

Compounds and Identity
A Cross - Linguistic Study of SELF-compounds

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Compounds and Identity
A Cross-Linguistic Study of SELF-compounds

Samenstellingen en Identiteit
Een crosslinguïstische studie van SELF-samenstellingen
(met een samenvatting in het Nederlands)

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Chapter 1

Introduction

In English *SELF*-forms, just like secret agents, may have many identities. On the one hand, the word *self* functions as an individual lexical item, and represents itself in sentences as follows:

- (1) a. She's not her usual cheerful *self* this morning.

On the other hand, *self* also figures as a part of complex words, and with different positions it receives different roles as well. When *self* combines with possessive pronouns (e.g. *myself*) or with objective pronouns (e.g. *himself*), the complex form created this way may appear in two possible functions: as an intensifier (b), or as a reflexive pronoun (c):

- b. The president *himself* signed the letter.
c. The actor admires *himself*.

Another possibility for the *self* is to combine with words of different word classes (nouns, adjectives, etc.) creating by this complex compounds such as:

- d. *self*-criticism, *self*-important, *self*-image.

Self in these constructions may have two functions as well: it may indicate co-reference between the two participants of the same predicate, and it also may indicate that the agent carries out the action by itself.

The study concentrates on the positions of *self* in compounds, in which it fulfils the function of a reflexive marker. That is, we will primarily focus on compounds that have a 'reflexive' interpretation (*self-control* in English, *Eigenlob/Selbstlob* 'self-praise' in German, *autodérision* 'self-derision' in French, or *ön-becsülés* 'self-esteem' in Hungarian).

Reflexivity and reflexive markers have been studied from many perspectives and by many linguists (cf. Faltz 1985, Everaert 1986, Reinhart and Reuland 1993, Gast 2006, König and Siemund 2000, König 2011 to mention just a few). Most of the studies concentrate on the features of *SELF*-forms on the sentence level (or syntactic level), but they do not discuss the lexical features of these forms (or the lexical level). There are only a few studies that aim to map the morphosyntactic features of *SELF*-compounds (such as English compounds with *self*- as a modifier): Marta Castella (2010) concentrates on the features of *auto*- (the Italian variant for *self*-) in Italian, Artemis Alexiadou (2014) analyses the lexical properties of *auto*-/*afto*- in Greek, Anna-Maria Di Sciullo (1996) describes the features of expressions such as *himself* and *self-N/A* compounds in modular grammar and Ekkehard König (2011) analyses reflexive nominal compounds through their comparison in different languages (English, German, French, Greek, Mandarin, etc.)¹.

The dissertation aims to present a study on reflexivization in English, Slovak, Hungarian, Italian, Dutch, Polish and Romanian, focusing on the role of the morpheme *SELF*- and its counterparts in these languages. As has already been pointed out, the morpheme *SELF*- may attach to nouns, adjectives, verbs, and indicates a reflexive interpretation for these forms. Castella (2010) proposes that the reason why *auto*- figures as special and interesting for linguists is that this element not only contributes to the reflexive interpretation, but it also shows some semantic (pragmatic) content on its own. The comparison of *SELF*-compounds throughout several languages aims to find out whether the properties of reflexive markers and reflexivity may be identified in such compounds as well. It intends to compare the described syntactic properties and criteria of reflexivization with the properties and features of *SELF*-compounds in the group of languages mentioned above. The study of Everaert (2013) suggests that languages use different strategies through different criteria for reflexivization in the syntactic domain. The thesis concentrates on the comparison of lexical properties of self-compounds (in different languages) with the syntactic properties of reflexive markers, and aims to find out whether it is possible to identify similar or identical strategies of reflexivization on the lexical level as on the syntactic one. Moreover, the studies of König and Siemund (2000), and Gast (2006) suggest that languages treat intensification and reflexivization the same way. Studying the encoding of reflexivity at the lexical level (compounds) may give an explanation for this phenomenon as well.

¹ The list is by no means exhaustive. The thesis mentions only those studies that figured as the most cited during the research.

1.1 The data base

The analysis of the '*SELF*-compounds' is based on a small-scale comparative analysis, taking as its basis a thorough analysis of these compounds in different languages (i.e. English, Slovak, Hungarian, Italian, Dutch, Polish, and Romanian). This study combines, in essence, two methods, while both of them concentrate on language comparison. Contrastive linguistics and linguistic typology represent similar approaches towards languages, and the work uses elements from both. While contrastive linguistics concentrates only on two languages and describes the different features of the compared languages in great details, linguistic typology takes into consideration the features of many languages. This study compares the *SELF*-compounds of seven languages from two language groups/families - Indo-European (Slavic, Romance, Germanic) and Uralic (Ugric) - but not on such extensive scale as is normally done in linguistic typology. We will, however, try to carry out an in-depth analysis instead.

The samples of *SELF*-compounds have been collected from various sources. One part of the compound database comes from dictionaries of the given languages, while another part was collected from corpora of the languages listed above. In the References you can find the list of dictionaries and corpora that have been used. In order to receive data about the usage of *SELF*-compounds, about their morphological build-up, and about the patterns they appear in, a survey had been prepared, which was filled out by native speakers/linguists. The questionnaire aimed to map the usage of the *SELF*-compounds in the analysed languages. 2-3 respondents sent back the filled out questionnaires, who provided further information about these compounds from the following languages: Hungarian, Slovak, Polish, Romanian, Dutch, and Italian. The respondents were MA and PhD students of linguistics, or teachers of linguistics, who filled out the questionnaire about their native language. A sample of the questionnaire is available in Appendix 1 of the thesis.

The questionnaire is divided into three parts. The first part aims to map the equivalents of the English *SELF*-compounds in the analysed languages. It aims to find out whether the analysed languages provide a *SELF*-form for the English expression, or whether they provide another form, strategy or possibly a syntactic construction to name the same phenomenon. This part was positively described by the respondents, since it pointed out for them the main differences between their own language and English, and it highlighted some tendencies, which they did not recognise earlier. The first part also asked

the respondents to provide morphological analyses on the translated equivalents, so the base and the derivative elements could be easily recognised.

The second part of the questionnaire concentrated on the SELF-compounds in sentences. The questionnaire asked the respondents to use certain SELF-compounds in two types of sentences. In the first sentence the SELF-compound was used in its original form (case change was allowed), while in the second the verbal form of the SELF-compound was used (and a reflexive). This analysis enabled to analyse the behaviour of the SELF-compounds in syntactic structures, and to point out and locate the main features of reflexivization in a sentence in each language. This part of the questionnaire had been described by the respondents as demanding, since it was also necessary to enter the grammatical information about each element in the sentence structure.

The third part aimed to map the other possible SELF-forms in the analysed languages that cannot be identified in English but are present in the other analysed languages, e.g. SELF+V, SELF +Adv, SELF +Num, SELF +Pron. The respondents provided some examples, but this part frequently remained not commented on.

For certain research questions all languages have been studied (Chapter 6, 7), while for other research questions only a few of the languages mentioned above have been studied in detail (Chapter 5 Slovak and Hungarian; Chapter 8 English, Slovak and Hungarian). Note that in some cases much more examples were available than I was able to present in this dissertation, while in other cases all available instantiations are presented.

1.2 The Use and Forms of SELF-Forms – Intensifiers and Reflexives

Traditionally, grammars and scholars point out that *SELF*-forms that are used in English and in other Germanic languages appear in two distinguished functions: as intensifiers (e.g. The president *himself* signed the letter) and as markers of reflexivity (The actor admires *himself*). König and Siemund (2011) define reflexives as: ‘expressions which are prototypically used to indicate that a non-subject argument of a transitive predicate is coreferential with (or bound by) the subject’. These expressions can take different shapes, e.g. expressions like German *sich*, Turkish *kendi*, Mandarin *zìjǐ*, English *x-self*. In English the reflexive *SELF*-form combines mostly with pronouns (anaphors or possessive types) creating by this complex forms like *himself* or *myself*.

(2) The actor admires *himself*.

Volker Gast (2006: 2) argues that: ‘intensifiers can best be defined in terms of their semantic and prosodic properties. They are invariably focused and thus stressed, and their function is to oppose a referent x to a set of alternative referents $A = \{y_1, y_2, \dots, y_n\}$ in such a way that all elements y_i of A can be identified relative to x ’. He exemplifies his statement as follows (ibid.): e.g. *the father himself* is opposed to *the father’s friends*. Just like reflexives, intensifiers can also take various shapes: e.g. German *selbst*, Turkish *kendi*, Mandarin *zìjǐ* and English *x-self*.

As the above-mentioned examples indicate, intensifiers and reflexive forms very often have identical forms. Gast (2006:4) states that: ‘the common denominator of intensification and reflexive-marking is that both operations can be carried out using the same lexical item, namely the truth-conditionally trivial function whose output is identical to the input’. According to his contemplation, the difference between these two functions lies in their semantic effects (ibid.):

When used as an intensifier, the identity function interacts with focus structure and relates a given referent to a specific set of alternative referents. When functioning as a reflexive marker, the identity function prevents the violation of a syntactic rule relating to the interpretation of the arguments associated with a given predicate.

According to Gast’s data on SELF-forms in Germanic languages, only English uses identical forms for reflexive marking and for intensifying. Other Germanic languages apply either similar or totally different forms:

Table 1: Intensifiers and reflexives in Germanic languages (Gast: 2006)

	language	intensifier	reflexive
identity	English	him-/herself	him-/herself
similarity	Afrikaans	self	hom (self)/haar (self)
	Dutch	zelf	zich (self)
	Swedish	själv	sig (själv)
	Danish	selv	sig (selv)
differentiation	German	selbst	sich

Other languages that do not belong to the Germanic languages also use the same formal markers for intensifiers and reflexives. Hungarian, as a representative of Finno-Ugric languages, uses for instance identical forms that may differ only in their case marking, e.g.:

(3) intensifier:

Az elnök **maga** írta a levelet.
 Det president INT write:PST Det letter:ACC
 'The president *himself* wrote the letter.'

(4) reflexive pronoun:

A színész csodálja **magá-t**.
 Det actor admire:PRS:3SG REFL-ACC
 'The actor admires *himself*.'

Slovak, on the other hand, as a representative of Slavonic languages, applies different forms for reflexive marking and intensifying, or combines them, as is shown in sentences (5) and (6), e.g.:

(5) intensifier:

Prezident **sám** napísal tento list.
 president INT:masc write:PST Det letter
 'The president *himself* wrote this letter.'

(6) a) reflexive pronoun combined with an intensifier:

Herec obdivuje **samého seba**.
 actor admire:PRS:3SG INT REFL
 'The actor admires *himself*.'

b) reflexive pronoun:

Peter vzal zodpovednosť prípravy prezentácie na **seba**.
 Peter take:PST:Masc:3sg responsibility preparation:Gen presentation:Gen on himself:Gen
 'Peter took the responsibility for the preparation of the presentation on *himself*.'

König and Siemund (2011) studied intensifiers and reflexives in different languages of the world, and according to their results about 60 languages present the tendency towards the complete identity of intensifier and reflexive forms, 33 languages show only a partial identity, while about 70 languages use different forms to indicate reflexive-marking or intensifying. They summarize the distribution of features in the language families as follows (2011:4):

a) intensifier-reflexive identity: *Sino-Tibetan, Dravidian, Afro-Asiatic, Altaic, Trans-New Guinea* and the *Indic* branch of the Indo-European family

- b) intensifier-reflexive differentiation: *Uto-Aztecan*, *Penutian*, and the *European* branches of Indo-European
- c) intensifier-reflexive identity/differentiation: *Austronesian*, *Australian* and *Niger-Congo*.

1.3 Lexical Sources of Intensifiers and Reflexives and the Evolution of Reflexive - Marking

The English word *self*, used in intensifiers and reflexives, originates in Proto-Germanic and according to Volker Gast et al. (2007) its lexical source is unknown, the Slovak *sám* comes from the Proto-Indo-European **sem* and it means ‘one’, the Hungarian *maga* developed from the word *mag*, which means ‘seed’. As these examples indicate, the lexical sources of intensifiers and reflexives vary among languages. König and Siemund (2011) state that they are mostly derived from expressions for body parts, and this includes the concept of ‘soul’ as well. They analysed 62 languages in order to clarify the lexical sources of intensifiers and reflexives, and the outcome of their research indicates that the vast majority of these languages (30) uses the word *body* to express reflexivity or intensifying (e.g. Japanese, Igbo, Evenki). Other languages use the words *head* (e.g. Abkhaz, Podoko), *soul* (e.g. Modern Standard Arabic), *bone* (Modern Hebrew), *heart* (e.g. Dongolese Nubian), or the word *skin* (Ngiti). Expressions that do not connect to the human body include e.g. *reflection in the water* (Finnish), *return* (Paamese), *very*, *exact* (Chacaltongo Mixtec). König and Siemund suggest that certain languages use different lexical sources to express intensifiers and reflexives, and they cite Koyraboro Senni as an example, since this language uses expressions that derive from different body parts: for the intensifier *hundey* ‘soul’ and for the reflexive *boj* ‘head’.

The list of potential sources of intensifying and reflexive-marking given above shows that the expressions which are used for these purposes come from various lexical domains. As König and Siemund (2011) state, the development from these sources to reflexive-marking may have happened in three possible ways. According to König and Siemund a metonymic change may enable a direct development of body part expressions into reflexive pronouns. Faltz (1985: 33) describes this development through three stages. The first stage represents a state of a language, when it lacks a primary reflexive. In the second stage the words for ‘body’, ‘head’, or ‘soul’ are used to indicate reflexivity, while these words function in a given language with two semantic features. The first semantic feature of these words is their original lexical meaning of head, body and soul, and the

compounds in this context. This chapter also discusses the process of reflexivization analysed by Everaert (2013), and the typology of reflexives (Faltz 1985, König and Siemund 2000, Gast 2006). In chapter three the Theta System as developed by Tanya Reinhart is introduced. This is the theory of lexical semantics, against which background further issues of *SELF*-compounds are addressed. In chapter four we will outline how argument structure in compounds is encoded.

In chapter five and six several hypotheses are put forward based on the work of König (2011), Di Sciullo (1996), and Artemis Alexiadou (2014):

- whether or not the reflexive *SELF*-element can combine with nouns and adjectives that are not argument taking;
- whether the reflexive *SELF* appears with nouns and adjectives that are based on agentive/causative transitive predicates;
- whether those nominals that are based on ergative and unergative verbs cannot combine with the reflexive self;
- will both Russian and Slovak, belonging to the same language family, exhibit *SELF*-compounds with the same intensifier types?;
- will both Finnish and Hungarian, which belong to the same language family, exhibit *SELF*-compounds with the same intensifier types?

These chapters concentrate on the *SELF*-compounds of the following languages: English, Slovak, Hungarian, Polish, Italian, Romanian and Dutch. The chapters introduce reflexivity and the methods of reflexivization in these languages, and their most common reflexive verbs and reflexive pronouns. The chapters also describe the reflexive nominal compounds within these languages, their morphological structure, lexical features and syntactic properties.

In chapter seven we discuss whether there are any restrictions on the type of verbs involved in synthetic *SELF*-compounds based on Beth Levin's verb classes. Using the work of Dimitriadis & Everaert (2004) on bundling, we also discuss in chapter eight whether it is conceivable to analyse *SELF*-compounds as manifesting bundling.

Chapter 2

Approaches towards reflexivity and reflexivization

2.1 Reflexivity by Reinhart and Reuland (1993)

Reinhart and Reuland (1993) approach Binding Theory and the distributional properties of anaphors and pronominals in a substantially different way from the ‘standard’ Binding Theory (Chomsky 1981) in generative grammar (Everaert 2001). Empirical and conceptual problems of that theory had been noticed quite early on (cf. Reuland & Everaert 2000, Reuland 2001, and Gast 2006). Central to their theory is the change of focus from a simple dichotomy between pronouns and anaphors (reflexives, reciprocals) to a more refined classification, trying to explain why what traditional grammar calls ‘reflexives’ behave the way they do. In their framework binding is not directly about the relative distribution of anaphors and pronominals, but about well-formedness conditions on the licensing and interpretation of reflexive predicates.

Reinhart & Reuland characterize anaphoric expressions as follows (1993:658):

The standard division of lexical anaphoric expressions is into pronouns and anaphors. Anaphors fall into two types: those that are standardly referred to as long-distance anaphors (Dutch *zich*, Norwegian *seg*, Italian *se*, etc.) and those that are viewed as local (English *himself*, Dutch *zichzelf*, Norwegian *seg selv*, etc.).

Reinhart & Reuland describe complex anaphors as local, while the simple ones are named as long-distance types, and they refer to the latter as simplex expressions (*SE anaphors*) and the former as *SELF anaphors*. Taking into consideration the internal structure, Reinhart and Reuland understand the *SE anaphors* and pronouns as one group, while the *SELF anaphors* represent a different category. As a shared feature, they point out the defective nature of anaphors in terms of referentiality. They cannot refer by themselves and they cannot be used as demonstratives, therefore *SE-anaphors* and *SELF-anaphors* are described as [-Referential] in the lexicon, and ‘binding may be viewed as the procedures assigning the content necessary for their referential interpretation’ (1993: 658). However,

only the *SELF anaphors* function as reflexivizers, while the *SE-anaphors* behave as free pronouns, that do not reflexive-mark the predicate. Free pronouns, on the other hand, are described as [+Referential], i.e. they refer to some entity, individual. For describing and characterizing the features of the *SELF* and *SE-anaphors* Reinhart and Reuland offer the following typology of anaphoric expressions (1993:659):

Table 2: Reinhart and Reuland’s typology of anaphoric expressions

	SELF	SE	Pronoun
Reflexivizing function	+	-	-
R(eferential independence)	-	-	+

Reinhart & Reuland suggest that the research on anaphoric expressions is divided between two different modules: on the one hand, the binding conditions are formulated as restrictions on the ways a predicate is reflexivized, i.e. on the *SELF anaphors* as opposed to pronouns and the *SE-anaphors*. On the other hand, the theory of chains highlights the aspects of local anaphora and the property of R(eferential independence). According to their theory, only anaphoric expressions with a [-R] feature form a chain with a given antecedent. If the chain with an antecedent exists, there is a co-referential relation, or binding relation between the anaphoric expression and the antecedent. Reinhart & Reuland conclude that only an anaphoric expression with a feature [-R] can be locally bound.

Reinhart and Reuland argue that Conditions A and B are conditions on reflexive predicates and not on anaphors and pronouns, as was stated by the standard Government Binding Theory. They reformulate these conditions as follows (1993:678):

(9) Condition A: A reflexive-marked syntactic predicate is reflexive.

Condition B: A reflexive semantic predicate is reflexive-marked.

Reinhart & Reuland also provide the definitions of the terms reflexivity and reflexive-marking (1993: 663):

(10) a. A predicate is *reflexive* iff two of its arguments are coindexed.

b. A predicate (formed of P) is *reflexive-marked* iff either P is lexically reflexive or one of P’s arguments is a *SELF* anaphor.

The conditions mentioned above indicate that the discussion about anaphors and pronominals moved to reflexive predicates, and that these predicates are described on two different levels: i.e. on syntactic (Condition A) and on semantic (Condition B) levels:

Whereas Condition B is a condition on semantic reflexivization, Condition A is more syntactic, checking for syntactic marking of reflexivization...The *syntactic predicate* formed of (a head) P is P, all its syntactic arguments, and an external argument of P (subject)...The *semantic predicate* formed of P is P and all its arguments at the relevant semantic level. (1993:678)

To exemplify their theory Reinhart and Reuland provide the following sentences with the full paradigm of a PP anaphora (1993:689):

- (11) a) Max_1 rolled the carpet₂ [over him_1].
- b) *Max rolled the carpet₂ [over it_2].
- c) Max_1 rolled the carpet₂ [over $himself_1$].
- d) Max rolled the carpet₂ [over $itself_2$].

According to the explanation of Reinhart & Reuland the preposition in these sentences forms a semantic two-place predicate, in which the first argument is assigned to the index of *the carpet*: ‘But, by definition, it does not form a syntactic predicate (since it does not have a subject). This entails, in our system that only Condition B can apply to this predicate’ (ibid.). In 11b) and 11d) the semantic predicate of the sentences figures as reflexive, but Condition B rules out the unmarked 11b), and allows only 11d). The anaphors in 11c) and 11d) are not arguments of a syntactic predicate, and consequently Condition A does not influence their position in the sentences. ‘As far as syntax is concerned, then, both are equally allowed. 11c) may still seem more marked than 11d), since this coindexation also permits the use of a pronoun, as in 11a), so some discourse motivation for choosing the anaphor is required’ (ibid.).

As described above, Reinhart and Reuland’s *Reflexivity* (1993) incorporates the principles of Binding Theory (1981, 1986), but it develops this theory into a deeper analysis of reflexivity and reflexive-marking. However, Volker Gast (2006) states that just like its predecessor, this theory faces problems to the preceding theories; problems that Reinhart and Reuland are also aware of. The first problem concentrates on verbs that allow a *SE-anaphor* in an object position, such as the verb *wassen* ‘wash’ (2006: 185): ‘Contrary to what is expected from the [-REFL]-feature of *SE-anaphors*, *zich* and comparable

pronouns may occupy the object position of such verbs'. As an example he uses a sentence from Reinhart and Reuland's (1993: 666) study:

- (12) Max_i wast zich_i.
Max washes ANPH-SE
'Max washes.'

Reinhart and Reuland explain the unexpected position of *SE-anaphors* by the fact that the verb *wast* is reflexive-marked by being lexically reflexive. Since the anaphor *zich* has the feature [-R], it is bound by Max. *Zich* represents the only possibility in this case, given the fact that the possible pronoun *hem* has the feature [+R], therefore it cannot be bound by Max², and the reflexive *zichzelf* is also excluded because the verb *wast* is reflexive-marked.

The verb *wast* 'wash' belongs to the class of verbs that may function in a sentence either as a reflexive marked element, or as a non-reflexive-marked one. The following sentence exemplifies the latter possibility:

- (13) Max_i wast hem_j.
Max washes him.

Reinhart and Reuland explain this phenomenon as follows: the verb *wassen* 'wash' belongs to a category that allows a distinct object; therefore, it is listed twice in the lexicon, both as a non-reflexive verb, and also as a reflexive one. The reflexive entry of the verb allows the appearance of the *SE-anaphors*, while the transitive entry enables the occurrence with the *SELF-anaphors*. Finally, Reinhart and Reuland also state that the same differentiation applies to many other languages.

The second issue raised by Gast (2006) is connected to the applicability of the theory to cross-linguistic research. Gast suggests that the theory cannot manage data from those languages that use simple anaphors with reflexive predicates, and not even with those predicates which are not reflexive-marked. To exemplify his statement Gast introduces the nature of the *sich* anaphor in German, e.g. (ibid.):

- (14) Hans_i hasst sich_i.
Hans hates ANPH
'Hans hates himself.'

² Strictly speaking the reflexive *zichzelf* should be dispreferred because the verb *wast* is inherently reflexive-marked making *zelf*-marking on the the argument superfluous.

Gast suggests that the anaphor *sich* cannot qualify as a *SE-anaphor*, since it may bear stress in German, and it also cannot qualify as a *SELF anaphor* because of the possibility to use this anaphor without a reflexivizing function, e.g. (ibid.):

- (15) Hans_i sah eine Schlange neben sich_i.
Hans saw a snake beside ANPH
'Hans saw a snake beside him.'

Gast offers the same explanation for this phenomenon as Reinhart and Reuland in their study: the German anaphor *sich* also has two lexical entries just like the verb 'wash' *wassen*, i.e. *sich*₁ the *SE-anaphor* and *sich*₂ the *SELF anaphor*.

The third issue mentioned by Gast (2006) concentrates on the *SELF anaphors* in adjunct positions. He suggests that the theory enables the occurrence of *SELF-anaphors* in the above-mentioned positions, because the prepositional predicates do not function as syntactic predicates, and consequently Condition A does not apply. Taking this fact into consideration a new issue appears, that raises the question why should *SELF*-forms be possible at all. The answer to this question is that although *SELF anaphors* appear in this position, they are not interpreted as reflexive-markers but as '*focus anaphors*'. According to Gast this explanation raises only further questions, i.e. if there are two types of *SELF anaphors*, what is the relation between them? Is the relationship similar to the cases of homophony?

Chomsky's Binding Theory (1981) and Reinhart and Reuland's (1993) Reflexivity theory represent the two most influential generative approaches to the analysis of the distributional properties of anaphors and pronominals. Within the theoretical framework of Reinhart and Reuland the *SELF*-forms figure as the centre of attention, while their syntactic and semantic features are also taken into consideration. Generative research and the linguists of other schools now consider these approaches as important perspectives on the analysis of reflexivity.

2.2. The process of reflexivization

Martin Everaert (2013) follows the approach of Reinhart & Reuland, and discusses how to analyse reflexivization from a typological perspective, i.e. as 'an instantiation of an anaphoric dependency'. He offers the following definitions for reflexives, reflexivization and anaphoric dependency (ibid.):

- (16) a) *Anaphoric dependency*: *a* is anaphorically dependent on *b* if the reference of *a* is dependent on the reference of *b*.
- b) *Reflexivization* is an instantiation of an anaphoric dependency, more specifically: an identity relation between two co-arguments, a binder and a bindee.
- c) *Reflexives* express an identity relation between co-arguments.

According to Everaert an anaphoric dependency can be encoded in many ways. Between two non-co-arguments the dependency is realized as one between a pronoun and its antecedent.

- (17) a) *The man* thought that Peter cheated *him*.
- b) That Peter cheated *him* was no surprise to *the man*. (Everaert: 2013)

Everaert also points out that the identity relation between two co-arguments of a predicate can also be realized through a pronoun, or an identical referential expression, but English does not use these options. Instead, it prefers the usage of reflexive pronouns:

- (18) a) *John* loves *him*.
- b) *John* loves *John*.
- c) *John* loves *himself*. (Everaert: 2013)

He understands reflexivization as a construction, ‘the use of a pronoun, noun, morpheme, change in verb form, or any other morphosyntactic means used by a language to carry out the reflexive function’ (Everaert: 2013).

Everaert (2013) proposes that the process of reflexivization follows different strategies, which he summarizes as follows (ibid.):

- i. through the reflexive marking of one of the arguments: (a combination of) a special reflexive form (pronoun, noun), other morphosyntactic encoding such as doubling case agreement, addition of adverbs, etc.
- ii. through the reflexive marking of the predicate: a morphosyntactic encoding of the verbal predicate itself (affix of some type), or the verbal cluster (clitic, auxiliary verb), etc.
- iii. via a combination of (i) and (ii)

Everaert exemplifies the first strategy with a sentence from Polish, in which the special reflexive form is used:

- (19) *Ania opowiada o sobie.*
 ‘Ania talks about herself.’ (Everaert: 2013)

The second strategy presents itself, for example, in the Ho language (20), while the third one in a language called Kannada (21):

- (20) arsi-re-m nel-ke-n-a Ho
 mirror-in-2s see-PST-VR-FIN
 ‘You saw yourself in the mirror.’ (Everaert: 2013)

- (21) avanu tann-annu hoDedu-koND-a Kannada
 he himself-acc beat-VR.PST-3SM
 ‘He beats himself.’ (Everaert: 2013)

Taking into consideration the morphosyntactic structure in the process of reflexivization Everaert states the following rule:

- (22) In [x V y] identity between x and y is realized through (i) identical forms, (ii) agreement, (iii) identity morphemes.

Identical forms are understood either as a real identity $x=y$ (23a), or as the reduplication of the identity relation on the bindee (23b):

- (23) a) *Pov yeej qhuas Pov.* Hmong
 Pao always praise Pao
 ‘Pao always praises Pao.’
 b) *madina kesi-kesi-n mahta-di* Karachay-Balkar
 Madina self-self-ACC praise-PST.3SG
 ‘Madina praised herself.’

The second possibility to express the identity of the bindee and binder is through agreement, in which the bindee agrees with the binder in number, case, gender and person. To exemplify the morphosyntactically encoded agreement Everaert provides examples from English and from Greek as well (24 a, b):

- (24) a) *They saw them-selv-es.*
 -the pronominal part of the reflexive agrees in person, number, gender
 -*selv-es* agrees in number

- b) O Jannis pleni ton *eafto* tu. Greek
 the John washes the self his
 ‘John washes himself.’
 -the possessive *tu* agrees in person, number

The last possibility to express reflexivization in a sentence is through an ‘identity morpheme’, whose function is to indicate the identity relation between the binder and the bindee (Everaert: 2013):

This identity can be visible on the predicate (25a), or on the bindee, in the form of the obligatory use of an intensifier (25b), a grammaticalised nominal head related to nouns such as ‘body’, ‘self’, ‘head’, etc. (25c), sometimes accompanied by a possessive, turning into an inalienable possession noun construction, such as ‘his head’, ‘her body’, etc. (25d).

- (25) a) *laali amah-cu a-in-that.* Mizo
 Lali herself-ACC 3SG-VR-kill
 ‘Lali killed herself.’

- b) *Ik denk alleen aan me-zelf.* Dutch
 1P.NOM think only of 1P.ACC-self
 ‘I only think of myself.’

- c) *raam-nee apnee-koo maafi dii.* Hindi
 Raam-ERG self-DAT pardon give:PRF
 ‘Ram forgave himself.’

- d) *Peruri bere burua gustatzen zaio.* Basque
 Peru:DAT 3SG:GEN head:ABS like:ASP 3SG:ABS:Root:3SG:DAT
 ‘Peru liked himself.’

As the examples above suggest the identity morphemes (*-in-*, *-zelf*, *apnee-*, *burua*) do not attach to the binder but only to the bindee. The sentences of the agreement relation point out that there is a special relation between the binder and the bindee, namely the binder behaves as the controller and the bindee as the target.

2.3 The typology of reflexives

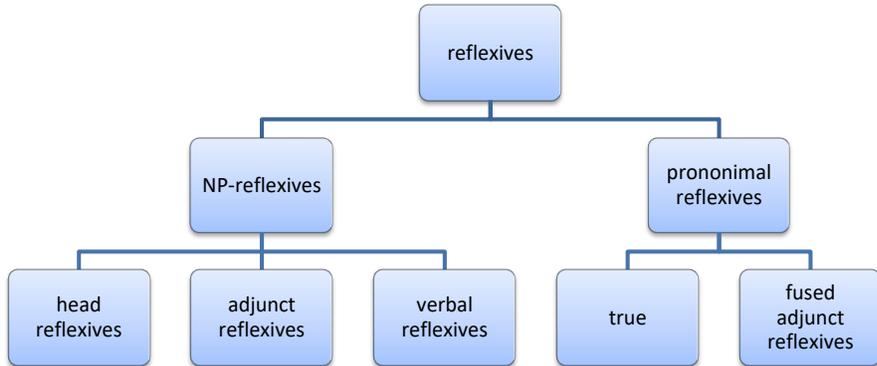
According to Volker Gast (2006: 171), there are two dimensions along which reflexive markers function:

- (26) (i.) the properties of the reflexive-markers themselves, such as morphological make-up and syntactic class-membership
- (ii.) the syntactic domain within which reflexive markers find their antecedent (the binding domain)

The previous studies on reflexive markers (e.g. Faltz 1985, Genuišienė 1987, Kemmer 1995, König and Kokutani 2006) start their differentiation by dividing reflexives into verbal and nominal ones. This differentiation plays an important role, since it indicates whether a special type of nominal is used to highlight co-ordination (or binding), or the predicate is modified in order to point out reflexivity. Gast (2006) assumes that verbal reflexives figure in the centre of attention in cases when voice or diathesis is concerned. They have a close relation with (they are akin to) passives and antipassives, and characteristically most of the languages show polysemy in this domain. Another feature of verbal reflexives is detransitivization, since they are frequently used for this aim. Nominal reflexives represent a more heterogeneous class than verbal reflexives, their class is also referred to as the class of anaphors.

Faltz's *Reflexivity: A Study of Universal Syntax* (1985) figures as one of the first and most influential study that concentrated on the typology of reflexives. As Table 3 (below) suggests, Faltz distinguishes two types of reflexives: (i) pronominal reflexives and (ii) NP-reflexives:

Table 3: Faltz's typology of reflexives



Faltz suggests (1985: 29) that in case of the *head reflexives* (a sub-category of the NP-reflexives) special nominal morphemes serve as heads. The devices that indicate the case relations of these noun phrases (word-order, case particles, inflection) attach to the reflexive head. In the case of the Turkish reflexive head *kendi-* the devices that are used together with it intend to indicate person, number and the case as well:

(27) *ben_i kendi -m -i_i sev -er im*
 I self 1pSG ACC like Aor. 1pSG
 ‘I_i like myself_i.’ (Kornfilt 1997: 142)

Adjunct reflexives (the second sub-category of the NP-reflexives) join simple pronouns in order to ensure reflexive marking. In this type of reflexives a pronoun serves as a head, while a special reflexive morpheme (an adjunct) is used to indicate co-reference with the subject. Faltz (1985: 34) exemplifies adjunct reflexives with the Irish special reflexive morpheme (adjunct) *féin*:

(28) a) *ghortaigh Seán é.*
 ‘Sean hurt him.’
 b) *ghortaigh Seán é féin.*
 ‘Sean hurt himself.’

When describing *verbal reflexives* Faltz (ibid.) argues that they are in most of the cases either cliticized (French *se*), or affixed (Russian *-sja*). If none of these possibilities

are applicable, other strategies come forward that affect the verb instead of completing the form with a reflexive element.

The second category of reflexives is represented by the *pronominal reflexives*. The sub-categories of the NP-reflexives depict pronouns either as modifiers of reflexive heads, or as heads of noun phrases. The second class introduces the special reflexive pronouns. By *fused adjunct reflexives* Faltz means those which historically developed from a [pronoun + adjunct] reflexive, but they are understood as single lexemes (e.g. *him-/her-/itself* in Modern English). In this case the *-self* suffix uniformly marks the feature of reflexivity of the pronouns. The *true reflexive pronouns* are described as those reflexive markers that belong to the class of pronouns with a function to indicate co-reference between a DP and an antecedent (German *sich* (29), Latin *se*, etc.).

(29) Hans sah *sich*.
'Hans saw himself.'

As mentioned in Section 2.1, Reinhart and Reuland (1993) also classify anaphors, and they also distinguish two classes: *SE-anaphors* (a similar category to Faltz's reflexive pronouns) and *SELF-anaphors* (they share similar features with the head reflexives, the adjunct reflexives and with the fused adjunct reflexives). *SELF-anaphors* are understood as having a lexical semantic meaning [+SELF], but this does not necessarily correlates with having a SELF-morpheme (e.g. German *sich* is also understood as [+SELF]).

Ekkehard König and Peter Siemund (2000) approach the typology of reflexives from the perspective of the connection between the different strategies of reflexivization and the meaning of the predicate. They suggest that the verbal strategy of reflexivization is typical for languages that differentiate between reflexive and non-reflexive verbs by adding a verbal affix to the reflexive verbs (e.g. *-sja* in Russian, *-n-* in Turkish, etc.). A nominal strategy is used in those languages that use free forms for reflexivization (*sebja* in Russian, *kendi* in Turkish). When König and Siemund take into consideration the meaning of predicates in reflexive structures, they state (2000: 60) that it is possible to identify one general distinction, namely the distinction between *conventionally other-directed predicates* and *conventionally non-other-directed predicates*. Taking into consideration the semantic property that defines reflexivizing strategy they argue that the most important task is to determine whether the relevant situation is typically or conventionally directed at others.

To exemplify their argument König and Siemund provide a list of *non-other directed and other-directed* situations. As *non-other-directed* situations König and Siemund understand actions that are not directed at other people. The processes of grooming (e.g. washing, dressing, shaving, etc.) belong to this category, since the actions are performed on oneself and not on others (with the exception of very young and very old people)³. Violent actions (killing, destroying) belong to the category of *other-directed* actions, underlining by this the fact that these verbs are typically directed against others. When describing emotions and attitudes, König and Siemund give examples for both types of actions. As non-other-directed verbs the authors understand expressions like ‘being proud of’ and ‘being ashamed of’. According to their description these expressions relate to a person’s own sphere. It is possible to be proud of our achievements, or those of our family, but people do not tend to be proud of the achievements connected to other non-related people. Love, hate, jealousy, on the other hand, represent the actions that are typically directed towards other people. König and Siemund categorize all processes of communication as other-directed, while defending, liberating and preparing behave as non-other-directed situations. The importance of this classification presents itself in situations when people need to infer the meaning of predicates with missing arguments:

- (30) a) Washing is fun. (‘to wash oneself’)
 b) John’s defense was good. (‘can mean ‘John defended himself.’)
 (König and Siemund 2000)

König and Siemund summarize the relationship between the meaning of predicates and the strategies of reflexivization as follows (ibid.):

- (31) Correlation between predicate meaning and reflexivization strategies: The more complex strategy tends to be used for the more remarkable (i.e. other-directed) situation; the less complex strategy tends to be used for inherently reflexive verbs and for non-other directed situations⁴.

The usage of simplex and complex strategies may vary from language to language. While some languages have an opposition between nominal and verbal strategies (e.g. Finnish), other languages choose whether to use a simplex strategy, or a complex one. Some languages do not choose between strategies but between intensifiers, and they also have to

³ The statement about the reflexive nature of the verbs of grooming applies to English; when it comes to other languages, a reflexive interpretation of grooming predicates is not always evident.

⁴ But, as noted by Volkova & Reuland (2014), there are no independent criteria for being self- or other directed situations.

determine the number of intensifiers (e.g. Turkish). English, for example, may select an optional, or an obligatory anaphor (e.g. Fred washed/shaved. vs. Fred betrayed himself.). The correlation between the predicate meaning and reflexivization is summarized in Table 4.:

Table 4: The correlation between the predicate meaning and reflexivization (König and Siemund, 2000: 63)

Non-other-directed situations	Other-directed situations	Examples
Verbal strategy	Nominal strategy	Hebrew, Turkish
No/optional anaphor	Obligatory anaphor	English
Simple/weak/se anaphor	Complex/strong/self anaphor	Danish, Dutch
Single intensifier	Double intensifier	Lezgian, Tsakhur, Turkish

König and Siemund suggest that nominal reflexives should be categorized according to their ability to appear as intensifiers and as reflexives as well (e.g. English *self*-forms, Amharic *ras*-, Arabic *nafs*-, etc.), or to appear as a reflexive marker but not as an intensifier (German *sich*, Latin *se*, etc.).

Volker Gast (2006) also uses Faltz's typology of reflexives as his starting point, when he states that the distinction between *compound reflexives* and *reflexive pronouns* has a key role not only when their make-up is considered, but also when the syntactic properties of reflexive markers are analysed. He claims that compound reflexives show a tendency to require an antecedent, which is more local than the antecedent of reflexive pronouns. In Ancient Greek, for example, reflexive pronouns are bound by antecedents from a higher clause. In generative traditions this type of nominal reflexives are called 'long-distance reflexives' or 'long-distance anaphora' (Koster and Reuland 1991).

The syntactic properties of the nominal reflexives also play an important role in the analysis of their binding domain and in classifying them according to this feature (cf. Faltz 1985, Wexler and Manzini 1987). Taking into consideration this perspective it is possible to differentiate between two types of reflexives: (i) *clause-mate reflexives* and (ii) *sentence-mate reflexives*. As the names of the reflexives suggest, the clause-mate reflexives occur with their antecedent in the same clause, which is understood as a unit corresponding to a predicate plus its arguments and adjuncts. The sentence-mate reflexives

do not need to be bound by an antecedent from the same clause, they may be co-referential with an antecedent from a different clause that constitutes the same sentence.

The clause mate reflexives include two further sub-types, namely the *co-argument reflexives* and the *co-participant reflexives*. The co-argument reflexives behave as the co-arguments of their antecedents, while the co-participant ones ‘are not subcategorized for by the main verb, forming part of an adjunct’ (Gast, 2006: 176). Co-participant reflexives, similarly to their antecedents, participate in the same event, but they form a predicate that is denoted by the relevant adjunct:

(32) Co-argument reflexivity

- a) John looks at himself in the mirror.
- b) Hans betrachtet *sich* im Spiegel.
Hans looks at ANPH in the mirror
‘Hans looks at himself in the mirror.’ (Gast, 2006:176)

(33) Co-participant reflexivity

- a) Ginny looked flustered but Harry moved over and made room for her [near *himself*].
- b) Harry machte Platz für sie [neben *sich*].
Harry made room for her near ANPH
‘Harry made room for her near himself.’ (Gast, 2006:176)

Chapter 3

Compounding and synthetic compounds

3.1 Compounds: a definition

The listed terms in the title of the chapter introduce the field of compounds and compounding, and the discussion about argument structure that is connected to them, and suggest that numerous study fields concentrate on and analyse them from different and varied perspectives.

In the Introduction of the *Oxford Handbook of Compounding* Lieber and Štekauer (2009) state that the definition of compounds and compounding poses a problem for linguists, since compounds have different features in every language, and a universal definition cannot be applied to them. While some languages, e.g. English, use the combination of free forms in their compounds, other languages like Slovak, Czech or Russian also use inflectional morphemes in these constructions as parts of the derivational morphology, e.g. *blackboard* vs. *rýchlovlak* ('high speed train' - where the *-o-* behaves as a linking element between the two stems).

The differentiation between compounds and phrasal forms also figures as an important perspective when trying to define a compound. Compounds are understood by Bauer (2003) as new lexemes, which are the result of a combination of two or more lexemes, but in some cases the differentiation between a compound and a word combination, which was created ad hoc, is difficult. Lieber and Štekauer introduce the expression *tomato bowl* as an example. The expression may be understood as a compound (i.e. as a combination of lexemes that frequently occur together and has a lexicalized

meaning), or as a phrase that was created in the need to name a bowl, which at that moment held tomatoes⁵.

In order to clarify the meaning of the term compound Donalies (2004: 76) offer a list of characteristic features of compounds. The features cannot be understood as universal features, but they underline the characteristics of the phenomena. Based on these criteria compounds:

- are complex
- are formed without word-formation affixes
- are spelled as belonging together, understood as one orthographic unit
- have a specific stress pattern
- include linking elements
- are right-headed
- are inflected as a whole
- are syntactically inseparable
- are syntactico-semantic islands
- are conceptual units.

The compounds also behave according to certain syntactic criteria. The inseparability criterion is described by Lieber and Štekauer (2009: 6) as the most reliable one, since it underlines the impossibility to insert a third element between the constituents of the compound without causing a change in the meaning. The first element of the compound cannot be modified in contrast to the first element of the syntactic constructions. In Adj+N constructions, for example, the phrase can be modified by the modifier *very*, while the compounds do not allow this modification (e.g. *a very blackboard). The last feature of the compounds concentrates on the second element of nominal compounds, and states that this element cannot be replaced by a pro-form like *one* (e.g. *a black one cannot refer to a blackboard).

The difficulty to define what a compound is evident in the attempts to categorize these compounds as well. As there have been numerous definitions of compounds, the wide range of possible extensions also causes confusion. The confusion is caused according to Scalise and Bisetto (2009) by the terminology, which cannot be always applied in an interlinguistic analysis due to some language-specific phenomena, by the criteria that frequently appear as inconsistent, and by the fact that some lexical categories have been thoroughly examined, while others remained neglected.

⁵The latter have also been called “deictic compounds” (Downing 1977).

When discussing the problem of terminology Lieber and Štekauer point out that in English linguistics two types of compounds are generally distinguished: *root compounds* and *synthetic compounds*. They suggest that the terms cannot be applied in a similar manner to Romance languages:

These two notions could not be adequately extended to languages such as Romance languages, in which terms like *root* or *synthetic* did not seem to apply conveniently. The notion of ‘_root compound’ used for formations such as *steamboat* or *coffee cup* has not been extended to Romance languages because the lexemes in these languages, when they are nouns, end in a vowel that bears grammatical information and does not belong to the root. (ibid.).

Lieber and Štekauer list the categories of compounds which they consider privileged, e.g. [N+N]_N, [A+N]_N, [N+A]_N, and also those which are recognized as neglected. They distinguish two classes within the category of neglected compounds, i.e. compound adjectives (e.g. [A+A]_A as *bitter-sweet*, [A+N]_A as Italian *Giallo limone* ‘lemon yellow’, [V+A]_A Dutch *druipnat* ‘drip-wet’, and [N+A]_A as *girl crazy*) and compounds that contain other parts of speech than nouns (e.g. adverbs – It. *sottospora* ‘upside down’; prepositions – *sans papiers*, lit. without documents; pronouns – *self-determination*; particles – *make up*; and verbs – *portacenere* ‘ashtray’).

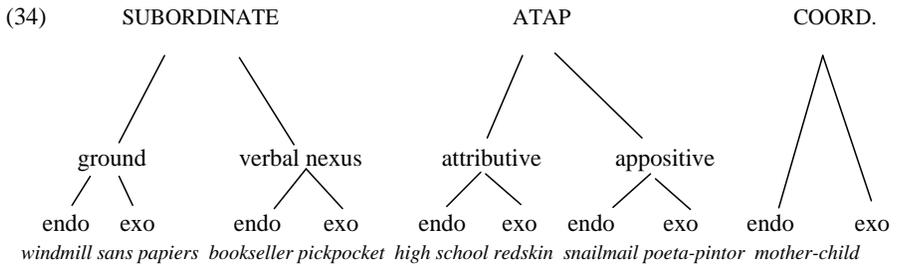
Finally, Lieber and Štekauer discuss the criteria for the classification of compounds. They point out that there have been many attempts to provide a universal classification. Spencer (1991) classifies these formations as follows: endocentric compounds (head-modifier, e.g. *student film society*), exocentric compounds (predicate-argument, e.g. *pickpocket*), dvandva (e.g. *Austria-Hungary*), and appositional (e.g. *learner-driver*). Bauer (2001), following the tradition of Paninian grammar, chooses a slightly different strategy, and within his four main categories he lists several other sub-categories:

- I. determinative/endoc., tatpuruṣa
 - a) karmadhāraya
 - 1. [A+N] as *blackbird*
 - 2. [N+N] as *woman doctor*
- II. dvandva/copulative/aggregative/coordinative
- III. bahuvrihi, possessive, exocentric
- IV. synthetic.

All of the examined classifications concentrate on the position and function of the compound’s head, but endocentricity and exocentricity are not discussed as features which can be present in other categories as well.

In order to eliminate the imperfections of the previous classifications Bisetto and Scalise offer another type of classification concentrating initially on the syntactic relations between the constituents. Based on the syntactic relations Bisetto and Scalise created three categories: subordinate, attributive, and coordinate compounds, and allow the division of every category into two further subcategories, namely endo- and exocentric compounds. The members of the subordinate compounds appear in a head-complement relation (e.g. *taxi driver*), or show cases when the head is missing (e.g. *cutthroat*), since the presence of the deverbal element enables the head-complement relation. The attributive compounds exhibit formations like A+N (e.g. *blue cheese*), or N+N (e.g. *snail mail*) and V+N. Coordinate compounds are represented by formations such as e.g. *painter-poet*. Generally only one noun can be pluralized within these compounds, although both of the members are considered as heads.

Bisetto and Scalise extended the basic tripartite classification into several sub-categories offering by this a complex map of compounds (2009: 50):



Bisetto and Scalise underline the importance of the semantic relations between the members of the subordinate compounds, and in order to describe them more closely two sub-types of these compounds have been introduced. They use the traditional root/syntactic division as a starting point to classify the compounds taking into consideration the deverbal or non-deverbal nature of the head.

As mentioned earlier, Laurie Bauer also proposed a classification of compounds. In his study from 2009 he discussed the features of compounds and the possibilities of classification. Similarly to the previous linguists he suggests that it is not possible to define compounds without further discussion of their presumably universal features and of the possible definitions in individual languages. In order to describe the compound formations Bauer also lists some features that are used for formal marking of compounds. He takes

into consideration the phonological marking, since in most of the cases compounds are marked phonologically as one word, while he also points out the language specific nature of this marking with counter-examples from Japanese, where under certain circumstances the second element becomes voiced (*phon.*: the vibration of vocal cords).

After listing and evaluating the basic properties of the compounds, Bauer turns towards their semantic properties. He mentions the categorization of compounds into two basic types, namely to the categories of endocentric and exocentric compounds. He understands endocentric compounds as constructions with a head, and exocentric compounds as constructions that do not figure as hyponyms of either element. He understands *bahuvrīhi* compounds as a type of exocentric compounds, e.g. *lowlife*, *redhead*. Coordinative compounds figure as another category for Bauer, and he describes them as two elements, which can be connected by “and”. He lists the following subtypes in this category: translative (Fr. [*vol*] *Paris-Rome*] –Paris-Rome flight), co-participant (Ger. *russisch-türkischer [Krieg]* – Russian-Turkish war), appositional (Dutch *eigenaar-directeur* – owner-director), compromise (*blue-green*), generalizing (Mordvin *t’ese-toso* – everywhere), dvandva (Hun. *Budapest*).

Bauer also discusses the term synthetic compound, and states that this type is semantically more constrained than the previous categories, and that the head of this compound type is a deverbal element – is derived from a verb -, while the modifying element is defined as an argument of the verb (e.g. *bus-driver*, *home-made*, etc.). Bauer suggests that it is not always clear whether these constructions can be defined as compounds or as a specific subset of compounds. In this dissertation we will be primarily concerned with the synthetic compounds.

3.2 Synthetic compounds

The following section aims to discuss the main approaches that concentrate on compounds in order to describe their specific features in a more detailed way. We will look at synthetic compounds, compounds that have a right-hand part that is a noun or adjective derived from a verbal base, and more specifically to synthetic compounds.

Rochelle Lieber (2004, 2009) uses the classification of compounds introduced by Bisetto and Scalise (2005), when she describes compounds from a lexical semantic approach. In order to characterize the compounds and to describe the meaning of the complex words Lieber introduces her system of representations. Based on her analysis the semantic representation of morphemes consists of two layers: a semantic/grammatical

skeleton and a semantic/pragmatic body, while the skeleton contains those features which play an important role from the point of view of the syntax.

(35) Lieber (2009: 80):

- a) [+/- material] – this feature determines whether the denoted entity is a SUBSTANCE/THING/ESSENCE, and consequently it is characterized in the syntactic domain as a noun.
- b) [+/- dynamic] – this feature determines either the eventive, or the situational meaning, and the conceptual category is described as SITUATIONS.
- c) [+/- IEPS] – the abbreviation stands for inferable eventual position or state, while the positive nature implies a directed path, and the negative nature implies an undirected path.
- d) [+/- Loc] – this feature is used in case of those lexical items, where the location of the item is important.
- e) [+/- B] – the feature of ‘Bounded’ implies ‘the relevance of intrinsic spatial or temporal boundaries in a SITUATION or SUBSTANCE/THING/ESSENCE’ (ibid).
- f) [+/- CI] – the ‘Composed of Individuals’ signals the importance of spatial and temporal units suggested in the meaning of a lexical item.
- g) [+/- Scalar] – the last feature implies the importance of a range of values to a conceptual category.

According to Lieber the features listed above define functions that take arguments, while the functions and their arguments appear in a hierarchy, e.g. [F₁([argument])], or [F₂([argument], F₁([argument]))]. Lieber proposes that the seven features play an important role in the syntax of English and in the process of word-formation, but may not be similarly significant in other languages. She understands the features as a ‘subset of universal semantic features’ (2009: 83), and other languages choose only certain features from this subset, and not all of them. In order to describe the features in a more detailed way Lieber is open to extend her list with other universally acknowledged ones as well, e.g. with <animate>, <human>, <female>, but she describes them as syntactically (but not semantically) inactive, while her seven features are understood as syntactically active. All these features represent the skeleton of the lexical item. She exemplifies her skeleton/body structure as follows (2009: 87):

- (36) a) author [+material, dynamic ([], [])
 <+animate>
 <+ human>
 <function>
 {writes for publication, ...}

b) bed [+material ([])]
 <-animate>
 <+artefact>
 <3 dimension>
 <horizontal>
 <function>
 {for sleeping, contains comfortable surface,...}

Lieber suggests that the lexical entries introduced above have the following main parts: the skeleton, the formalized features which represent the semantic part of the body, and the encyclopaedic elements (in curly brackets). The features present a hierarchical relationship, and they figure either as syntactically active, or as a part of the semantic body.

Lieber points out that similarly to the simple lexical entries complex words also have the listed features and parts. Using the classification of Bisetto and Scalise (2009) Lieber offers analyses for subordinate, attributive and coordinate compounds, dividing every category either into endocentric compounds or exocentric compounds.

When it comes to the subordinate compounds, Lieber concentrates on the structure between the two elements within the endocentric and exocentric compounds. She exemplifies the structure of endocentric subordinate compounds as follows (2009: 93):

(37) truck -er drive
 [+material ([j])] [+material, dynamic ([i], [+dynamic ([i], [j])])]

In this structure the complex word *driver* is the first item that is created, while the -er suffix in this case subordinates the verbal base, and coindexes the highest verbal argument (*drive*). Lieber argues that the highest non-head argument and the highest head argument are indexed together by the Principle of Coindexation, rendering by this step the element *truck* to the position of the internal argument of the verb *drive*. The body features in this case are not listed, since the interpretation of the compound depends only on the indexing pattern between the two stems, and on the interpretation of the verbal argument, which is coindexed with the non-head. In case of the exocentric compounds Lieber introduces the following example (2009: 95):

(38)	<p style="margin: 0;">pick</p> <p style="margin: 0;">[+dynamic ([], [])]</p> <p style="margin: 0;"><manner></p>	<p style="margin: 0;">pocket</p> <p style="margin: 0;">[+material ([])]</p> <p style="margin: 0;"><-animate></p> <p style="margin: 0;"><+artefact></p> <p style="margin: 0;">{contains stuff, on article of clothing, ...}</p>
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Lieber also applies the Principle of Coindexation in this case, and matches the highest non-head argument with the highest unindexed head argument. However, in case of exocentric compounds it is not entirely clear which of the elements behaves as the head of the compound, or whether it is even possible to identify a head in the construction. In order to provide a path for the analysis, she modifies the principle of coindexation, and offers the following instruction (2009: 97):

(39) Principle of Coindexation

In a configuration in which semantic skeletons are composed, coindex the highest non-head argument with the highest (preferably unindexed) head argument. Indexing must be consistent with semantic conditions on the head argument. In the case of headless structure, coindex semantically compatible arguments.

In the case of *pickpocket* Lieber understands *pocket* as the internal argument of *pick*, and states that the exocentric interpretation of this compound originates from the unlinked verbal argument within the compound, and can be understood as an implicit argument of the left-hand constituent in the construction (2009: 97): “If the argument of the initial verbal element remains as an active albeit implicit argument we might expect it to have any of the range of interpretations consistent with external arguments, but not the interpretation consistent with internal arguments; this would account for the implicit reference of such compounds to agents or instruments”.

Before the studies of Rochelle Lieber from 2004 and 2009, others aimed to describe and characterize English compounds from various other perspectives as well, and the majority of the attempts concentrated predominantly on English synthetic compounds. Andrew Spencer (1991) lists the most influential theories that are connected to these constructions, and introduces the lexicalist and the syntactic approaches too. Spencer points out that synthetic compounds bear four typical properties: 1) the verb’s internal argument is satisfied by the non-head, 2) it is impossible for the non-head to function as the subject of the verb (e.g. **girl-swimming*, **weather-changing*), 3) the head of the compound inherits

the argument structure of the verb, and 4) the range of structural types of synthetic compounds does not differ from the range of root compounds.

Roeper and Siegel (1978) analysed these compounds from a lexicalist approach, but combined their theory with a syntactic parallel as well. They aimed to identify the aspects of the syntactic structure of the verb phrase in the lexical representation of the compound. In order to do that Roeper and Siegel proposed the following principle:

(40) First Sister Principle

All verbal compounds are formed by incorporation of a word in first sister position of the verb.

Since they approached synthetic compounds from a lexical point of view, they proposed the theory of lexical transformation which includes three steps that lead to a compound. The first step is operated by the Affix Rule, which includes the affixation of the verbal element and the creation of a slot to the left side of the verb for the non-head. Spencer exemplifies this step as follows (1991: 326):

(41) a) fry [...[...]_{NP}]_{PP} => [...]+fry+-en [...[...]_{NP}]_{PP}

This operation is followed by the subcategorization insertion, during which a word is inserted in the slot of the subcategorization (ibid.):

b) [...]+fry+-en [...[...]_{NP}]_{PP} => [...]+fry+-en [...[pan]_N]

The last operation ensures the movement of *pan* into the non-head position of the compound by the Compound Rule (ibid.):

c) [...]+fry+-ed [pan]_N => [[pan]_N+fry+-ed]

According to Andrew Spencer two aspects of this study played an important role in the further analyses of synthetic compounds: the introduction of the first sister principle and the understanding of synthetic compounds from a dual aspect, i.e. syntactic and lexical.

Selkirk (1982), on the other hand, approached synthetic compounding from the point of view of root compounds. According to Selkirk root compounds and synthetic compounds are generated by the same set of rules, and synthetic compounds are created only if the non-head of the compound satisfies the head's argument structure. Selkirk suggests that a non-head noun can behave as a nominal constituent in a syntactic structure

with any possible grammatical function that can be assigned to it, and non-head adjectives may also be assigned any of the grammatical functions assigned to adjectival elements in such constructions. Andrew Spencer introduced Selkirk’s subject restriction in order to rule out the compounding of subjects (1991: 328): “The SUBJ argument of a lexical item may not be satisfied in compound structure”⁶.

Based on Selkirk’s conclusions it is possible to say that the argument of the verb has the tendency to be satisfied within the compound and not outside of it, and since only one non-head position is available within these compounds, verbs with multiple obligatory arguments cannot form a synthetic compound (ibid.):

- (42) a) the putting of cats in the well
 b) *cat putting (in the well)
 c) *well putting (of cats)

Andrew Spencer also mentions Rochelle Lieber’s previous study (1983) on synthetic compounds in order to provide a detailed description of the approaches. As has been exemplified in the introduction of Lieber’s theory from 2004 and 2009, Lieber concentrates on the theta grid or argument structure of the verb, and in her study from 1983 she introduces the Argument Linking Principle. This principle states that when a verb is situated in a structure in which it is characterized as sister to a potential complement, it has to link all its internal arguments. Spencer exemplifies root compounds and synthetic compounds with the following structures based on Lieber (1983: 330):



The (43a) structure represents the structure of the root compound, while the (43b) structure is the synthetic compounds’ structure. According to Lieber, the non-head of the (43b)

⁶ Note that this observation has been challenged, as early as Allen (1978). Important in this discussion is the question whether or not a compound is a root compound (*rainfall*) or a synthetic compound (**rainfalling*). We will leave this issue aside as it is not essential to our discussion of SELF-compounds.

structure is always a semantic argument that can be interpreted as Locative, Manner, Agentive, Instrumental or Benefactive.

Just like Lieber, Di Sciullo and Williams (1987) also emphasize the significance of affixes in the compounds. They analyse the position of external arguments that cannot figure within the compound, and conclude that affixes such as *-er*, *-ing*, *-en*, *-ion*, and *-ance* have the property which allows certain elements of the argument structure to be satisfied only externally. Di Sciullo and Williams assume that some affixes have their own theta grid, and they represent a referential role: <R>. This theta grid, which is understood as a function, combines with the verb's grid, which figures as the value, and they together represent the whole word. Spencer exemplifies this theory with the following examples (1991:332):



The example shows that the noun *baker* has a combined theta grid that was created by the properties of the verb and the affix: N<<Ag, Th>R>.

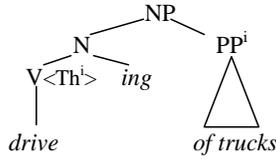
In order to give a complex picture about the approaches towards synthetic compounds Spencer introduces the syntax-based analyses as well. He introduces Fabb's theory, and provides a description of the Theta Criterion (cf. 45), in which he states that if a verb has an obligatory theta grid, its obligatory theta roles need to be assigned an argument position.

(45) Theta Criterion (Chomsky 1981:36)

Each argument bears one and only one θ -role, and each θ -role is assigned to one and only one argument.

Fabb understands affixes as lexical elements with their own syntactic properties, which regularly licence synthetic compounds. According to the theta criterion the verb of *truck driving* and *driving of trucks* needs to assign its internal theta role of Theme to the noun *truck*, and this verb also needs to govern the element it assigns a theta role to. Consequently, the verb needs to be a sister to the element in a syntactic structure. Although

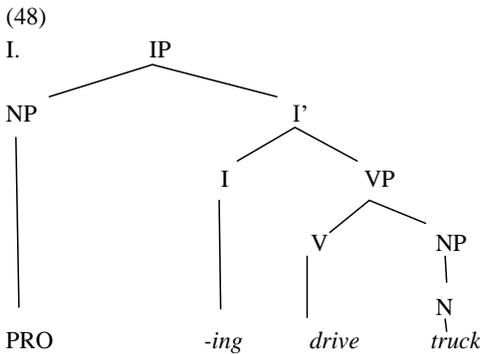
Fabb describes synthetic compounds from a syntactic point of view, the final structure he proposes agrees with Lieber's proposed structure of synthetic compounds (1991: 335):
(46)



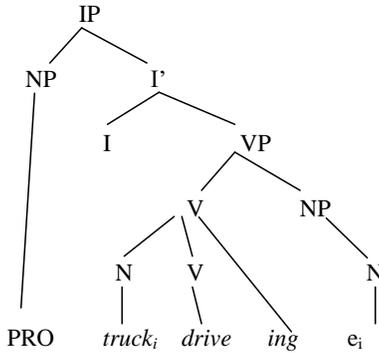
While most linguists concentrate either on the lexical aspect of the synthetic compounds, or on the syntactic one, Roeper (1988) approaches these compounds from both angles. He concentrates on the *-ing* form of the verb, since it balances between the properties of VPs and NPs, having properties from both phrases. He describes this form as part of the synthetic compounds, and understands it as a verbal type. Roeper describes the property of these compounds by an empty subject position, which is controlled by a higher NP, e.g.:

- (47) a) Tom likes to drive trucks.
b) Tom_i likes [PRO_i to drive trucks].

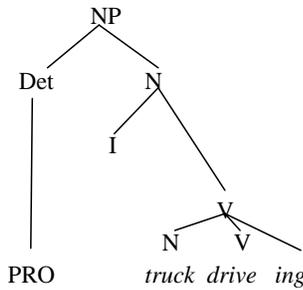
He states that the gerunds of these compounds are verbs in the D-structure, and that they turn into a NP only in the syntactic derivation through a rule which applies to them. Roeper argues that the D-structure for synthetic compounds like *truck driving* is a sentence, and that the *-ing* suffix in Infl position is lowered to the level of the verb by a process of transformation, while the head of the object NP becomes part of the verb; and in the final step (III) the VP is transformed into a NP (1991: 339):



II.



III.



As the approaches above show the topic of the synthetic compounds offers fields for analysis from the lexical and from the syntactic point of view as well. The lexical approach suggests that synthetic compounds are the result of morphological rules and processes, which affect the argument structure of the verb, and which make this argument structure accessible outside the domain of the word itself. The syntactic approach states that these compounds are generated in the syntax, while some of the approaches within this category question even the existence of an organization in a lexicon, and describe it as a category of idiosyncrasies.

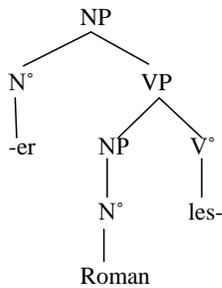
The theories which are introduced above and the studies of Rochelle Lieber from 2004 and 2009 served as platforms for Livio Gaeta (2010) to introduce the process of synthesis within these compounds. Livio Gaeta describes synthetic compounds as follows (2010: 220): “a double operation which seems to take place at once: an operation of compound formation, in which the verb / noun relation naturally looks like being of an argumental nature, and an operation of deverbal noun formation”. The process of synthesis

may have two aspects within these compounds: Gaeta identifies a phenomenon that he describes as a semantic 'more', i.e. the argumental relation between the members, and a formal 'more', i.e. the combination of the morphemes, which cannot be described as typical outside of the synthetic compound formation. Gaeta (2010:221) suggests that the process of synthesis has been described by three approaches:

- (49) a) incorporation, i.e. lexical derivation via suffixation of a verb
- b) lexical derivation and subsequent composition
- c) lexical derivation via suffixation of a word group.

Based on this examination Gaeta suggests that within the process of incorporation (the first approach) the argumental relation between the head and the modifier is established on an intermediate derivational stage, which ensures the formation of the verbal compound. The process of incorporation has been described by two methods according to Gaeta. One method is represented by the theory of Siebert (1999), which chose a strict syntactic analysis in which synthetic compounds are the result of syntactic head movement, and that there is no difference between synthetic and analytic compounds from this point of view, i.e. all the compounds are understood as synthetic. Other linguists (e.g. Rivet (1999), as representatives of the second method, chose a slightly different analysis from Siebert's in order to avoid this overgeneralized method, and concentrated on incorporation only in case of deverbal nouns, via an intermediate level of verbal compounding (2010: 224):

(50) $[_N[_v\text{Roman}_N\text{les}_v] -er_{NAF}]$ (*novel reader*)



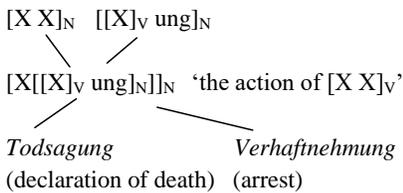
Gaeta (2010) argues that in case of synthetic compounds there has been a general understanding which states that it is the nominal compound that enables the backderivation of the verb, and therefore only a limited number of verbal compounds may be attested in

opposition to the large number of nominal compounds that are headed by a deverbal noun or a nominalized infinitive.

The second approach is represented by lexical derivation and by subsequent compounding. Gaeta proposes that the argumental relation has been described in two possible variations within this approach. Within the first variation the lexical derivation is understood as part of the syntax-driven operation, while the second variation understands argument inheritance as the result of semantics. The first variation understands the non-head as an element which satisfies the obligatory argument requirement of the head, the second concentrates on the semantic roles involved in the process of conceptualization of the event. The thematic hierarchy, i.e. Agent>Recipient>Patient functions as a suitable predictor of synthetic compounding, and it understands semantic roles as bundles of interacting semantic properties of the predicate.

The third approach concentrates on the lexical derivation via the suffixation of a word group. Gaeta argues that construction morphology took abstract (argument taking) schemas and analogically extracted them, and the morphology continued with the process of conflation with other schemas of a different nature. The theory suggests that it is not a new type of approach but rather a combination of two independently motivated processes of word-formation (2010: 232):

(51)



3.3 Argument Structure and compounds

Jane Grimshaw (1990) understands argument structure as the lexical representation of grammatical information about a predicate, and sees this structure as a part of the lexical entry. She suggests that the argument structure is connected to the other two representations of a predicate. According to her theory argument structure is projected from lexical semantic structure, and deep structure is projected from argument structure and principles of X-bar theory.

The argument structure is described as a set of elements, theta roles, which are described either as external or as internal arguments of a predicate, while it is possible to identify a hierarchy (prominence) among these elements. The hierarchy is heavily determined by the thematic and by the aspectual properties of the predicate. Grimshaw exemplifies the argument structure and the order of the arguments by the verb *announce* (1990: 4), where it is possible to identify an external argument (the agent) and an internal theme and a goal:

(52) *announce* (Agent (Goal (Theme)))

The external argument in the construction figures as the most prominent argument of a predicate, and the internal arguments follow each other in the following order: (Experiencer(Goal/Source/Location (Theme))). The hierarchy of these arguments determine the organizing principle of the a-structure but only within one predicate. Grimshaw also emphasizes that not every semantically relational lexical item figures with an argument structure. In order to be recognized as an element with argument structure, it is necessary for the nouns to refer to a complex event, and to have an internal aspectual analysis. She named these types of nouns as process or event nominals.

Grimshaw also considers the English synthetic compounds from the perspective of argument structure. She states that the head within this compound behaves as argument-taking, and the non-head satisfies an argument position in the argument structure of the head, i.e. the non-head is theta marked by the head, and the elements inside of the compounds are theta-marked prior to elements outside of the compounds, obeying the Theta Criterion (cf. 45). She exemplifies her statements as follows:

(53) *Give*
 (x (y (z)))
 Agent Goal Theme

Within this structure the Agent as the external argument and as the most prominent one is assigned the a-structure as the first one, and it is followed by the Goal and by the Theme. Following the rules of theta-marking the least prominent element becomes theta-marked first, and within the compound the same process can be identified:

(54) a) *gift-giving* to children

b) **child-giving* of gifts

In the second phrase the goal is within the compound, while the theme is outside, and these positions result in an ungrammatical construction. The phenomena mentioned above suggest that in cases where the head takes more than one argument, the least prominent one needs to be within the compound, and the external argument as the most prominent one needs to be satisfied as the last one. These facts confirm Grimshaw's argument that the argument structure follows the principles of thematic hierarchy.

Grimshaw concentrates on nominalizations as well, and argues that a certain category of nominalizations may and do take obligatory arguments. She identifies these nominalizations as *complex event nominals*, which show a certain event structure, while those which do not have an argument structure are called *result nominals*. When comparing the properties of the nominals and of the verbs she suggests that while verbs take arguments obligatorily, nouns do the same only optionally. Result nominals, as their name suggests, name the output of a process, while event nominals name an event or a process. Complex event nominals show an argument structure, and they also take arguments, and the complements to these nominals will be obligatory.

In order to classify nominals as event or result ones, it is necessary to identify the presence of the argument structure. Grimshaw offers a list of tests that help to locate the argument structure within these constructions. I will only review these to the extent that they are useful in indicating whether certain synthetic compounds could be identified as complex event nominals.

In case of the complex event nominals the event structure signals the presence of the argument structure, but the ambiguity between the two types of nominals complicates the process of identification. Gerundive nominals, for example, have only a process reading, and they behave exactly as the corresponding verbs with respect to their object, which need to be obligatory, and consequently, they also take obligatory objects⁷ (1990: 50):

- (55) a) The felling of the trees was unexpected
b) The tree felling was unexpected
c) *The felling was unexpected
d) They felled *(trees).

⁷ However, Eric Reuland (2011: 1294) claims that: 'A clear contrast emerges between arguments of complex event nominals and arguments of verbs: given an appropriate discourse, arguments that are obligatory for verbs can be omitted in nominalizations'.

One could question the distinction between (55c) and (55d). *Felling* is, under very restricted circumstances, possible as in this web-based example: *All the felling was done with axes*. However, observe that many nominals are ambiguous between a complex event reading and a result reading, and it could be the case that *felling* is the example just given has a result reading.

Another help to identify the argument structure is the presence of certain modifiers that occur only in the event interpretation, e.g. frequent and constant (ibid.):

- (56)
- a) The expression is desirable.
 - b) *The frequent expression is desirable.
 - c) The frequent expression of one's feelings is desirable
 - d) All of this is consistent with a curriculum which allows frequent self-expression.
 - e) We express *(our feelings).

The differences between complex event nominals and result nominals also present themselves in the determiner system. Grimshaw suggests that the indefinite determiner and the numeral *one* and the demonstrative *that* appear only with result nominals (1990: 54):

- (57)
- a) They studied the/an/one/that assignment.
 - b) They observed the/*an/*one/*that assignment of the problem.
 - c) The assignment of that problem too early in the course always causes problems.

It is not clear that the synthetic compounds follow this path:

- (58)
- a) And, one must ask, how much *of that self-expression* exudes bravado and exaggeration?
 - b) The best ways of *a self-praise*.

Another characteristic feature of complex event nominals is that they do not pluralize, while result nominals do, and that they resist indefinite subjects (ibid.):

- (59)
- a) The assignments were long.
 - b) *The assignments of the problems took a long time.
 - c) ??A teacher's assignment of the problem.
 - d) The assignment of the problem by a teacher.

Again, synthetic compounds don't seem to behave on a par:

- (60) a) Believes or claims to truth are *self-expressions* or aspects of *self-expressions*.
b) That's how actors should be with no pretense or *self-praises* about themselves.

Jane Grimshaw summarizes her deductions as follows (1990: 59):

Complex event nominals and corresponding simple event and result nominals have related lexical conceptual structures, or lexical meanings, but only complex event nominals have an event structure and a syntactic argument structure like verbs. The argument structure of complex event nominals are distinguished from the others in the range of determiners and adjuncts they occur with as well as in event control and predication.

Turning her attention towards the English compounds Grimshaw points out that the properties of the head of a nominal root compound should be the same as of the result nominals or of a simple event nominal. Since the head of a root compound does not show signs of argument structure, the principles of argument structure does not determine the formation of the compound. The compound in this case represents a lexicalized modification structure that shows similar relations to those of result and simple event nominals. In case of subjects (i.e. external arguments) the rule establishes that they cannot appear in compounds, but this rule apply only for synthetic compounds, since root compounds show a different tendency (1990: 69):

- (61) a) a bee sting, bee stings, *bee-stinging
b) a dog bite, dog bites, *dog-biting

Grimshaw also underlines that only root compounds can occur with a plural noun as the head of the compound, since argument taking nominals do not occur in the plural, and that gerundive nominals also appear typically only in synthetic compounds, and not in root compounds.

A central role in the discussion of synthetic compounds is the nature of argument structure, and its relation to the lexical semantics of verbs. Grimshaw assumes that a distinction should be made between a predicate's lexical semantic representation - often called Lexical Conceptual Structure (LCS), which represents its lexical meaning, and its lexical syntactic representation - the (Predicate) Argument Structure (AS) - which is derived from the former through some mapping principle(s). A crucial assumption in these approaches is that the rules of grammar have no direct access to LCS but only to AS. The recent work of Tanya Reinhart on the Theta System builds on these insights, but addresses

them in a different, more principled way. After briefly discussing Tanya Reinhart's Theta System in chapter 4, we will discuss reflexive nominal compounds in chapter 5.

Chapter 4

Tanya Reinhart's Theta System

4.1 The description of the Theta System

The theory of Theta System, developed by Tanya Reinhart (2002), assumes that the Theta System behaves as the central system of the system of concepts. The theory examines the interface between the system of concepts and the computational system directly, while it also concentrates on the inference systems indirectly. It concentrates on a syntactic and on a lexicalist approach as well, and emphasizes that the scope of the analysis contains (at least) lexical entries, which are coded concepts, the θ -relations of verb entries, and a set of operations on lexical entries. Reinhart suggests that the inputs of the syntax are lexical items that are selected from the Theta System, while the outputs are understood as representations legible to the inference, context, and sound system. Reinhart proposes that the coding of θ -relations is a set of two binary features based on the features in phonology, the combination of which create eight (extended to nine in her following works) feature clusters (θ -roles). While examining the operations on theta grids, Tanya Reinhart describes the process of reflexivization from this perspective as well.

Tanya Reinhart in her study *The Theta System – an overview* (2002) understands this system as a connection between the system of concepts and syntax. She describes syntax as a computational system, which is indirectly linked to the semantic inference system as well. When introducing the building blocks of this system, she states that it is possible to distinguish (at least) three elements:

- a) lexical entries – their main role is to define the θ -relations of the verb entries, and they are understood as lexical concepts
- b) a set of arity operations on lexical entries

c) marking procedures – their role is to prepare the verb entry for syntactic derivations in two steps: I. to assign an ACC(usative) feature to the verb, II. to determine the merging features of the arguments

In order to connect the Theta System to other relevant systems (syntax and semantics) Reinhart suggests that it is necessary to formally code the outputs of this system. She sees thematic roles as a system of formal features which generate a θ -role. The lexical entry determines the number and the types of thematic roles that are chosen by a verb. As thematic roles she understands categories such as **agent**, **cause**, **experiencer**, **instrument** or **theme**, while she emphasizes the fact that certain verbs may fulfil several roles.

The basic form of the lexical entries has been the object of many discussions. On one hand, the first studies (e.g. Dowty, 1979) on this subject suggested that the basic forms of the lexical entries are represented by the unaccusative verb forms, and the transitive forms are derived from these. The studies that provided a counter-argument for this statement on the other hand suggest (e.g. Chierchia, 1989) that the transitive forms should figure as basic lexical entries, and the unaccusative forms are only derived by the lexicon operation of reduction. Reinhart takes Chierchia's arguments as a starting point, and uses it in her research partially.

In order to differentiate between the given thematic roles Reinhart takes into consideration two features: +/-m (Mental state) and +/-c (Cause change). Agency, for example, involves a certain mental state, while cause does not. The combination of these features determines nine possible θ -clusters:

- (62) I. [+c+m] – Agent
II. [+c-m] – Instrument...
III. [-c+m] – Experiencer
IV. [-c-m] – Theme (patient)
V. [+c] – Cause
VI. [+m] – Sentient
VII. [-m] – Subject matter/Target of Emotion (typically oblique)
VIII. [-c] – Goal/Benefactor (typically Dative/PP)
IX. [] – Arb(itrary)

As the list suggests the combination of the two clusters generate four possibilities, but these features do not appear only in combination. They may be represented alone without the presence of the second feature. The listed clusters do not always represent a one to one relationship to the θ -roles. They have different interpretations based on the context they appear in.

In case of the Sentient cluster Reinhart states that she named this cluster only in order to denote it some way, but the term has not been used before: “arguments with this feature-cluster are the subjects of verbs like *love, know, believe*, which have been viewed as instances of the experiencer role before” (2002: 237). The final Arb(itrary) cluster appears in the impersonal constructions. These theta features code the relations which are expressed by the verb-concept.

Reinhart suggests that the cluster composition of verbs introduces certain classes of verbs, which also have a characteristic syntactic function. The first category, which is listed by Reinhart, is the category of **[+c] subjects**. The verbs which select a [+c] argument allow for the argument to realize either as a cause, or as an agent or as an instrument. The verbs that belong to this category may have two roles: they can function either as a theme [-c-m], or as an experiencer [-c+m]. All the verbs of this category have an unaccusative counterpart as well.

- (63) V ([+c], [-c-m]) – *break, open...*
 a) The wind /Max/the key *opened* the door.
 b) The storm/Max/the stone *broke* the window.
 c) The heat/Max/the candle *melted* the ice. (Reinhart, 2002: 241)

- (64) V ([+c], [-c+m]) – *worry, amuse, scare, surprise...*
 a) Max/the noise/the gun *scared* Lucie.
 b) Fred/Fred’s behavior/the discussion *surprised* Lucie.
 Fred/Fred’s gedrag/de discussie *verbaasde* Lucie. (Reinhart, 2002: 242)

The second category is represented by the **[+c+m] subjects**, while the verbs of these subject types appear with a fixed interpretation. The /+m feature indicates that the argument needs to be human or animate.

- (65) V ([+c+m], [-c+m])
 a) The baby/*spoon/*hunger ate the soup.
 b) Lucie/*The razor/*the heat shaved Max.
 c) Lucie/*The snow/*the desire to feel the warm dressed Max.
 d) Max shaved/dressed. (Reinhart, 2002: 243)

Reinhart describes the last example of verbs as *reflexive one-place alternates* which are described as unergatives.

Reinhart also concentrates on verbs, which allow an agent and an instrument subject (similarly to the first category) (IV.) but does not allow cause (V.). She calls these

verbs **manner verbs** and lists the following verbs to this category: *peel, cut, screw, sow, drill, [sterilize?]*. They do not show an unaccusative counterpart.

- (66) a) Max *peeled* the apple (with the knife).
 b) The knife *peeled* the apple.
 c) *The heat *peeled* the apple. (Reinhart, 2002: 244)

- (67) a) *The apple *peeled*.
 b) *The hole *drilled*. (ibid.)

The last category which is described by Reinhart is the [-] category of verbs which are introduced as two-place unaccusatives. The verbs do not have [+c] alternates, and their argument need to realize internally. They allow a wide range of interpretation:

- (68) a) The solution_i *escaped* t_i Max.
 b) Max_i *escaped* t_i the police/from prison. (Reinhart, 2002: 246)

As the examples suggest in VI. a) Max behaves as the experiencer, while in VI. b) the argument belongs to the category of goal/source.

4.2 Operations on the Theta Grid

Tanya Reinhart also discusses the types of operations that take place within the theta grids of the verbs. Based on her research it is possible to differentiate three processes: saturation, expansion and reduction of the verbs' grid.

A) Saturation

The process of saturation (e.g. in passive constructions) closes one of the arguments of the verb, which consequently does not realize on the syntactic level, but it is still present in the semantic interpretation. The operation also eliminates the accusative case (2002: 245):

- (69) a) *wash* (θ_1, θ_2)
 b) Saturation: $\exists x$ (*wash* (x, θ_2))
 c) Max was *washed* $\text{t} \equiv \exists x$ (x *washed* Max)

B) Expansion

The operation of expansion is realized through the process of causativization, which expands the grid of the verb by adding an argument to it. The operation takes place in the

lexicon, and it is understood as a concept-formation operation, which applies to one- and two-place verbs as well (2002: 248):

- (70) a) They *ran/galoped/walked* → She *ran/galoped/walked* them.
 b) They *worked hard* → She *worked* them hard.

Reinhart states that the process of causativization is a two-step operation. She names the first step as decausativization, during which the /+c feature changes into a /-c feature (2002: 249): *walk* ([+c+m]) → *walk* ([-c+m]). The second step is described as agentivization, and it entails the addition of an agent role (ibid.): *walk* ([-c+m]) → *walk* ([+c+m], [-c+m]).

C) Reduction

Reinhart differentiates between two types of reduction processes: expletivization, which is an external reduction, and reflexivization, which is understood as an internal reduction.

Ca) Expletivization

This operation applies to an external role under the special conditions that [+m] roles cannot be reduced, and that the operation applies only to [+c] arguments (2002: 247):

- (71) Expletivization: reduction of an external [+c] role (semantically null function)
 a) $V_{acc}(\theta_{1[+c]}, \theta_2) \rightarrow R_e(V)(\theta_2)$
 b) $R_e(V)(\theta_2) = V(\theta_2)$

The operation of expletivization reduces the argument completely, and it is not present even in the semantic interpretation. The reduced entry realizes just the one property which represents the one place verb with the remaining argument (ibid.): *open*_{acc} ([+c], [-c-m]) → $R_e(Open)$ [-c-m].

Cb) Reflexivization

The operation derives a reflexive entry from a transitive one (2002: 246):

- (72) Reflexivization: reduction of an internal role –SELF-function
 a) $V_{acc}(\theta_1, \theta_2) \rightarrow R_S(V)(\theta_1)$
 b) $R_S(V)(\theta_1) = (\lambda x (V(x,x))) (\theta_1)$

- (73) a) *shave*_{acc} ([+c+m]₁, [-c-m]₂): Lucie *shaved* him.
 b) $R_S(shave)$ ([+c+m]₁): Max *shaved*.

The operation reduces θ_2 which is an internal argument, and creates a one-place verb. The verb is interpreted as reflexive. The R_S in the scheme is understood as the SELF-function or identity function. The reduced argument remains present in the semantic interpretation, it does not disappear altogether. The verb which undergoes the operation of reflexivization is understood as an one-place unergative on the syntactic level, but on the semantic level it holds the roles of a transitive entry. In this operation two available θ -roles are assigned to the same syntactic argument. Tanya Reinhart and Tal Siloni (2005) coin this process as ***bundling*** and introduce the following universal scheme (2005: 12):

(74) $[\theta_i] [\theta_j] \rightarrow [\theta_i-\theta_j]$, where θ_i is an external θ -role

Reinhart and Siloni state that reflexivization applies in the lexicon and in the syntax as well. In case of lexical reflexivization the bundling operation takes place in the grid of the verb, while it bundles a θ -role with the external θ -role, and eliminates the accusative case (2005: 13):

(75) a) verb entry: *wash*_{acc} [Agent] [Theme]
 b) reflexivization output: *wash* [Agent-Theme]
 c) syntactic output: $\text{Max}_{[\text{Agent-Theme}]}$ *washed*.

Within the operation of syntactic reflexivization Reinhart and Siloni turn their attention towards the clitics of syntax languages, i.e. to languages, which form reciprocals, reflexives and middles in syntax and not in the lexicon (e.g. Serbo-Croatian, Czech, Romance), within which the reflexivization reduces Case.⁸ In the category of ‘syntax’ languages the number of θ -roles remains, and the remaining θ -role after the reflexivization is taken care of by the process of bundling. The clitic itself does not behave as an argument. Bundling does not manipulate the grid of the verb on the syntactic level, and does not change the internal composition of the theta role, it only clusters them. Reinhart and Siloni illustrate syntactic reflexivization with the French clitic *se* as follows (2005: 16):

⁸ We will not explicitly discuss the distinction between syntax and lexicon languages as proposed by Reinhart and Siloni (2005). The existence of ‘reflexive nominals’ was one of Reinhart and Siloni’s criteria for being a lexicon language. In Hron (2005) it was argued that Czech might be an exception to that, since Czech would be a syntax language but still forms SE-reflexive nominals. In appendix 2 we will briefly discuss this issue

- (76) a) Jean se lave.
 Jean SE washes.
 ‘Jean washes’
 b) VP: [se lave_{0i-Agent-Theme, 0k-Theme}]
 c) IP: [Jean <_{0i,0k}>[se lave_j [VP t_j]]]
 d) ∃e [wash(e) & Agent (e, Jean) & Theme(e, Jean)]

4.3 Bundling and the reflexive SELF-compounds

Ekkehard König in his *Reflexive nominal compounds* study (2011) differentiates between two types of compounds based on the two uses of the intensifier in the propositions that serve as starting points for self-compounds. The first category is named as adverbial reflexive compounds and the second as adnominal. In order to categorize self-compounds it is necessary to determine whether the agent or the patient is the surprising choice for the event in question. The former choice suggests adverbial use, while the latter the adnominal use.

König suggests that the meaning may be identified in the underlying verbal structures, but it became neutralized in the formally condensed nominal compounds. König lists the following self-compounds as adverbial ones: *self-censorship*, *self-accusation*, *self-determination*, *self-help*, *self-respect*, *self-service*, etc. The adnominal reflexive compounds are represented by the following examples: e.g. *self-mockery*, *self-styling*, *self-confidence*, etc.

The category of adverbial reflexive compounds represents an interesting category from the perspective of bundling. Reinhart states in her studies that only the Agent and the Theme bundle in the process of reflexivization, but the presence of the adverbial category among the reflexive self-compounds suggests that in the process of reduction (where the reduction has led to a creation of a compound with a reflexive self-element) other roles figure as well. When Reinhart discusses manner verbs, she argues that it is possible to extend their grid with an instrument [+c-m] but always in combination with the Agent and with the Theme as an optional role (2002: 243):

drill/peel ([+c+m], [-c-m], [+c-m])
agent, patient, instrument

The readings of *self-censorship*, for example, may suggest that the agent censors him/herself, e.g. while talking, but it may also refer to a method of censoring, i.e. censoring without others, alone. In case of *self-help*, for example, the analysis allows similar steps: the person helps himself/herself, and it also may describe a way of help – without external impulses, alone.

Chapter 5

Reflexive nominal compounds

As mentioned in the Introduction of the thesis, the aim of the study is to provide a comparative analysis of *SELF*-compounds, taking as its basis a thorough analysis of these compounds in different languages. In order to describe the features of such compounds in other languages, it is crucial to characterize and exemplify them primarily in the English language. Reflexive nominal compounds have almost never been an object of linguistic analysis in individual languages, although this situation has slightly changed during the last years (cf. Safir 1996, Di Sciullo 1996, König and Vezossi 2004, Hron 2009, Castella 2010, König 2011, Alexiadou 2014).

Reflexive nominal compounds are generally understood as derived nouns such as *self-control* in English, *Eigenlob/Selbstlob* ‘self-praise’ in German, *autodérision* ‘self-derision’ in French, or *ön-becsülés* ‘self-esteem’ in Hungarian. Ekkehard König (2011) summarizes the properties of these compounds in six main points. The first property of the reflexive nominal compounds concentrates on and characterizes the components of these compounds. Their first component can be derived (both synchronically and diachronically) from intensifiers (English (X-)self, Ger. *selbst*, *eigen*, Russ. *sam*, mandarin *ziji*, etc.), and they ‘can be paraphrased in terms of at least one of the uses normally distinguished for intensifiers’ (2011: 112). The second element is described as a deverbal nominalization or deverbal adjective, but it is also possible to identify some exceptions from these categories (e.g. German *Eigencapital* ‘equity’, *Eigenblut (therapie)* ‘one’s own blood, autohaenotherapy’, *Selbstbild* ‘self-image’, etc.) in which a non-derived noun is found. The first element of the compounds, in most of the cases, provides information about the argument structure of the noun: ‘typically, the argument positions inherited from the underlying transitive verb must be bound by the same (generalized) quantifier or, putting it somewhat loosely, they must be filled by the same argument’ (ibid.). According to this

description the nominals of these compounds express the reflexive meaning of the verbal predicate at the base of the nominalization.

The second property of the *SELF*-compounds is connected to the phenomenon of semantic compositionality. König points out that certain aspects of meaning belong to the domain of lexicalization, and sometimes the task to find parallel translations or analogous formations for certain reflexive nominal compounds or certain aspects of meaning proves to be difficult. He exemplifies his statement with German compounds such as *Selbstentmündigung* ‘to declare oneself incapable of managing one’s own affairs’ or *Selbstzufriedenheit* which is translated as *autosatisfaction* into French, while the negative connotation connected to this word in German has disappeared in the translation.

The third question about reflexive nominal compounds concentrates on terminological issues, and discusses the proper use of the terms ‘nominalization’ and ‘compound’, since languages present different tendencies and strategies. German, for example, combines two free forms in the order that is typical for endocentric compounds, i.e. modifier+head (e.g. *Selbstinszenierung* ‘self-fashioning’). However, this tendency cannot be understood as a universal one. The first component in English, for example, no longer behaves as a free form, while Mandarin prefers to use reduced rather than complex forms of intensifiers (e.g. *zì* vs. *zìjǐ*). Other languages, like French, choose to borrow an affix from another language (e.g. the Greek *auto-*). König highlights the importance to distinguish between *SELF*-compounds and analogous nominalizations (e.g. *control of oneself*), since ‘such formations manifest all the hallmarks of constructions, e.g. agreement between the subject and the reflexive marker in argument position’ (2011:113).

As the fourth feature of the reflexive nominal compounds, König points out the presence of several types and layers of these constructions. By types and layers König means the types of intensifiers that occur in *SELF*--compounds. As the examples show German uses an attributive intensifier (*eigen* ‘own’) and an adnominal one as well (*selbst*). The two types of intensifiers occur with a clear division of labour, although in some cases it is possible to find them in the same context (e.g. *Selbstlob* and *Eigenlob* ‘self-praise’). French also uses two types of self-compounds. The first type uses the Greek prefix *auto-* (e.g. *auto-satisfaction* ‘being pleased with oneself’, *auto-critique* ‘self-criticism’, etc.), while the second type appears with the attributive intensifier *propre* (e.g. *amour-propre* ‘self-love’, *sense-propre* ‘basic meaning’, etc.). On the other hand, reflexive nominal compounds of English and Mandarin appear with only one possible reflexive marker.

Taking into consideration the word class of reflexive compounds Ekkehard König states that the majority of these expressions belong to the classes of nouns or adjectives (*self-centered*, *self-sufficient*, *self-image*), but it is also possible to identify verbs among them (e.g. French *s'auto-feliciter* 'to congratulate oneself', *s'autosuffire* 'to be self-sufficient', etc.). The final property of the *SELF*-compounds concentrates on the status of the noun *self*: 'the noun *self* certainly existed before the 20th century, but it denoted a functional concept...The new abstract (argument taking) *self*, which is used with the definite article as an individual concept, is currently expanding its use at an enormous speed' (2011: 113). The counterparts of English *self* in Romance languages (e.g. *le soi* in French and *il se* in Italian) behave in a more restricted way, and appear mainly in formal, mainly philosophical contexts.

5.1 The argument structure of reflexive nominal compounds

König (2011) states that the nominalizations of reflexive compounds (which function as their heads) derive from transitive verbs. Taking into consideration the semantic perspective, the compounds either belong to the category of event nominalizations (e.g. *self-destruction*, *self-deception*), or to the category of agent nominalizations (e.g. Eng. *self-provider*, Ger. *Selbstversorger* 'somebody who is self-reliant'):

Nominalizations inherit their argument structure from their underlying verbs, but in contrast to verbs the realization of the relevant arguments for nouns is optional. If the arguments are realized at all, they are expressed by the genitive case or by prepositions in many European languages. In keeping with the reflexive meaning of these compounds, however, only one argument can be realized, viz. the argument corresponding to the subject of the underlying verb. (König 2011: 213)

- (77) a) The *self-determination* of the Korean people
 b) *The *self-determination* of their destiny by the Korean people.
 c) John's *self-control* (*of his company)
 d) John's *control of himself*/his weaknesses/his actions. (ibid.)

The fusion of a de-verbal nominalization with the intensifier *self-* in English evokes a semantic effect on the argument structure of the de-verbal nouns: 'the two variables of the underlying verb are unified to a single one (typically *x* and *f(x)*) and must therefore be bound by the same generalized quantifier (determiner phrase)' (ibid.). König states that the process of reflexivization does not change the argument structure of the head noun, it only

affects the way of filling some argument positions. The effect in case of the reflexive nominal compounds presents itself in the unification of two variables of the argument structure. Because of the unification the variable for the PATIENT changes into a function that is used for AGENT. König (2011: 166) suggests that by the process of deriving the reflexive compound and by further steps the noun *self* involves condensation and abstraction (argument taking):

(78) John assesses himself/his achievements >> John's assessment of himself/his achievements >> John's self-assessment >>the self (König 2011: 214)

This example suggests that a reflexive compound is generated through the process of condensation of a reflexive proposition with the suitable change of its semantic type. The reflexive compound turns into the noun *self* through the process of abstraction (argument taking), which uses the underlying verb and the arguments as its source.

Artemis Alexiadou (2014) approaches the argument structure of Greek through English in order to describe the features of *auto-* (the Greek equivalent of *self-*). She suggests that the literature recognizes three types of reflexive predicates, which make reference to two theta roles: (i) inherent reflexive verbs, (ii) naturally reflexive/non-other directed predicates and (iii) ordinary transitive verbs in a reflexive construal/other directed predicates⁹:

(79) (i) John absented himself/*Mary.
(ii) John washed/Peter.
(iii) John hates himself/Peter. (Alexiadou: to appear)

As the examples indicate the other directed predicates (iii) prefer to use the anaphor *himself* in an object position, while the naturally reflexive verbs (ii) are understood as naturally intransitive under a reflexive interpretation. The third class (i) includes only a limited number of naturally reflexive verbs in English. Turning her attention towards Greek reflexive predicates Alexiadou concludes that Greek 'use(s) the same non-active

⁹ Another classification of verbs from the perspective of reflexivization had been introduced by Tanya Reinhart and Eric Reuland (1993: 84): 'Verbs of the *shame* class cannot have an object with an independent value (**William schaamt Mary* is impossible). That is, they are **obligatorily reflexive**; verbs of the *wash* class **allow a reflexive interpretation** even without special marking (*wassen is gezond* 'washing is healthy' allows a reflexive interpretation, as washing oneself); verbs of the *hate/admire* class do not allow this (*haten is ongezond* 'hating is unhealthy' cannot be interpreted as 'hating oneself is unhealthy'). In R&R verbs of the *shame and wash* classes were classified as **lexically reflexive** (for wash optionally so)'.

(NAct) morphology that appears in the passive –and with certain anticausative predicates – to mark the first two classes:

(80) a) I Maria drepete. inherent reflexive
 the Maria-NOM shame-NAct-3sg
 ‘Maria is ashamed of herself.’

b) I Maria htenistike. naturally reflexive
 the Maria-NOM combed-NAct-3sg
 ‘Maria combs (herself).’

The third type of the reflexive predicates is also present in Greek, but it has two forms: (i) a transitive variant that contains the complex reflexive DP *ton eafto tu*, and (ii) an intransitive variant via non-active morphology that carries a transitive interpretation but only when it is prefixed with *auto-*:

(81) a) O Janis katastrefi to eafto tu/to Petro.
 the John destroys the self his/the Peter
 ‘John destroys himself/Peter.’

b) O Janis afto katastraf-ik-e *ton eafto ti.
 the John self destroy -NAct-3sg the self his
 ‘John destroyed himself.’

The reflexive interpretation in (81b) is achieved through the combination of the element *auto-* and the non-active morphology, without the prefix *auto-* the result would be a simple passive structure, and without the non-active morphology the *auto-* prefixed form remains ungrammatical.

Alexiadou states that the nature of *SELF*-compounds has been discussed from two perspectives. The first one concentrates on the relationship between these compounds and their verbal counterparts, and on the question whether these two structures are transformationally related or not. The second perspective aims to determine whether *self* behaves as a reflexive form or as an intensifier. Alexiadou (ibid.) highlights the cases when the interpretation of *SELF*-compounds is not a reflexive one obligatorily (e.g. *self-study* in not the study of oneself, but rather the process of studying alone), and she also shows that the transformation of some transparent reflexive structures into *SELF*-compounds is not always possible (**Hamlet is self-shooting/self-killing/self-amusing/self-frightening*).

b) wash_{refl}: λxλε wash (e) & Agent (e,x) & Patient (e,x) (reflexive)

Bundling is introduced as a simple process within this scheme, which assigns two theta roles to a single NP. Reflexive verbs are characterized as agentive, since the transitive verb base behaves as agentive as well. In order to test the presence of the agent it should be possible to use these verbs with agent-oriented adverbs, or with imperatives, and in the complement of the verb *persuade* as well (2014: 15):

- (89) a) John shaved carefully.
 b) Shave!
 c) Mary persuaded John to shave.

The adverb *carefully* in sentence a) is connected to the agents and not to the subjects of the verb (unless it is an agent). Dimitriadis and Everaert exemplify their observation with the following example (2014:16):

- (90) a) John threw the rock carefully.
 b) *John died carefully.
 c) * John carefully fears the snake.

Once the presence of agent is confirmed in a reflexive verb, it is necessary to identify the second component, i.e. the patient as well. Dimitriadis and Everaert suggest that reflexives are compatible with adverbs which need a syntactically realized theme. In order to test the presence of the patient Dimitriadis and Everaert suggest applying the adverb *completely* within the sentence structure since this element requires a syntactically available theme (2014: 17):

- (91) a) John sang (the song).
 b) John baked (the cake).
 c) John sang the song completely.
 d) *John sang/baked completely.

The sentences suggest that only when the theme is in object position, can the adverb figure in a sentence structure. As a proper substitution Dimitriadis and Everaert also offer the adverb *painfully* for testing the presence of the patient. This adverb also requires a syntactically available patient (ibid.):

- (92) a) Mary hit me painfully.

- b) *Mary hit painfully. [unexpressed theme]
- c) *Bill ran painfully. [unergative]
- d) Bill fell painfully. [unaccusative]
- e) Everyone began to sweat painfully after
a few mouthfuls [of spicy food]. [theme unergative]

In case of the reflexive verbs the adverbs may be freely used with them, which suggest the presence of a patient/theme role that is syntactically available in the construction (2014: 20):

- (93) a) John shaved/disrobed completely.
- b) Bill shaved painfully with a dull razor.

The facts described above suggest that these reflexive verbs present a category with mixed features. From a syntactic point of view these verbs behave as intransitive, and they project only one argument, while from a semantic point of view they behave as two-place predicates, and both semantic roles are detectable within them.

5.2.1 Testing for agents and patients in Slovak and in Hungarian

Taking into consideration the behaviour of the Slovak and Hungarian reflexive verbs, it is possible to present the following sentences as examples:

1. Slovak reflexives – testing for **agentivity**:

The Slovak equivalent for the verb to shave is *holiť*, the reflexive form is *holiť sa*, where the *sa* clitic turns the action towards the agent. The reflexive form is connected to verbs and the clitic appears as part of the verb¹⁰:

- (94) a) agent oriented adverbs – EN carefully – SK *opatrne*

Ján	<i>sa</i>	<i>holil</i>	<i>opatrne</i> .
John	refl	shave (PAST, masc, sing)	carefully
John shaved carefully.			

- b) imperative
Hol' sa! – Shave!

- c) complement of the verb *persuade*

¹⁰ Judgements in this section are based on questionnaires (which are in accordance with my own judgements).

Mária presvedči-l-a Ján-a aby sa (o) holil.
 Mary persuade-PAST-fem:sing John-Acc (in order)to refl (finite) shave (masc,sing)
 Mary persuaded John to shave.

2. **Slovak** reflexives – testing for **patient**

test adverbs: completely – *úplne*, painfully – *bolestivo*

(95) a) Ján sa (o) holi-l / sa vyzlieko-l úplne.
 John REFL (fin)shave-PAST, SING REFL disrobe-PAST.SING completely
 John shaved/disrobed completely.

b) Ján sa bolestivo o-holi- l.
 John REFL painfully (finite)-shave-PAST.SING.
 John shaved painfully.

These examples suggest that Slovak reflexive verbs behave in a similar way as their English counterparts.

The Hungarian equivalent for the verb to shave is *borotvál*, the reflexive form is *borotválkozik*, where the *-koz-* infix turns the action towards the agent. It is the alternation of the *-kod-*, *-köd-* infixes, which serve the reflexivizing function within the verbs:

1. **Hungarian** reflexives – testing for **agentivity**

(96) a) agent oriented adverbs – EN carefully – HU *óvatosan*

János óvatosan borotvál-köz-ott.
 John carefully shave –refl – PAST.sing.3
 John shaved carefully.

b) imperative
Borotválkozz! – Shave!

c) complement of the verb *persuade*

Mária meggyőz -t -e János-t hogy *borotvál-köz-zon*.
 Mary persuade-PAST- 3.sing John-acc to shave-refl-3rd,sing
 Mary persuaded John to shave.

2. **Hungarian** reflexives – testing for **patient**

test adverbs: completely – *teljesen*, painfully – *fájdalmasan*

(97) a) János teljesen *meg-borotvál-köz-ott/* *levet-köz- ött.*
 John completely (finite)-shave-refl-3rd.sing.PAST / dirobe-refl-3rd, sing.,PAST
 John shaved/disrobed completely.

b) János fájdalmasan *borotvál-köz- ott.*
 John painfully shave-refl-3rd.sing.PAST
 John shaved painfully.

Similarly to Slovak, Hungarian also presents the same patterns as English, and follows the same patterns as presented by Dimitriadis and Everaert.

5.2.2 Reflexivity within the Slovak *SELF*-compounds

As mentioned earlier the Slovak *SELF*-compounds appear in two forms: either as *samo*-compounds, or as *seba*-compounds. Both types use nominalisations in their constructions: e.g. *samochvála* (self-praise), *sebaobdivovanie* (self-admiration), and it is also possible to detect nominalizations that appear with both types of *SELF*-forms, e.g. *samokritika/sebakritika* (self-criticism). In case of *samokritika/sebakritika* (self-criticism) both forms are acceptable, but the *seba*- form is considered to be used more frequently than the *samo*- form.

When it comes to the meaning of the *samo*-/*seba*- non-heads that are combined with nominalisations within the compounds, it is possible to conclude that they show a varied picture. The first category of these non-heads indicates that the action of the nominalisation happens automatically, or by itself: e.g. *samonakladač* (a mechanism that loads itself) or *samopal* (a tommy gun, lit. a self-shooter). The second category collects *SELF*-compounds within which the *samo*-/*seba*- non-heads function as emphasizeers, i.e. as elements that highlight that the action was carried out by the agent only, and nobody else participated in it, e.g. *samovládca* (self-ruler, the only ruler). The third category contains those compounds, within which the *samo*-/*seba*- non-heads indicate reflexivity, and point out that the agent and the patient of the action of the underlying verb are identical.

Using the tests that were introduced by Dimitriadis and Everaert (2014) it is possible to identify the presence of the agent and of the patient within these nominalisations, and also to find out the type of argument that cannot be identified as a patient, since its function within the construction indicates a different type of argument. The following compounds are derived ones, whose basis is represented by a verbal element. By analysing the verbal base of the following nominalisations it is possible to

exemplify the cases, where the agent and the patient can be identified within the verbal base, and therefore within the nominalization as well:

(98) *samoobdivovanie* – self-admiration (verbal base: *obdivovať'* – to admire)

testing for agent: a) *obdivuj sa opatrne* – admire yourself carefully
b) *obdivuj sa!* – admire yourself!
c) *Mária presvedčila Jána, aby sa obdivoval.*
Mary persuade-Pst.Fem.3SG. John.acc. to himself admire
Mary persuaded John to admire himself.

testing for patient: *Ján sa naplno obdivoval*
John himself completely admired
John admired himself completely.

(99) *sebaobetovanie* – self-sacrifice (verbal base: *obetovať'* – to sacrifice)

testing for agent: a) *obetuj sa rozvážne* – sacrifice yourself carefully
b) *obetuj sa!* – sacrifice yourself!
c) *Mária presvedčila Jána, aby sa obetoval.*
Mary persuade-Pst.Fem.3SG. John.acc. to himself sacrifice.
Mary persuaded John to sacrifice himself.

Patient: *Ján sa úplne obetoval.*
John himself completely sacrifice
John sacrificed himself completely.

(100) *samoobrana* – self-defense (verbal base (*o*)*brániť'* – to defend)

Agent: a) *bráni sa pozorne* – defend yourself carefully
b) *bráni sa!* – defend yourself!
c) *Mária presvedčila Jána, aby sa bránil.*
Mary persuade-Pst.Fem.3SG. John.acc. to himself defend
Mary persuaded John to defend himself.

Patient: *Ján sa bolestne bránil.*
John himself painfully defend.
John defended himself painfully.

As the listed examples suggest certain nominalisations within the Slovak *SELF*-compounds enable the presence of the agent and of the patient as well. It is also possible to conclude

from the sentence structures that the *samo-/seba-* non-heads behave as the patients of the nominalisations within a syntactic structure.

As for the second category of Slovak *SELF*-compounds, within which the non-heads serve as emphasizees and not as reflexivizers the tests show the following results:

(101) *samovládca* – self-ruler, autocrat (verbal base *vládnut'* – to rule)

Agent: a) *vládne pozorne* – (he/she) rules carefully
 b) *vládni!* - rule yourself!
 c) *Mária presvedčila* *Jána, aby vládol.*
 Mary persuade-Pst.Fem.3SG. John.acc. to rule
 Mary persuaded John to rule.

Patient: **Ján vládol úplne.*
 John ruled completely.
 John ruled completely.

(102) *samovražda* – suicide (lit. self-killing) (verbal base *vraždiť* – to kill)

Agent: a) *zabi sa opatrne* – kill yourself carefully
 b) *zabi sa!* - kill yourself!
 c) *Mária presvedčila* *Jána, aby sa zabil.*
 Mary persuade-Pst.Fem.3SG. John.acc. to himself kill
 Mary persuaded John to kill himself.

Patient: **Ján sa zabil úplne/bolestne.*
 John himself killed completely/painfully.
 John killed himself completely/painfully.

By looking at the verbal bases of the nominalisations above it is possible to conclude (in case we understand the reasoning about the verbal basis as the reasoning about their nominalisations as well) that in constructions, where the *samo-* element functions as an emphasizee, the patient role cannot be detected within the argument structure of the underlying verbal element. It indicates that the non-head figures in a different function, i.e. as the Experiencer of the action.

According to Grimshaw's theory the head within these compounds behaves as argument-taking, and the non-head satisfies an argument position in the argument structure of the head, i.e. the non-head is theta marked by the head, and the elements inside of the compounds are theta-marked prior to the elements outside of the compounds. Contrary to

the reflexive compounds from the first part of the analysis, compounds with an emphasizing element do not combine with the patient of the underlying verb, but they combine with the Experiencer, i.e. with an element which is on a higher position within Grimshaw's hierarchy of arguments than patients. However, the number of such compounds is limited within Slovak, and they do not represent a productive category from the perspective of frequency.

5.2.3 Reflexivity within the Hungarian *SELF*-compounds

The Hungarian *SELF*-compounds use either the *ön-*, or the *maga-* prefix as the non-head in their compound constructions. These non-heads appear within the compounds with nominalizations as well (e.g. *öngúny* – self-mockery, *ön/magamegtagadás* – self-renunciation). As the examples suggest both types of non-heads appear in this type of compounds. Similarly to what one observes in Slovak it is possible to detect nominalizations that appear with both types of non-heads (e.g. *magafeláldozás/önfeláldozás* – self-sacrifice) in this language as well, and a similar tendency is detected in their usage, i.e. the compounds with the *maga-* prefix tend to be replaced by the compounds with the *ön-* non-head.

The Hungarian *maga-/ön-* compounds also represent a category with three possible further sub-categories when taking into consideration the function of the non-heads. Similarly to the Slovak categories the Hungarian non-heads may indicate that the action introduced by the underlying verb of the nominalisation happens automatically (e.g. *önkioldó* – self-timer). Secondly, the non-head may also function as an emphasizing element, highlighting that the action has been carried out by the agent only and nobody else contributed to it (e.g. *öngyilkosság* – suicide, *önszeretet* – self-love). The last category represents the category of reflexive compounds, within which the roles of the agent and of the patient are bundled together.

Using the tests that were introduced by Dimitriadis and Everaert (2014), and using their arguments as the reasoning in the following analysis as well, it is possible to identify the presence of the agent and of the patient in the underlying nominalisations, and also to find the type of argument that cannot be identified as a patient, since its function within the construction indicates a different type of argument. The following compounds exemplify the cases where the agent and the patient can be identified:

(103) *önvédelem* – self-defence (verbal base *véd* – do defend)

Testing for agent a) Gondosan *védd* magad. – Defend yourself carefully.

b) *Védd* magad! – Defend yourself!

c) Mária meggyőzte Jánost, hogy *védje (meg) magát*.
Mary persuade-Pst.3SG. John.acc. to defend himself-ACC
Mary persuaded John to defend himself.

Testing for patient: János teljesen *megvédte* magát.

John completely defended himself.

(104) *önmegfigyelés* – self-observation (verbal base *(meg)figyel* – observe)

Testing for agent a) Gondosan *figyeld meg* magad. – Observe yourself carefully.

b) *Figyeld meg* magad! – Observe yourself!

c) Mária meggyőzte Jánost, hogy *figyelje meg* magát.
Mary persuade-Pst.3SG. John.acc. to observe himself-ACC
Mary persuaded John to observe himself.

Testing for patient: János teljesen *megfigyelte* magát.

John completely observed himself.

Just like the Slovak examples the Hungarian examples also indicate the presence of the patient and of the agent in the underlying verbs of the *ön*-compounds. What is interesting within these compounds is the fact that although the compound uses *ön*- as the non-head, the sentence structures prefer to use the reflexive pronoun *magá*. However, it is also possible to combine the two non-heads within the same sentence structure, e.g. *Óvatosan figyeld meg önmagad* (Observe you yourself carefully.). The meaning of the sentence does not change, only the reflexive element receives a certain emphasis. The effect is reached by the *ön*- element, which in this case serves as an intensifier. The combination of the two non-heads is possible within every sentence structure above.

As for the second category of Hungarian *SELF*-compounds, within which the non-heads serve as emphasisers and not as reflexivizers, the tests show the following results:

(105) *magamentés* – self-rescue (verbal base *ment* – rescue)

Testing for agent a) ?Gondosan *mentsd* magad. – Rescue yourself carefully.

b) *Mentsd* magad! – Rescue yourself!

c) Mária meggyőzte Jánost, hogy *mentse* magát.

Mary persuade-Pst.3SG. John.acc. to rescue himself-ACC
 Mary persuaded John to rescue himself.
 Testing for patient: *János teljesen megmentette magát.
 John completely rescued himself.

(106) *öncsalás* – self-deception (verbal base *csal* – deceive)

Agent a) *Óvatosan *csald magad*. – Deceive yourself carefully.
 b) *Csald magad!* – Deceive yourself!
 c) Mária meggyőzte Jánost, hogy *csalja magát*.
 Mary persuade-Pst.3SG. John.acc. to deceive himself-ACC
 Mary persuaded John to deceive himself.

Patient: *János teljesen *csalta magát*.
 John completely deceived himself.

Similarly to the Slovak examples the Hungarian constructions, within which the *ön-* and *maga-* non-heads function as emphasers, the patient cannot be identified in the underlying verbal element. Since it is not possible to identify the argument as patient, it is necessary to identify it as another type of an argument. From a semantic point of view the *maga* element in these cases presents the values of the Experiencer just like its Slovak counterparts, underlining by this the fact that Hungarian *SELF*-compounds also present cases, where the emphasizing element does not combine with the patient of the underlying verb, but they combine with the Experiencer, i.e. with an element which is on a higher position within Grimshaw's hierarchy of arguments than patients. Additionally, it is possible to extend the list of similarities between Slovak and Hungarian with the fact that constructions within which the *ön-* and *maga-* non-heads function as emphasers appear only in a limited number of cases, and do not represent a strong category of counter-examples.

The observations of verbs within the domain of derived *SELF*-compounds and the discussions about the process of reflexivization suggest that some verbs behave as inherently reflexive, and therefore do not need a helping element to express a reflexive meaning. Verbs of grooming (e.g. *wash* or *shave*) belong to this category, and these are the verbs which allow the bundling of two semantic roles as well. The second category of verbs does not have the ability to express reflexivity as a verb, and in order to express this feature they need to undergo the process of nominalisation and the process of affixation: e.g. *admire* > *admiration* > *self-admiration*. The verbs which can step into the process of

reflexivization usually belong to the verb classes, which are listed in Chapter 8. Although some additional examples may occur from other verb classes as well the presented classes behave as the major sources of *SELF*-compounds. The other categories do not seem to provide verbs for reflexivization in a compound, and do not seem to support the bundling of two thematic roles either.

5.3 The relationship between intensifiers and reflexive compounds

The attempt to classify intensifiers according to various restrictions has been present in linguistics since the late 70s (cf. Edmondson and Plank 1978, König and Siemund 2000, König and Gast 2007). König (2011: 115) suggests that ‘intensifiers play an important role in the derivation of reflexive compounds’. König and Gast (2007: 224) offer the following classification of intensifiers:

- (107) a) the adnominal use: *Writers themselves, rather than their works, should be examined for their sense of social responsibility.*
- b) the adverbial-exclusive use (= ‘on one’s own, alone’): *Mrs. Dalloway wanted to buy the flowers herself.*
- c) the adverbial-inclusive use (= ‘too’): *Mr. Salmon was all right, though. You see, he’d once been a costermonger himself, but that was before he married Miss Roach, the baker’s daughter.*
- d) the attributive use: *Mind your own business!*

According to König (2011) the adnominal type of intensifiers serve as a proper basis for the underlying *SELF*-compounds in English, if the reflexive marker is modified (in cases as for example John assesses *HIMSELF*) (ibid.). He recognizes the subtype of the adnominal use with a modified reflexive marker as highly relevant (e.g. *self-pity*, since it is a state when one pities oneself and not others). König excludes the adverbial-inclusive use from the possibilities, since ‘there is nothing in the meaning of *SELF*-compounds that is even vaguely reminiscent of the inclusive use of intensifiers’ (2011: 116). Adverbial-exclusive intensifiers, on the other hand, play an important role in the derivation of agentive compounds (e.g. *self-provider*). Compounds like *self-assessment* suggest that the responsibility of an agent in an event is connected to the same person, since the agent and the patient refer to the same entity. Taking into consideration the role of the attributive use, König states that it also shows up in the reflexive compounds.

Based on the uses of intensifiers in reflexive compounds König distinguishes two basic types of *SELF*-compounds: (i) the adverbial exclusive and (ii) the adnominal ones:

‘The relevant test is whether it is the agent or the patient that is a surprising choice for the event in question. The former choice is based on the adverbial exclusive one, the latter on the adnominal use in combination with reflexive pronouns’ (2011:119). The underlying verbal construction would enable to identify the different meanings, but the condensed nominal compounds neutralize the difference. As the examples below^{11,12} and on the following page suggest, there are no formal differences between remarkable subject and remarkable object use in the compounds themselves. König also points out that the distinction of nominal reflexive compounds applies to the adjectival compounds as well, i.e. it is possible to distinguish between adverbial adjectival compounds (e.g. *self-loading*, *self-induced*, *self-appointed*, *self-inflicted*, *self-supporting*, *self-cleaning*, etc.) and adnominal adjectival compounds (e.g. *self-sufficient*, *self-reliant*, *self-respecting*, *self-addressed*, *self-satisfied*, *self-deprecating*, etc.).

König also discusses the issue of productivity, which results in two constraints formulated in terms of the verb’s underlying nominalization that are combined with intensifiers. The first constraint states that the underlying verb must be transitive in case of the adnominal compounds, since it needs to be able to express the reflexive relationship. In case of adverbial compounds the underlying verb may be intransitive as well. The second constraint connects to the underlying verb’s other-directed character. König states that the non-existence of compounds like **Selbstrasur* ‘self-shaving’ or **Selbstvorbereitung* ‘self-preparation’ suggests that the activities or states are typically directed towards the agent: ‘Body care or grooming is normally performed on oneself rather than on others and deverbal nominalizations such as ‘washing’, ‘shaving’, ‘dressing’, etc. are normally interpreted in a reflexive sense’ (2011: 122).

König points out that the reflexive compounds are represented in many languages (European and non-European as well). The languages use several types of reflexive forms, and in most of the cases more than one. German, as described previously, uses three compounding strategies (*Selbst-*, *eigen-* and *auto-*) in addition to the reflexive

¹¹ Adverbial reflexive compounds (König: 2007): *Selbstzensur* ‘self-censorship’, *Selbstbeichtigung* ‘self-acquisition’, *Selbstbestimmung* ‘self-determination’, *Selbsthilfe* ‘self-help’, *Selbstachtung* ‘self-respect’, *Selbstentmündigung* ‘self-incapacitation’, *Selbstentleibung* ‘suicide’, *Selbstverpflichtung* ‘voluntary acceptance of an obligation’, *Selbstaufgabe* ‘self-abandonment’, *Selbstbedienung* ‘self-service’, etc.

¹² Adnominal reflexive compounds (König: 2007): *Selbstgefälligkeit* ‘complacency’, *Selbstzufriedenheit* ‘Fr. autosatisfaction’, *Selbstironie* ‘self-irony, self-mockery’, *Selbstinszenierung* ‘self-fashioning, selfstyling’, *Selbstüberschätzung*, ‘overestimate of one’s potential’, *Selbstgespräch* ‘talking to oneself’, *Selbstvertrauen* ‘self-confidence’, *Selbstbefriedigung* ‘masturbation’, *Selbsthass* ‘self-hate’, *Selbstbild* ‘self-image’, *Selbstreflexionen* ‘self-reflections’, *Selbstverständnis* ‘self-image’, etc.

nominalization construction (*Unzufriedenheit mit sich selbst* ‘discontent with oneself’). Finnish, for example, uses two strategies parallel to the German *selbst-* (*itse-*) and *eigen-* (*oma-*). English shows a strong tendency towards the use *self-* to generate reflexive compounds, although it is also possible to identify some compounds with the prefix *auto-* (e.g. *autochanger* ‘a device that automatically changes one CD for another in a CD player’). In Chinese only the strategy that applies the intensifier *zi* functions. Languages may also differ in their compounding processes and in the choice of preferred word classes. While German and English only allow nouns and adjectives, excluding verb-headed compounds in which the *SELF* interpreted as an argument of the verb, such as **to self-help* French enables compounding with verbs as well: ‘The languages use various means to derive the relevant compounds: intensifiers (German), shorter and older versions of intensifiers (English, Mandarin, Hungarian), uninflected intensifiers (Russian) and prefixes borrowed from Greek (Romance)’ (2011: 125). Reflexive compounds are characterized as highly condensed expressions, and they appear in languages with a long tradition of literacy. It is possible to formulate a certain hierarchy that characterizes the relationship among reflexivization processes: *compounds*>> *nominalizations*>>*sentential constructions*. Some of the languages show a tendency to apply all the processes, or to use both compounds and nominalizations as well. Ancient Greek plays a central role in influencing the processes of other languages, while the phenomenon of borrowing from neighbouring languages also shaped the processes of reflexivization.

Chapter 6

Reflexive nominal and adjectival compounds and the restrictions imposed by the reflexive *SELF* on the predicate it combines with

Anna-Maria Di Sciullo concentrates on the morphological properties of *himself* and *self-N/A* compounds in her paper on Word-Internal Pronouns and Reflexives (1996). She compares the configurational properties of pronouns, reflexives, and reflexive nominal compounds. When describing the basic features of the *self-N/A* compounds Di Sciullo highlights their inability to license further lexical projections (108) and the fact that these expressions do not show agreement between the reflexive *self* and an external DP (109):

- (108) a) *John hates [himself-praise]
b) *Mary loves [self-constant-praise]
c) *John is [himself-sufficient]
d) *Mary is [self-very-sufficient]
- (109) a) The student's [self-praise]
b) *The students' [selves-praise]
c) They are [self-sufficient]
d) *They are [selves-sufficient] (Di Sciullo 1996: 113)

Di Sciullo also considers the restrictions introduced by the reflexive *self* on the predicate it combines with. She states that the reflexive may not compose with nouns and adjectives that are not argument taking, more precisely with concrete (non-argument taking) nouns, such as *picture* or *pen* (112):

- (110) a) *Paul's self-picture
b) *Mary's self-book

- c) *a self-important book
- d) *a self-nice child (1996: 114)

This statement serves as the starting point for the thesis's first hypothesis: *H₁: The reflexive self element cannot combine with nouns and adjectives that are not argument taking not only in English, but in Dutch, Slovak, Polish, Hungarian, Romanian, and Italian as well.*

The following sections concentrate on the listed languages and introduce their *SELF-N/A* compounds from this perspective. The examples are taken from the following corpora and/or dictionaries (see also bibliography):

English

BYU-BNC (Brigham Young University, based on the British National Corpus)
Oxford advanced learner's dictionary of current English, Oxford

Dutch

Corpus Hedendaags Nederlands, Leiden

Van Dale's Groot woordenboek der Nederlandsche taal. Utrecht/Antwerpen.

Hungarian

Magyar nemzeti szövegtár (Hungarian National Corpus), Budapest

A Magyar Nyelv Nagyszótára, Budapest

Italian

Morph-it! - morphological resource for the Italian language, University of Bologna.

Roumanian

Noul dicționar explicativ al limbii Române, Bucharest

Dicționar de sinonime, Bucaresti

Dicționar de antonime, Bucaresti

Polish

National Corpus of Polish, Warsaw.

Polish-English/English-Polish Dictionary, London

Slovak

Slovak National Corpus - Slovenský národný korpus, Bratislava

Slovník slovenského jazyka IV, Bratislava

Morfematický slovník slovenčiny, Prešov

Horecký, Ján: *Zložené slová so zámenom sám*.

6.1 Reflexivity in English reflexive nominal and adjectival compounds

English SELF-N compounds

Compounding with the reflexive *self-* element is described as a productive pattern of word-formation in English. The reflexive element combines mostly with nouns and adjectives, while English does not present cases of the *self-V* formation (except participles, which do allow a formation with the *self-* element). The sample of English *self-N/Adj* compounds contains 250 elements, which serve as the representatives of this compound type. The compounds were chosen from the British National Corpus. Since the *SELF-N/A* compounds represent a category of English compounds with a lot of members, the selection of the sample was based on their frequency of occurrence in the British National Corpus (BNC). 230 of the chosen compounds had their frequency of occurrence between 459 and 10 based on the data of the BNC, while 20 compounds were chosen from the list with a frequency between 9 and 1, in order to achieve an even number between the nouns and the adjectives. The frequency rate 459 was the highest rate in case of a *SELF-* compounds, there was no *SELF-N/A* compound with a higher frequency. During the selection process the “*self*/self-**” entries were used as starting points, and none of the *SELF-* compounds with the frequency of occurrence between 459 and 10 were deleted. That is the reason why I had 230 *SELF-* compounds. I tried to avoid *SELF-* compounds with a low frequency, since they may be considered nonce formations. The sample can be further divided into 126 *self-N* compounds and 124 *self-Adj* compounds.

The analysis suggests that Di Sciullo’s statement about the absence of concrete (non-argument taking) nouns remains valid in case of English *self-N* compounds: 99% of *self-N* compounds appear with an abstract (argument taking) noun as a right-hand constituent. The remaining 1% shows possible counter examples for this statement: *self-portrait*, *self-reward*, *self-certificate* –the right-hand constituents are concrete (non-argument taking) nouns in these cases¹³.

As mentioned earlier, Jane Grimshaw (1990) described nominalizations from the perspective of argument structures of predicates as well. She classifies them into two

¹³ Note that the Oxford Advanced Learner’s Dictionary (2005) defines *self-portrait* as a piece of art (e.g. painting) that one makes of oneself. It denotes an outcome of an (artistic) activity, and not the activity itself (as opposed to e.g. *self-discipline*). The dictionary indicates that the word *portrait* is derived from the Old-French *portraire* (to portray). From a diachronic perspective, but clearly not synchronically, it would, therefore, be possible to understand it as a nominalization.

categories namely *event nominals* and *result nominals*. Event nominals denote complex events presenting an event structure, thus an argument structure as well, while result nominals do not have an argument structure (1990: 49): “Result nominals name the output of a process or an element associated with the process; process nominals name a process or an event”. In order to differentiate the event nominal from a result nominal Grimshaw introduces a set of tests, e.g.: the indefinite determiner, the demonstrative *that*, and the numeral *one* occur only with a result nominal (111). Another characteristic feature of the result nominals is that they have a plural form, while event nominals do not pluralize (112):

- (111) a) They studied the/an/one/that assignment.
b) They observed the/*an/*one/*that assignment. (Grimshaw 1990: 54)

The definite determiner *the* appears with both result nominals and with event nominals.

- (112) a) The assignments were long.
b) *The assignments of the problems took a long time. (ibid.)

The embedding of the compound *self-portrait* into similar contexts enables to test whether the nominal behaves as a result nominal, or as an event one. The Oxford Advanced Learner’s Dictionary (2005) defines *self-portrait* as a piece of art (e.g. painting) that one makes of oneself. It denotes an outcome of an (artistic) activity, and not the activity itself (as opposed to e.g. *self-discipline*), and the possible root *to portray* enables its categorization as a nominalization¹⁴:

- (113) They prepared the/a/one/that *self-portrait*.
(114) The *self-portraits* were more than spectacular.

The examples suggest that the nominal *self-portrait* behaves as a result nominal, and consequently lacks the ability to present an argument structure. The absence of an argument structure indicates that this nominal behaves as a counter-example for Di Sciullo’s statement about the nature of the reflexive *self*. In this concrete case it combined with a noun without an argument structure.

¹⁴ Note that picture-nouns also have a special position in Binding Theory, and numerous studies have concentrated on this topic (e.g. Pollard & Sag (1992, 1994), Reinhart & Reuland (1993), and more recently Manning & Sag (1999), to mention just a few.

The remaining two *SELF*-compounds that combine with concrete (non-argument taking) nouns are: *self-reward* and *self-certificate*. *Self-reward* is described as a thing that one gives to oneself for one's hard work, or good behaviour, while *self-certificate* as a piece of paper that notifies the employer about the employee's inability to work due to illness or injury without presenting a medical certificate (Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary: 2005). Both right-hand constituents of the *SELF*-compounds can be used as a verb and as a noun as well (115), (116):

- (115) a) John received a Postgraduate *Certificate* in Education.
b) The institute *certificates* the teacher.

- (116) a) You deserve a *reward* for being so helpful.
b) Our patience was finally *rewarded*.

Since both constituents show the ability to behave as verbal elements, their ability to take an argument structure belongs to their basic features confirming by this Di Sciullo's statement. However, note that *self-reward* and *self-certificate* do have plurals, indicating that they are result nominals.

It is possible to conclude that in the sample of English *SELF-N* compounds only three compounds had a concrete (non-argument taking) noun as a right-hand constituent, and only one of the examined words presented a concrete (non-argument taking) noun without a possible underlying argument structure.

The morphological build-up of the English *SELF-N* compounds

Based on the morphological analysis of the 126 *SELF-N* compounds it is possible to present the following features of these compounds: as mentioned before 99% of the analyzed compounds contained an abstract (argument taking) noun as their right-hand constituent. The number of derived and non-derived abstract (argument taking) nouns was in equal proportion.

Taking into consideration the morphological build-up of the English *SELF-N* compounds, it is possible to present the following categories:

- *self-N* – where the head is an abstract (argument taking) noun (*self-belief*, *self-defense*)

- *self-N/V* – where it is not always possible to determine whether the right-hand constituent is primarily a noun or a verb (*self-help, self-care, self-respect*)
- *self-[V+suffix]_N* - the most productive suffixes:
 - –ation, –tion, –ion (*self-determination, self-regulation, self-expression*)
 - –ence, –ance, –nce (*self-confidence, self-reliance, self-indulgence*)
 - –ing (*self-publishing, self-poisoning, self-cutting*)
 - –y (*self-discovery, self-mockery, self-injury*)
 - –al (*self-denial, self-appraisal, self-betrayal*)
 - –is (*self-analysis, self-diagnosis*)
 - other suffixes: –ism (*self-criticism*), –ship (*self-censorship*), –ness (*self-forgiveness*)
- *self-[Adj+suffix]* – *self-awareness, self-consciousness, self-sufficiency*

Di Sciullo suggests that the *SELF-N* compounds, in which the noun is a non-derived abstract (argument taking) one, allow argument taking (based on the examples of Di Sciullo: 1996):

- (117) a) John's *self-defence*
 b) Mary's *self-worth*
 c) The teacher's *self-contempt*
 d) The businessman's *self-belief*

This test is also applicable on *SELF-N* compounds, in which the stem is an adjective, with the same results:

- (118) a) John's *self-awareness*
 b) Mary's *self-consciousness*
 c) The teacher's *self-sufficiency*

English SELF-Adj compounds

As mentioned before the analysis concentrated on 124 *SELF-Adj* compounds. The majority of these compounds show a verbal base (121 out of 124), therefore it is possible to conclude that the 98% percent of the analyzed English *SELF-Adj* compounds support the first hypothesis. The possible counter-examples are the following: *self-fertile, self-righteous* and *self-aware*.

Self-righteous the feature of being argument taking, while *self-fertile* and *self-aware* does not show this feature (119):

- (119) a) I suppose it is *self-righteous* of me to look at people and judge them.
b) *Most patients that inherit this gene are not *self-aware* of their disorder.
c) *self-fertile of fruit trees

The analysis of the *SELF-Adj* compounds from the morphological perspective suggests that the majority of these formations was derived from a verbal base, while only a few present an *Adj* base, and non of it a nominal source:

- [*self*-[*V*+ed]]_{Adj} – *self-employed*, *self-willed*, *self-motivated*
- [*self*-[*V*+ing]]_{Adj} – *self-serving*, *self-deceiving*, *self-sealing*
- [*self*-[*V*+ive]]_{Adj} – *self-protective*, *self-reflexive*, *self-adhesive*
- [*self*-[*V*+past part.]]_{Adj} – *self-sawn*, *self-taught*, *self-made*
- [*self*-*Adj*]_{Adj} – *self-fertile*, *self-aware*, *self-same*
- [*self*-[*V*+atory]]_{Adj} – *self-explanatory*, *self-congratulatory*
- [*self*-[*Adj*+eous]]_{Adj} – *self-righteous*

The *SELF-Adj* compounds show a tendency to always combine with abstract (argument taking) nouns.

6.2 Reflexivity in Slovak

In order to express reflexivity in Slovak the reflexive pronoun *seba*, or its shortened clitic form *sa* needs to be present in the grammatical construction. Dvonč, L. et al. (1966) describe the function of a reflexive pronoun as follows (1966: 249): “it denotes a person or a thing identical to the subject without taking into consideration the fact that it has a different function in a sentence, e.g. *obráň seba* (defend yourself), *pomôž si* (help for yourself), *rozprávajte o sebe* (talk about yourselves), *nerobili pre seba* (they did not work for themselves)”. This is the main reason why the reflexive *seba*, does not have a nominative form. The reflexive pronoun only inflects for case. The full paradigm of the reflexive *seba*:

(120) Nominative	-
Genitive	<i>seba/sa</i>
Dative	<i>sebe/si</i>
Accusative	<i>seba/sa</i>
Locative	<i>sebe/si</i>
Instrumental	<i>sebou</i>

When expressing a person or a thing, the reflexive *seba* does not take into consideration the context or the order of the sentence elements, it denotes a person or a thing only from the perspective of the subject of the sentence, i.e. the agent of the activity. Because of that it does not need to be connected only to the subject of the predicate verb (121a), but it can also be co-referent with the understood subject of an infinitive (121b) (1966: 250):

(121) a) <i>oholí-m</i>	<i>sa</i>
shave 1st p. sg.prs.	myself.ACC
I shave myself	

b) <i>Odporúča-m</i>	<i>ti</i>	<i>oholíť</i>	<i>sa</i>
recommend-1p.sg.prs.	you.DAT	shave.INF	yourself.ACC
I recommend you to shave (yourself)			

Since *seba* does not have a nominative form, Dvonč (1996) suggests that Slovak chooses the strategy to use a different pronoun for this case, i.e. the pronoun *sám* (he himself/on his own). This pronoun may fulfil two different functions in these positions (122, 123):

(122) to emphasize

<i>Nechali</i>	<i>ho</i>	<i>tam</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>sami</i>	<i>sa</i>	<i>obrátili</i>	<i>naspäť.</i>
Leave.3p.pl.pst	heACC	there	and	they	themselves	turn3p.pl.pst	back
They left him there and they themselves turned back.							

(123) to compare

<i>Urobte</i>	<i>tak, ako sami</i>	<i>uznáte</i>	<i>za najlepšie.</i>
Do.3p.pl	as you yourselves	consider3p.pl	for best
Act as you yourselves deem best.			

Reflexives in Slovak can be divided into two groups: nominal reflexives and verbal reflexives. When describing verbal reflexives Dvonč et al. (1966) state that reflexivity is a formal feature of verbs, which contain in their form a separate element *sa* or *si*. This formal element has three functions. In the first case *sa* or *si* is part of the verb, and because of that

it has the value of a lexical morpheme, e.g. *smiat' sa* (to laugh), *všímat' si* (to notice). These verbs do not occur without their reflexive *sa/si* component, or if they do, they represent a separate lexical entry with a different meaning. In the second case *sa* or *si* behaves as the shortened form of the reflexive pronoun *seba* or *sebe*, and they represent a syntagma with the verb, e.g. *holit' sa* (to shave myself), *verit' si* (to believe in myself). These formations are called reflexive forms of non-reflexive verbs. *Sa* or *si* may also behave as components of verbal grammatical constructions, i.e. *hovori sa* (it is said). These formations are also defined as reflexive forms of non-reflexive verbs.

As mentioned before reflexive verbs in Slovak may be further categorized as reflexive verbs with a non-reflexive counterpart and reflexive verbs without a non-reflexive counterpart. Dvonč et al. (1966) name the latter ones as “reflexiva tantum”, and list the following verbs into this category (1966: 378), e.g.: *bát' sa* (to fear), *čudovať' sa* (to wonder), *narodiť' sa* (to born), *trblietať' sa* (to sparkle), *túlať' sa* (to wander), *usilovať' sa* (to strive), *oddýchnuť' si* (to rest), *sadnúť' si* (to sit), *vážiť' si* (to appreciate), *zaslúžiť' si* (to deserve). The reflexive verbs with a non-reflexive counterpart represent an even more extensive category, and Dvonč et al. assume that the difference in their meaning is always significant.

When describing the forms of reflexive verbs Dvonč et al. (1966) state that they have a full paradigm of grammatical forms together with the reflexive element. The reflexive *sa* is omitted in only two cases: in passive adjectival participle constructions and in verbal nominalizations. In case of passive adjectival participle formations the reflexive *sa* never occurs. This is the reason why reflexive verbs like *usmiať' sa* (to smile) or *všímať' si* (to notice) have their passive adjectival participle form without the reflexive element: *usmiaty* (smiling), *všímaný* (noticed). Verbal nominalizations frequently appear without the reflexive element: *usmiať' sa* — *usmianie* (to smile – smile), *všímať' si* — *všímanie* (to notice – noticing), but there are also present when the reflexive *sa/si* remains. The reflexive element remains mostly in those cases, when it is necessary to highlight the difference between the reflexive and the non-reflexive reading: *učenie sa* — *učenie* (learning – teaching). The reflexive *si* remains with the verbal nominalization because it is frequently connected to the lexical meaning of the verb. It is commonly used with the Slovak imperfective verbal nominalizations: e.g. *osvojovanie si* (acquisition), *predstavovanie si* (imagining), etc.

6.2.1 Slovak reflexive nominal compounds

Slovak presents two types of nominal *SELF*-compounds: formations with the reflexive *samo-* and formations with the reflexive *seba-/sebe-*. Slovak *SELF*-compounds present the same tendency as their English counterparts, they combine with nouns and adjectives, but they do not appear with a verb. Since Slovak uses two types of reflexives, the sample is also divided into two categories:

- 1st category: compounds with the reflexive *samo-*: 127 nouns and 62 adjectives
- 2nd category: compounds with the reflexive *seba-/sebe-*: 65 nouns and 18 adjectives.

The compounds had been collected from the above listed sources. In order to analyse as many Slovak *SELF*-compounds as possible, none of the found compounds from these sources was deleted from the sample during the process of data collection.

Slovak *samo-N* compounds

In his study on Slovak *samo*-compounds Ján Horecký (1965) states that formations which include the pronoun *sám* and another element, both serving as bases of word-formation, represent an extensive category among Slovak compounds. He suggests that the Dictionary of Slovak Language alone (1964) lists around one hundred *samo*-compounds, while the corpora of Slovak include numerous other examples. To highlight the dynamic evolution of such compounds Horecký proposes that new *samo*- formations appear regularly¹⁵, while some also become archaic¹⁶, or replace the reflexive *samo-* with another reflexive form, concretely with *seba-/sebe-*¹⁷ without causing any shifts in the meaning of the compound.

Taking into consideration the meanings of the pronoun *sám* in Slovak compounds, in which they serve as first constituents, i.e. non-heads, Horecký (1965) distinguished five possible categories.

The first category includes ordinal numbers combined with the pronoun *sám*. These formulations aim to express order in an archaic, no longer used way. The pronoun *sám* behaves as an emphaziser in these formations, rather than a reflexive element (1965: 6): *samodesiaty* ([[SELF]+ [desiaty]]_{NUM} lit. self-tenth, one alone, in the group of people of

¹⁵ Horecký exemplifies this tendency with the following *samo*-compounds (1965: 6): *samoopravný* (self-fixing), *samoučiaci sa* (self-studying).

¹⁶ Horecký (1965: 6): *samodržitel' = samovládca* (autocrat)

¹⁷ Horecký (1965: 6): *samokritika* → *sebakritika* (self-criticism), *samodisciplina* → *sebadisciplina* (self-discipline), *samovedomie* → *sebavedomie* ((self-)confidence)

ten), *samoósmý* ([[SELF]+ [ósmý]]_{NUM} lit. self-eighth, one alone, in the group of people of eight). The only word that is used even today from this category is *samodruhá* ([[SELF]+ [druhá]]_{NUM} lit. self-second, pregnant, lit. one in the group of people of two). This category also includes nouns that express uniqueness, or a unique, single occasion: *samosudca* (a single judge), *samokandidát* (a single candidate), *samospev* (a lied).

The second category includes a more extensive list of *samo*-compounds, containing not only archaic formations but contemporary ones as well. Taking into consideration their meaning, these compounds have an event reading, while the *samo*- constituent highlights the relationship between the agent and the event. This category contains mostly verbal nominalizations, while the *samo*- constituent fulfils the role of a reflexive: *samobičovanie* (self-flagellation), *samoobdivovanie* (self-admiration), *samovzdelávanie* (self-education), *samopozorovanie* (self-examination), *samoponíženie* (self-humiliation), *samopoistenie* (self-insurance), *samovražda* (suicide). All of these compounds contain an event reading, and express an activity that is connected to the agent, e.g. *samofotografia* (one's photo of oneself).

Horecký (1965) points out that the majority of these compounds also appear with the reflexive *seba*-, replacing by this the *samo*-compounds and slowly turning them into an archaic formation: *samoklam* - *sebaklam* (self-delusion), *samokritika* - *sebakritika* (self-criticism), *samoláska* - *sebaláska* (self-love), *samoobrana* - *sebaobrana* (self-defence), *samokázeň* - *sebadisciplína* (self-discipline).

This meaning of *samo*- lists only a few adjectives, e.g. *samoľúby* (self-loving), *samodružný* (invariant (in geometry)).

The third category comprises the *samo*-compounds which express that something is happening without the help of others, naturally, without interference. *Samo*- in these compounds maintains the reflexive reading: *samofinancovanie* (self-financing), *samoliečenie* (self-healing), *samooplodnenie* (self-fertilization), *samokontrola* (self-control). The adjectives of this category are also deverbal, and their number is higher than in the former category, e.g. *samozvaný* (self-named), *samozvolený* (self-elected), *samofinancovaný* (self-financed).

The meaning of the fourth category bears resemblance to the meaning of the third category, but in this case *samo*- expresses that something is happening automatically, without external manipulation, or with the help of a machine. It is not possible to detect an intentional activity, only an automatic one: *samohybný* (self-moving), *samochodný* (self-working), *samonapínací* (self-stretching). This category contains only a few nouns, which

can be divided into two further subcategories: archaic expressions that are no longer used in Slovak, e.g. *samokov* (smith workshop), or back-formations of the adjectives mentioned above, e.g. *samohyb* (a self-moving machine), *samochod* (a machine that works on its own).

The last category collects all the *samo*-compounds in which the meaning of the *samo*- constituent equals to the meaning of the *auto*- prefix, expressing that the machine/equipment is working automatically, e.g. *samoriadič* (self-controller), *samospúšť* (self-timer), *samopal* (Tommy, submachine gun). This indicates that *samo*- in these compounds does not behave as an individual constituent within a compound.

Horecký (1965) points out that it is not always possible to categorize Slovak *samo*-compounds into only one category. Similarly to English one compound may bear several meanings, e.g. *samokontrola* (self-control) may denote the activity of internal control within a state, and also the activity of one controlling oneself. *Samosudca* (self-judge) may denote a single judge and also the activity of one judging oneself, and it is not always possible to determine whether the two meanings appear independently (behaving as homonyms), or by transferring the meaning from one to another. Horecký states that in most of the cases homonymy serves as a logical explanation. In case of transferred meanings it is not always possible to determine which meaning serves as primary, and which compounds behave as only secondary derivatives, e.g. *samochod* (n.) – *samochodný* (adj.) (a self-working machine – self-working). In other cases the way of derivation is apparent, e.g. *samovláda-samovládny* (autocracy – autocrat), *samol'úby-samol'úbosť* (self-loving – self-love), *samostatný-samostatnosť* (independent – independence).

As exemplified the *samo*- element may have several meanings. In the first category *samo*- behaved as an intensifier, while the second, third and fourth categories collected the compounds in which *samo*- served as a reflexive element (Horecký denoted these functions as emphasising and determining ones; in the fifth category *samo*- became a semi-affix (a form-based classification, and semantic)). Calques were present in all the categories, e.g. in the first category *samo*- replaced *mono*- (*samovrava* (self-speech) → monologue), while in all the other categories *samo*- behaved as an equivalent of *auto*- or *selbst*- (*autoinfekcia* – *samonákaza* (self-infection), *Selbstverwaltung* – *samospráva* (self-government)).

Similarly to English Slovak also accepts international synonyms of *samo*-compounds with *auto*- e.g. *autogenéza* – autogenesis, *autoplastika* – autoplasty, *autosugescia* – autosuggestion.

The verification of H₁ in case of the Slovak *samo*-N compounds

The reflexive *samo*- in Slovak *samo*-N compounds combine with different types of nouns. The majority of the right-hand constituents belong to the category of derived abstract (argument taking) nouns (46%), e.g. *samofinancovanie* (self-financing), *samočistenie* (self-cleaning), *samoliečenie* (self-healing). The non-derived abstract (argument taking) nouns represent the second largest category (32%), e.g. *samoklam* (self-delusion), *samokontrola* (self-control), *samoláska* (self-love), while the percentages of derived and non-derived abstract (argument taking) nouns together (78%) suggest that the Slovak *samo*-N compounds show a tendency to follow Di Sciullo's statement and partially confirm the validity of H₁ as well. Neither the Slovak compounds of this type, nor the English *self*-compounds combine with nouns that are not argument taking.

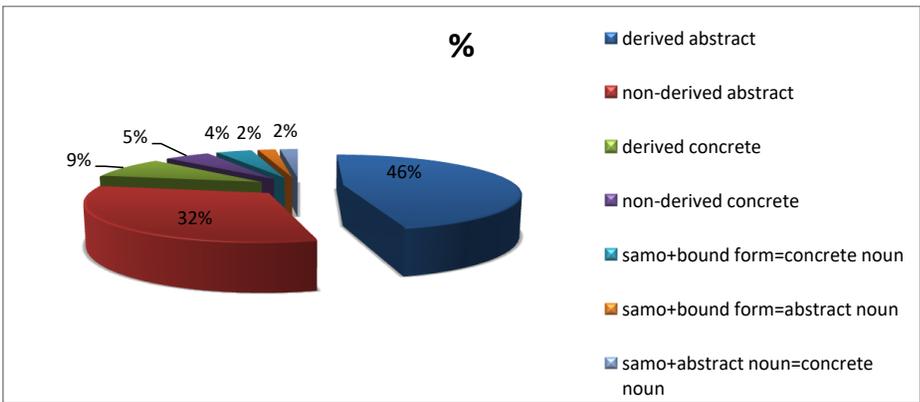
The remaining Slovak *samo*-compounds, which do not confirm the validity of H₁, belong to five further categories, and show different patterns of behaviour. The sample provides examples where the right-hand component is a bound form, but it generates a concrete (non-argument taking) noun with the reflexive *samo*-, e.g. *samouk* (lit. a self-taught person ([[SELF] + uk]_N), *samovoľník* (lit. a stubborn, self-willed person ([[SELF]+voľník]_N). Other compounds offer cases where the right-hand component is a bound form, but it generates abstract (argument taking) nouns with the reflexive *samo*-, e.g. *samopaš* (lit. [[SELF]+[paš]]_N, tomfoolery), *samozvanectvo* ([[SELF]+[zvanectvo]]_N, autocracy). Concrete (non-argument taking) nouns also combine with the reflexive *samo*-, but the majority of the right-hand constituents belong to the category of derived nouns, e.g. *samonakladač* (a self-loading machine). The nouns are derived from verbs, therefore the event reading is possible in these cases as well. Slovak also offers cases, where the right-hand constituent represents an abstract (argument taking) noun, but together with the reflexive *samo*- they generate a concrete (non-argument taking) noun, e.g. *samochod* (a self-working machine).

Finally, the *samo*- constituent also combines with concrete (non-argument taking) nouns (5%). This category includes compounds, where *samo*- behaves as an intensifier, but compounds with the reflexive reading as well. The intensifier *samo*- is clearly present in cases like *samočlovek* ([[SELF]+[človek]]_N lit. the only man), *samoherec* ([[SELF]+[herec]]_N lit. the only actor), *samokandidát* ([[SELF]+[kandidát]]_N lit. the only candidate), *samopán* ([[SELF]+[pán]]_N lit. the only master). *Samo*- in these cases

emphasizes the uniqueness of a person. Ján Horecký (1965) describes these *samo-* compounds as archaic, which have not been replaced by other expressions.

The sample also includes one counter-example for the statement introduced by the first hypothesis. The Slovak *samofotografia* (lit. self-photo, self-portrait) behaves exactly as its English counterpart. The expression refers to a photo that one takes of oneself, it is rarely used, but *fotografia* is a non-derived concrete (non-argument taking) noun without an underlying argument structure¹⁸.

Diagram 1: The number and proportion of (non-) derived concrete (non-argument taking) and abstract (argument taking) nouns in the Slovak auto-N compounds



The lack of counter-examples suggests that Slovak shares similar features with English from the perspective of argument taking *samo-* compounds. Both languages show a strong tendency towards combining the reflexive *self-/samo-* with abstract (argument taking) and/or derived nouns. Although it is possible to detect some counter-examples against H₁ (the expressions in Slovak that contain non-derived concrete (non-argument taking) nouns are either archaic forms, or very rarely used ones, or not relevant, since their *samo-* constituent is an intensifier) it is possible to state that the hypothesis remains valid in Slovak as well. In case of derived concrete (non-argument taking) nouns as right-hand constituents, the nominals are in all cases derived from verbs, e.g. *samonakladač* (a type of self-loading machine), *samovládca* (a person who reigns alone, autocrat), *samozásobiteľ* (a person, who ensures supplying alone, a self-supplier).

¹⁸ The similarity may be the result of borrowing, but the source of the expression does not specify its origin

The morphological build-up of Slovak *samo*-N compounds

Taking into consideration the morphological structure of the analyzed *samo*-N structure it is possible to conclude that they present a varied pattern. The reflexive *samo*- combines with nouns, adjectives and verbs as well. The following list introduces the most common combinations:

- (124) a) *samo* + [V+suffix]_N: *samo-bičova-nie* (self-whipping/lashing), *samo-financova-nie* (self-financing), *samo-obdivova-nie* (self-admiring), *samo-lieč-ba* (self-healing)
b) *samo*+ [N+suffix]_N: *samo-čin-nosť* (self-working)
c) *samo*+ [prefix+N+suffix]_N: *samo-o-plod-e-n-ie* (self-fertilization)
d) *samo*+ [Adj+suffix]_N: *samo-zrej-m-osť* (matter of course)
d) *samo*+N: *samochvála* (self-praise)

Slovak *seba*-N compounds

As mentioned earlier in the thesis Slovak does not use only *samo*- to generate nominal reflexive compounds, but it also combines the reflexive *seba*- with nouns and adjectives. A typical feature of the Slovak *seba*-compounds is that a third of these compounds also appear as *samo*-compounds. As a result there are two forms with the same lexical meaning: *samobičovanie/sebabičovanie* (self-whipping/lashing), *samoláska/sebaláska* (self-love), *samochvála/sebachvála* (self-praise). The sample of Slovak *seba*-compounds also includes cases when not the genitive *seba* form is used but the dative *sebe*, e.g. *seberovný* (equal to oneself), *sebevôľa* (self-will). The dative case scarcely appears in these compounds, but the expressions introduced above are used even today without a sign of becoming archaic.

In this group of Slovak *SELF*-compounds the concrete (non-argument taking) nouns (non-derived and derived) are absent, and therefore it is not possible to detect counter-examples for H₁ within this category. Based on the types of nouns as right-hand constituents the *seba*-/*sebe*- compounds may be divided into two categories:

- (125) a) *seba*-/*sebe*- compounds with a non-derived abstract (argument taking) noun as a right-hand constituent, e.g. *sebacit* (self-sensitivity), *sebachvála* (self-praise), *sebadôvera* (self-confidence)

b) *seba-/sebe-* compounds with a derived abstract (argument taking) noun as a right-hand constituent, e.g. *sebaformovanie* (self-forming), *sebaopakovanie* (self-repetition), *sebaskúmanie* (self-observation).

Taking into consideration the morphological build-up of *seba-/sebe-* compounds, the following categories present themselves:

- (126) a) *seba*+N: *sebanalýza* (self-analysis), *sebadisciplína* (self-discipline)
b) *seba*+*[N+suffix]*_N: *seba-obeta-v-o-st'* (self-sacrifice), *sebavedomost'* (confidence)
c) *seba*+*[V+suffix]*_N: *seba-bič-ov-a-n-ie* (self-whipping), *sebaformovanie* (self-forming), *sebaopakovanie* (self-repeating)
d) *seba*+*[prefix+V+suffix]*_N: *seba-po-níž-e-n-ie* (self-humiliation), *sebvynášanie* (self-praise)

6.2.2 Slovak reflexive adjectival compounds

Slovak samo-Adj compounds

The category of the Slovak *samo*-Adj compounds with a reflexive reading is relatively small. The sample contains 62 such compounds, all of them belong to the category of derived adjectives. All of the analyzed *samo*-Adj compounds present an underlying argument structure, thus supporting H₁. The only exception identified in the sample was the expression: *samovol'ný* (self-willed), where *vol'ný* is derived from the noun *vôľa* (will), and does not present an argument structure in Slovak. The expression can combine with concrete (non-argument taking) and abstract (argument taking) nouns as well:

- (127) *samovol'né dieťa* (a self-willed child), *samovol'ná povaha* (a self-willed nature)

The morphological structure of these compounds present similar patterns as are found in English in case of *self*-Adj compounds. In most of the cases *samo-* combines with either a derived verb or a noun:

- (128) a) [*samo*+*[V+suffix]*]_{Adj}: *samoopravný* (self-repairing), *samočistiaci* (self-cleaning), *samotriediaci* (self-classifying)
 b) [*samo*+*[N+suffix]*]_{Adj}: *samovedomý* (self-confident), *samozápalný* (pyrophoric), *samoučelný* (serves only its own purposes)

The majority of the *samo*-Adj compounds connect with abstract (argument taking) and concrete (non-argument taking) nouns as well, while a few combines with abstract (argument taking) nouns only, e.g.: *samozrejmy* (obvious, self-evident), *samourčovaci* (self-defining), *samosudcovský* (by the judge himself), *samosprávny* (self-governing).

Slovak *seba*-Adj compounds

Although the sample collected the Slovak *SELF*-compounds from three different sources (the Slovak National Corpus included), the number of *seba/e*-Adj compounds is very limited (18). This phenomenon connects to the fact that the number of *seba*-N compounds is also lower than the number of *samo*-N compounds. Although the number of *seba/e*-Adj compounds is low, the patterns presented in their features are quite diverse. We can find derived and non-derived compounds in this category as well, e.g. derived: *seberadikálny* (self-radical), *sebaurčovaci* (self-defining); non-derived: *sebaistý* (self-confident), *seberovný* (equal). The sample offers one case of *seba/e*-Adj compounds that serves as a counter-example to the first hypothesis: *sebevolný* is identical in meaning with *samovolný* (self-willed), i.e. *sebevolná povaha* (self-willed nature) and *sebevolné dieťa* (self-willed child) is also possible. As was the case with the Slovak *samovolný* adjective, this compound may combine with concrete (non-argument taking) and abstract (argument taking) nouns as well, but it lacks an underlying argument structure presenting by this a counter-example to H₁.

The morphological build-up of the *seba/e*-Adj compounds presents the same patterns as the former categories:

- (129) a) [*seba/e*+*[(prefix) +N+suffix]*]_{Adj}: *seberadikálny* (self-radical), *sebaobdivný* (self-admiring), *sebazáchranný* (self-rescuing), *sebeľútostivý* (self-pitying), *sebaobetavý* (self-sacrificing)
 b) [*seba*+*[V+suffix]*]_{Adj}: *sebaurčovaci* (self-defining), *sebazvedávaci* (self-educating)

Every examined compound combines with a concrete (non-argument taking) and with an abstract (argument taking) noun as well except for two *seba*-Adj compounds. The two exceptions are: *sebaurčováci* (self-determining) – this expression is used only with one word and they form a legal term - , i.e. *sebaurčovacie právo* (the right of self-determination), and *sebatrýznivý* (self-tormenting), which combines only with expressions like *výčítky* (reproach), or *smútok* (sorrow).

6.3 Reflexivity in Hungarian

Hungarian uses the expressions *(ön) maga/ saját maga* (himself/his own self) as its primary reflexives. As mentioned earlier Gast, V. et al. (2007) state that the origin of the Hungarian *maga* can be traced back to the expression *mag* (seed) in current Hungarian, while György Rákosi (2009) points out that the stem was originally used as an expression for *body*, but this meaning has disappeared long ago. Hungarian uses *maga* in order to express reflexivity, while *önmaga* is described by György Rákosi (2009) as a complex reflexive. In case of *saját maga* the expression *saját* is used to emphasize the reflexive:

- (130) János_i ismeri *önmagát_t/saját magát_t*. (É. Kiss, K. 1998: 170)
 János know.3SG. himself.3.SG.ACC/his own self
 János knows himself.

Similarly to the English *himself/herself*, the Hungarian *maga* (himself/herself) also has a full paradigm (Balogh, J. et al. 2000, Rákosi, Gy. 2009):

Table 5: The full paradigm of the Hungarian reflexive *maga*

<i>magam</i> (mag.1SG)	1st person singular - myself
<i>magad</i> (mag.2SG)	2nd person singular- yourself
<i>maga</i> (mag.3SG)	3rd person singular – him/her/itself
<i>magunk</i> (mag.1PL)	1st person plural - ourselves
<i>magatok</i> (mag.2PL)	2nd person plural - yourselves
<i>maguk</i> (mag.3PL)	3rd person plural – themselves

These basic forms can combine with further morphemes by means of inflectional morphology in order to express different cases, e.g. *magát* (himself/herself – mag.3SG.ACC), and it also appears with different Hungarian postpositions, e.g. *a maga számára* (for himself). As mentioned earlier intensification/emphasis may be achieved by several means: a) by the usage of *ön-*, *önnön-* (*önmaga*, *önnönmaga* – himself, his own self), b) by the expression *saját* (*saját maga* – his own self), and c) by partial reduplication in 3.p.SG *magamagát* (himself - his own self.3SG.ACC), *magamagának* (for himself – for his own self).

Although *maga*, when used as a reflexive pronoun, inflects for person, number, and case (e.g. *magát*, *magának*, etc.), it always maintains its basic form in the Hungarian reflexive nominal compounds, i.e. its 3rd person singular form (i.e. *maga*). The following part aims to introduce these compounds.

6.3.1 Hungarian reflexive nominal compound-nouns

Similarly to Slovak Hungarian also presents two types of reflexive nominal compounds. The first type of these compounds uses *maga-* as first constituent (as non-head), while the second type uses *ön-* as first constituent.

By comparing these two types of compounds it is possible to conclude that the reflexive pronoun *maga* behaves as the less productive marker. While the sample contains more than one hundred *ön-*compounds, the number of *maga-*compounds reaches only fifty. As mentioned earlier *maga* always maintains its form in the compounds, even in those cases in which the compounds behave as predicates and the person is not the 3rd one:

- (131) *magabiztos* – self-confident.
Péter magabiztos. – Peter is self-confident.
Magabiztos vagyok. – I am self-confident. [lit. I am himself-confident.]
**Magambiztos vagyok.* - *I am myself-confident.
**Magabiztos vagy.* – *You are yourself-confident.
Magabiztos vagy. – You are self-confident.

The Hungarian *ön-* morpheme behaves as a productive prefix in the domain of Hungarian reflexive nominal compounds. The comparison of the Hungarian *ön-* and *maga-* and the Slovak *samo-* and *seba-* from the perspective of productivity indicates that *maga-* behaves like the Hungarian counterpart of *seba/e-*, while *ön-* shows resemblance to Slovak *samo-*. The compounds with *ön-* are more numerous, they include more expressions that

are used today and fewer archaic ones, and new expressions appear with *ön-*, while *maga-* does not show this tendency.

From the historical perspective *ön-* is derived from the personal pronoun *ő* (*s/he.3p.SG*). The expression *ön* is also used in polite conversations to address a person formally, and it behaves as the Hungarian counterpart of the German *Sie*.

The Hungarian compounds had been collected from several sources that are listed at the beginning of the chapter. In order to collect a sufficient number of compounds for the analysis, the sample collects compounds from various sources. Similarly to the Slovak sample the Hungarian one also contains elements that are archaic or that have been gradually replaced by other expressions or by other forms, which are used to exemplify the development of Hungarian *SELF*-compounds.

Hungarian *ön-N* compounds

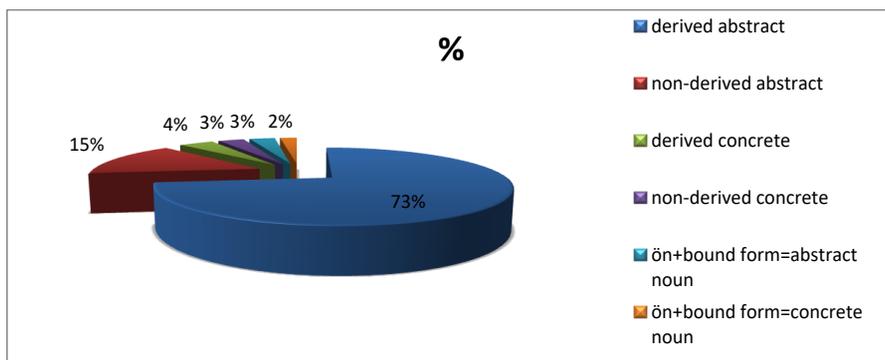
The analysis of the Hungarian *ön*-compounds indicates that the reflexive *ön-* in most of the cases (73% of the analyzed compounds) combines with derived abstract (argument taking) nouns, e.g. *önállóság* (self-sufficiency), *önámítás* (self-deluding). Non-derived abstract (argument taking) nouns represent the second largest category (15%) as heads of reflexive *ön*-compounds, e.g. *öncél* (own goal/lit. self- goal), *önhiba* (one's defect /lit. self-mistake), *öngúny* (lit. self-mockery). The derived and non-derived nouns also combine with the reflexive *ön-* but only in a limited number. While derived nouns appear in 4% of the analyzed sample (e.g. *öngyilkos* (a person who commits suicide, [[SELF]+[gyilkos]]_{N/Adj}), *öngyújtó* (lighter, [[SELF]+[gyújtó]]_N), the percentage of non-derived concrete (non-argument taking) nouns is even lower (3%), e.g. *önarckép* (self-portrait, [[SELF]+[arckép]]_N), *önborotva* (safety-razor, [[SELF]+[borotva]]_N). The sample of Hungarian reflexive nominal compounds also includes cases when the right-hand component is a bound form, but with the reflexive *ön-* it generates either an abstract (argument taking) noun (two cases): *önkivület* (delirium, [[SELF]+[kivület]]_N), , or a concrete (non-argument taking) noun (only one case: *önkéntes* (volunteer, [[SELF]+[kéntes]]_N). Similarly to the previous languages the Hungarian *ön-* does not combine with verbs, only with deverbal nouns and adjectives.

The data described above indicate that H₁ remains valid in Hungarian as well, and therefore this category of the Hungarian compounds supports the observations of Anna Maria Di Sciullo as well. As mentioned earlier only 3% (two *ön*-compounds) of the sample

represents non-derived concrete (non-argument taking) nouns. The expression *önarckép* is made up from three stems: *ön-arc-kép* (lit. self-face-picture). *Arckép* means portrait and it is a non-derived noun, there is no indication of an argument structure in this case. *Önarckép* means autoportrait, or self-portrait. The existence of this word in Hungarian does not support Anna Maria Di Sciullo's observation, and H₁ either. The analysis indicates that the expression *self-portrait* is present in all the analyzed languages so far, and it behaves as a counter-example of Anna Di Sciullo's statement in all of them.

The second counter-example is represented by the expression *önborotva* (lit. self-razor, Eng. safety-razor). It refers to the first razor that enabled men to safely shave themselves. The expression is rarely used today, and it would be difficult for a native speaker to explain its meaning without consulting a dictionary. The head of the expression (*borotva* (razor)) is a non-derived noun, while the verb *to shave* is derived from this word: *borotvál*. There is no indication of an argument structure in this case either.

Diagram 2: The number and proportion of (non-) derived concrete (non-argument taking) and abstract (argument taking) nouns in the Hungarian auto-N compounds



Taking into consideration all the presented data it is possible to conclude that the sample of 117 Hungarian *ön-N* compounds indicates that H₁, and consequently Anna Maria Di Sciullo's observation about the reflexive self- element stay valid in Hungarian as well. One of the two counter-examples is an archaic expression, which is not present in the contemporary language actively. The other counter-example represents itself as an active element, which is present in all the languages that has been analysed so far. So, there is a reason (3%) to uphold H₁ as a rule, a robust generalization, keeping in mind that lexical generalizations are hardly ever without counterexamples.

In case of derived concrete (non-argument taking) nouns the nominals are all derived from verbs, e.g. *öngyújtó* (Eng. lighter from *gyújt* (to light)), *önjelölt* (Eng. a self-nominated person from *jelöl* (nominee)). The reflexive *ön-* attaches mostly to the deverbal nominals, where the verbal stem is transitive (132a), but in some cases it also combines with nominals derived from intransitive verbs or verbs that have a transitive and intransitive reading as well (132b):

- (132) a) *önbírálat* (self-judging), *öndicséret* (self-praise)
 b) *önműködés* (self-working, automatic working)

The non-head of these compounds reflexivizes the heads on one of the internal argument positions of the verb that serves as a stem, in most of the cases this internal argument position is the object's.

Taking into consideration the morphological build-up of Hungarian *ön-N* compounds it is possible to present the following categories:

- (133) a) $[[[ön - [V+suffix]]_{Adj+suffix}]_N - \textit{ön-áll-ó-ság}$ (self-sufficiency), $\textit{ön-elégül-t-ség}$ (self-righteousness)
 b) $\textit{ön} - [V+suffix]_N - \textit{ön-ámít-ás}$ (self-deluding), $\textit{ön-bírál-at}$ (self-judging), $\textit{öndicsér-et}$ (self-praise)
 c) $\textit{ön} - [N+N]_N - \textit{ön-arc-kép}$ (self-portrait), $\textit{ön-élet-rajz}$ (autobiography)
 d) $[\textit{ön}+N]_N - \textit{öncél}$ (self-goal), $\textit{önsúly}$ (self-weight),
 e) $\textit{ön} - [[prefix+V]_V+suffix]_N - \textit{ön-fel-áldoz-ás}$ (self-sacrifice), $\textit{ön-meg-figyel-és}$ (self-observation)
 f) $[[\textit{ön}+Adj]_{Adj+suffix}]_N - \textit{ön-telt-ség}$ (self-satisfaction), $\textit{ön-hitt-ség}$ (self-conceit)
 g) $[[\textit{ön} - [N+suffix]_{Adj}]_N + suffix]_N - \textit{ön-fej-ű-ség}$ (stubbornness), $\textit{ön-jog-ú-ság}$ (self-righteousness)

Hungarian maga-N compounds

Hungarian *maga-N* compounds share similar features with the Slovak *sebe-N* compounds. Their number is more limited than the number of *ön-N* compounds, part of these compounds also appear as *ön-N* compounds, and they share the same meaning (e.g. *önbizalom/magabizalom* – self-confidence, *önhittség/magahittség* – self-conceit, etc.). Similarly to the Slovak *seba/e-N SELF*-compounds, the concrete (non-argument taking) nouns (non-derived and derived) are absent among Hungarian *maga-N* compounds, and

therefore, it is possible to conclude that this type of Hungarian *SELF*-compounds do not offer counter-examples to question the validity of the hypothesis.

Based on the types of nouns as right-hand constituents *maga*-N compounds cannot be divided into categories, since only derived abstract (argument taking) nouns represent themselves in this category, e.g. *magamulattatás* (self-entertaining), *magahittség* (self-conceit), *magamutogatás* (self-exhibition).

Taking into consideration the morphological build-up of the *maga*- compounds it is possible to present the following categories:

- (134) a) *maga*- [V+suffix]_N – *maga-visel-et* (conduct), *maga-tart-ás* (conduct)
 b) [[*maga*+Adj]_{Adj}+suffix]_N – *maga-hitt-ség* (self-conceit), *maga-biztos-ság* (self-assertion)
 c) *maga*- [[prefix+V]_V+suffix]_N – *maga-meg-tagad-ás* (self-refusal), *maga-meg-ún-ás* (one being bored by oneself)
 d) *maga* – [[N+suffix]_{Adj}+suffix]_N – *maga-gond-talan-ság* (lit. self-carelessness/free of worries)
 e) *maga* – [[N+suffix]_V+suffix]_N – *maga-kényszer-ít-és* (lit. self-forcing)

As the schemes suggest the right-hand constituents of the Hungarian *maga*-N compounds are derived from nouns, adjectives and verbs as well. This category of the Hungarian reflexive nominal compounds combines only with deverbal nouns derived from a transitive verb.

6.3.2 Hungarian reflexive compounds - adjectives

Hungarian ön-Adj compounds

The sample of Hungarian *ön*-Adj compounds indicates that their number is similar to the number of Hungarian *ön*-N compounds (117 to 84). Some of the Hungarian *ön*-Adj compounds may be used as *ön*-N compounds as well:

- (135) a) Az *öngyilkos* (Adj) merényletöt azonosították. (They identified the suicidal assassin.)
 b) Az *öngyilkost* (N) a házban találták. (They found the person who committed suicide (lit. self-killer) in the house.)

The sample includes only one non-derived adjective: *öntevékeny* (self-active). All the other compounds were derived either from a verb, or an adjective, or from a noun. From the perspective of argument taking *ön-fej-ű* (stubborn) serves as an only counter-example, since the expression lacks an underlying argument structure.

The majority of *ön-Adj* compounds are derived ones, and as a result the underlying argument structures are also identifiable. This indicates that the majority of *ön-Adj* compounds support the statement of H₁. The morphological build-up of *ön-Adj* compounds presents the following categories:

- (136) a) *ön*-[V+suffix]_{Adj} – *ön-áll-ó* (independent), *ön-elégül-t* (self-righteous)
 b) *ön*- [N+suffix]_{Adj} – *ön-cél-ű* (self-serving), *ön-fej-ű* (stubborn)
 c) *ön* - [[N+N] +suffix]_{Adj} – *ön-élet-rajz-i* (autobiographical)
 d) *ön* - [[prefix+V]_V+suffix]_{Adj} – *ön-fel-áldoz-ó* (self-sacrificing), *ön-le-mond-ó* (self-resigning)
 e) *ön* - [[V+suffix]_N+suffix]_{Adj} – *ön-költ-ség-i* (self-financing)

The sample of *ön-Adj* compounds includes one case when the right-hand constituent of the adjectives is a bound morpheme: *önkéntes* (voluntary, [[SELF]+[kéntes]]_{Adj}).

Hungarian maga-Adj compounds

Although the sample of *maga-Adj* compounds was collected from three different sources, their number is very small (similarly to the Slovak *seba/e-Adj* compounds). This phenomenon is parallel to the facts that the number of *maga-N* compounds is also lower than the number of *ön-N* compounds. It is possible to identify derived and non-derived compounds in this category as well, e.g.:

- (137) a) derived: *magamutogató* (self-exhibitionist), *magamulattató* (self-entertaining)
 b) non-derived: *magabiztos* (self-confident)

Only four derived adjectives are derived from nouns or adjectives, the rest of them have a transitive verb as source. The verbal base indicates the presence of an underlying argument structure. The four derived adjectives from nouns and adjectives are the following:

- (138) a) *magakorú, magakorabeli* [[SELF]+[*korú/korabeli*]]_{Adj} – synonymous expressions – e.g. a person of his/her own age, [lit. a same-age person]
 b) *magamszínű, magamszörű* [[SELF]+[*színű/szörű*]]_{Adj} – synonymous expressions – e.g. a person of my type, a same-typed behaviour, a same-typed personality

By taking into consideration the semantic properties of these expressions it is possible to point out that the left-hand constituent does not have a reflexive meaning in these cases, it rather serves as an intensifier. The second set of examples shows the only cases when the reflexive pronoun *maga* is not used in its 3rd person singular form in a compound.

The listed examples of the reflexive nominal compounds include no examples that would serve as counter examples against H₁ and against the statement of Anna Maria Di Sciullo.

The analysis of the morphological build-up of the *maga*-Adj compounds describes the following structures as the most frequent:

- (139) a) *maga* – [N+suffix]_{Adj} – *maga-kor-ú, maga-kora-beli* (a same-age person)
 b) *maga* – [V+suffix]_{Adj} – *maga-un-t* (self-bored), *maga-ment-ő* (self-saving), *maga-dicsér-ő* (self-praising)
 c) *maga* – [[prefix+V]_V+suffix]_{Adj} – *maga-el-szán-t* (self-determined), *maga-el-bíz-ott* (self-confident)
 d) *maga* – Adj – *maga-biztos* (self-confident)

6.4 Reflexivity in Polish

According to Anna Drogosz (2012) the Polish system of reflexives uses two types of reflexive markers *siebie* and *się*, where *siebie* is a nominal reflexive marker and *się* is a relational reflexive marker. *Siebie* is always bound by the subject, which serves as its antecedent, and the pronoun functions as a trajectory of the relation (Drogosz 2012: 31).

- (140) Tomek uderzył *siebie*.
 Tom hit himself.

Się as a relational reflexive derives reflexive verbs from non-reflexive stems: “Its function is to specify the identity of two participants that would otherwise be coded as the subject and object of a transitive verb (ibid.)”. In the example below the *się* refers to Tomek, which means that the object and the subject of the verb *przewrócił* is identical.

(141) Tomek_i *przewrócił się*_i
Tom fell over.

Anna Lubowicz (1999) understands *się* as a weak reflexive, serving only as a detransitivizing operator without a lexical item as a natural alternative for this operator in Polish. *Siebie*, on the other hand, has a detranzitivizing operator and an identity function as well. The presence of identity function is possible because of a set of alternative lexical items that substitutes for it.

Siebie as a strong reflexive has its own forms in all the cases except for the Nominative resembling by this the Slovak reflexive *seba/e-*. *Się*, on the other hand, has only the paradigm of the Accusative case.

Table 6: The full paradigms of *siebie* and *się*

	Nom	Gen	Dat	Acc	Loc	Ins
<i>siebie</i>	–	siebie	sobie	siebie	sobie	sobą
<i>się</i>	–	(się) ¹⁹	–	się	–	–

Swan (2002) suggests that the long form *siebie* is more often used in the accusative than the short *się* form. This phenomenon is explained by the fact that the accusative of the reflexive pronoun needs to be distinguished from the reflexive particle *się* (which historically derives from the Accusative of *siebie*, but which synchronically is a different item). The dative *sobie* is often used as a specifying dative, and it is used to point out disregard, or subjectivity, e.g.: *Jak sobie chcesz*. (If you really want to.) *Sobie* also combines with certain Polish verbs with which it represents a fixed phrase, e.g. *kpić sobie* - mock, *przypomnieć sobie* – recall.

Since *się* serves different roles in Polish it is frequently described as polysemous. Swan (2002) lists nine main functions, while he points out that the meanings of this reflexive is not semantically hermetic, a certain overlap may be detected between the cases. In Swan's first category *się* is described as the category of Literal Reflexives. In this function *siebie* and *się* are interchangeable:

¹⁹ Lubowicz (1999) claims that from the syntactic point of view it is an accusative

- (142) *Kot się myje.* - The cat is washing itself.
Kot myje siebie. - The cat is washing itself

Się also expresses a reciprocal action, and it carries the meaning ‘each other’ in this case, e.g. *Nie kłóćmy się, dobrze?* - Let’s not quarrel, all right?. Besides literal reflexives, Swan distinguishes the category of figurative reflexives as well. In this case *się* does not literally behave as a reflexive, but ‘one can still see the semantic basis of the derivation’ (2002: 319):

- (143) *Czuję się dobrze w jego towarzystwie.* / I feel good in his company.
Przewróciłem się jadąc rowerem. - I took a spill while riding my bike.

The fourth function is described by Swan (ibid.) as an undergoer and impersonal reflexive that behaves similarly to the passive constructions, e.g. *Nazywam się Paweł Warski.* / I am called Paweł Warski. The fifth function concentrates on cases of signing and identification, where *się* behaves as a reflexive (Swan calls this category as Reflexives of Signing in and Identification), e.g. *Pan musi się najpierw zameldować.* - You have to register first. *Się* also appears in middle reflexives. In these cases a transitive verb turns into intransitive, when *się* is attached to it:

- (144) *Sytuacja wreszcie wyjaśniła się.* - The situation finally cleared up.
Ten wykład wydłuża się w nieskończoność. - This lecture is stretching out into eternity.

In its seventh function *się* figures as a reflexive middle which describes appearance or property:

- (145) *Jej poezja cechuje się pozorną prostotą.* - Her poetry is characterized by an illusory simplicity.
Sylwetki domów wylaniały się z mroku. - The silhouettes of the houses emerged from the darkness.

Within its eighth function *się* still behaves as a reflexive middle, but in this case it connects to a mental agitation, e.g. *Cieszę się, że wreszcie przyjechałam.* - I’m glad I’ve finally arrived. In its final function *się* behaves as a depersonalized reflexive. In this function *się* may be added to different non- *się* verbs. It becomes the subject of a 3rd person singular

verb. If the verb is a transitive one, it remains transitive after adding the *się* element, and it takes accusative complements, or genitive ones, if the sentence contains a negation:

(146) Impersonal: *Kawę się gotuje*. Coffee-Acc is being boiled.

Negated: *Kawę się nie gotuje*. One doesn't boil coffee-Gen.

Interestingly, *się* and *siebie* represent themselves in every reflexive structure with various meanings and functions, but when reflexive nominal compounds are concerned none of these forms appear in Polish *SELF*-compounds. The introduction of the Polish techniques of reflexivizing aims to introduce the mechanisms that are not directly present in the compound forms, but are widely used by their verbal bases. The fact that the Polish *SELF*-compounds do not use these reflexive markers only underline the richness of sources in this language to express reflexivity. The following part aims to introduce the Polish reflexive nominal compounds.

6.4.1 Polish reflexive nominal compounds

Similarly to Slovak and Hungarian Polish *SELF*-N/A compounds represent two categories:

- a) 1st category: compounds with the reflexive *samo*- (the sample contains 50 nouns and 29 adjectives)
- b) 2nd category: compounds with the reflexive *auto*- (the sample contains 17 nouns and 2 adjectives)

The sample of Polish *SELF*- compounds contains all the compounds that were available from the above listed sources, and in order to collect as many compounds as possible the compounds from the survey (that had been sent back by the respondents) become part of the analysed compounds as well. As the size of the sample indicates Polish does not use *SELF*-N/A compounds as productively as English, Hungarian, or Slovak. When not using *samo*- or *auto*- to express reflexivity, Polish applies other strategies. One of the strategies of Polish is the use of different forms of the reflexive pronoun *siebie* after an expression creating by this analytic forms, e.g. self-assured – *pewny siebie*, self-contained – *zamknięty w sobie*, self-pity – *roztkliwianie się nad sobą*. Other English *SELF*-N/A compounds do not have a reflexive equivalent in Polish, and a different non-reflexive expression is used instead, e.g. self-evident – *oczywisty*, self-willed-*krnąbrny*. As native speakers suggest the combination of the *samo*- reflexive compound with the reflexive clitic *się* is also possible

in Polish, e.g. self-determining – *samostanowić się*, self-financing – *samofinansujący się*.

Polish auto-N compounds

From the perspective of abstract (argument taking) vs. concrete (non-argument taking) nouns it is possible to conclude that except from one expression all the Polish *auto-N* compounds combine with abstract (argument taking) nouns. The only exception is represented by the expression *autoportret* – self-portrait. Since *portret* is a non-derived concrete (non-argument taking) noun, this expression does not support the statement of H₁, namely that the reflexive *self* element cannot combine with nouns that are not argument taking, i.e. with concrete (non-argument taking) nouns. The only counter-example indicates that the Polish *auto-N* compounds share similar features with the *SELF*-compounds of the former languages. The compounds show a tendency to combine with expressions that are argument taking, therefore they support H₁.

The abstract (argument taking) *auto-N* nouns can be divided into two further categories, i.e.:

- (147) a) derived abstract (argument taking) nouns, e.g.: *autopromocja* (self-promotion), *autoprezentacja* (self-presentation), *autoregulacja* (self-regulation)
b) non-derived abstract (argument taking) nouns, e.g.: *autoreklama* (self-advertisement), *autoironia* (self-irony), *autocenzura* (self-censorship)

Taking into consideration the morphological build-up of *auto-* compounds, it is possible to present the following categories:

- (148) a) [*auto-N*]_N: *autocenzura* (self-censorship), *autoironia* (self-irony), *autodestrukcyjność* (self-destruction)
b) *auto*-[prefix+N]_N – *autoprzeszczep* (autograft)
c) *auto*-[N+suffix]_N – *autopoprawka* (self-correction)

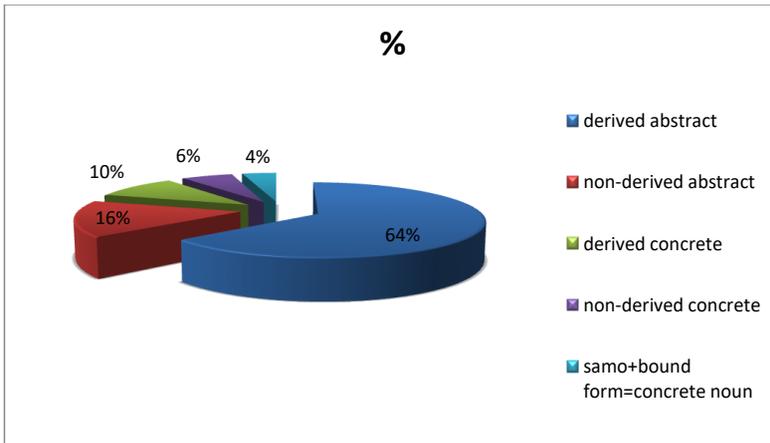
Polish samo-N compounds

Taking into consideration the types of nouns presented in Polish *SELF*-compounds with the reflexive *samo*-element it is possible to distinguish the following categories of the head:

- (149)
- a) derived abstract (argument taking) noun (64%): *samochwałstwo* (self-praise), *samodzielność* (self-dependence)
 - b) non-derived abstract (argument taking) noun (16%): *samogwałt* (self-abuse), *samokontrola* (self-control)
 - c) the right-hand constituent represents an abstract (argument taking) noun, but together with the reflexive *samo*- they generate a concrete (non-argument taking) noun (10%): *samochod* (motorcar), *samolot* (airplane)
 - d) derived concrete (non-argument taking) (6%): *samolub* (a self-loving person), *samouczek* (a self-study book)
 - e) the right-hand component is a bound form (4%), but with the reflexive *samo*- it generates a concrete (non-argument taking) noun: *samouk* (a self-taught person), *samozwanec* (a self-named person, impostor)

As the introduced percentages indicate the majority of the Polish *samo*-N compounds belongs to the category of derived abstract (argument taking) nouns (64%), while only one of the derived abstract (argument taking) nouns is not derived from a verb, i.e. *samoświadomość* (self-awareness), which is derived from the adjective *świadom* (aware, conscious), but this *samo*-N compound also shows an underlying argument structure. The list of non-derived abstract (argument taking) nouns is much shorter, but it presents an abstract (argument taking) noun which is not derived from a verb but from a noun, i.e. *samowola* (self-will). This non-derived abstract (argument taking) noun also presents an argument structure, e.g. *samowola dziecka* – the self-will of the child, therefore it cannot serve as a counter-argument for H₁. All the derived concrete (non-argument taking) nouns are derived from verbs, and the heads of these compounds belong to the category of argument taking derived nouns.

Diagram 3: The number and proportion of (non-) derived concrete (non-argument taking) and abstract (argument taking) nouns in the Polish *samo*-N compounds



As the description indicates the sample of Polish *samo-N* compounds does not contain any elements that would not support the statement of H₁. This phenomenon may be explained in two ways: although the sample collected *samo-N* compounds from four different sources (including the National Corpus of Polish), it is possible that the collection left out several less frequent forms that may have included *samo-N* compounds whose right-hand constituent combine with non-argument taking nouns. The second explanation connects to the dominating strategies of Polish to express reflexive nominal compounds by other methods as well. This language uses analytical forms instead of the compound forms, and does not use *SELF*-compounding as productively as English. For such scarce cases as non-argument taking nouns as right hand constituent it is possible that Polish prefers the usage of analytic forms.

Taking into consideration the morphological build-up of Polish *samo-N* compounds, it is possible to present the following categories:

- (150) a) *samo+N*: *samogwalt* (self-abuse), *samopomoc* (self-help)
 b) *samo+[N+suffix]_N*: *samochwalstwo* (self-praise), *samodzielność* (self-dependence)
 c) *samo+[V+suffix]_N*: *samolubstwo* (self-love), *samopoznanie* (self-knowledge)
 d) *samo+[prefix+V+suffix]_N*: *samouszkodzenie* (self-harm), *samowystarczalność* (self-sufficiency), *samoopanowanie* (self-control)

As the introduced schemes indicate the reflexive *samo-* in Polish *samo-N* compounds combines with nouns and derived verbs, but the sample does not contain cases of combination with adjectives.

6.4.2 Polish reflexive adjectival compounds

Polish auto-Adj compounds

The two Polish *auto-Adj* compounds are the following: *autodestrukcyjny* (self-destructive) and *autoregulacyjny* (self-regulating). Both of the expressions behave as argument taking expressions, and consequently it is not possible to detect a counter-example for H₁ in this category. The adjectives combine with abstract (argument taking) and with concrete (non-argument taking) nouns as well, e.g.: *autodestrukcyjna osoba* – a self-destructive person, *autodestrukcyjny charakter* - a self-destructive nature, *autoregulacyjny zestaw* – a self-regulating set, *autoregulacyjny mechanizm* – a self-regulating mechanism. Both of the *auto-N* compounds represent the [*auto* – [N+suffix]_{Adj}]_{Adj} morphological build-up pattern.

Polish samo-Adj compounds

Similarly to the previous cases the number of *samo-Adj* compounds available for analysis is very limited. The majority of these compounds belong to the category of derived verbs, and consequently their argument structure is evident. The results of the analysis show similar patterns to the analysis of Slovak *samo-Adj* compounds, i.e. all the *samo-Adj* compounds belong to the category of derived adjectives, e.g.: *samolubny* (self-loving), *samoregulujący* (self-regulating), *samogrający* (self-playing). The sample does not offer a counter-example to H₁, i.e. all the heads show an underlying argument structure, and since Polish *samo-Adj* compounds do not provide any counter examples, the statement of H₁ remains valid in Polish as well.

The morphological analysis of Polish *samo-Adj* compounds indicates that similarly to the *samo-N* compounds this category also omits the combination with adjectives:

- (151) a) *samo*+ [V+suffix]_{Adj} – e.g. *samogrający* (self-playing), *samokrytyczny* (self-critical), *samoopalający* (self-tanning)
 b) *samo*+ [N+suffix] – e.g. *samowolny* (self-willed), *samoświadomy* (self-aware)
 c) *samo*+ [prefix+V+suffix] – e.g. *samoobsługowy* (self-serving), *samowykreowany* (self-styled)

All the analyzed *samo*-Adj compounds combine with concrete (non-argument taking) and abstract (argument taking) nouns as well, only three exceptions do not confirm this generalization: *samooplajacy* (self-tanning) and *samopylny* (self-fertilizing) combine only with concrete (non-argument taking) nouns, while *samozachowaczny* (self-preserving) shows the tendency to combine only with abstract (argument taking) ones.

6.5 Reflexivity in Italian²⁰

Italian distinguishes the following voices: *active*, *passive* and *reflexive and pronominal*. The voice in these cases describes the relationship between the verb, the subject and the object. The *reflexive and pronominal voice* is used to indicate that the subject of the verb and the object is the same: to express the identity either the ‘weak’ *si/se* forms, or the ‘strong’ *se stesso* pronoun is used.

(152) *Gianni si guarda allo specchio*. Gianni looks at himself in the mirror. (Proudfoot and Cardo 2005: 27)

Proudfoot and Cardo (ibid.) describe the reflexive and pronominal voice as a combination of an active verb and a reflexive pronoun:

(153) a) *Franchi sta lavando* la macchina. Mr Franchi is washing the car.
b) *Franchi si sta lavando*. Mr Franchi is washing himself.

The clitic is usually situated before the verb, but it also can appear after it in case it combines with infinitives or gerunds.

The so called *pronominal verb forms* combine with reflexive pronouns in the Italian language. They do not behave as true reflexives, but they still embody the ‘reflexive’ or ‘reciprocal’ reading. They may express different meanings. The first meaning is that of an indirect reflexive. In this case the reflexive is not a true one, since the subject and the object are not identical, but these forms indicate that the object of the action is closely related to the person who carries out the activity, i.e. to the agent (ibid.), but the beneficiary is co-referent with the subject:

(154) a) *Giulio si lava* le mani. - Giulio washes *his* hands.
b) *Mi metto* la giacca. - I put on *my* jacket.

²⁰ When my dissertation was finished I heard of the dissertation of Marco Angster. I did not have the bibliographic details that would allow me to get hold of the dissertation.

c) Stamattina non *mi* sono fatto la barba. - This morning I didn't shave (*myself*)²¹.

As the examples suggest the indirect reflexive aims to point out that the object of the verb is either a body part or a personal belonging²². The connection to the subject is clear in these cases as well as the difference between the true reflexive cases and the indirect reflexive cases. The pronominal verb forms are also used as reciprocal reflexives (Proudfoot and Cardo 2005: 29):

(155) Mario e Nicoletta *si sposano* domani. - Mario and Nicoletta are getting married tomorrow.

In this case two people do something jointly but the reflexive *si* needs to be present in these constructions. The pronominal verb forms also appear in the constructions, where people express emotions or involvement. They stress the subjectivity of an event or the importance of the action to the person who is its subject (Proudfoot and Cardo 2005: 30):

(156) a) Stasera *ci* vediamo un bel film. - Tonight we'll watch a nice film.
b) Ho fame! Voglio mangiarmi una pizza! - I'm hungry! I really want a pizza!

These sentences would sound less emotional and more objective without the reflexive pronouns (*Stasera vediamo un bel film. Voglio mangiare una pizza.*). Proudfoot and Cardo state that the Italian language has several verbs that almost always appear with the reflexive *si* because of their subjective meaning or psychological concept that they convey, e.g. *pentirsi* - to regret, repent / *vergognarsi* - to be ashamed (ibid.):

(157) a) Giulia *si* è pentita di aver accettato quel lavoro.
Giulia regretted having accepted that job.
b) Non vergognarti di questo errore, non è colpa tua.
Don't be ashamed of this mistake. It's not your fault.

The reflexive *si* also appears in constructions where it needs to give a passive meaning to the active verb, e.g. *Nella mia famiglia si parlano tre lingue.* - In my family three languages are spoken. Italian denotes this function as *Si passivante*. This reflexive is also used to generate an impersonal form for a verb: *A tavola non si invecchia.* One doesn't get old at the dinner table. The impersonal form always appears with *si* and the third person singular of the verb.

²¹ External possessives are discussed by Haspelmath & König (1998)

²² Money or house would not be possible even if they belong to the subject referent

As already mentioned the reflexive reading in Italian is usually achieved by the presence of a reflexive pronoun. Italian distinguishes between stressed and unstressed reflexive pronouns and their paradigms are the following (ibid.):

Table 7: The full paradigm of the stressed reflexive pronouns

<i>me (stesso/a)</i>	myself	<i>noi (stessi/e)</i>	ourselves
<i>te (stesso/a)</i>	yourself	<i>voi (stessi/e)</i>	yourselves
<i>sé (stesso/a)</i>	him/herself	<i>sé (stessi/e)</i>	themselves

The use of *stesso* in case of these pronouns is optional, since it serves only to increase the emphasis to the pronoun.

The unstressed reflexives do not appear with the same form as the stressed ones. They have their own paradigm (ibid.):

Table 8: The full paradigm of the unstressed reflexive pronouns

<i>mi</i>	myself	<i>ci</i>	ourselves
<i>ti</i>	yourself	<i>vi</i>	yourselves
<i>si</i>	him/herself	<i>si</i>	themselves

Similarly to the Polish description the introduction of the Italian techniques of reflexivizing aims to introduce the mechanisms that are not directly present in the compound forms, but are widely used by their verbal bases. The presentation of the voices within Italian aimed to provide a complex description of reflexivization techniques in this language.

6.5.1 Italian reflexive nominal compounds

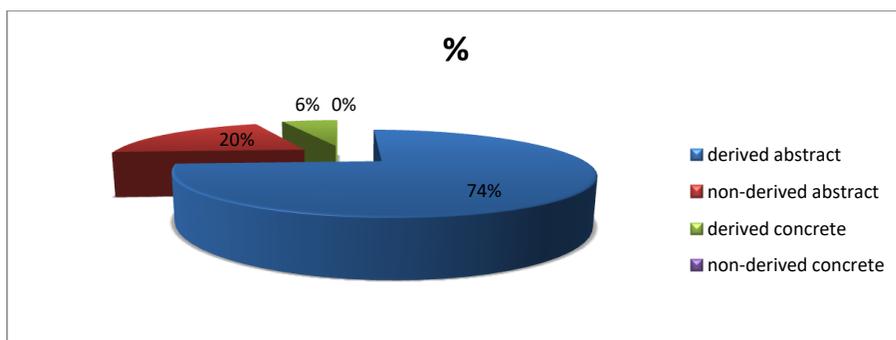
Similarly to the Polish example the Italian reflexive nominal compounds do not use their stressed and unstressed reflexive pronoun forms in their structure either. The compounds appear with the expression *auto-* exclusively. The sample of the Italian compounds includes 85 reflexive nouns and 28 reflexive adjectives. These numbers suggest that the Italian *auto-* compounds do not show such productivity as their English counterparts. For

many English *SELF*-compounds native speakers of Italian do not (cannot) offer *auto*-equivalents. The strategies to express the English *SELF*-compounds in Italian also differ. Some expressions are described in an analytic form, while the presence of reflexive pronouns seems to be obligatory in these cases, e.g. *scoperta de sé* – self-discovery, *odiarsi* - self-hatred. Within the other strategy the reflexive markers are omitted, and a different Italian expression is used instead, i.e. *sicuro* – self-confident, *dignitoso* - self-respecting. The sample of Italian *SELF*- compounds contains all the compounds that were available from the above listed sources, and in order to collect as many compounds as possible the compounds from the survey (that had been sent back by the respondents) become part of the analysed compounds as well.

Italian *auto-N* compounds

Similarly to the previous languages Italian also shows identical tendencies in the distribution of concrete (non-argument taking) and abstract (argument taking) nouns as heads of the reflexive nominal compounds. 74% of the nouns belong to the category of derived abstract (argument taking) nouns. The sample of Italian reflexive nominal compounds does not include a concrete (non-argument taking) noun as a head of an expression, and therefore it is not possible to identify an element without an argument structure. Taking into consideration these facts it is possible to conclude that the Italian *auto-N* compounds support the statement of H₁, and do not offer examples which would question its validity. The proportion of (non-) derived concrete (non-argument taking) and abstract (argument taking) nouns is introduced in more details below in the diagram:

Diagram 4: The number and proportion of (non-) derived concrete (non-argument taking) and abstract (argument taking) nouns in the Italian *auto-N* compounds



The morphological build-up of the Italian *auto*-N compounds shows a varied picture of combination patterns. Most of the compounds belong to the pattern *auto*-[V+suffix]_N, e.g.: *autoabbronzante* – self-tanner, *autoaffermazione* – self-assertiveness. The second largest category also uses a verb as its basis of derivation, but instead of adding suffixes to the stem it removes them. This process may be identified as back-formation, e.g. *autoanalisi* – self-analysis from the verb *analizzare*. The sample offers further patterns with a verbal base: *auto*-[0-V+suffix]_N, e.g. *autoscioglimento* – self-dissolution. The nominal base also represents itself in this category by the following patterns: [*auto*+N]_N, e.g. *autocitazione* – self-citation, *autocritica* – self-criticism, and *auto*+ [N+suffix]_N, e.g. *autodidattica* – self-education, *autolesionismo* – self-harm. Examples of adjectival base also appear among these Italian compounds: *auto*+ [Adj+suffix]_N, e.g. *autosufficienza* –self-sufficiency, from the adjective *sufficiente* – sufficient. The Italian *auto*- takes bound elements for its head as well, e.g.: *autognosia* – self-consciousness (*gnosia* – a bound form).

6.5.2 Italian reflexive adjectival compounds

Italian *auto*-Adj compounds

Similarly to the previous cases, the number of *auto*-Adj compounds available for analysis is very limited (28). Except for two examples all the adjectives are derived from a verbal base. Based on these facts it is possible to conclude that the Italian *auto*-Adj compounds also support the observation stated in H₁. The two exceptions that may serve as counter-examples to the above-mentioned hypothesis are *autosufficiente* –self-sufficient and *autoadesivo* –self-sticking, self-adhesive. None of these adjectives take an argument structure, therefore they may serve as counter-examples. This fact suggests that non-derived adjectives in the Italian language may combine with the reflexive *auto*-, even though they do not present an argument structure, but their percentage within *auto*-Adj compounds indicate that this tendency is not a strong one.

Taking into consideration the morphological build up of *auto*-Adj compounds, it is possible to present the following categories:

- (158) a) *auto* + [V+suffix]_{Adj}: *autoaccusatorio* - self-accusatory, *autobloccante* - self-blocking
 b) [*auto*+Adj]_{Adj}: *autosufficiente* –self-sufficient, *autoadesivo* –self-sticking, self-adhesive.

6.6 Reflexivity in Romanian

Based on the analysis of the Italian language and on the observations of Dana Cojocaru (2003) and Anca Sevcenco (2006) it is possible to conclude that Romanian shows the same features as Italian from the perspective of reflexivity. Italian, and Romanian also distinguish between three voices of verbs: *active*, *passive* and *reflexive*.

Romanian uses verbs that automatically include a reflexive pronoun, indicating by this that the subject and the object of the verb is identical. Similarly to the Italian counterparts these verbs are also denoted as reflexive verbs. The reflexive verbs appear together with a reflexive pronoun either as incorporated elements or before the verb. Romanian has two sets of reflexive pronouns that appear with verbs, one appears in an accusative case and one in dative. The full paradigm of these pronouns is presented below based on Cojocaru (2003: 163):

Table 9: The full paradigms of Romanian reflexive pronouns

	Accusative		
	1st person	2nd person	3rd person
singular	<i>mă, -mă, m-, -m-</i>	<i>te, -te, te-, -te-</i>	<i>se, -se, s-, -s-</i>
plural	<i>ne, -ne, ne-, -ne-</i>	<i>vă, -vă, v-, -v-</i>	
	Dative		
	1st person	2nd person	3rd person
singular	<i>îmi, -mi, mi-, -mi-</i>	<i>îți, -ți, ți-, -ți-</i>	<i>își, -și, și-, -și-</i>
plural	<i>ne, -ne, ne-, ni, ni-</i>	<i>vă, -vă, v-, vi, vi-, -vi-</i>	

The Romanian reflexive verbs conjugate in the same way as other Romanian verbs, the only feature that differentiates them is the presence of reflexive pronouns before the verbs. If the sentence appears as negative, the negation *nu* precedes the reflexive pronoun.

Based on the meaning they convey Romanian reflexive verbs fall into three different categories. The first category is used to express the reflexive meaning, i.e. the agent itself is affected by the action of the agent, e.g.: *a se bucura* - to feel glad, happy, *a se distra* - to have a good time, *a se gândi* - to think, *a se îmbăta* - to get drunk, *a se mira* - to be amazed. The second meaning of the reflexive verbs is the reciprocal meaning. These verbs indicate that the sentence contains two logical subjects whose action is oriented towards the other one, e.g.: *a se bate* - to fight, *a se certa* - to fight, to argue, to quarrel, *a*

se cunoaște - to know each other, *a se iubi* - to love each other, *a se întâlni* - to meet, to see each other, to date. Some of the reflexive verbs also have a passive meaning, e.g.: *a se construi* - to be built, *a se vinde* - to be sold; or an impersonal meaning, e.g.: *se spune* - people say, *nu se aude* - it's impossible to hear.

Cojocaru (2003) states that part of the Romanian verbs can function as active verbs and as reflexive ones as well. Their basic lexical meaning remains the same, the only thing that changes is the orientation towards the object of the verb (159):

- (159) a) *a spăla ceva* - to wash something / *a se spăla* - to wash oneself,
 b) *a îmbrăca pe cineva, ceva* - to dress somebody, to put, to wear something / *a se îmbrăca* - to dress oneself,
 c) *a întâlni pe cineva* - to meet somebody / *a se întâlni cu cineva* - to meet (reciprocally, action shared by both sides)
 d) *Ieri ați spălat și rufe, și vase.* - You did laundry and also washed dishes yesterday.
V-ați spălat? Sunteți gata de culcare? - Did you wash? Are you ready to go to bed?

Some of the Romanian reflexive verbs serve only as reflexive ones, they do not have a non-reflexive counterpart, e.g.: *a se baza pe ceva, pe cineva* - to count on, to rely on, *a se căi* - to repent, *a se răzgândi* - to change your mind, *a se sfi* - to be / behave shy. Interestingly, the Romanian language shows cases when the active form of the verb and the reflexive form do not share the meaning, the verbs in these cases have different meanings, e.g.: *a afla* - to find out / *a se afla* - to be, *a uita* - to forget / *a se uita* - to look, to watch, *a găti* - to cook / *a se găti* - to dress up (iron.) (160):

- (160) a) *Maria a gătit în seara asta pentru noi toți.* - Maria cooked for all of us tonight.
 b) *Și de ce s-a gătit a șa?* - Then why did she dress up?

Besides the clitic forms introduced already the reflexive pronouns also have their full form but only for the 3rd person: (*pe*) *sine* (accusative, feminine and masculine, singular and plural), and *sieși* (dative, feminine and masculine, singular and plural). These pronoun forms appear with various prepositions, and in translation they are the equivalents

of the English himself/herself, themselves: *pentru sine* - for himself, herself, themselves, *despre sine* - about himself, herself, themselves, *grație sieși* - thanks to himself, herself, themselves. These long forms of reflexive pronouns also appear in phrases like: *în sinea mea*, *ta* - in my mind; *în sine* - in itself.

6.6.1 Romanian reflexive nominal compounds

Similarly to Italian Romanian also omits the usage of reflexive pronouns and reflexive verbs within its reflexive nominal compounds. As Italian this language also shows a single tendency among its reflexive compounds namely the usage of the *auto-* element as a non-head. The reflexive verbs described above and pronouns do not appear in the compounds.

Since the language prefers the usage of *auto-* elements, the number of reflexive nominal compounds is limited, and shows a similar number as its Italian counterpart (79). The sample of the Romanian *SELF-* compounds contains all the compounds that were available from the above listed sources, and in order to collect as many compounds as possible the compounds from the survey (that had been sent back by the respondents) become part of the analysed compounds as well.

In order to express certain concepts in which cases English uses its *SELF-* compounds, Romanian shows the tendency to use an analytic expression with reflexive pronouns, e.g. *sigur de sine* (self-confident), *respect de sine* (self-respecting), *care se întretine* (self-supporting). The usage of a non-reflexive expression is also a frequently used method to express certain reflexive concepts, e.g. *fățarnic* (self-righteous).

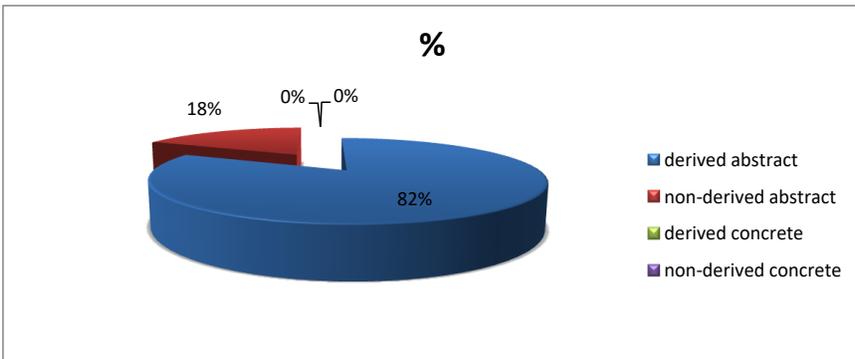
Romanian auto-N compounds

As already mentioned the reflexive nominal compounds of Romanian represent a less productive category when compared to English or to the Slavonic languages. Those concepts that are expressed by *auto-* compounds share their features with the examples of the previous languages to a large extent. As the diagram below suggests the majority of the Romanian *auto-* compounds combine with abstract (argument taking) derived nouns, while the second largest category is represented by the non-derived abstract (argument taking) noun combinations. The sample does not contain cases of *auto-concrete* (non-argument taking) noun combinations. Therefore, it is possible to conclude that given the information provided by the sample, Romanian supports the statement of H_1 and provides no counter-

examples. The diagram on the following page introduces the proportions of (non-) derived abstract (argument taking) nouns within the Romanian *auto*-compounds.

The morphological build-up of these compounds show similar patterns as in the previous languages. The majority of the derived abstract (argument taking) nouns has a verbal basis, while they appear within the following pattern: *auto*-[V+suffix]_N (*autoaccidentare* – self-injury, *autoacuzare* – self-accusation). The rest of the Romanian *auto*-compounds use nouns as their bases: [*auto*+N]_N (*autoagresiune* – self-harm, *autoapărare* – self-defense); and *auto*-[N+suffix]_N (*autopastisare* – self-imitation).

Diagram 5: The proportion of (non-) derived abstract (argument taking) nouns within the Romanian *auto*-compounds



6.6.2 Romanian reflexive adjectival compounds

The sample of Romanian *auto*-Adj compounds offers only a very small number of cases (17). This extent of the sample indicates that these types of reflexive compounds do not represent a productive category. The majority of these compounds are derived with a verbal basis, all of them behaving as argument taking elements supporting by this the first stated hypothesis. However, it is possible to identify one *auto*-Adj compound that behaves as a counter-example, since it does not have an argument structure in the Romanian language, i.e. *autoadeziv* – self-adhesive.

The morphological structure of these compounds presents the same patterns as their Italian counterparts:

- (161) a) *auto*- [V+suffix]_{Adj}: *autoaccidentat* – self-injured, *autoeducativ* – self-educated
 b) [*auto*-Adj]_{Adj}: *autoadeziv* – self-adhesive
 c) *auto*+ [N+suffix]_{Adj}: *autocentric* – self-centered

6.7 Reflexivity in Dutch

Similarly to all the previous languages Dutch also applies reflexivity in case of reflexive verbs and in case of reflexive pronouns. The Dutch reflexive verbs have a reflexive pronoun for their objects, the reflexive pronoun indicating that the object and subject of the action are the same. Some of the Dutch reflexive verbs also have the ability to take a direct object, and behave as transitive verbs as well (Donaldson 2008:257):

- (162) a) *Ik herinnerde me hem erg goed.* - I remembered him very well.
b) *Zij kon het zich niet veroorloven.* - She could not afford it.

These verbs represent two distinct categories: verbs with constant reflexivity and verbs that can behave as reflexive, but they can also be used as transitive verbs with direct objects (Everaert 1986, Reinhart and Reuland 1993). The following verbs belong to the category of what Donaldson calls ‘constant reflexive verbs’, i.e. verbs which appear with the *zich* element constantly (ibid.): *zich aanstellen* - to show off, carry on, *zich afvragen* - to wonder, *zich begeven* - to proceed, make one’s way, *zich bemoeien met* - to meddle with, *zich bevinden* - to find oneself, *zich bewust zijn van* - to be aware of, *zich gedragen/misdragen* - to behave/misbehave, etc. The second category of verbs includes all those Dutch transitive verbs that can be used reflexively, e.g.:

- (163) a) *Hij verdedigde zich* - He defended himself.
b) *Het leger verdedigde de stad* - The army defended the town.

This category includes numerous examples. The following verbs, for example, also belong to this group (2008: 260): *zich aankleden* - to dress (oneself), get dressed, *zich amuseren* - to enjoy oneself, *zich bewegen* - to move, *zich bezig houden met* - to busy oneself with, etc. All the verbs that belong to this category can appear with the longer form of reflexive pronouns (*mezelf, jezelf, zichzelf*), but only in those cases, when one needs to emphasize that the activity was carried out by that person and not by somebody else, e.g.: *Ik kleetde Jantje aan en toen kleetde ik mezelf aan.* I dressed Jantje and then I dressed myself.

Donaldson (2008) demonstrates that Dutch also shows examples of verbs which can be used reflexively, although the non-reflexive form is the form they usually appear in. These verb types always appear with *zichzelf*, and they emphasize the *zelf* element, e.g. (ibid.): *zichzelf kennen* - to know oneself, *in zichzelf lachen* - to laugh to oneself, *in*

zichzelf praten - to talk to oneself, *over zichzelf praten* - to talk about oneself. *Zelf* also appears as an independent word, and in these cases it serves as an intensifier, which emphasizes the importance of the agent, e.g.: *Ik heb het zelf gedaan.* - I did it myself. While the independent expression *zelf* serves as an intensifier in Dutch, the expression *zich* serves the task of a reflexivizer, pointing out that the prepositional object of a verb and the subject pronoun are one and the same entity.

The Dutch reflexive pronouns may be divided into two basic groups from the perspective of morphology. The first group includes the monomorphemic reflexive pronouns, while the second category contains the bimorphemic ones with *zelf* as the second constituent. Broekhuis (1994) differentiates them as simplex and complex reflexive pronouns. These pronouns are marked for person and number, while the category of gender does not present itself. The following table introduces the forms of these reflexive pronouns (1994: 12):

Table 10: The full paradigms of Dutch reflexive pronouns

		singular		plural	
		simplex	complex	simplex	complex
first person		<i>me</i>	<i>mezelf</i>	<i>ons</i>	<i>onszelf</i>
second person	colloquial	<i>je</i>	<i>uzelf</i>	<i>je</i>	<i>jezelf</i>
	polite	<i>u</i> <i>zich</i>	<i>uzelf</i> <i>zichzelf</i>	<i>u</i> <i>zich</i>	<i>uzelf</i> <i>zichzelf</i>
third person		<i>zich</i>	<i>zichzelf</i>	<i>zich</i>	<i>zichzelf</i>

As the table indicates two forms appear in the second person's polite form. These forms are described to be often interchangeable. The only position where *u* is excluded is the position next to the subject of a sentence, e.g.

(164) *Ik denk dat u ?u/zich vergist heeft.*
 I think that you REFL mistaken has

Zich, on the other hand, is excluded from imperative sentences, e.g.:

(165) *Vergis u/*zich niet!*
 mistake REFL not

According to Broekhuis (1994) the simplex form appears mostly in the inherently reflexive constructions, and he highlights the fact that inherent reflexivity cannot be expressed by complex reflexives or pronouns.

6.7.1 Dutch reflexive nominal compounds

The Dutch reflexive nominal compounds share most of their features with the English *SELF*-compounds. Based on the extent of the sample that came from the sources that were listed at the beginning of the chapter, it is possible to conclude that compounding with the reflexive *zelf*- represents a productive word-formation method within Dutch. The majority of the English *SELF*-compounds has a Dutch counterpart without presenting other alternative strategies to express the same concept. Dutch uses only the reflexive *zelf*- to generate reflexive nominal compounds, and it does not use other reflexive pronouns in its compound structures. All the examined *zelf*-compounds belong either to the *zelf*-N category, or to the *zelf*-Adj category. The sample does not include *zelf*-V combinations, what indicates that Dutch does not prefer the usage of verbs within its reflexive compounds.

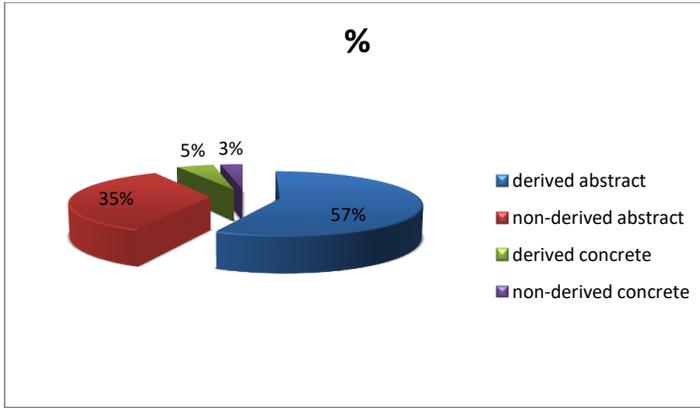
Dutch *zelf*-N compounds

From the perspective of *zelf*-N compounds Dutch seems to follow the same tendencies as the previous languages. The reflexive *zelf*- as a non-head shows a strong tendency to combine with derived abstract (argument taking) nouns. The verbal basis behaves as the most typical component of the derivation, therefore the presence of an argument structure cannot be questioned in these cases either. As in the previous cases the second largest category is represented by the non-derived abstract (argument taking) nouns, while the third most frequent combination was the *zelf*+derived concrete (non-argument taking) noun formation.

As Diagram 6 suggests Dutch also offers some counter-examples, i.e. concrete (non-argument taking) nouns without an argument structure. The low number of such formations suggests that Dutch does not prefer this type of compounding either. The possible counter-examples are the following: *zelfbestuurder* – self-governed *zelfportret* – self-portrait. The expression *zelfbestuurder* denotes a person, who manages his life/career. The word is derived from the expression *bestuur* that can function either as a noun or as a verb. Since the verbal element is present in this case, it is possible to conclude that this expression may show an underlying argument structure, supporting by this the observation

stated in the first hypothesis (H₁). The final example is a well-known one, since it presented itself in almost all the analyzed languages. *Zelfportret* in Dutch functions exactly as in the previous languages. It serves as the only counter-example to H₁ because of the feature of the head of being a non-derived concrete (non-argument taking) noun.

Diagram 6: The proportion of (non-) derived abstract (argument taking) and concrete (non-argument taking) nouns within the Dutch *zelf*- compounds



The morphological build-up of these compounds also presents the same patterns as the nominal reflexive compounds of the previous languages:

- (166) a) *zelf*+*[V+suffix]_N*: *zelfaanvaarding* – self-acceptance, *zelfachting*– self-respect
 b) [*zelf*+*N*]_N: *zelfanalyse* – self-analysis, *zelfagressie* – self-aggression
 c) *zelf*+*[N+suffix]_N*: *zelfportretist* – self-portraitist
 d) *zelf*+*[Adj+suffix]_N*: *zelfredzaamheid* – self-reliance, *zelfreferentialiteit* – self-referentiality

6.7.2 Dutch reflexive adjectival compounds

The number of Dutch *zelf*-Adj compounds is more limited than the number of *zelf*-N compounds (113 to 31) from the perspective of frequency. This fact indicates that the *zelf*-Adj combination does not belong to the productive compound patterns of Dutch. The majority of these compounds show a verbal basis, and consequently an underlying argument structure. Since all the adjectives behave as argument taking expression, this

category within Dutch does not present a counter-example against the statement of the first hypothesis.

The morphological structures of these compounds also show similar patterns as English:

- (167) a) *zelf*- [V+suffix]_{Adj}: *zelfbedruipend* – self-sufficient, *zelfbesturend*-self-governing
b) [*zelf*+Adj]_{Adj}: *zelfbewust* –self-conscious, *zelfzeker* – self-confident
c) *zelf*+ [N+suffix]_{Adj}: *zelfdestructief*– self-destructive
d) [*zelf*+V_{past part.}]_{Adj}: *zelf-gemaakt* – self-made, *zelfingenomen*-self-involved/absorbed

6.8 Summary

The analyses of the seven languages from the perspective of argument taking enable the formulation of certain conclusions.

When considering the common features of the languages it is possible to state that English, Italian, Romanian and Dutch use only one reflexive element as a non-head in order to generate their reflexive nominal compounds. Slovak, Hungarian and Polish, on the other hand, use two types of reflexive elements in these structures. English and Dutch use this compound type productively. The number of such constructions is relatively high, and the *self*- (*zelf*-) non-head appears in new formulations as well. These languages do not need further strategies in order to generate reflexive nominal compounds, the *SELF*-N/Adj patterns seem to be sufficient. Interestingly, none of these two languages combine their *self*- non-head with a verbal element. While the analyses of Dutch and English indicate that reflexive nominal compounds figure as sufficient sources to express certain concepts with a single reflexive non-head element, Italian and Romanian show the strategy in a much narrower context. Based on the extent of the samples it is possible to conclude that these two languages do not use reflexive nominal compounds as productively as English or Dutch. Italian, as well as Romanian, prefers to use analytic forms (the combination of a verb and a reflexive pronoun) instead of the compounds. Slovak, Hungarian and Polish, on the other hand, show a strong tendency to use more than one reflexive element as a non-head in their reflexive nominal compounds. Slovak uses either the *samo*-, or the *seba*-element, while in some cases the reflexive *seba*- simply replaces the older *samo*- form. The

meaning of the expressions does not change, but the shift from one element to the other is clearly recognizable, e.g. *samoklam* → *sebaklam* (self-delusion). Compounding with the *samo-/seba*-non-heads is described as a productive word-formation method in Slovak. Hungarian also uses two types of non-heads in its reflexive nominal compounds: the element *maga-*, and the element *ön-*. While *maga-* is described as a fixed phrase with only a limited number of expressions that it combines with, *ön-* behaves as the real counterpart of the English *self-*, and provides a rich sample for analysis. Similarly to Slovak and Hungarian Polish also uses two non-head types in its reflexive nominal compound category *samo-* and *auto-*, while the *samo-* form offers a more extended sample for analysis than the *auto-*compounds.

Secondly, a common feature of all the analyzed languages is the pattern their reflexive nominal compounds appear in when combined with nouns. Taking into consideration the types of nouns that they combine with it is possible to conclude that all the languages prefer the combination of reflexive non-head+abstract (argument taking) derived noun. The second place within the popular combining forms belongs to the non-derived abstract (argument taking) nouns, and finally certain reflexive non-heads also combine with derived concrete (non-argument taking) nouns. The combination of reflexive non-head+non-derived concrete (non-argument taking) nouns can be described as a scarce category, and the counter-examples are represented only by a few expressions, one of which surprisingly appears in almost all the analyzed languages, e.g. *self-portrait*. Certain languages also offer cases of reflexive non-head+bound form combinations.

The following common feature of the reflexive nominal compounds of all the analyzed languages is the tendency to combine their reflexive non-heads with argument taking heads. Since most of the nominal reflexive compounds include a deverbalised element, the presence of an argument structure remains unquestionable. The number of counter-examples remains very low in each language, therefore the validity of Di Sciullo's claim, and consequently the validity of H₁ remains supported.

All the analyzed languages offer a primary reflexive marker in their constructions. English uses the expression *self* as its primary reflexive marker, Slovak uses either the complex *seba* form, or the simple *sa*, the Hungarian primary reflexive marker is the *mag-POSS* pattern, while Polish uses *siebie* and *sie*. Finally, Italian shows a tendency to indicate reflexivity by the *sé/si* expressions, and Romanian present *se*, *și/sine* in the same position, while Dutch uses the form *zelf*. Interestingly, these primary reflexive markers do not always appear in the reflexive nominal compound constructions of these languages.

English and Dutch seem to be the only exceptions from this generalization. English uses its *self*-form in its compounds, while Dutch follows this strategy and applies its *zelf*-form in the same manner. Slovak and Hungarian also show this tendency, but they combine their intensifiers (Slovak *samo*-, Hungarian *ön*-) in these compounds with different elements. Polish, Italian and Romanian do not use their primary reflexive forms at all in their reflexive nominal compounds. All the three languages show the tendency to use their intensifiers in reflexive nominal compounds (Polish *samo*-, Italian *auto*- and Romanian *auto*-), while the reflexive forms do not appear in these constructions at all.

Finally, except for Italian and Romanian, the other languages do not show a tendency to combine their non-head element with a verb within their reflexive nominal compounds. Based on the suggestions of the native speakers it is possible to conclude that Italian (169), as well as Romanian (168) allow the combination of their reflexive non-heads with the verbal elements within the reflexive compounds, e.g.:

- | | | |
|-------|--|----------|
| (168) | <i>autoflagela</i> – to whip oneself
<i>autoinstrui</i> – to educate oneself
<i>autodescrie</i> – to describe oneself
<i>autoprocama</i> – to proclaim oneself king
<i>autoaccidenta</i> – to injure oneself | Romanian |
| (169) | <i>autoassolversi</i> – absolve oneself
<i>autoinvitarsi</i> – to invite oneself
<i>autoaccusarsi</i> – to accuse oneself
<i>autocitarsi</i> – to quote oneself | Italian |

The table on the following page provides a summary of the features of reflexive nominal compounds based on the analyses of the seven listed languages:

Table 11: The features of reflexive nominal compounds based on the analyses of the seven listed languages

	<i>English</i>	<i>Slovak</i>	<i>Hungarian</i>	<i>Polish</i>	<i>Italian</i>	<i>Romanian</i>	<i>Dutch</i>
more than one possible reflexive non-head	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N
derived abstract (argument taking) noun as the most common head	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
argument taking heads	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
counter-examples to argument taking heads	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
Primary reflexive marker	self	seba/sa	mag- POSS	siebie, sie	sé, si	se, și/sine	(zich)ze lf
PRM used in the compound	Y	Y+ intensifier samo	Y+ intensifier ön	N- only intensifier samo	N- only intensifier auto	N- only intensifier auto	Y
the presence of self-V combination	N	N	N	N	Y	Y	N

Chapter 7

Further properties of the reflexive nominal compounds

As mentioned earlier Anna Maria Di Sciullo (1996) concentrated in her work on *SELF-N/Adj* compounds. She suggested that in these English compounds the reflexive *self* combines only with those elements that can take an argument. The previous pages showed that this statement remains valid not only in English but in Slovak, Hungarian, Polish, Italian, Romanian and Dutch as well. Di Sciullo made further observations about the nature of these compounds. Taking into consideration the type of the underlying verb in the derived forms Di Sciullo points out that the reflexive *self* may combine with nominals and adjectives based only on transitive predicates:

- (170) a) a *self-portrait* vs. a portrait by oneself
b) a *self-service* vs. a service by oneself
c) a *self-educated* woman vs. a woman educated by herself (Di Sciullo 1996: 114)

She develops her thought further, when she suggests that a predicate must have an implicit Agent to support the *self* composition (170), and because of that ergative and unergative verbs should not compose with the reflexive *self* (171) (examples and judgements from Di Sciullo):

- (171) a) Mary's *self-knowledge* vs. the knowledge that Mary acquired by herself
b) John's *self-thinking* vs. the thinking that John did by himself
c) a *self-contempt* man vs. a man contempt by himself (ibid.)
- (172) a)*Mary's *self-dream*
b)*Mary's *self-laugh*
c)*a *self-dreamable* nightmare (ibid.)

Since these statements concentrated only on English the following pages aim to analyse them in the other six languages.

Based on the statements of Di Sciullo (1996) two hypotheses have been stated:

H₂: *The reflexive self appears with nouns and adjectives that are based on agentive/causative transitive predicates not only in English, but in Dutch, Slovak, Polish, Hungarian, Romanian, and Italian as well.*

H₃: *Those nominals that are based on ergative and unergative verbs cannot combine with the reflexive self not only in English, but in Dutch, Slovak, Polish, Hungarian, Romanian, and Italian as well.*

As the former chapters stated *SELF*-compounds of Slovak, Hungarian, Polish, Italian, Romanian and Dutch contain a derived abstract (argument taking), or a derived concrete (non-argument taking) noun. In most of the cases verbs serve as bases of derivation. The following table summarizes the analysis of the examples given in the text:

Table 12: The presence of transitive verbs in reflexive nominal compounds

Slovak	<i>seba-</i> : <i>sebaopakovanie</i> 'self-repeating'	<i>samo-</i> : <i>samochvála</i> 'self-praise'
Hungarian	<i>ön-</i> : <i>önutálat</i> 'self-hatred'	<i>maga-</i> : <i>magamutogató</i> 'exhibitionist'
Polish	<i>samo-</i> : <i>samochwalstwo</i> 'self-praise'	<i>auto-</i> : <i>autoprezentacja</i> 'self-presentation'
Italian	<i>auto-</i> : <i>autocitazione</i> 'self-citation'	-
Romanian	<i>auto-</i> : <i>autoacuzare</i> 'self-accusation'	-
Dutch	<i>zelf-</i> : <i>zelfaanvaarding</i> 'self-acceptance'	-

As the table suggests all of the languages present the same tendency as English. The presence of a transitive basis represents the basic strategy of derivation within these compounds. In my selection of examples no language presents more than three counter-examples. In Slovak, for example, neither the sample of the *seba-* compounds, nor the sample of *samo-* compounds show any cases that would not support the observation of H₂.

Hungarian presents several counter-examples, but only from the category of *ön-*compounds, e.g. *önműködő* (self-working, automatic), *öntevékeny* (self-motivated, lit. self-acting). The sample of the *maga-*compounds does not offer such examples. Polish also presents examples of intransitive verbal basis of derivation, e.g. *samodzielny* (independent), where the basis *działać* (to act, to be active) behaves as an intransitive verb in Polish. The Italian sample contains a few counter-examples (e.g. *autocompiaciménto* – ‘self-satisfaction/gratification’, where the basis *compiacere* is described as an intransitive verb, but their number is not sufficient to question the validity of H₂ within the frames of Italian. The samples of Romanian and of Dutch also support the statement of the second hypothesis, since they do not offer any counter-examples to this statement.

To sum up, it is possible to conclude that similarly to the first hypothesis the second hypothesis has also been confirmed. Although some of the analyzed languages offer a few counter-examples their number remains very low in each language, therefore they cannot question the validity of the statement. It is true that some of the analyzed languages offer a few counter-examples, but these counterexamples are very limited (again taking into account that lexical generalizations are almost never without counterexamples). Since the non-head may bear different meanings, one might hypothesise that the exceptions differ from the other compounds based on their semantic features. The counter-examples of Hungarian show a strong tendency towards the meaning ‘automatic’ or ‘manipulated by itself’. In case of the Italian example it is also possible to describe the SELF-element as an element bearing an intensifying meaning and a reflexive one within the compound as well. This double feature of the non-head may allow the combination with a nominalization, which is derived from an intransitive verb. The facts presented above suggest that the third hypothesis remains valid in all the analyzed languages as well. Since all the languages show a strong tendency to have a transitive verb in their structure (as a deverbalised noun), the feature of un/ergativity does not play a key role within reflexive nominal compounds.

Ekkehard König completed the observations on *SELF*-compounds in his *Reflexive nominal compounds* (2011), and provided a deeper cross-linguistic analysis of such compounds. In the first part of his study he presented several basic facts about reflexive nominal compounds, and he provided examples from English, French, German, Russian, and Finnish to support his observations. The following pages would like to expand these observations, and verify the examples of Ekkehard König in the following languages: Dutch as a further member of the Germanic languages besides English, Hungarian as a member of the Finno-Ugric languages, Slovak and Polish as members of the Western

Slavic language group, and Italian and Romanian that represent the Romance languages. The basic statements that Ekkehard König presents in his study are the following (König, pp. 112-3.):

- a) the first component of the reflexive nominal compounds is derived from intensifiers (Engl. (X-) *self*; Ger. *selbst, eigen*; Russ. *sam*; Mand. *ziji*, etc.), their second component is either a deverbal nominalization, or a deverbal adjective with very rare exceptions, where a non-derived noun is found,
- b) the second element of reflexive nominal compounds maintains the ability to enter additional derivational processes, e.g. *self-conscious* > *self-consciousness*,
- c) not only the reflexive *self* is used in reflexive nominal compounds as a left-hand constituent, e.g. German has three possible choices (*selbst-, eigen-, auto-*), English has *self-* and *auto-*, and French also has two (*auto-* and *propre*, e.g. *amour-propre* ‘self-love’).

As already mentioned König (2011) suggests that there are four different types of intensifiers, and that reflexive nominal compounds can be paraphrased in terms of at least one of the possible uses characteristic for intensifiers:

(173) Use types of intensifiers

a) the adnominal use

Writers themselves, rather than their works, should be examined for their sense of social responsibility.

b) the adverbial-exclusive use (‘on one’s own, alone’)

Mrs. Dalloway wanted to buy the flowers herself.

c) the adverbial-inclusive use (‘too’)

Mr. Salmon was all right, though. You see, he’d once been a costermonger himself, but that was before he married Miss Roach, the baker’s daughter.

d) the attributive use

Mind your own business!
(König & Gast 2007)

König (2011) analyses the use of intensifiers in his study, and describes their appearance in reflexive nominal compounds. According to König the adnominal type of intensifiers serves as a proper basis for the underlying *SELF*-compounds in English, if the reflexive marker is modified (in cases as for example John assesses *HIMSELF*) (ibid.). He recognizes the subtype of the adnominal use with a modified reflexive marker as highly relevant (e.g.

self-pity, since it is a state when one pities oneself and not others), the attributive use is also possible, but only in German, Finnish, and Greek, i.e. in languages where the originally possessive adjective *own* transformed into a possible first element of reflexive nominal compounds. König excludes the presence of inclusive adverbial intensifiers in *SELF*-compounds, while the exclusive adverbial intensifiers are present especially in reflexive constructions. Based on the statements of Ekkehard König, it is possible to state the following hypotheses: *Languages belonging to the same language (sub-) family will exhibit SELF-compounds with the same intensifier types, i.e. adnominal, attributive and exclusive adverbial.* For ease of exposition we will separate this suggestion in two separate hypotheses:

H₄: *Since both Russian and Slovak belong to the same language family, they will exhibit SELF-compounds with the same intensifier types, i.e. adnominal, attributive and exclusive adverbial.*

H₅: *Since both Finnish and Hungarian belong to the same language family, they will exhibit SELF-compounds with the same intensifier types, i.e. adnominal, attributive and exclusive adverbial.*

The sample of the Slovak *samo-/seba-* compounds indicates that this language follows the tendencies of Russian. It offers compounds in which the intensifier *samo-* has the adnominal function, e.g. *samorobný* (self-made), where *samo-* contrasts the referent (R) to a set of alternative referents. Interestingly, the *seba-* element does not show similar examples. The presence of the adverbial exclusive intensifiers is also confirmed by such compounds as *samoopelenie* (self-pollination). In these cases *samo-* indicates that the action happened without help. The final type of intensifiers that also appears in Slovak is the attributive type, and it is represented by expressions like *samoláska* (self-love), where *samo-* indicates a type of love in this case, i.e. one's love of one's own self. These facts suggest that the fourth hypothesis has also been confirmed. Slovak follows the patterns typical for the Slavic languages, but it does not add an intensifier type to the existing list.

Taking into consideration the properties of Hungarian it is possible to conclude that it includes cases of adnominal intensifiers, e.g. *magaalkotta/magacsinálta* (self-made), while *maga-* in this case behaves exactly as the Slovak *samo-* in the previous paragraph. The adverbial exclusive type of the intensifiers also represents itself in Hungarian with the aim to express that something happened without help, e.g. *önindító* (self-starter). The

adverbial inclusive intensifier is missing in this language as well. The attributive meaning presents itself in such cases as *önismeret* (self-knowledge) for example, where *ön-*describes a type of knowledge, i.e. one's knowledge of oneself. Similarly to Slovak Hungarian also behaves in the same way as its Ugro-Finnic counterpart from the perspective of intensifier types within the nominal reflexive compounds.

The two final hypotheses that are verified in this thesis also use Ekkehard König's study as a starting point. The first hypothesis is connected to the observation that König made about the derivational processes present in English and in all the further analyzed languages, primarily in the nominal reflexive compounds. He suggests that the derivation of the head is present in every language he looked at, and it can be easily achieved by means of suffixation. The non-head, on the other hand, does not licence further derivational processes. This is the reason why one can identify cases like *self-conscious*>*self-consciousness*, but the realisation of the following process is impossible: **self-ness-sufficient*. This fact serves as the basis for the sixth hypothesis:

H₆: SELF-compounds can enter further derivational processes of the following type: self-conscious>self-consciousness, but do not license lexical projections of the following type: self-very-sufficient or selfness-sufficient.

As the presented patterns of morphological build-up indicate the nominal reflexive compounds of all the seven analyzed languages present derivational processes, but these processes modify only the head. The non-head of the expressions, i.e. the reflexive element, remains without morphological modifications.

Interestingly, besides the regular patterns of the morphological build-up, Dutch was the only one that presented complex compounding (but not derivation), and combined several bases, e.g.:

- (174) a) basic *self*-expression: *zelfbediening* (self-service)
 b) further compounding:
- *zelfbedieningskapitalisme* (self-service(ing) capitalism)
 - *zelfbedieningsontbijt* (self-service breakfast)
 - *zelfbedieningswarenhuis* (self-service department store)
 - *zelfbedieningswinkel* (self-service shop)

- *zelfbedieningszaak* (ensconced – the self-service meaning disappears)

None of the analysed languages present complex forms with a derivational process that would modify the head, and because of that it is possible to conclude that the sixth hypothesis remains valid in all the analyzed languages.

As mentioned several times in this thesis English uses two types of intensifiers that were identified by König within its *SELF*-compounds, i.e. the adnominal type and the exclusive adverbial one. Slovak and Hungarian present more types of reflexive non-heads within their reflexive nominal compounds, and because of that it is possible to assume that the types of the intensifiers will not be identical within these languages to the English numbers. These facts allowed the formulation of the following hypothesis:

H₇: *Slovak or Hungarian exhibit a wider range of intensifier types in their SELF-compounds, based on the number of possible non-heads in these languages.*

Slovak uses the *samo-* and the *seba-* elements in its *SELF*-compounds. The following table summarizes the types of intensifiers that appear within these formations:

Table 13: The types of intensifiers in Slovak

Types of intensifiers of self-compounds	adnominal	adverbial inclusive	adverbial exclusive	attributive
samo-N/Adj	Yes, e.g. <i>samorobený</i> (self-made)	-	Yes, e.g. <i>samoopelenie</i> (self-pollination)	Yes, e.g. <i>samoláska</i> (self-love)
seba-N/Adj	-	-	-	Yes, e.g. <i>sebakontrola</i> (self-control)

a) *samorobený* – self-made

Náš šéf sám urobil tento projekt.
 we-poss. boss himself make-3p.sg.pst.fin. this project
 Our boss himself prepared this project. (in contrast to one of his employees)

b) *samoopelenie* – self-pollination

Táto rastlina opelí svoje kvety sama.
 this plant pollinate-3p.sg.prs.fin. own flower-pl alone(itself)
 This plant pollinates its flowers itself. (alone, no help)

c) samoláska – self-love

Jánova láska k sebe samému ma prekvapila.
 John-poss.fem. love to himself-Dat own-Dat I-Gen surprise-3p.sg.pst.
 John's love of himself (self-love) surprised me.

d) sebakontrola – self-control

Jánova kontrola seba samého je silná.
 John-poss.fem. control himself-Gen own-Gen is strong
 John's control of himself (self-control) is strong.

The table above suggests that Slovak uses more types of intensifiers within its reflexive nominal compounds, and that it presents a more varied selection of forms and meanings.

The table on this page summarizes the types of intensifiers in Hungarian. Based on the data Hungarian as well as Slovak presents a varied picture of intensifier use. Except for the adverbial inclusive type all the meanings are represented in both languages. The only difference appears in the category of adnominal intensifiers, since the Slovak *seba-* does not carry the adnominal meaning.

Table 14: The types of intensifiers in Hungarian

Types of intensifiers of self-compounds	adnominal	adverbial inclusive	adverbial exclusive	attributive
maga-N/Adj	Yes, e.g. <i>magaalkotta/magacsinálta</i> (self-made)	-	Yes, e.g. <i>magaalkotta</i> (self-created)	Yes, e.g. <i>magakényszerítés</i> (self-forcing)
ön-N/Adj	Yes, e.g. <i>önmegfigyelés</i> (self-observation)	-	Yes, e.g. <i>önfejlesztés</i> (self-development)	Yes, e.g. <i>önismeret</i> (self-knowledge)

a) magaalkotta/magacsinálta – self-made

A művész maga alkotta/csinálta ezt a képet.
 the artist himself create-3p.sg.pst. this the picture-Acc
 The artist himself created this picture. (in contrast to one of his students)

b) önmegfigyelés – self-observation

A lány maga figyeli meg saját viselkedését.
 the girl herself observe-1ps.sg.pst.fin. own behaviour-Acc,poss.
 The girl herself observes her own behaviour.

c) magaalkotta – self-created

Az építész maga akarta megalkotni a tervet.
the architect himself want-3p.sg.pst. create-fin the plan-Acc
The architect wanted to prepare the plan himself. (alone, no help)

d) önfeljesztés – self-development

Éva maga akarta fejleszteni a tudását.
Eve herself want-3p.sg.pst. develop the knowledge-Acc.poss.
Eve wanted to develop her knowledge herself. (alone, no help)

e) magakényszerítés – self-forcing

Jani önmagát kényszerítette a feladat elvégzésére.
John himself (his own self) force-3p.sg.pst. the task carry out
John forced himself to carry out the task. (in contrast to someone else)

f) önfeláldozás – self-sacrifice

Jani önmagát áldozta fel a balesetben.
John himself (his own self) sacrifice-3p.sg.pst. the accident-Loc.
John sacrificed himself in the accident. (in contrast to someone else)

Chapter 8

The Categories of Verbs in Verb-Based Self-Compounds: English, Slovak and Hungarian

Beth Levin in her *English Verb Classes and Alternations* (1993) classifies a wide range of verbs from two perspectives: from the perspective of diathesis alternations and verb classification from a semantic point of view. In the classifying part Levin offers an exhausting list of verb categories based on the meanings of the verbs, and also offers lists of different verbs that belong to a certain described category. The introduction of a category also describes its semantic properties, the context that these verbs appear in, and their behaviour within a sentence.

In our analysis we examined 170 verb bases of English derived *SELF*-compounds, and classified them according to Levin's characterization. It took into consideration the semantic properties of the given category, and the features that Levin lists as key attributes. The samples of the derived *SELF*-compounds come from those compounds, which had been analysed in the previous chapters. All the derived compounds were included in the analysis, these was not a selection process included in the process of data collection.

Based on these descriptions, the analysis managed to identify twenty-two different verb categories that appear in derived *SELF*-compounds. The following pages offer the introduction of these categories and of the verbs that belong to them.

8.1 The Categories of Verbs in the English Derived *SELF*-Compounds

I. Psych Verbs

Psych Verbs represent the most numerous category among the verbs of English derived *SELF*-compounds (45 out of 170). According to Levin, these verbs usually take two arguments, while from semantic point of view one of the arguments behaves as the

experiencer and the other one as the stimulus (or sometimes theme, cause, object of emotion, or target of emotion). Psych Verbs may be divided into four further subclasses. Two of these subclasses include transitive verbs only, while the other two also have intransitive members. The two subclasses that contain all the transitive Psych Verbs take into consideration whether the experiencer behaves as the subject (*amuse* verbs), or the object (*admire* verbs). The intransitive verbs take prepositional phrase complements (*marvel* and *appeal* verbs).

The analysis of derived English *SELF*-compounds shows that the *amuse* and *admire* verbs appear in an almost identical number in such compounds, while the *marvel* and *appeal* verbs do not show cases of appearance at all. The feature of intransitivity plays a key role among these verbs. Since intransitive verbs do not usually combine with a reflexive pronoun on the syntactic level, they cannot combine with the *self* element in the process of compounding either.

The *amuse* verbs “describe the bringing about of a change in psychological or emotional state” (Levin, p. 191). The agent of these transitive verbs causes a change in psychological state, while the object behaves as the experiencer of the emotion. The sample includes examples like: *self-satisfaction* (satisfy), *self-restraint* (restrain), *self-stimulating* (stimulate), *self-motivation* (motivate), etc.

Within the *admire* verbs the subject behaves as the experiencer and not the object. The sample offered the following examples, e.g.: *self-admiration* (admire), *self-appreciation* (appreciate), *self-esteem* (esteem), *self-respect* (respect), *self-disdain* (disdain), *self-pity* (pity), etc.

II. Verbs with Predicative Complement

The sample of English derived *SELF*-compounds offered examples of the following subclasses:

- appoint (*self-appoint*, *self-nominated*)
- characterize (*self-image*, *self-portrait*)
- declare (*self-belief*, *self-avowed*)
- conjecture (*self-discovery*, *self-knowledge*)
- dub (*self-rule*, *self-imposed*)

Beth Levin suggests that the members of this category introduce certain properties of entities, while they all take predicative complements. In most of the cases the predicative

complement is predicated to the immediately postverbal NP. Levin introduces the following frames as the most frequent generated by the verbs of this class:

- NP V NP NP
- NP V NP as NP
- NP V NP to be NP
- NP V NP AP
- NP V NP as AP
- NP V NP to be AP

a) *appoint* verbs

Levin states that it is not clear why certain verbs are categorized as *appoint* verbs from the semantic point of view, since they share similar properties as *characterize* and *dub* verbs. From syntactic point of view it is possible to state that the majority of these verbs take two postverbal NPs or a postverbal NP followed by an *as phrase*. The sample offered the following examples, e.g.: *self-esteem*, *self-appointed*.

b) *characterize* verbs

The members of the class allow only the ‘NP V NP as NP’ frame, but the semantic properties of them are not further specified. Based on the examples listed in this category, it was possible to identify the following examples in the sample, e.g.: *self-image*, *self-portrait*, and *self-identity*.

c) *declare* verbs

As in the previous categories, the syntactic frame of these verbs is specified as ‘NP V NP NP’, e.g.: *self-belief*, *self-confessed*, *self-declared*.

d) *conjecture* verbs

These verbs present only one frame as acceptable: ‘NP V NP to be NP’, none of the other above-listed frames appear in this category, e.g.: *self-discovery*, *self-knowledge*, *self-denial*.

e) *dub* verbs

From the semantic point of view, these verbs relate to the act of bestowing of names. They generate only to NP V NP NP frame, e.g.: *self-rule*, *self-branded*, *self-crowned*. The further classes of Verbs with Predicative Complement (*masquerade*, *orphan*, *captain*) do not present themselves in the analyzed sample.

III. Change of State

This category also offers numerous subclasses of verbs based on their semantic properties.

a) break verbs

The verbs describe actions that cause changes in the integrity of materials, while they do not provide any information about the circumstances of the change. *Self-injury*, *self-mutilation*, and *self-renewing* show the properties of this subclass.

b) other alternating verbs of change of state

This subclass offers verbs that describe changes that were caused externally, while many of them refer to changes of the physical state. Interestingly, the *SELF-* component turns this process back, and suggests that the change was caused by the agent and not by an external force. Examples of this subclass include: *self-help*, *self-control*, *self-government*, *self-employment*, *self-regulation*, *self-improvement*, *self-development*, *self-realization*, *self-neglect*, *self-management*, *self-incrimination*, *self-sabotage*, and *self-inflicted*.

IV. Verbs of Communication

This category represents itself in the sample with two subclasses: *say verbs* and *verbs of transfer of a message*.

a) verbs of transfer of a message

As the name of the subclass suggests, its verbs express a type of communication differentiated by something like “illocutionary force” (p.203). The nature of the message and its presentation may differ. The sample offered the following examples: *self-citation*, *self-explication*, *self-demonstration*, and *self-expression*.

b) say verbs

Levin suggests that these verbs are verbs of proposition and propositional attitudes (p.210). This set of verbs exemplify a type of communication that may take a *to* phrase indicating by this the addressee. *Self-confidence*, *self-observation*, and *self-proclamation* represent this subclass.

V. Judgment Verbs

This category also offers numerous examples of verbal bases of self-compounds, e.g.: *self-censorship*, *self-forgiveness*, *self-congratulation*, *self-reproach*, *self-justification*, *self-advertisement*, *self-abuse*, *self-punishment*. The verbs of this category express a relation to a judgment or opinion that someone may have in reaction to something.

VI. Change of Possession

The sample's verbs demonstrate four different subclasses of this category: *give* verbs, verbs of *future having*, *contribute* verbs, and *obtain* verbs.

a) give verbs

The sample offers two examples of this subclass: *self-giving* and *self-pay*. The verbs of this class display the dative alternation, and their appearance in prepositional phrases is optional. When they appear in such constructions they must be headed by the preposition *to*.

b) verbs of future having

The verbal bases of *self-promotion*, *self-will*, and *self-advancement* represent this category. It indicates a change of possession that will take place in the future. Levin observes that these verbs show no difference from the *give* verbs. She maintained both categories in order to follow the precedence of previous works.

c) obtain

The verbal bases of the following expressions represent this class: *self-selection*, *self-serving*. These verbs may also take the benefactive *for* preposition.

d) contribute

The subclass is represented in the sample by the expressions *self-sacrifice* and *self-administration*. The verbs do not allow dative alternation, and Levin sees the main reason of this behaviour in the Latinate origin of the verbs.

VII. Verbs of Assessment

The following *SELF*-compounds represent this category: *self-assessment*, *self-reflection*, *self-evaluation*, and *self-analysis*. All of these verbs express making an assessment of something with respect to some attribute. They do not express a judgment or a feeling.

VIII. Verbs of Creation and Transformation

The representatives of this category belong to three distinctive subclasses: *build* verbs, *create* verbs, and *performance* verbs.

a) build verbs

The members of this class describe the creation of a product by using raw materials. This class includes the following expressions: *self-made*, *self-styled*, *self-assembly*.

b) create verbs

This set of verbs takes an “affected object” that refers to the created object. *Self-organization* represents this category.

c) performance verbs

The expression *self-directed* represents this subclass. As the name of the subclass suggest these verbs describe performances, and these performances are themselves the affected object.

IX. Killing Verbs

The category of killing verbs presents two possible subclasses: *murder* verbs and *poison* verbs. The sample offers examples for both of these:

a) murder verbs

The verbs of this subclass describe different ways of killing. None of these verbs lexicalizes a means component, which means that none of the verbs offer specific information about the method of killing. The sample offers *self-immolation* as a representative of this class.

b) poison verbs

The verbs of this subclass offer more concrete information about the ways of killing, since each of these verbs lexicalizes a means component. As Levin proposes: “as means verbs, these verbs need not entail that the action they denote results in death, however, some of them do” (p. 232). The sample offers the following examples: *self-poisoning* and *self-electrocution*.

X. Image Creation Verbs

The expressions that belong to this category (*self-portrait*, *self-written*, *self-replication*) represent the subclass of *scribble* verbs. Levin states that the meaning of most of these verbs includes a specification of a manner or instrument, while a number of them are zero-related to nouns that name the instrument, which is used for writing or drawing.

XI. Verbs of Perception

The subclass of *sight* verbs offer many items as bases of *SELF*-compounds, e.g.: *self-discovery*, *self-examination*, *self-recognition*, *self-regard*, *self-study*, *self-perception*. This subset of verbs takes the perceiver as subject and what is perceived the object.

XII. Destroy Verbs

This category does not offer further differentiations in the meaning of its verbs. It gathers verbs that describe a total destruction of entities. The sample offered *self-harm*, *self-destruction*, and *self-effacement* as examples.

XIII. Verbs of Removing

All the verbs of this category belong to the same subclass, i.e. to the verbs of possessional deprivation: *self-abduction*, *self-emancipation*, *self-extortion*, *self-rescue*. These verbs express the removal of something from someone's possession, while the previous possessor may be expressed by a *from* prepositional phrase. The verbs may also appear in benefactive *for* phrases in order to indicate the person on whose behalf the removal was done.

XIV. Verbs of Concealment

Self-protection serves as the only example for this category. The verbs which belong in this category express keeping something out of view, or out of reach.

XV. Measure Verbs

This category also offers several subclasses; however, only one subclass is represented in the sample, which is the subclass of *price verbs*. This subclass describes an agent that measures the value of an attribute of an entity along scale, which is needed in order to characterize the attribute. These verbs are always used transitively. The sample offers the following examples: *self-appraisal* and *self-assessment*.

XVI. Verbs of Appearance, Disappearance, and Occurrence

This category offers only two examples, while both of them belong to the subclass of *reflexive verbs of appearance*. Based on Levin's description, all of these verbs describe the act of appearance, and all of them may be used transitively as two-argument verbs, while this usage is obligatorily associated with the presence of a reflexive pronoun as object. When these verbs are used as verbs of appearance, their subject manifests the same semantic relations to the verb as the object does in the ordinary transitive use. The sample offers *self-assertion* and *self-declaration* as examples.

XVII. Verbs of Searching

This category is represented by only one expression, i.e. *self-seeking*. It belongs to the subclass of *search* verbs, which in some cases occur together with the expression *through* as the preposition heading the locative prepositional phrase.

XVIII. Verbs of Putting

The sample of the analyzed *SELF*-compounds offers two expressions from this category, i.e. *self-propelled* and *self-infected*. The expression *self-propelled* belongs to the subclass of *coil* verbs. The members of this subclass can be used as transitive verbs and as intransitive ones as well. When used as transitive verb they express a manner of motion, while in intransitive position they represent the category of intransitive *roll* verbs.

The second expression represents another subclass, namely the category of *fill* verbs. Based on Levin's assumptions, it is possible to conclude that these verbs introduce a "resulting state of a location as a consequence of putting something on or in it" (p.120)

XIX. Verbs of Colouring

Three analyzed expressions represent this category: *self-painted*, *self-coloured*, and *self-dyed*. All of these expressions describe the action of changing the colour of entity by the application of some coating that covers the surface of the formal colour.

XX. Verbs of Sending and Carrying

The sample offers only one example of these verbs: *self-drive*, which belongs to the drive subclass. The subclass describes the causation of accompanied motion, typically the used vehicle or other means, while some of them take the name of the verb that is used as well.

XXI. Learn Verbs

This category is represented by only one expression in the sample: self-study. The verbs of this class describe the acquisition of information. The observation of verb categories also allows generating the following conclusions:

- interestingly, the Verbs of Preparing (food) would generate only self-compounds where the self- behaves as an intensifier (fry, bake, wash, e.g. *self-baked cake*, *self-fried chicken*, *self-washed potatoes*)
- performance verbs would behave in the same way
- also, there are categories the members of which do not combine with the self-element at all: verbs of social interacting, verbs of manner of speaking, verbs of sounds made by animals

8.2. The Categories of Verbs in the Slovak Derived *SELF*-Compounds

The analysis of Slovak derived *SELF*-compounds concentrated on 113 expressions. It took into consideration both types of Slovak *SELF*-compounds, i.e. the *seba*- and the *samo*-types as well.

I. Psych verbs

Similarly to English, the majority of Slovak derived *samo*-/*seba*- compounds originated from a psych verb base. Following the example of their English counterparts, the Slovak verb bases also represented two subclasses, namely the *admire* and the *amuse* verb subclasses.

a) admire

As was mentioned earlier, within the *admire* verbs the subject behaves as the experiencer and not the object. The Slovak sample offered many examples, e.g.: *samodôvera* (self-belief), *samo chvála* (self-praise), *samoláska* (self-love), *seba poníženie* (self-depreciation).

b) amuse

The *amuse* verbs “describe the bringing about of a change in psychological or emotional state” (Levin, p. 191). The agent of these transitive verbs causes a change in psychological state, while the object behaves as the experiences of the emotion. The sample included examples like: *seba disciplína* (self-discipline), *seba obdivovanie* (self-admiration), *seba podceňovanie* (self-underestimation).

II. Learn Verbs

Learn verbs offer the second largest number of verb bases within the Slovak sample. Contrary to English, Slovak uses its verbs on a wider scale, offering by this numerous examples within the sample and in the category, e.g.: *samo-/sebapozorovanie* (self-observation), *samoučiaci sa* (self-learner, autodidact), *samoučenie* (self-teaching), *sebazdelávanie* (self-education), *sebaanalýza* (self-analysis), *samopoznanie* (self-knowledge).

III. Judgement Verbs

Slovak offers many examples of derived *SELF*-compounds with a base which belongs to the category mentioned above. Similarly to English, the Slovak counterparts also express a judgment or an opinion as a reaction to a something that happened. The Slovak sample includes examples like *samokritika* (self-criticism), *samosúd* (self-judgment), *sebaklam* (self-delusion), *sebaironický* (self-ironic).

IV. Change of Possession

This category also contributes with its verbs to the list of Slovak derived *SELF*-compounds. It enables verbs from four subclasses: *give*, *equip*, *contribute*, and *verbs of future having*.

a) give verbs

As the name of the subclass suggests, the verbs indicate an exchange in somebody's property. The *SELF*- element in this case influences the flow of actions in a way that the exchange does not happen in a traditional sense, the exchanged entity remains at the possessor. The Slovak sample offers the following examples: *samofinancovanie* (self-financing), *samoobsluha* (self-serving).

b) equip verbs

These verbs specify something about what is provided, and do not concentrate on the type of act of providing. The examples include *sebacenenie* (valuing oneself), *sebaoprečovanie* (self-overestimation), *sebaodmeňovanie* (self-reward).

c) contribute

These verbs also describe the action of change of possession, but the verbs do not specify the receiver. The *SELF*- in this case also contributes to the meaning of the verb, and

clarifies the identity of the receiver automatically. Slovak offers the following examples: *sebaobetavý* (one willing to sacrifice oneself), *sebaobetavosť* (one's state of being able to sacrifice oneself), *samosudca* (self-judge).

d) verbs of future having

The Slovak sample offers only the example of *sebapoistenie* (self-insurance), where the verb indicates one's intention to ensure a certain state in the future.

V. Verbs of Impact by Contact

The verb bases that belong to this category represent two subclasses, namely the *spank* and the *swat* subclasses.

a) swat verbs

The verbs describe the action of moving an entity in order to bring it into contact with another entity, but the action itself does not automatically indicate that the impact affects the second entity. Levin suggests that these verbs fit into the 'NP V NP with NP' frame, and they cannot be interchanged by *throw* verbs, since they do not allow instrument subjects. The sample gives the following examples: *samo-/sebabičovanie* (self-whipping), *samotryzeň* (self-torturing), *samopremáhanie* (self-repression).

b) spank verbs

These verbs describe similar actions as swat verbs, the feature that differentiates them from the previous group is their zero-relation to nouns that refer to the instruments that are used for hitting. The Slovak *SELF*-compounds demonstrate the following members of this subclass: *samostrel* (self-shooting), *samozatvárací* (self-closing).

VI. Change of State Verbs

The verbal bases of this category represent only the subclass of *other alternating verbs of change of state*. The bases introduce a type of change that was caused by an external force/influence. However, the self- element of the derived compounds turns the flow of the action backwards, and the external force/influence is replaced by an internal one. The sample includes examples like: *samoliečba* (self-cure), *samoliečenie* (self-curing), *samospasiteľný* (suitable for self-redemption), *samopomoc* (self-help), *samozahriatie* (self-heating).

VII. Verbs of Creation and Transformation

Similarly to English, the sample of the Slovak verbs, although in a more limited number, but it still offers elements of the *build* and of the *create* verbs as well. The *build* subclass is represented by only one example *samorobený* (self-made), while the *create* subclass presents a little bit more examples: *samotvorný* (one who is able to create sth on one's own), *samospráva* (self-management), *samourčovací* (self-defining), *samoopravný* (self-repairing), *sebaformovanie* (self-forming/alternating).

VIII. Verbs of Existence

Following the examples of the former categories, the verbs of existence also cooperate in the production of Slovak derived *SELF*-compounds by providing verbs from two of its subclasses. While the *exist* verbs offer only one example *samobytný* (independent, self-righteous), the verbs involving motion provide another possibility, e.g.: *samotočný* (self-turning).

Several other verbs also belong to this category, e.g.: *samohyb* (self-moving), *samochod* (self-working), but the *SELF*- component indicates that the action happens automatically in these cases. Hence, the component is not used as a reflexive element.

IX. Verbs of Putting

This category also offers verbal bases for the Slovak derived *SELF*- compounds from several subclasses, but the numbers of their representatives are very limited. The *put* subclass offers the example of *samonakladač* (self-loader), the *spray* set of verbs offers *samoopelenie* (self-pollination) and *samooplozenie* (self-fertilization) as possible derivatives, while the *fill* class gives *samokonzervovanie* (self-preservation) as an example.

X. Verbs of Removing

It is possible to identify two represented subclasses from the category: the subclass of *clear* verbs and the subclass of verbs of possessional deprivation. The *clear* verbs give *samočistenie* (self-clearing) as an example. In this case the *samo*- element indicates an automatic action and not a reflexive one. The verbs of possessional derivation generate the following compounds: *samo-/sebazáchrana* (self-rescue), *sebaemancipácia* (self-emancipation), and *sebastrata* (one's loss of one's characteristic features).

XI. Verbs of Talk

The presence of two subclasses within this category presents itself as a common feature shared with the former categories. The low number of representatives also figures as a shared feature. The subclass of *verbs of transfer of a message* produces compounds like *samohovor* (self-talk) and *samo-/sebakázeň* (self-discipline/preaching). The second subclass expresses the speaker's attitude towards what is being said, and Slovak offers the example of *samospytovanie* (self-questioning).

XII. Verbs of Assessment

These verbs express making an assessment of something with respect to some attribute, and they do not express a judgment or a feeling. The category does not present subclasses. The Slovak sample introduces the following representatives of this category: *sebareflexia* (self-reflection), *sebaurčenie* (self-determination), *sebakúmanie* (self-observation/analysis), *sebahodnotenie* (self-evaluation).

XIII. Verbs with Predicative Complements

As the order of categories suggests this category gives significantly less derived compounds in Slovak than in English. Slovak uses the verbs of two subcategories: the verbs of masquerade *samočinnosť* – ((self-occupation) and *seba vyjadrenie* (self-expression)), and the verbs of dub (*samovolný* (self-willed, independent, free thinker, vôľa – will).

The remaining categories offer only a very small number (1-4) of examples, but in order to provide a complex description, the analysis lists all of them:

XIV. Killing Verbs

Slovak offers only three representatives of this category: *samovražedný* (suicidal, vražda - murder), *samovražda* (suicide), *samoobesenie* (self-hanging).

XV. Verbs of Exerting Force

The Slovak examples include: *samoindukcia* (self-induction) and *samospúšť* (self-starter).

XVI. Verbs of Sending and Carrying

The sample gives examples from two subclasses. The first subclass (drive) describes the causation of accompanied motion, typically the used vehicle or other means, while some of them take the name of the verb that is used as well. *Samolet* (aircraft, “self-flight”) serves as the representative of this class. In the second subclass (carry) the agent brings about the

change of location described by the verb, but does not include the moving entity. The Slovak sample gives *samonosný* (self-carrying) as a possible representative.

XVII. Verbs of Colouring

The Slovak *samokalitel'ný* (self-staining) represents this category. It describes a material which stains itself after being touched by bare hands as a protective mechanism.

XVIII. Keep Verbs

The category represents itself with the expression *samozásobitel'ský* (self-supplying), which describes a shop that ensures the supplies by itself, without the help of other distributors.

XIX. Verbs of Combining and Attaching

Similarly to English, the Slovak compound *samolepiaci* (self-adhesive) appears with a limited a number of expressions. It usually combines with the expression *tape*.

XX. Verbs of Separating and Disassembling

This category also offers only one example *sebapitvanie* (self-analysis, n. *pitva*-autopsy). It refers to a deep self-analysis, a type of introspection.

XXI. Destroy verbs

The final category of verb types in Slovak derived compounds also offers only one example from its wide range of possibilities: *sebaničenie/sebadeštrukcia* (self-destruction).

8.3 The Categories of Verbs in the Hungarian Derived SELF-Compounds

The Hungarian sample contains 115 derived *SELF*-compounds. The analysis includes both types of these compounds, namely the ones that use *ön-* as an equivalent of *self-*, and the ones which appear with the *maga-* component as well. The analysis of the Hungarian derived *SELF*-compounds shows similar results to the previous ones. The verbs come from different categories, more precisely from nineteen categories. Three verb categories figure as the sources of the majority of derived compounds, their verbs represent 63% of the whole sample. The rest of the categories are represented by a significantly lower percentage (1-5%), offering only one-two examples.

I. Psych Verbs

Psych verbs figure as the most numerous category among Hungarian derived *SELF*-compounds. The verbs represent two subclasses: the subclasses of *amuse* and *admire* verbs.

a) amuse verbs

As already mentioned the members of this subclass describe a change that happened in the psychological or emotional state of an individual. They behave as transitive verbs whose object is the experiencer of the emotion and whose subject is the cause of the change in the psychological state. Hungarian offers the following examples: *magamegúnás* (boredom, bored of one's self), *magakényszerítés* (self-forcing), *magakötelezés* (one's binding of oneself), *magamulattatás* (self-entertainment), *önkinzás* (self-torture), *önmegnyugtatás* (self-calming), *önlealacsonyítás* (self-deprecation).

b) admire verbs

In case of *admire* verbs the subject of the verb behaves as the experiencer, while the semantic role of the object is described in different ways: it may behave as theme, target, stimulus, or as subject matter. The sample offered the following representatives: *magabizottság* (self-satisfied), *magaimádó* (self-admiring), *önámítás* (self-delusion), *önszeretet* (self-love), *öncsodálás* (self-admiration), *önutálat* (self-hatred).

II. Verbs with Predicative Complements

The verbs of this category introduce characteristic features of entities, while all of them take predicative complements. The sample of the Hungarian derived *SELF*-compounds uses four subclasses of this category as its source: *masquerade*, *characterize*, *conjecture* and *declare* verbs.

a) masquerade verbs

The following compounds represent this subclass: *magaviselet* (lit. 'self-behaviour', behaviour), *magamutogatás* (lit. self-presentation, exhibitionism), *magafitogató* (lit. self-flaunting, exhibitionism), and *önkifejezés* (self-expression).

b) characterize

This subclass offers *magadicsérés* (self-praise), *öndicséret* (self-praise), and *önistenítés* (self-deification) as examples.

c) conjecture

The subclass also offers only a limited number of examples, which includes *magamegtagadás* (lit. self-refusal, renunciation), *önhiba* (lit. self-mistake, fault), *önmegfigyelés* (self-observation), *öntudat* (self-consciousness), *önmegttagadó* (lit. self-refusing, renouncing), *önmegtartóztatás* (self-delimitation), *öntagadó* (self-denying).

d) declare

The last subclass of the category offers examples such as *önbírálat* (self-judgement), *önbizalom* (self-confidence), *önjelölt* (self-chosen), *önbíráskodás* (self-righteousness).

III. Change of State Verbs

The Hungarian language, as well as Slovak and English, also uses change of state verbs within its derived *SELF*-compounds. This category represents the third most common base among the compounds. It is possible to distinguish the following *SELF*-compounds within this category: *magamentés* (self-rescue), *magaelszánás* (self-determination), *önbénítás* (self-paralyzing), *önelhatározás* (self-determination), *önfertőzés* (self-infection), *önvakítás* (self-blinding), *öntisztítás* (self-clearing), *önindító* (self-starting), *öncsonkítás* (self-mutilating).

IV. Measure Verbs

The members of this category do not appear in such a high number among Hungarian derived *SELF*-compounds as the former categories, and it does not offer verbs of several verb classes either. All the verbs come from the same subclass, from the *fit* verbs. *Magatürtetés* (self-delimitation), *magatartóztatás* (self-restrain), *magamegkötés* (self-delimitation), *magamegtürtötztetés* (self-restrain) represent this subclass. As the examples suggest, it is not possible to detect *SELF*-compounds with the *ön-* element in this set of *SELF*-compounds.

V. Change of Possession

This category is present in the sample in the same proportion as Measure verbs. Its verbs represent three subclasses: *give*, *providing*, and *contribute* verbs. The providing verbs offer the following *SELF*-compounds: *önellátás* (self-sufficiency), *önfenntartás* (self-preservation), *önkiszolgáló* (self-serving). The give and the contribute verbs offer only one

example each: *magaadás* (self-presentation, ad-to give), and *önfeláldozás* (self-sacrifice) represent the subclass of contribute verbs.

VI. Judgement Verbs

The proportion of judgement verbs within the sample of Hungarian derived *SELF*-compounds also represents only a small amount. The compounds that appear with its verbs are the following: *magaelbírálás* (self-assessment), *magaigazolás* (self-certification/exculpation), *önfegyelem* (self-control), *öngúny* (self-mocking), *önkritika* (self-criticism).

VII. Learn Verbs

These types of verbs also appear only in a limited number in the sample. *Magaismeret* (self-knowledge), *önnevelő* (self-educating), *önismeret* (self-knowledge), and *önvizsgálat* (self-examination) represent this category.

VIII. Verbs of Creation and Transformation

The verbs of this category come from three subclasses, while all of them offer only one-two examples in the sample. The subclass of *create* verbs offers *magaalkotta* (self-created) as an example, while the subclass of *build* verbs shows *magacsinálta* (self-made) as a representative. The final subclass (*grow* verbs) appears with two verbs in the sample: *önképzés* (self-preparation/training), *önkormányzat* (self-government/organisation).

IX. Verbs of Communication

The category represents itself with one subclass in the sample, namely with the subclass of verbs of *transfer of a message*. It offers examples such as *önmagyarázás* (self-explanation), *önnevelés* (self-education), and *önsegítő* (self-helping).

X. Verbs of Removing

Two subclasses of verbs of removing appear in the sample. The first subclass is represented by only one example *önborotva* (self-shaving), which belong to the subclass of *wipe* verbs, while the second subclass includes verbs that describe possessional deprivation: *öncsalás* (self-deception), and *önmegtagadás* (self-denial).

XI. Verbs of Concealment

This category includes verbs that describe the action of keeping something for ourselves, or out of reach. The Hungarian sample offers examples such as *önrendelkezés* (self-management), *önvédelem* (self-defense), and *önakarat* (self-will).

The rest of the categories represent themselves with only a limited number of verbs within the sample of Hungarian *SELF*-compounds. They offer 1-3 examples, which usually come from the same subclass without further division.

XII. Verbs Involving the Body

This category offers only two examples, though both of the examples come from a different subclass, representing by this the only counterargument against the statement above. The subclass of *verbs of bodily state* offer *magaelhagyás* (lit. self-neglecting, one neglecting one's body, look, health) as an example, while the subclass of *hurt verbs* provide *magamegerőltetés* (one pushing one's own limits).

XIII. Verbs of Ingestion

The compounds of this category are derived from the same verb *sanyargat* – to mortify, consequently, they bear a similar meaning. The verb represents the subclass of *gorge verbs*: *önsanyargató* (self-mortifying) and *önsanyargatás* (self-mortification).

XIV. Hold and Keep Verbs

The only example that represents this category is *magatartás* (behaviour, *tart* – to hold). As the translations shows, the verb is not used in its typical sense. In Hungarian, as well as in English, *tart* also indicates the action of holding up, of remaining strong and of working effectively. *Magatartás* in this case describes one's attitude towards a certain situation.

XV. Verbs of Killing

Only one compound and its derivative represent this category: *öngyilkos* (n, adj, the person who commits suicide, suicidal) and *öngyilkosság* (suicide).

XVI. Destroy Verbs

The only example that uses a verb of this category is *önpusztás* (n, self-destroying) and its derivative *önpusztító* (n, self-destorying).

XVII. Verbs of Contact by Impact

Önostorozás (lit. self-flagellation, met. self-blame) represent this category. As the translation suggests, the compounds may be used in a literal sense, while in this case it describes the act of self-punishment), and in a metaphorical sense as well. The metaphorical sense expresses one's self-blame, one's certainty of being responsible for something bad and suffering because of that.

XVIII. Verbs of Combining and Attaching

The example offered by this category is *öntapadó* (self-adhesive), and it represents the only compound of this derived from its verbs.

8.4 Summary

The analysis of English, Slovak and Hungarian derived *SELF*-compounds suggests that every language uses a wide range of verb categories within their derived forms. Every language shares the same pattern in the proportion of verbs presented in derived *SELF*-compounds, i.e. the majority of verbs come from two-three main categories, while the rest of the representatives figure as examples of numerous further categories, which are represented by only one or two verbs within the samples. The table below sums up the results of the analysis. It lists all the categories that are presented in the samples, and it also shows which language includes the listed categories, while the highlighted fields show the most numerous verb categories within each language.

The list of the verb categories indicates that thirty-one out of Levin's forty-eight categories represent themselves among the verbs of derived self-compounds. Each language presents at least eighteen categories, emphasizing by this the fact that languages use a wide range of verbs when it comes to derivation and compounding. The rest of the categories do not represent themselves for several possible reasons: some of the verbs appear only in intransitive constructions, and consequently, they do not usually allow the combination of the derived element with the reflexive/intensifier *SELF*- element. Other verbs do not appear in the samples for semantic reasons. They do not bear a meaning that could be connected with the reflexive/intensifier *self*- element, e.g. chase verbs.

The verb classes introduced in this chapter consider those compounds, whose *SELF*- constituent behaves as an intensifier, and those compounds within which the *SELF*-element can be described as a reflexive or as an ambiguous reflexive/intensifier element as well. With the exclusion of those compounds which contain an intensifier (e.g. *self-baked*), it is possible to conclude that since most of the verbs behave as ambiguous in case of

Slovak, the proportion of verb types will not change. The only class which is significantly affected, is the class of verbs of sending and carrying – these verbs belong to the category of intensifiers only. In case of Hungarian most of the verbs also behave as ambiguous or as reflexive, and therefore it is not possible to identify a verb class among the derived *SELF*-compounds, within which only intensifiers would be present. Similarly to the former languages, English also shows some examples of pure intensifiers, but the majority of these verbs can be characterized either as ambiguous, or as reflexive as well. There is no significant change in the proportion of verb classes without the compounds with intensifier elements.

The following part introduces those features that the languages mentioned above share and also the characteristics that are typical of each.

Table 15: Categories of Verbs in English, Slovak and Hungarian

Categories of Verbs	English	Slovak	Hungarian
I. Psych Verbs	x (29%)	x (15%)	x (25%)
II. Verbs with Predicative Complement	x (20%)	x (3.5%)	x (24%)
III. Change of State	x (11%)	x (6.5%)	x (12%)
IV. Verbs of Communication	x (7%)	-	x (3%)
V. Judgment Verbs	x (6%)	x (11%)	x (4%)
VI. Change of Possession	x (5%)	x (9%)	x (1%)
VII. Verbs of Assessment	x (4%)	x (3.5%)	x (4%)
VIII. Verbs of Creation and Transformation	x (4%)	x (6%)	x (3%)
IX. Killing Verbs	x (2.5%)	x (2.5%)	x (1%)
X. Image Creation Verbs	x (2%)	-	-
XI. Verbs of Perception	x (1.1%)	-	-
XII. Destroy Verbs	x (2%)	x (0.5%)	x (1%)

XIII. Verbs of Removing	x (1.1%)	x (5%)	x (3%)
XIV. Verbs of Concealment	x (0.6%)	-	x (3%)
XV. Measure Verbs	x (0.6%)	-	x (5%)
XVI. Verbs of Appearance, Disappearance, and Occurrence	x (0.6%)	-	-
XVII. Verbs of Searching	x (0.6%)	-	-
XVIII. Verbs of Putting	x (1.1%)	x (4%)	-
XIX. Verbs of Colouring	x (0.6%)	x (0.5%)	-
XX. Verbs of Sending and Carrying	x (0.6%)	x (1.5%)	-
XXI. Learn Verbs	x (0.6%)	x (12%)	x (4%)
XXII. Verbs of Impact by Contact	-	x (7%)	x (1%)
XXIII. Verbs of Existence	-	x (4.5%)	-
XXIV. Verbs of Talk	-	x (3.5%)	-
XXV. Verbs of Exerting Force	-	x (2%)	-
XXVI. Verbs of Emission	-	x (0.5%)	-
XXVII. Keep Verbs	-	x (1%)	x (1%)
XXVIII. Verbs of Combining and Attaching	-	x (0.5%)	x (1%)
XXIX. Verbs of Separating and Disassembling	-	x (0.5%)	-
XXX. Verbs Involving the Body	-	-	x (2%)
XXXI. Verbs of Ingestion	-	-	x (2%)

The table above suggests that English, Slovak and Hungarian use the following verb categories within their derived *SELF*-compounds: Psych verbs, Verbs with Predicative Complement, Verbs of change of state, Judgement verbs, Verbs of change of possession, Verbs of Creation and Transformation, Killing verbs, Destroy verbs, Verbs of removing, and Learn verbs. Every language uses the category of Psych Verbs as their primary source for derived *SELF*-compounds, emphasizing by this the fact that *SELF*- compounds

concentrate primarily on one's inner state and feelings, i.e. on those entities which can be observed internally, without an external agent. While English and Hungarian show similarities in the used verb categories, Slovak introduces many categories that are not used in the previous two languages. The categories that offer most of their verbs for the derived compounds appear in a similar proportion in English and in Hungarian, while Slovak shows a different pattern in this case as well.

English and Hungarian share the following categories: Verbs of communication, Image creation verbs, Verbs of concealment, and Measure verbs. Slovak does not use these categories. Slovak, besides Psych verbs, uses Judgement verbs and Learn verbs as sources for derived *SELF*-compounds. The Judgment verbs express an attitude towards a state or situation, concentrating by this (again) on the internal state of an individual. Learn verbs express the act of learning and gathering information in different ways concentrating on the development of one's knowledge and internal values.

English and Slovak also share some common categories, namely: Verbs of assessment, Verbs of searching, Verbs of putting, Verbs of colouring, and Verbs of sending and carrying. None of these categories belong to the most numerous representatives, they appear only in a small number within the samples.

Hungarian and Slovak also share categories that do not appear in English at all. These are the following: Verbs of impact by contact, Keep verbs, and Verbs of combining and attaching.

The table suggests that certain verb categories are language specific. While English uses verbs of the category of Verbs of perception, or Verbs of appearance, disappearance, and occurrence, Slovak and Hungarian do not use this category as their source. Hungarian also has some language specific categories, while Slovak outnumbers both, and uses five categories that the above-mentioned languages do not.

To sum up, it is possible to state that English and Hungarian share more categories and present similar tendencies, while Slovak behaves in a slightly different manner, and uses the categories of verbs in a less uniform way. All the three languages work with a wide range of verb categories, but they share the behaviour of preferring certain categories as sources, and omitting others.

Semantic roles within the verb classes of derived self-compounds

In order to provide a relatively complete description of the verb classes of the derived *SELF*-compounds, the semantic roles connected to the verbal element of the formations

need to be described as well. Ray Jackendoff belonged to the first linguists, who approached pronouns and reflexives from the perspective of semantic relations. Jackendoff (1972, 1990) understands the semantic structure as the lexical conceptual structure of a head with its arguments and modifiers. In order to differentiate the relations between the components the “semantic parts of speech” had been introduced, which are often referred to as semantic roles. Payne (1997) understands the categories of semantic roles as grammatical relations of the subject, the object, and the indirect object, while these roles most often include elements such as Agent, Force/Causer, Patient, Experiencer, Instrument, and Recipient. The list can be extended with less common roles as well: e.g. Location, Direction, Setting, Purpose, Time, Manner, etc.

Within the domain of semantic roles the Agent is understood as a powerful controller of the event, who acts on purpose, e.g. John in the sentence *John combed the dog*. Causer, on the other hand, is described as an inanimate or non-volitional entity, which is involved in the causation of the event, e.g. rain in the sentence *The rain ruined my hair*. The Patient is understood as someone or something undergoing a process or physically affected by an action, e.g. water in the sentence *Paul boiled the water*. Theme is described as an object which undergoes a change of possession, or whose location is being specified, e.g. ball in the sentence *The ball is on the field*. The semantic role of Experiencer denotes an animate entity, which meets a stimulus, or to which a mental or emotional process or state is connected. This role often appears in psychological verbs and in verbs of perception, e.g. Kate hear in the sentence *Kate heard the music*. The Recipient, as its name suggests, denotes an animate entity which receives something, e.g. Mary in the sentence *Kate gave Mary her notes*. The semantic role of the Instrument also belongs to the frequently appearing roles, and it is connected to an inanimate entity, which is used by the agent or the experiencer to achieve or do something to a patient or theme, e.g. *with a bat* in the sentence *He hit the ball with the bat*.

When concentrating on the verb classes of the derived *SELF*-compounds, it is possible to conclude that the majority of the verbal elements within these compounds present the semantic structure only with the semantic roles listed above. The semantic roles like Location, Direction, Setting, Purpose, Time, or Manner, do not present themselves within these structures in English, Slovak or Hungarian.

The analysis of the verb classes within the derived *SELF*-compounds in English shows, for example, that the classes predominantly prefer the (Agent (Patient)), (Agent (Experiencer)), or the (Agent (Theme)) schemas:

a) (Agent (Patient)) scheme:

<i>self-injury</i>	<i>injure</i> (Agent(Patient))
<i>self-sacrifice</i>	<i>sacrifice</i> (Agent(Patient))
<i>self-protection</i>	<i>protect</i> (Agent(Patient))

b) (Agent (Experiencer)) scheme:

<i>self-motivation</i>	<i>motivate</i> (Agent(Experiencer))
<i>self-admiration</i>	<i>admire</i> (Agent(Experiencer))
<i>self-help</i>	<i>help</i> (Agent(Experiencer))

c) (Agent (Theme)) scheme:

<i>self-pay</i>	<i>pay</i> (Agent(Theme))
<i>self-rescue</i>	<i>rescue</i> (Agent(Theme))

The analyses of Slovak and Hungarian show a similar tendency, while the scheme (Agent (Patient)) behaves in both languages as the most dominant one. Examples of Slovak schemas:

a) (Agent (Patient)) scheme:

<i>samoučenie</i> (self-teaching)	<i>učiť</i> (teach) – (Agent (Patient))
<i>sebaanalýza</i> (self-analysis)	<i>analyzovať</i> (analyse) – (Agent (Patient))

b) (Agent (Experiencer)) scheme:

<i>sebaobdivovanie</i> (self-admiration)	<i>obdivovať</i> (admire) – (Agent (Expr))
<i>sebaodceňovanie</i> (self-underestimation) (Ag(Exp))	<i>podceňovať</i> (underestimate) –

c) (Agent (Theme)) scheme:

<i>samonosný</i> (self-carrying)	<i>nosiť</i> (carry) - (Agent(Theme))
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The examples of the Hungarian semantic structure include the following types:

a) (Agent (Patient)) scheme:

<i>őndicséret</i> (self-praise)	<i>dicsér</i> (praise) - (Agent(Patient))
<i>őnistenítés</i> (self-deification)	<i>istenít</i> (deify) - (Agent(Patient))

b) (Agent (Experiencer)) scheme:

<i>magakényszerítés</i> (self-forcing)	<i>kényszerít</i> (force) – (Agent(Experiencer))
<i>önmegnyugtató</i> (self-calming)	<i>nyugtató</i> (calm) – (Agent(Experiencer))

Conclusions

The study concentrates on the positions of *self*, in which it fulfils the function of a reflexive marker, and primarily on compounds that have a ‘reflexive’ interpretation (*self-control* in English, *Eigenlob/Selbstlob* ‘self-praise’ in German, *autodérision* ‘self-derision’ in French, or *ön-becsülés* ‘self-esteem’ in Hungarian). The dissertation aims to present a study on reflexivization in English, Slovak, Hungarian, Italian, Dutch, Polish and Romanian, focusing on the role of the morpheme *SELF-* and its counterparts in these languages by the methods of linguistic typology and contrastive analysis. As already pointed out the morpheme *SELF-* may attach to nouns, adjectives, verbs, and indicates a reflexive interpretation for these forms.

The dissertation approached these compounds from various aspects, and examined the observations that have been stated in former studies (König (2011), Di Sciullo (1996), Artemis Alexiadou (2014)) about the English reflexive nominal compounds in six further languages. Taking into consideration these observations seven hypotheses have been stated and verified within the analysis. The methods of linguistic typology and comparative analysis have been used throughout the whole analysis, which enabled to compare the identified features from various perspectives.

The analysis of the ‘*SELF*-compounds’ is based on a small-scale comparative analysis, taking as its basis a thorough analysis of these compounds in different languages (i.e. English, Slovak, Hungarian, Italian, Dutch, Polish, and Romanian). This study combines, in essence, two methods, while both of them concentrate on language comparison. Contrastive linguistics and linguistic typology represent similar approaches towards languages, and the work uses elements from both. While contrastive linguistics concentrates only on two languages and describes the different features of the compared languages in great details, linguistic typology takes into consideration the features of many languages. This study compares the *SELF*-compounds of seven languages from two

language groups/families - Indo-European (Slavic, Romance, Germanic) and Uralic (Ugric) - but not on such extensive scale as is normally done in linguistic typology. We will, however, try to carry out an in-depth analysis instead.

The samples of SELF-compounds have been collected from various sources. One part of the compound database comes from dictionaries of the given languages, while another part was collected from corpora of the languages listed above. In order to receive data about the usage of SELF-compounds, about their morphological build-up, and about the patterns they appear in, a survey had been prepared, which was filled out by native speakers/linguists. The questionnaire aimed to map the usage of the SELF-compounds in the analysed languages. A sample of the questionnaire is available in Appendix 1 of the thesis.

For certain research questions all languages have been studied (Chapter 6, 7), while for other research questions only a few of the languages mentioned above have been studied in detail (Chapter 5 Slovak and Hungarian; Chapter 8 English, Slovak and Hungarian).

The first hypothesis concentrates on the types of nouns that combine with the reflexive *SELF*- element in the English, Slovak, Hungarian, Polish, Italian, Romanian and Dutch languages, and it verified whether the heads (always the right-hand constituents) of the compounds represent a noun with an argument structure or without one. Based on her observations Anna Maria Di Sciullo (1996) suggests that concrete nouns never have argument structures, therefore they cannot combine with the reflexive *self*- element. The analyses of the seven languages confirmed the validity of this observation in all languages, and consequently the validity of the first hypothesis as well.

The second and third hypotheses concentrated on the derived heads of the reflexive nominal compounds, more precisely on the deverbalised elements. The verbs that serve as bases of the deverbalised compounds should be transitive verbs, since only this type of a verb is able to integrate an implicit Agent into its argument structure, which supports the composition with the reflexive *SELF*- element. The presence of an Agent is compulsory, therefore ergative and unergative verbs should not be present in such constructions. These statements have been verified in every above-mentioned language, and it is possible to conclude that every language show identical results. With the presence of a few counter-examples (2-3/language), the transitive verb as basis of derivation presented itself as a dominating element. The almost total absence of ergative and unergative verbs in the reflexive nominal compounds also supported this statement.

The fourth and fifth hypotheses concentrate on the *SELF*- element in Slovak and in Hungarian. Ekkehard König (2011) classifies this element into four categories based on its meaning in a syntactic construction: adnominal, exclusive adverbial, inclusive adverbial, and attributive. Based on his observations, Russian as well as Finnish presents only three of the above-mentioned meanings – adnominal, attributive and exclusive adverbial. Taking into consideration these facts, the fourth and the fifth hypotheses assumes that since Slovak belongs to the same language family as Russian, and Hungarian represents the language family of the Finno-Ugric languages, it is possible to assume that these languages present the same types of intensifiers in their reflexive nominal compounds. As predicted, both of the languages presented the same tendency confirming by this the validity of H₄ and H₅.

The sixth hypothesis concentrated on the structure of reflexive nominal compounds, i.e. *SELF*-compounds, and analyzed the derivations they enter. It has been confirmed that certain compounds serve as bases of further derivation, but this process happens only in a form of suffixation. The languages do not present cases like **selfness-centred*.

The final hypothesis examined the *SELF*- element and its counterparts in the other languages, and aimed to identify elements that serve as alternatives for this element. It has been confirmed that Slovak as well as Hungarian uses two types of alternatives (Sk. *samo-* and *seba-*/Hun. *maga-* and *ön-*), while Hungarian, as well as Slovak, presents a varied picture of intensifier use. Except for the adverbial inclusive type, all the meanings are represented in both languages. The only difference appears in the category of adnominal intensifiers, since the Slovak *seba-* does not carry the adnominal meaning.

As the evaluation of the hypotheses suggests, the analysis of the English, Slovak, Hungarian, Italian, Romanian, Polish and Dutch *SELF*-compounds points out several common features. Even though these languages represent four different language families their features within the domain of reflexivity and reflexive nominal compounds show similar or identical properties (types of nouns that serve as heads, the meanings of the non-head *SELF*- element, structural similarities, morphological build-up, and types of verbs within deverbalised elements). As the description suggests these compounds represent a very interesting topic within the problem of reflexivization and reflexivizing strategies, since the meanings of the *SELF*- element may vary within the compound, and represent different syntactic structures.

The analysis of *SELF*-compounds also suggests that every language uses a wide range of verb categories within their derivatives. Every language shares the same pattern in the proportion of verbs presented in derived *SELF*-compounds, i.e. the majority of verbs

come from two-three main categories, while the rest of the representatives figure as examples of numerous further categories, which are represented by only one or two verbs within the samples. The list of the analysed verb categories within English, Slovak, and Hungarian indicates that thirty-one out of Beth Levin's (1993) forty-eight categories are represented among the verbs of derived *SELF*-compounds. Each language presents at least eighteen categories, emphasizing by this the fact that languages use a wide range of verbs when it comes to derivation and compounding. The rest of the categories do appear for several possible reasons: some of the verbs appear only in intransitive constructions, and consequently, they do not usually allow the combination of the derived element with the reflexive/intensifier *SELF*- element. Other verbs do not appear in the samples for semantic reasons. They do not bear a meaning that could be connected with the reflexive/intensifier *SELF*- element, e.g. chase verbs.

In order to provide a relatively complete description of the verb classes of the derived *SELF*-compounds, the semantic roles connected to the verbal element of the formations were described as well. When concentrating on the verb classes of the derived *SELF*-compounds, it is possible to conclude that the majority of the verbal elements within these compounds present the semantic structure only with the following semantic roles: Agent, Causer, Theme, Patient, Experiencer, Recipient, Instrument. The semantic roles like Location, Direction, Setting, Purpose, Time, or Manner, do not present themselves within these structures in English, Slovak or Hungarian. The analysis of the verb classes within the derived *SELF*-compounds in English shows, for example, that the classes predominantly prefer the (Agent (Patient)), (Agent (Experiencer)), or the (Agent (Theme)) schemas.

The study provides an analysis of *SELF*-compounds within seven languages. It serves to extend the knowledge about these compound types, and also as a basis for the investigation for several further issues. The verbal basis of derivation may serve as a starting point for a study which examines the syntactic structures of *SELF*-compounds within a sentence when it is used as a compound, and also when the verbal form of the *SELF*-compound is used. Further research could also focus on a more detailed analysis of the role of the theta-grid, and also on the nature of the syntactic process involved in the formation of these compounds.

Resumé

Štúdiá sa sústreďuje na pozíciu prvku *self*, v ktorej prvok naznačuje reflexivitu, a predovšetkým na zložené slová, ktoré majú reflexívnu interpretáciu (*self-control* 'sebakontrola' v anglickom jazyku, *Eigenlob/Selbstlob* 'samochvála' v nemeckom jazyku, *autodérision* 'sebaíronia' vo francúzskom jazyku, alebo *önbecsülés* 'sebaúcta' v maďarskom jazyku). Dizertačná práca predstavuje štúdiu o reflexivizácii v siedmich jazykoch, a to v anglickom, v slovenskom, v maďarskom, v talianskom, v holandskom, v poľskom a v rumunskom jazyku, so zvláštnym zreteľom na úlohu morfémy *self-* a jej ekvivalentov, ktorá sa môže vysktnúť v kombinácii s podstatným menom, s adjektívami alebo s verbálnymi prvkami, a to pomocou metódy jazykovej typológie a kontrastívnej analýzy. Ako to už bolo uvedené, morféma *self-* sa kombinuje s podstatným menom, s adjektívami alebo s verbálnymi prvkami a naznačuje reflexívnu interpretáciu v prípade týchto foriem.

Dizertačná práca pristúpila k týmto zloženým slovám z rôznych aspektov, a verifikovala tvrdenia predchádzajúcich štúdií (König 2011, Di Sciullo (1996), Artemis Alexiadou (pred vydaním)) o reflexívnych nominálnych zloženinách v šiestich ďalších jazykoch. Berúc do úvahy tieto tvrdenia, stanovilo sa sedem hypotéz, ktoré boli v analýze dizertačnej práce overené. Metódy jazykovej typológie a kontrastívnej analýzy boli použité v celej analýze, ktoré umožnili porovnať a identifikovať vlastnosti týchto zloženín z rôznych uhlov pohľadu. Práca poskytuje porovnávaciu analýzu lexikálnych vlastností so syntaktickými v prípade zložených slov s prvým slovotvorným základom *self-*, s cieľom určiť podobné alebo identické stratégie reflexivizácie, tak na lexikálnej ako aj na syntaktickej úrovni.

Vzorky zložených slov s prvým slovotvorným základom *self-* boli získané z rôznych zdrojov. Časť týchto zloženín pochádza z monolingválnych a z bilingválnych slovníkov daných jazykov, kým ďalšia časť bola získaná z národných korpusov hore

vymenovaných jazykov. Pre komplexnejšiu analýzu týchto výrazov bol pripravený aj dotazník, ktorý bol vyplnený v každom jazyku lingvistami v ich materinskom jazyku.

Prvá časť dizertačnej práce sa sústreďuje na databázy výskumu, na základné pojmy a výrazy, a na delenie výrazov s prvým slovtvorným základom *self*-. Táto časť poskytuje informácie aj o lexikálnych zdrojoch reflexív a o vývoji reflexivizácie, charakterizuje použitie *self*- foriem s funkciou zdôraznenia a s funkciou reflexivizácie, a taktiež predstaví vývoj reflexívneho označenia. Druhá kapitola zosumarizuje teórie reflexivity, a výsledky predchádzajúcich štúdií v rámci problematiky reflexivizácie a reflexivity. Keďže reflexívne zložené slová nemôžu byť predstavené mimo kontextu, štúdia ich zasadila do oblasti reflexivity, ktorá sa sústreďuje predovšetkým na syntaktickú doménu. Predstaví aj predošlé štúdie o reflexivite a reflexivizácii. Tento opis postaví *self*- formy a znaky reflexivity do kontextu teórie väzby (Binding Theory), ktorá pochádza od Noama Chmského (1981, 1982), a vymenuje hlavné body štúdie od Reinhart a Reuland (1993). Tieto dve štúdie predstavujú najplyvnejšie práce tejto problematiky, ktoré opísali distributívne znaky anafór a zámen. Tretia kapitola sa zameriava na zložené slová, na tzv. syntaktické zložené slová a na ich štruktúru, kým štvrtá sa zaoberá s Theta teóriou (1993) od Tanya Reinhart, ktorá opisuje syntaktickú a lexikálnu štruktúru lexikálnych prvkov a opisuje aj operácie na theta štruktúre slov. Piata kapitola sa sústreďuje na zložené slová, na ich definície, typológiu, na tzv. syntetické zložené slová, na ich opis a analýzu, na štruktúru argumentov odvodených zložených slov. Nasledujúca kapitola charakterizuje reflexívne nominálne zložené slová s prvým slovtvorným základom *self*-, ich štruktúru argumentov a vzťah medzi formami s funkciou zdôraznenia a s funkciou reflexivizácie. Charakterizuje aj zložené slová s prvým slovtvorným základom *self*- v nasledujúcich jazykoch: anglický, slovenský, maďarský, poľský, taliansky, rumunský a holandský. Kapitola predstaví reflexivitu a metódy reflexivizácie v týchto jazykoch, najčastejšie reflexívne slovesá a reflexívne zámená. Kapitola taktiež opisuje reflexívne nominálne zložené slová v hore vymenovaných jazykoch, ich morfológickú štruktúru, lexikálne znaky a syntaktické vlastnosti, a obsahuje aj analýzu tvrdení od Kóniga (2011), Di Sciulla (1996), alebo Artemisa Alexiadou (pred vydaním) vo všetkých šiestich jazykoch. Siedma kapitola predstavuje ďalšie vlastnosti reflexívnych nominálnych zloženín. Posledná kapitola obsahuje analýzu tých zložených slov s prvým slovtvorným základom *self*-, ktoré majú verbálne korene. Identifikácia týchto koreňov umožnilo určiť, ktoré slovesné skupiny (podľa delenia Beth Levin) slúžia ako najčastejšie zdroje zložených slov a taktiež aj najčastejšie schémy sémantických úloh.

Prvá hypotéza sa sústredila na typy podstatných mien, ktoré sa kombinujú so slovotvorným základom *self-* v angličtine, slovenčine, maďarčine, poľštine, taliančine, rumunčine a holandčine a preverila, či druhý slovotvorný základ (vždy na pravej strane) zloženín naozaj má štruktúru argumentov. Na základe svojho výskumu, Anna Maria Di Sciullo tvrdí, že konkrétne podstatné mená nikdy nemajú štruktúru argumentov a preto sa nemôžu vyskytnúť vedľa formy *self-*. Analýza potvrdila toto tvrdenie a tým pádom aj prvú hypotézu vo všetkých siedmich jazykoch.

Druhá a tretia hypotéza sa sústredila na druhý slovotvorný základ reflexívnych nominálnych zloženín, presnejšie na deverbatívne podstatné mená. Slovesá, ktoré slúžia ako základ ďalších derivačných procesov by mali byť tranzitívne, keďže iba tento typ slovesa je schopný integrovať implicitného Agensa (činiteľa) do svojej štruktúry argumentov, ktorý podporuje aj kombináciu so *self-* formou. Prítomnosť činiteľa je povinná a preto ergatívne a neergatívne (unergative) slovesá nemôžu byť prítomné v takýchto konštrukciách. Tieto tvrdenia boli overené vo všetkých jazykoch a je možné usúdiť, že každý analyzovaný jazyk ukazuje rovnaké výsledky. V prítomnosti niekoľkých protiargumentov (2-3/jazyk) je možné potvrdiť, že tranzitívne slovesá majú dominantnú pozíciu v derivácii týchto zloženín. Skoro úplná neprítomnosť ergatívnych a neergatívnych sloviest v reflexívnych nominálnych zloženinách len potvrdzujú toto tvrdenie.

Štvrtá a piata hypotéza sa sústreďuje na prvok *self-* v slovenskom a v maďarskom jazyku. Ekkehard König kategorizuje tento prvok do štyroch skupín na základe jeho významu: adnominálne, adverbiálne exkluzívne, adverbiálne inkluzívne, a atributívne. Na základe jeho výskumu, ruský jazyk tak ako aj fínsky jazyk sa môže preukázať s nasledujúcimi typmi významov: adnominálny, adverbiálny exkluzívny a atributívny. Na základe týchto faktov štvrtá a piata hypotéza tvrdí, že keďže slovenský a ruský jazyk a maďarský a fínsky jazyk reprezentujú dve jazykové rodiny, vlastnosti maďarčiny a slovenčiny budú v rámci svojich jazykových rodín pravdepodobne taktiež rovnaké. Ako to bolo stanovené, oba jazyky sa preukázali rovnakou tendenciou, tým potvrdzujúc pravdivosť H₄ a H₅.

Šiesta hypotéza sa sústredila na štruktúru reflexívnych nominálnych zložených slov a analyzovala derivácie v rámci týchto konštrukcií. Na základe získaných údajov bolo možné skonštatovať, že kým sufixácia je bohato zastúpená v týchto jazykoch, iné derivácie typu *self-very-sufficient* nie sú prítomné ani v jednom jazyku.

Posledná hypotéza opísala časť *self-* a jej ekvivalenty v ostatných jazykoch, a snažila sa identifikovať prvky, ktoré slúžia ako alternatívy pre tento prvok. Potvrdilo sa,

že slovenský jazyk ako aj maďarský jazyk sa môže preukázať s dvoma takýmito alternatívami (Sk. samo- a seba-/Maď. maga- a ön-), kým oba jazyky prezentujú pestrú paletu prvkov so zdôrazňovacou funkciou. Okrem inkluzívneho adverbialného intenzifikátora, všetky ostatné prvky so zdôrazňovacou funkciou sú prítomné v týchto jazykoch, jediný rozdiel spočíva v tom, že slovenská morféma seba- sa nevyskytuje v adnominálnom význame.

Ako to naznačuje vyhodnotenie hypotéz, analýza anglického, slovenského, maďarského, talianskeho, rumunského, poľského a holandského jazyka poukazuje na niekoľko spoločných črt. Aj keď tieto jazyky reprezentujú štyri rôzne jazykové zoskupenia, ich charakteristické črty v doméne reflexivity a reflexívnych nominálnych zloženín demonštrujú spoločné prvky (typy podstatných mien ako druhé slovotvorné základy, významy prvku self-, podobnosti v štruktúre zloženín, podobnosti v morfológickej štruktúre zloženín, typy slovík v deverbatívnych podstatných menách). Ako to naznačuje analýza, tieto zložené slová reprezentujú veľmi zaujímavú tému v rámci problematiky reflexívnosti, keďže samotné významy prvku self- môžu byť iné v rámci zloženého slova, tým produkujú rôzne syntaktické štruktúry.

Analýza zložených slov s prvým slovotvorným základom *self-* v poslednej kapitole naznačuje aj to, že každý jazyk používa široké spektrum verbálnych kategórií vo svojich odvodených základoch. V počte a v proporcii verbálnych kategórií jazyky ukazujú rovnaké tendencie, t.j. väčšina slovík pochádza z dvoch-troch kategórií, kým ostatné slovesá reprezentujú slovesné kategórie, ktoré sú zastúpené len v obmedzenom a veľmi malom množstve. Zoznam analyzovaných slovesných kategórií naznačuje, že 31 kategórií Betha Levina (1993) z pôvodných 48 sú identifikovateľné v slovesách odvodených zložených slov s prvým slovotvorným základom *self-*. Každý jazyk čerpá aspoň z dvadsiaticich kategórií, zdôrazňujúc tým skutočnosť, že jazyky používajú bohatú zásobu slovík v procesoch derivácie a v generovaní zložených slov. Zvyšok slovesných kategórií sa nevyskytuje v analyzovaných zložených slovách a to z rôznych dôvodov: niektoré slovesá sú používané len v netranzitívnych konštrukciách a dôsledkom toho, ich kombinácia s reflexívnou *self-* morférou nie je obvykle možná. Iné slovesá nie sú použiteľné zo sémantických dôvodov, t.j. ich lexikálne vlastnosti neumožňujú ich spojenie s reflexívnou/intenzifikačnou morférou *self-* (napr. slovesá zvukov, ktoré vydávajú zvierať).

Štúdiá poskytujú analýzu reflexívnych nominálnych zložených slov s prvým slovotvorným základom *self-*. Služi na to, aby rozšíril vedomosť o tomto type zloženín

a taktiež ako základ pre ďalšie možné analýzy. Verbálny základ derivácie môže slúžiť ako impulz na výskum týchto zložením v rámci syntaktickej štruktúry, v ktorej sa vyskytuje buď ako zložené slovo alebo ako samostatné sloveso s reflexívnou interpretáciou. Analýza realizácie štruktúry argumentov v nominálizáciách v rámci zložených slov tohto typu je ďalšou možnosťou analýzy. Komparatívna analýza zložených slov s prvým slovotvorným základom self- v iných jazykoch by taktiež prispela k poznatkám o tejto problematike.

Samenvatting in het Nederlands

Het onderzoek richt zich op de positie van de morfeem *self*, hetgeen impliceert reflexiviteit, en in het bijzonder naar die samengestelde woorden die een reflexieve interpretatie hebben (*self-control* “zelfbeheersing“ in het Engels, *Eigenlob/Selbstlob* “eigen roem“ in het Duits *autodérision* “zelfspot“ in het Frans, of *önbecsülés* “eigenwaarde“ in het Hongaars). Het richt zich op de Engelse, Slowaakse, Hongaarse, Italiaanse, Nederlandse, Poolse en Roemeense talen, met bijzondere aandacht voor de rol van de morfeem *SELF* - en zijn equivalenten in de genoemde talen. Zoals reeds vermeld, wordt morfeem *SELF* - meestal gecombineerd met zelfstandige naamwoorden, maar in sommige gevallen ook met bijvoeglijke naamwoorden en werkwoorden, en impliceert reflexieve interpretatie van deze vormen. Het werk onderzoekt deze samengestelde woorden uit verschillende aspecten en observaties die gepresenteerd zijn in eerdere studies over het Engels (König 2011 Di Sciullo (1996), Artemis Alexiadou (2014)) en over engelse reflexieve nominale samengestelde woorden toepast in de analyse in zes andere talen. Rekening houdend met de resultaten van deze onderzoeken, heeft het werk bepaald en geverifieerd zeven hypothesen in de analyse. De studie combineert twee methoden van onderzoek, terwijl beide zijn gericht op de vergelijking van de talen. Contrastieve taalkunde en taaltypologie zijn vergelijkbare onderzoeksmethoden en het werk past de procedures van het onderzoek toe uit beide methoden. Terwijl de contrastieve taalkunde, zich alleen richt op twee talen en, in detail de verschillende kenmerken van deze talen beschrijft, taalkundige typologie houdt rekening met de kenmerken van meerdere talen. De studie vergelijkt samengestelde woorden met het eerste woordvormende basis *SELF* - in zeven talen van de twee taalgroepen - Indo-Europese (Slavische, Germaanse, Romaanse talen) en Uraalse (Oegriscche talen), maar niet zo uitgebreid als is het gebruikelijk in taaltypologie. De doelstelling van het onderzoek is in plaats daarvan een diepgaande analyse in de genoemde talen te doen.

De voorbeelden van de samengestelde woorden met het eerste woordvormende basis *SELF* - werden verkregen uit verschillende bronnen. Een deel van deze composieten komt uit de woordenboeken van de genoemde talen, terwijl een ander deel werd verkregen uit corpora hierboven genoemde talen. Voor meer uitgebreide analyse van deze termen is een vragenlijst opgesteld, die ingevuld werd in alle talen door de taalkundigen in hun moedertaal. Een voorbeeld van de vragenlijst wordt toegevoegd bij het proefschrift.

In het geval van de sommige onderzoeksvragen werden alle talen geanalyseerd (hoofdstuk 6 en 7), terwijl bij de andere onderzoeksvragen slechts enkele van de bovenstaande talen waren gedetailleerd onderzocht (hoofdstuk 5 - Slowaakse en Hongaarse talen, hoofdstuk 8 - Engelse, Slowaakse en Hongaarse talen).

Het eerste deel van het proefschrift richt zich op de database van het onderzoek, namelijk op de fundamentele concepten en termen en op het verdelen van de termen met het eerste woordvormende basis *SELF* -. Dit gedeelte informeert ook over lexicale bronnen van reflexiviteit en over de ontwikkeling van de reflexivisatie en karakteriseert het gebruik van *SELF* - met behulp van de vormen met de benadrukkende functies en met de functie van reflexivisatie. Het tweede hoofdstuk geeft een overzicht van de theorie van de reflexiviteit en de resultaten van de eerdere studies in de context van het probleem van reflexivisatie en reflexiviteit. Aangezien de reflexieve samengestelde woorden niet kunnen worden voorgesteld buiten de context, de studie heeft ze in reflexiviteit geplaatst, die voornamelijk is gericht op syntactische domein. Deze beschrijving zet *SELF* - de vormen en de tekenens in het kader van de bindende theorie van reflexiviteit (Binding Theory), die afkomstig is van Noam Chomsky (1981, 1982), en benoemt de belangrijkste punten van de studie van Reinhart en Reuland (1993). Deze twee studies vertegenwoordigen de meest invloedrijke werken van deze problematiek, die de distributieve tekens van anaphoras en voornaamwoorden hebben beschreven. Het derde hoofdstuk richt zich op de samengestelde woorden, de zogenaamde syntactische samengestelde woorden en op hun structuur, terwijl de vierde behandelt Theta theorie (1993) van Tanya Reinhart, die beschrijft syntactische en lexicale structuur van de lexicale elementen en die beschrijft de operaties op theta woordstructuur. Het vijfde hoofdstuk richt zich op samengestelde woorden, hun definities, typologie, en op zogenoemde synthetische samengestelde woorden, hun beschrijving en analyse, op de structuur van de argumenten van de afgeleide samengestelde woorden. Het volgende hoofdstuk beschrijft de reflexieve nominale samengestelde woorden met het eerste woordvormende basis *SELF* -, hun structuur van de argumenten en de relatie tussen de vormen met de benadrukkende functie en met de functie van de reflexivisatie. Het

karakteriseert ook de samengestelde woorden met het eerste woordvormende basis *SELF* - in de volgende: Engelse, Slowaakse, Hongaarse, Poolse, Italiaanse, Roemeense en Nederlandse talen. Het hoofdstuk presenteert reflexiviteit en methoden van reflexivisatie in deze talen, meestal de reflexieve werkwoorden en reflexieve voornaamwoorden. Het hoofdstuk bevat ook een analyse van de beweringen van König 2011, Di Sciulla (1996), of van Artemis Alexiadou (2013) in alle zes talen. Het zevende hoofdstuk introduceert extra eigenschappen van de reflexieve nominale composieten. Het laatste hoofdstuk bevat een analyse van die samengestelde woorden met het eerste woordvormende basis *SELF*-, welke de verbale wortels hebben. De identificatie van deze wortels maakte mogelijk om te bepalen welke verbale groepen (gedeelt volgens Beth Levin (1993)) worden toegepast als de meest voorkomende bronnen van de samengestelde woorden en ook de meest voorkomende schema's van de semantische taken.

De eerste hypothese concentreert zich op de soorten van de zelfstandige naamwoorden, die worden gecombineerd met de woordvormende basis *SELF* – in Engelse, Slowaakse, Hongaarse, Poolse, Italiaanse, Roemeense en Nederlandse talen en heeft geverifieerd of het tweede woordvormende basis (altijd op de rechte kant) van de samengestelde woorden is werkelijk de naamwoord is met de structuur van de argumenten. Op basis van het eigen onderzoek beweert Anna Maria Di Sciullo dat bepaalde zelfstandige naamwoorden nooit een structuur van de argument hebben en daarom kunnen niet worden gecombineerd met het woordvormende basis *SELF*-. De analyse bevestigde deze verklaring en zo ook het eerste hypothese in alle zeven talen.

De tweede en de derde hypotheses zijn gericht op de tweede woordvormende basis van reflexieve nominale composieten, in het bijzonder op de deverbatieve zelfstandige naamwoorden. De werkwoorden, die dienen als een basis van de verdere derivatieve processen zouden transitief moeten zijn, omdat alleen een dergelijke soort van werkwoord kan integreren van een impliciete Agens (doener) in zijn argumentstructuur dat ook een combinatie ondersteunt met het woordvormende basis *SELF*-. De aanwezigheid van de factor is vereist en dus een ergatieve en onergatieve (unergative) werkwoorden mogen niet aanwezig zijn in de dergelijke structuren. Rekening houdend met de aanwezigheid van een aantal tegenargumenten (2-3 / taal) kan bevestigd worden dat transitieve werkwoorden hebben een dominante positie in de derivatie van deze composieten. Bijna volledige afwezigheid van de ergatieve en onergatieve werkwoorden in de reflexieve nominale composieten bevestigt alleen maar deze uitspraak.

De vierde en de vijfde hypothesen richten zich op op het woordvormende basis *SELF*-in de Slowaakse en Hongaarse talen. Ekkehard König (2011) categoriseert deze element in vier groepen op basis van hun semantische eigenschappen: adnominale, adverbiale exclusieve, adverbiale inclusive, en attributive. Op basis van zijn onderzoek, kunnen de Russische taal, evenals de Finse taal aangetoond worden met de volgende soorten van betekenissen: adnominale, adverbiale exclusieve en attributieve. Op basis van deze feiten trekken de vierde en de vijfde hypothesen de volgende conclusies: sinds de Slowaakse taal behoort tot dezelfde taalfamilie als de Russische en Hongaarse talen, behoort tot dezelfde taalfamilie als Finse taal, de eigenschappen van Hongaarse en Slowaakse talen zullen binnen eigen taalfamilies waarschijnlijk ook gelijkwaardige en hun reflexieve nominale samengestelde woorden zullen werken met dezelfde betekenissen van het eerste woordvormende basis *SELF* -als Russische en Finse talen. Zoals verwacht, hebben beide talen dezelfde tendens vertoont, hetgeen bevestigt de juistheid van H4 en H5.

De zesde hypothese richt zich op de structuur van de reflexieve nominale samengestelde woorden en analyseert derivatie van deze constructies. Op basis van de gekregen gegevens kon worden geconstateert dat terwijl suffixatie rijk vertegenwoordigd in deze talen, andere derivatieve processen van de soort **selfness-centered* zijn niet aanwezig in geen van de beide talen.

Het laatste hypothese heeft beschreven *SELF* - en zijn equivalenten in de andere talen, en heeft geprobeerd de elementen te identificeren die dienen als zijn alternatieven. Er werd bevestigd dat de Slowaakse taal en de Hongaarse taal kunnen worden aangetoond met twee van dergelijke alternatieven (af. zelf- en zichzelf - / hongaars. maga- en ön), en beide talen hebben een gevarieerd aanbod van elementen met de benadrukte functie. Behalve de adverbiale inclusieve intensifikatie, alle andere elementen van met de benadrukte functie zijn aanwezig in deze talen, het enige verschil is dat dat de Slowaakse morfeem *zichzelf* niet voorkomt in een adnominale betekenis.

De analyse van samengestelde woorden met het eerste woordvormende basis *SELF* -in het laatste hoofdstuk suggereert ook dat elke taal , een breed spectrum van de verbale categorieën gebruikt in eigen afgeleide basissen. In het aantal en in de proportie van de verbale categorieën van vertonen de talen dezelfde tendenties, dat is dat de meeste werkwoorden zijn afkomstig van twee of drie categorieën, terwijl de andere werkwoorden vertegenwoordigen de verbale categorieën, die vertegenwoordigd zijn slechts in een beperkte en zeer kleine hoeveelheid. De lijst van de geanalyseerde verbale categorieën in Engelse, Slowaakse en Hongaarse talen laten blijken dat 31 categorieën van Beth Levin

(1993) van de oorspronkelijke 48 zijn geïdentificeerd in de werkwoorden van de afgeleide samengestelde woorden met het eerste woordvormende basis *SELF* -. Elke taal trekt minstens van de twintig categorieën. De rest van de verbale categorieën vinden wij niet in de geanalyseerde samengestelde woorden om verschillende redenen: sommige werkwoorden worden slechts in intransitieve constructies gebruikt en daardoor de combinatie met reflexieve morfeem *SELF* - is meestal niet mogelijk. De andere werkwoorden zijn niet van toepassing door de semantische redenen, namelijk hun lexicale kenmerken laten ze niet verbinden met de reflexieve/ intensiverende morfeem *SELF*- (bijv. werkwoorden achtervolgingen) .

Om een relatief uitvoerende beschrijving van de werkwoorden te voorzien van de derivatieve samengestelde woorden met het eerste woordvormende basis *SELF* - zijn semantische taken die verbonden zijn met de verbale elementen waren ook beschreven. Rekening houdend met de categorieën van de werkwoorden van deze samengestelde woorden, kunnen we constateren dat de meeste werkwoorden werken alleen met de volgende semantische rollen:-doener (agens), veroorzaker (oorzaak), voorwerp, patiëns, ervaarder, recipient, instrument. De semantische rollen zoals bv. locatie, richting, doel, tijd, manier, etc. zijn niet aanwezig in deze structuren noch in Engelse noch in Slowaakse noch in Hongaarse talen. De analyse van de verbale categorieën vertoont dat de werkwoorden de voorkeur hebben aan de volgende schema's: (doener (patiëns)) (doener (ervaaarder)) (doener (voorwerp)).

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Appendices

Appendix 1 – Sample of the survey:

Self- compound Survey

Name:

E-mail address:

Introduction

I am interested in compounds that have a ‘reflexive’ interpretation. By that I mean derived nouns such as *self-control* in English, *Eigenlob/Selbstlob* ‘self-praise’ in German, or *autodérision* ‘self-derision’ in French, or *ön-becsülés* ‘self-esteem’ in Hungarian. So, I am giving you ‘self-compounds’, not only nominals, asking for an equivalent in your native language. Note that in English ‘self’ in a compound is the equivalent of a reflexive ‘himself’ – self conscious = *He’s always been self-conscious about being so short.* - , but can also be the equivalent of an intensifier ‘himself’, self made = *He was proud of the fact that he was a self-made man.* This does not have to be the case in your language (for instance, In Russian *sebja* is the reflexive, *sam* the intensifier.), keep that in mind.

We ask for the reflexive reading.

A: Free translation of *self-* compounds

The questionnaire contains a list of English *self-* compounds of different types. Please try to translate them into your language in a most natural way. If there are several natural translations for a *self-* compound, please give them all. If you cannot find an equivalent for a word in your own language, indicate it with a clear signal (e.g. with -). If you are not sure whether the translated form really exists, put your translation into parentheses (). If your language provides several possibilities (e.g. one with an identical morphological structure and one with a different structure), please write down both. In the second column I am also asking for a morphological break-up. Please, try to provide a full morphological break-up at least for one of the translated words with glosses, while in the others highlight the *self-* part. The third column leaves room for comments, if needed.

Example 1. The morphological break-up of the Slovak self-compound: *seberovný-equal*:

sebe-rov-n- ý
refl-stem-deriv.morph.-infl.morph.

	translation	morphological break-up	comments
self-educated (i.e. having learned things by reading books, etc. rather than at school or college)			
self-made (e.g. a self-made photo – the photographer made a photo of him/herself)			
self-regulating (e.g. an equipment that controls its own settings)			
self-explanatory (i.e. easy to understand and not needing any more explanation)			
self-referential (i.e. referring to other works that the given author has written)			
self-pitying (e.g. a person who feels sorry for him/herself because of sth unpleasant or unfair)			
self-contradictory (i.e. containing two ideas or statements that cannot both be true)			
self-styled (i.e. a description that you give to yourself or a claim you make about yourself, e.g. when you declare yourself a computer expert)			
self-righteous (i.e. feeling or behaving as if what you say or do is always morally right, and other people are wrong)			
self-destructive (i.e. a kind of a behavior when you do sth to deliberately harm yourself)			
self-defeating (i.e. causing more problems and difficulties instead of solving them; not achieving what you wanted to achieve but having an opposite effect)			
self-confident (i.e. having confidence in yourself and your abilities)			
self-taught (i.e. having taught oneself without formal instructions)			
self-supporting (i.e. having enough money to be able to operate without financial help from other)			

people)			
self-centered (e.g. an example of self-centered is talking on and on about yourself)			
self-respecting (i.e. proper respect for oneself and one's worth as a person)			
	translation	morphological break-up	comments
self-confidence (i.e. self-confidence is a person's belief or trust in his/her own ability)			
self-regulation (i.e. an example of self-regulation is when you limit, of your own accord, how much you will eat)			
self-censorship (i.e. the act of <u>censoring</u> or <u>classifying</u> one's own work (blog, book(s), film(s), or other means of expression))			
self-destruction (i.e. the act of doing things to deliberately harm yourself)			
self-employment (i.e. working for oneself, with direct control over work)			
self-motivation (i.e. initiative to undertake or continue a task or activity without another's prodding or supervision)			
self-hatred (i.e. hatred, disregard, and denigration of oneself)			
self-discovery (i.e. the process of learning more about yourself and who you are)			
self-centeredness (i.e. a tendency to think only about yourself)			
self-image (i.e. the opinion or idea you have of yourself)			
self-esteem (i.e. the feeling when you are pleased with yourself and think you are a person of value)			
self-mutilation (i.e. the act of wounding yourself, especially when this is a sign of mental illness)			
self-mockery			

(i.e. <u>the practice of making yourself appear silly to show other people that you have a humorous attitude towards yourself</u>)			
self-examination (i.e. the act of checking your body for any signs of illness)			
self-pity (i.e. pity for oneself, especially a self indulgent attitude concerning one's own difficulties, hardships)			

B: *Self-* compounds in sentences

Please use the *self-* compounds in sentences according to the example below:

Example 2.:

samoobdivovanie – self-admiration

Nemyslím si, že toho kolegu niekam posunulo 10 rokov **samoobdivovania**.
 neg.think 1.Sg.pr. that this.Acc colleague.Acc somewhere move.3sg.Pst ten years.Gen self-admiration.Gen
 'I do not think that 10 years of self-admiration has changed the situation of this colleague'.

Češe si vlasy na nový spôsob a ***samoobdivuje/obdivuje** sa v zrkadle.
 comb.3.sg.pr. refl hair on new fashion and *self-admire.3.sg.pr./ admire.3.sg.pr. refl in mirror.Loc
 'He/she combs his/her hair in, a new fashion and admires him/herself in the mirror.'

In the first sentence use the self-compound in its original form (case change is allowed). In the second sentence please provide an example, where the verbal form of the *self-* compound is used (and a reflexive). If there are several natural variations for a sentence (with different verbs or different grammatical constructions), please give them all.

	examples
self-absorbed	He was so self-absorbed, he didn't notice me He is absorbed in himself (??)

AND FOR THE EXAMPLES BELOW YOU SHOULD DO THE SAME AS ABOVE WITH GLOSSES:

- 1) self-educated
- 2) self-centered
- 3) self-confidence
- 4) self-hatred self-pity
- 5) self-taught
- 6) self-regulating
- 7) self-sacrificing
- 8) self-motivation
- 9) self-mutilation
- 10) self-examination
- 11) self-employment
- 12) self-discovery
- 13) self-contradictory
- 14) self-destructive

C: Any other important types of self- (reflexive) compounds in your language?

The list of English self-compounds introduced in this survey provides only a fragment of other possible self-compounds in your language. English, for example, does not have self-compounds with a verb as a second element (e.g. John hates himself / *John self-hates). Because of that, I would like to ask you to list other possible self-compounds that exist in your language but in English do not or only to a limited extent:

e.g. self+V,
 self+Adv (self-consciously)
 self+Num
 self+Pron

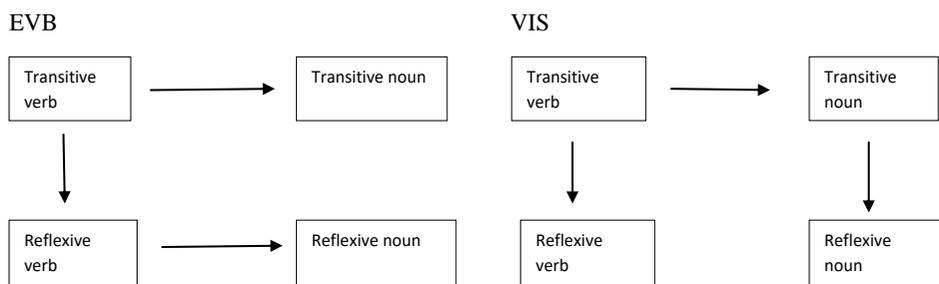
English also has a few compounds with reflexive elements other than *self* as left-hand components:

e.g. *auto*changer (a device that automatically changes one CD for another in a CD player), *same*-age relationship, *own*-goal

Can you think of similar examples from your own language?

Appendix 2 – Derivation of Reflexive Nouns in Czech/Slovak – Similarities and Differences

David Hron discusses the Czech deverbal reflexive nouns in Grimshaw's (1990) complex event reading in his speech from 2005. Hron argues that the literature on these nouns present the universal tendency of nominal voices being derived from their corresponding verbal voices by the process of nominalization, i.e. the reflexive nouns are derived from reflexive verbs (e.g. Grimshaw 1990, Siloni 1997, Reinhart and Siloni 2005). However, Hron observed that Czech reflexive nouns present a tendency of not being derived from their reflexive verbal counterparts, instead they enter the derivation process from a different derivational path, which he describes as on one hand independent to a certain extent from the derivation of the verbal counterparts, but on the other hand they are also parallel to derivational processes in the verbal domain. He names the first type of the derivation Exclusively Verb Based (EVB), while the second is named as Verb Independent Strategy (VIS), and exemplifies them as follows (2005:2):



Features of the Czech language

When taking into consideration the features of the Czech language, Hron argues that Czech verbs show a strong tendency to undergo reflexivization, but he also points out that the meaning of these reflexive verbs can be odd or unusual. The reflexivization is carried out by the addition of the *se* clitic to the verb (2005: 5):

a) Productivity in the Czech language:
namaloval se ('he painted himself')
kontroloval se ('he controlled himself')
popsal se ('he described himself')
zabil se ('he killed himself')

Hron also points out that Czech presents syntax type properties in its dative reflexive structures, while reflexivization within these constructions is ensured by the clitic *si* (ibid.):

b) Dative reflexives in Czech
koupil si auto ('he bought a car to himself')
umyl si ruce ('he washed his hands')
zranil si nohu ('he injured his leg')
objednal si polévku ('he ordered a soup to himself')

In order to show the syntax type properties of Czech reflexive verbs, Hron also exhibits the Czech verbs in a transitive and in a reflexive pair. He also concludes that Czech reflexive verbs are formed in the syntax (ibid.):

c) Transitive vs. reflexive pairs

Marie viděla Petra tančit. Mary saw Peter _{-Acc} dance _{-Inf} 'Mary saw Peter dance.'	Marie se viděla tančit (v zrcadle). Marie SE saw dance _{-Inf} (in a mirror). 'Mary saw herself dance (in a mirror).'
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Marie slyšela Petra mluvit. Mary heard Peter _{-Acc} speak _{-Inf} 'Mary heard Peter speaking.'	Marie se slyšela mluvit (v rádiu). Mary SE heard speak _{-Inf} (in a radio). 'Mary heard herself speaking (in a radio).'
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Hron argues that based on the observations of Reinhart and Siloni (2005) only the Lexicon type languages (the languages within which the operation of reflexivization applies in the Lexicon and not in the Syntax) should present reflexive nouns, but Czech shows a different tendency (2005:6):

d) Czech reflexive nouns

namalování se ('painting oneself')
obětování se ('sacrifice oneself')

kontrolování se ('controlling oneself')
 bodnutí se ('stabbing oneself')
 zabití se ('killing oneself')

Hron points out that the distinctions between syntax vs. lexicon type languages that are described by Reinhart and Sioni (2005) do not universally apply to all languages, or at least the condition, which concentrates on the existence vs. absence of reflexive nouns.

In order to identify the type of derivation through which reflexive nouns are generated in Czech, Hron verifies the four possible derivation processes that may apply in case of reflexive nouns: Lexical Nominalization – Exclusively Verb - Based Derivation, Syntactic Nominalization - Exclusively Verb - Based Derivation, Syntactic Nominalization – Verb Independent Derivation, Lexical Nominalization - Verb Independent Derivation. He argues that the first possibility cannot explain the existence of reflexive nouns in Czech, and he argues against syntactic nominalization as well. In order to prove that the nominalization of the Czech reflexive nouns happens in the Lexicon and not in the Syntax, he introduces the features of the Czech nouns through several syntactic structures. He argues that even though the nouns present a V-head, they cannot be modified by adverbs, only by adjectives and PPs as characteristic for 'true nouns' (2005: 8):

e) Czech nouns cannot be modified by manner adverbs

I.

Matka převléká dítě pomalu.

Mother changes-clothes child_{Acc} slowly.

'The mother slowly changes her child clothes'.

*matčino převlékání dítěte pomalu

mother's changing-clothes child_{Gen} slowly

('mother's changing her child clothes slowly')

matčino pomalé převlékání dítěte

mother's slow changing-clothes child_{Gen}

('mother's slow changing her clothes')

II.

Matka se převléká pomalu.

Mother SE changes-clothes slowly.

'The mother slowly changes her clothes'

*matčino převlékání se pomalu

mother's changing-clothes SE slowly

('mother's changing her clothes slowly')

matčino pomalé převlékání se
mother's slow changing-clothes SE
(‘mother's changing her clothes slowly’)

Hron argues that the same tendency applies for time adverbs as well highlighting by this the fact that the derivation of Czech reflexive nouns must be realized in the Lexicon through the verb independent strategy, and introduces the morphological shape of Czech reflexive nouns as follows (2005: 10):

- a) VERB SE > VERB_{-PASSIVE} + -Í SE > NOUN_{-PASSIVE} -Í SE
b) * VERB SE > VERB SE_{-PASSIVE} + -Í > NOUN SE_{-PASSIVE} -Í

The presented structure implies that the nominalization process takes place in the (transitive) VERB and not in the VERB SE (reflexive) construction, i.e. the rule does not target the clitic. SE is understood in this case as an independent clitic, which is present because of the reflexivization process. Hron summarizes his observations as follows (2005: 12): ‘Czech reflexive event nouns are derived from related transitive event nouns exactly like reflexive verbs are derived from transitive verbs. That is, it seems that the operation of reflexivization can apply not only on transitive verbs but also on transitive nouns in Czech.’

The introduced features can be identified not only in Czech but in Slovak as well. The Slovak transitive verbs show the same tendency to undergo reflexivization by using the Slovak *sa* clitic:

Productivity in the Slovak language:
namaloval sa (‘he painted himself’)
kontroloval sa (‘he controlled himself’)
popísal sa (‘he described himself’)
zabil sa (‘he killed himself’)

Similarly to the first feature the presence of the dative reflexive structure is typical for the Slovak language as well. Following the Czech example the *si* clitic next to the transitive verb ensures reflexivization in these constructions:

Dative reflexives in Slovak:
kúpil si auto (‘he bought a car to himself’)
umyl si ruky (‘he washed his hands’)
zranil si nohu (‘he injured his leg’)
objednal si polievku (‘he ordered a soup to himself’)

The presence of reflexive vs. transitive pairs in Slovak suggests that it behaves in the same way as the Czech language, and consequently its verbs are characteristically generated in the syntactic domain as well:

Mária videla Petra tancovať. Mary saw Peter _{-Acc} dance _{-Inf} 'Mary saw Peter dance.'	Mária sa videla tancovať (v zrcadle). Mary SE saw dance _{-Inf} (in a mirror) 'Mary saw herself dance (in a mirror).'
Mária počula Petra hovoriť. Mary heard Peter _{-Acc} speak _{-Inf} 'Mary heard Peter speaking.'	Mária sa počula hovoriť (v rádiu). Mary SE heard speak _{-Inf} (in a radio). 'Mary heard herself speaking (in a radio).'

Based on the above described facts Slovak also belongs to the syntax type languages. It presents the same features as Czech, and the presence of reflexive nouns represents another shared feature between these two languages. The structure of these nouns is the same in both languages: V+ *-(n)ie* (suffix) + *sa* (clitic), e.g.:

namalovanie sa	('painting oneself')
obetovanie sa	('sacrifice oneself')
kontrolovanie se	('controlling oneself')
bodnutie sa	('stabbing oneself')
zabitie sa	('killing oneself')

The list of similarities between the two languages continues in the behaviour of the Slovak nouns when combined with manner and time adverbs. Similarly to the Czech nouns, Slovak nouns cannot combine in syntactic constructions with these adverbs either, while their combination with adjectives is possible:

I.

Matka prezlieka dieťa pomaly.
Mother changes-clothes child_{Acc} slowly.
'The mother slowly changes her child clothes'.

*matkine prezliekanie dieťaťa pomaly
mother's changing-clothes child_{Gen} slowly
'(mother's changing her child clothes slowly)'

matkine pomalé prezliekanie dieťaťa
mother's slow changing-clothes child_{Gen}
'(mother's slow changing her clothes)'

II.

Matka sa prezlieka pomaly.

Mother SE changes-clothes slowly.

'The mother slowly changes her clothes'

* matkine prezliekanie sa pomaly

mother's changing-clothes SE slowly

('mother's changing her clothes slowly')

matkine pomalé prezliekanie sa

mother's slow changing-clothes SE

('mother's changing her clothes slowly')

Based on the presented similarities it is possible to conclude that Slovak just like Czech uses the nominalization process that is targeted towards the transitive verb and towards the verb+*sa* construction. The Slovak reflexive nouns tend to be derived from related transitive nouns, while the reflexive verbs are generated from transitive verbs.

Curriculum Vitae

Mária Vasiľová was born on September 20th, 1986 in Kráľovský Chlmec, Slovakia. In 2006, she started her studies at the Pavol Jozef Šafárik Univesity in Košice, Slovakia. In 2011 she graduated with an MA degree, majoring in the study field: teaching English language and litareture in combination with teaching Slovak language and literature.

In 2011, Mária Vasiľová started her PhD research through a cotutelle cooperation agreement between the Utrecht University, Utrecht Institute of Linguistics OTS and the Pavol Jozef Šafárik University in Košice, Slovakia, Department of British and American Studies. The dissertation is the final outcome of this cotutelle cooperation.