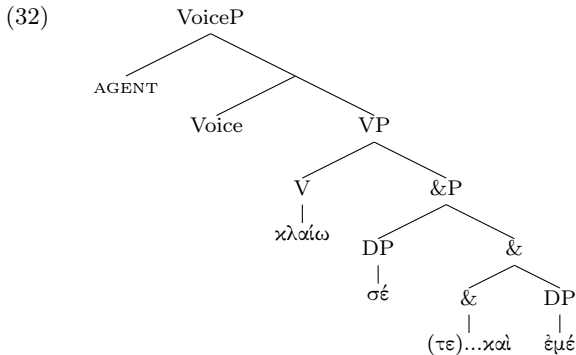


- Whether personal pronouns are [\pm OBVIATIVE] is subject to cross-linguistic variation—(30) also holds for active-marked reflexives + personal pronouns (e.g., Hittite, Old English, maybe pre-Greek?)

Active-marked reflexives

- ▶ This explains why the reflexive reading of personal pronouns is licensed in coordinated phrases: The coordinated phrase is the coargument of the predicate, not just the pronoun, (31).
- ▶ The same goes for the use of simple pronouns in other non-coargument contexts (PPs, infinitival complements, etc.)

(31) τὼ σέ θ' ἅμα κλαίω καὶ ἐμ' ἀμμορον ...
 therefore you.ACC and both lament.PRS.1SG and me.ACC ill.fated.ACC.SG
 “Therefore I bewail [both you and my own ill-fated self] ...” (*Il.* 24.773)



Summary

- (33)
- a. Simple middle-marked reflexives:
[VoiceP Voice_[-ext.arg.] [VP λουο-_V THEME]]
 - b. Middle-marked body action reflexives:
[VoiceP Voice_[-ext.arg.] [VP [RP POSSESSUM [R R POSSESSOR]] νιψα-_V]]
 - c. Self-benefactives:
[VoiceP Voice_[-ext.arg.] [Appl_{BEN}P BENEF Appl_{BEN} [VP ἐντυνο-_V THEME]]]
 - d. Coargument reflexives:
[VoiceP AGENT_i Voice [VP φυλάξο-_V THEME_i]]

Summary: revised typology of reflexivization strategies

- (34) Revised typology of combinations of pronominal & verbal reflexivization strategies for reflexive predicates (Greek & older IE languages in general)

		Active	Middle
No pron.		-	+
Strong pron.	simple	+	-
	complex	+	-
Weak pron.		+	+

- ▶ red = predicted to be impossible (as a reflexivization strategy)
- ▶ grey = attested in Homeric Greek

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- ▶ red = predicted to be impossible (as a reflexivization strategy)
- ▶ grey = attested in Homeric Greek
- ▶ NB we haven't addressed the distribution of weak pronouns here because Greek doesn't use these to reflexivize predicates
 - ▶ Cross-linguistically they seem to differ w.r.t. whether they are DPs or not, hence also whether they are compatible with active/middle morphology

Simple pronouns in coargument contexts?

Time to revisit our problematic Iliad-passage:

- (35) αὐτὰρ ἐγὼν ἐμὲ λύσομαι
 then I.NOM **me**.ACC release.1SG.PRES.MID
 “then I will ransom myself” (or “then I will pay my ransom”, *Il.* 10.378)

- ▶ Excluded: middle endings + strong (simple) pronoun
 - ▶ Note that this is excluded both by condition (20) on middle morphology, because (35) is a coargument reflexive with an external argument and by Kiparsky’s obviation requirement on simple pronouns
- ▶ We expect active + complex reflexive, cp. nonreflexive λύσω, (36).

- (36) τήν δ’ ἐγὼ οὐ λύσω
 her.ACC PTCL I.NOM NEG release.FUT.1SG.ACT
 “*Her* I will not set free.” (*Il.* 1.29)

Simple pronouns in coargument contexts?

- (37) Ζωγρεῖτ', αὐτὰρ ἐγὼν ἐμέ
 take.alive.PRS.IPV.2PL.ACT then I.NOM PRON.1SG.ACC
 λύσομαι: ἔστι γὰρ ἔνδον χαλκὸς τε
 ransom.FUT.1SG.MID bePRS.3SG.ACT for at.home bronze.NOM.SG and
 χρυσὸς τε πολύκμητος τε σίδηρος, τῶν κ'
 gold.NOM.SG and much.toil.ADJ.NOM.SG and iron.NOM.SG ART.GEN.PL PTCL
 ὑμῖν χαρίσαιτο πατὴρ ἀπερείσι'
 PRON.2PL.DAT grant.AOR.OPT.3SG.MID father.NOM.SG countless.ACC.SG.N
 ἄποινα εἴ κεν ἐμέ ζῶν
 ransom.ACC.SG.N if PTCL PRON.1SG.ACC alive.ACC.SG.M
 πεπύθοιτ' ἐπὶ νηυσὶν Ἀχαιῶν.
 learn.AOR.OPT.3SG.MID on ship.DAT.PL Achaeans.GEN.PL
 “Take me alive, and then **I will ransom myself**, for at home there is bronze
 and gold and well-wrought iron, of which my father would gladly give you
 countless ransom if he were to learn that I am alive on the ships of the
 Achaeans.” (*Il.* 10.378–81)

Simple pronouns in coargument contexts?

- ▶ The context makes it even less likely that this is somehow an emphatic use of a personal pronoun in a coargument reflexive: Dolon implores Diomedes and Ulysses to take him alive because *his father* will then send \$\$\$ as ransom.
- ▶ So he's not actually emphasizing that he will “set *himself* free”, he's going to make his dad do it.

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... a “**causative middle**”? (Smyth and Messing 1956: 392, Duhoux 2000: 116, Allan 2003: 115–8), e.g., (38).

- (38) ἦ οὐκ ἀκήρας ὅτι Θεμιστοκλῆς Κλεόφαντον
 or NEG hear.PF.2SG.ACT that Themistokles.NOM Kleophantos.ACC
 τὸν ὁὐν ἰπέα μὲν ἐδιδάξατο
 ART.ACC.SG.M son.ACC.SG horseman.ACC PTCL teach.AOR.3SG.MID
 ἀγαθὸν
 good.ACC.SG.M
 “Have you never heard how Themistocles had his son Cleophantus taught to be a good horseman?” (Pl. *Men.* 93d, cit. after (Allan 2003: 116))

- ▶ Allan treats this as a subtype of the indirect reflexive middle, arguing that Themistokles in (38) is the beneficiary of the event

Simple pronouns in coargument contexts?

- ▶ If this is correct, the generalizations discussed above hold because the 1sg.pron. in *Il.* 10.378 isn't actually a coargument of the main clause subject:

(39) $[_{\text{cause}} \text{ἐγὼν}_i \text{ CAUSE } [_{\text{ApplBEN}} \text{Appl}_{\text{BEN}} [_{\text{VoiceP}} \text{Voice}_{[-\text{ext.arg}]} [_{\text{VP}} \text{ἐμὲ}_i \text{ λύσο-}]]]]$

- ▶ Event 1: CAUSE
- ▶ Event 2: release_V

Conclusion

- ▶ Active vs. middle-marked reflexives differ in their argument structure; only active-marked reflexives are **coargument reflexives**
- ▶ The surface subject of middle-marked simple reflexives, body part reflexives and indirect reflexives (self-benefactives) is *not* an agent, even though these are usually derived from semantically agentive verbs → **syntactically unaccusative**
- ▶ Cross-linguistically, pronouns differ in whether they behave as definite NPs or not. “Weak” pronouns can occur with active- and middle-marked verbs cross-linguistically, but only “strong” pronouns can be bound arguments in active-marked co-argument reflexives
- ▶ This analysis predicts that we won’t find the middle + strong pronoun strategy in the older IE languages
- ▶ ... and helps us understand why the reflexive in *Il.* 10.378 feels a bit off.
- ▶ **Implications for PIE:**
 - ▶ Reflexivization through middle was probably always restricted to specific types of predicates; no general reflexivization strategy (*pace* Cotticelli Kurras and Rizza 2013)
 - ▶ ϕ -complete simple pronouns + act. for direct/coargument reflexives from prototypically agentive transitive verbs

Thank you!



Der Wissenschaftsfonds.

FWF V850-G “The diachrony of verbal categories and categorizers”

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